

THE RELATIONS OF THE CHINESE TO THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

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The history of the Spaniards on the Philippines is an endless chain of frictions and struggles with the Chinese immigrants and settlers, so that the history of the Philippines during the last three centuries is very closely interwoven with an account of the relations between these two peoples. The trade with China was by far the most important business of the Spanish colony—and with it the fortunes of the colony rose and fell. An abundant mass of material has been stored up by Spanish writers since this early contact with the East, from which the political and commercial history of Chinese intercourse might well be compiled; but no attempt has heretofore been made to call to witness coeval Chinese sources, and to compare Spanish accounts with Chinese testimony on the same subject. To advance a step in this direction and do justice to the *audiatur et altera pars* is the prime object of the present paper.

The Chinese have been acute observers of foreign nations and countries, and in their astoundingly vast amount of literature we find many valuable reports on the geography, history, and ethnology of the neighboring peoples. The history of the Malayan Archipelago (particularly, for example, Java and Sumatra) during the pre-colonial age would be almost shrouded in mystery but for the material regarding these islands hoarded up by the Chinese.¹ The principal Chinese sources of which I have made use are the Annals of the Ming dynasty, or the "Ming shih," which, in chapter 323, furnishes an account of all islands in the eastern Pacific known to the Chinese at that time, and also of the Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch, who then made their first appearance in the Far East. Furthermore, the annals of the provinces of Kuang-tung and Fuh-kien frequently speak of the Philippines, and describe historical and other incidents relating to them, for the natural reason that the traders and seafaring people of those parts of China were most

¹The principal papers on this subject are: L. de Rosny, *Les peuples orientaux connus des anciens Chinois* (Paris, 1881); W. T. Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, compiled from Chinese sources (Batavia, 1876), and *Supplementary Jottings to this paper in T'oung Pao* (1896), vol. vii, pp. 113-134. Groeneveldt has not dealt with the Philippines.

active in transmarine undertakings. The geographical literature of the Chinese also abounds in accounts of the Philippines. The most important of these, frequently alluded to in these pages, is the "Tung hsi yang k'ao" ("Investigations regarding the Eastern and Western Ocean"), published in 1618—a very useful geographical work in twelve books, the descriptions of which, as a rule, refer to the time when Europeans first began to visit the Malayan regions.¹

The appearance of the Spaniards in Eastern waters was not the first occasion on which the Chinese had taken cognizance of these Western people. From the accounts of the Arabs, they had gained a certain knowledge of Spain as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century. Chao Ju-kua, a member of the imperial family of the Sung dynasty (960-1278) and superintendent and commissioner of customs in Ts'üan-chou-fu, a coast town northward from Amoy, in Fuhkien Province, came in close touch with merchants from India, Persia, Syria, and Arabia, who traded in that port with the Chinese, and availed himself of this opportunity to collect valuable data regarding the countries and peoples of the West. In his book, "Chu fan chi," written between 1209 and 1214, a brief description is given of Spain under the name *Mu-lan-p'i*; i. e., the Arabian word *Murâbit*, which we find hispanicized as the dynasty of the *Almoravides*. He relates that Spain entertained a lively commerce with the *Ta-shih* (Arabs), and emphasizes the large size of her ships, which could carry several thousand men. Wheat, melons, pomegranates, lemons, rice, and salads are mentioned as the products of the country, and it is curious to find merino sheep mentioned as being several feet high and having tails the size of a fan.²

In the "Ming shih" and according to later sources, the name for Spain is *Yü-ssü-la* (or *Yü-mi-la*, by confounding the similar characters for *mi* and *ssü*), apparently an imitation of the sounds in the name *las Islas*, which the Chinese had heard from the Spaniards on the Philippines. The ordinary designation for Spain and Portugal, however, is simply *Hsi yang* (i. e., "Western Ocean"), with the distinction that Spain is called *Hsiao hsi yang* ("the small Western Ocean"), and Portugal *Ta hsi yang* ("the great Western Ocean"), as the Portuguese were the first of the two to come under the notice of the Chinese. At a later period these names, *Hsi yang* and *Ta hsi yang*, were used in a general way for Europe, the name of which,

¹See A. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, 2d edition, p. 58; Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago*, p. VIII.

²F. Hirth, *Die Länder des Islâm nach chinesischen Quellen* (Leiden, 1894), pp. 48-50, 63.

toward the close of the fifteenth century, became known in China also in the transcription *Ou-lo-pa*. In the Portuguese-Chinese vocabulary appended to the "Ao men chi lio," the Chinese chronicle of Macao, we find that the Portuguese name for Ta hsi yang (Portugal) is *Lien-nu*, by which is evidently understood *Lusitania*; while the Portuguese name for Spain is written *Wo-ya*, reading in the Amoy dialect *Nga-n̄ia* (that is, in Portuguese apparently *Hespanha*). These designations, however, were those of geographical and diplomatic language; the popular term by which the Portuguese and Spanish were both spoken of, and even confounded with each other in literature, was *Fo-lang-ghi*; *i. e.*, "the Franks."

The main island of the Philippine group, Luzon, was known to the Chinese, long before the Spanish Conquest, under its native name *Luzong*, which appears in the texts in the form *Lü-sung*. This name was also extended to the entire group of islands, and, furthermore, was applied as a tribal name to the native population. At the time when the Spaniards took possession of the Philippines the name *Lü-sung* designated principally the city of Manila, but it was then transferred also to the Spaniards, who are the "Luzon men" of the Chinese annals, or, officially, *Ta Lü-sung kuo*. At that time a nickname was also invented for the Spaniards in the form *Sung-tsai*, which may be explained as follows: The character "sung" in *Lü-sung* is identical with that in the name of the Sung dynasty of China, which, like all dynasties, has the adjective *ta* ("great") prefixed to its title. In contrast to the great Sung dynasty, the foreign *Lü-sung* men were contemptuously called *Sung-tsai*; *i. e.*, the little Sung. A still more derogatory term under which the Spaniards go in the "Ming shih," in passages of a kind to provoke the criticism of the author, is *Man* (*i. e.*, savages), originally a name restricted to the primitive aboriginal tribes of southern China.

In modern times the Portuguese retained their old historical name, *Ta hsi yang kuo*, in diplomatic intercourse with the Chinese court, while the Spaniards adopted the transliteration *Ta Jih-ssü-pa* (or *pan*)-*ni-yakuo*, which has come up since the early days of the Jesuits; also *Lü-sung* is still the Chinese name for Manila, Luzon, and the Philippines generally, and *Lü-sung yen* ("Luzon smoke") is a common term for Manila cigars. In connection with this terminology it might not be without interest to add that the name "America" occurs for the first time in Chinese literature (about a century after its discovery) in the "Ming shih" (chap. 326) as "*A-mo-le-kiä*," in connection with a report on the famous Jesuit

Matteo Ricci, who presented to the Emperor a map of the world on which he stated that "there are in the world five parts of the globe. The fourth of these was America."¹

It is at a comparatively late date that Chinese history makes mention of the Philippine Islands; and this fact is the more striking, since some of the adjacent isles to the south are touched upon much earlier. The Moluccas, for example, are first mentioned, under the name *Mi-li-kü*, in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty (618-906), in determining the site of the island of Bali, although no special description of them is given earlier than the sixteenth century.² Puni—that is, Brunei, or the northwest coast of Borneo—appears in the history of the Sung dynasty (960-1279),³ and we cannot but think that navigators sailing there must have passed the great island of Palawan or some isles of the Sulu Archipelago. However this may be, the Philippines are not actually mentioned by name in literature earlier than the time of the Ming dynasty (*Ming shih*, chap. 323, p. 11 a). In the fifth year of the period Hung-wu (1372) the first embassy from the Philippines arrived in China with tribute. The site of Luzon is stated on this occasion to be in the South Sea very close to Chang-chou in Fukkien. The Emperor reciprocated the gifts of this embassy by despatching an official with presents of silk gauze woven of gold and colored threads to the king of the country. From this first mention of the Philippines in Chinese history we should not be so narrow-minded as to infer that Chinese intercourse with the Philippines dates from just the year 1372; on the contrary, the fact that there was a Philippine embassy in that year points to a long commercial intercourse between the two peoples, which had escaped the knowledge of the court historiographers at Peking. Although the imperial geography of the Ming, the "Ta Ming i t'ung chi," states expressly that no investigation of Luzon had been made by earlier generations, this is refuted by the fact that we meet with an account of the Philippine tribes in the before-mentioned "Chu fan chi" of Chao Ju-kua in the thirteenth century.⁴ Chao Ju-kua describes a country in the north of Borneo which he calls *Ma-yi(t)*, which name Professor Blumentritt thinks is identical with Bay, the

¹ E. Bretschneider, *Mediæval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources*, vol. 11 (London, 1888), p. 324.

² Groeneveldt, *loc. cit.*, p. 117.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 108.

⁴ The passage in question has been translated by Professor Hirth in his book "Chinesische Studien," p. 40.

territory of Manila:¹ and speaks further of a country called *San hsiü*² ("The Three Islands"—Ka-ma-yen, Pa-lao-yu, and Pa-ki-nung). The sketch of the native population given by him is very interesting. He says:

On each island lives a different tribe. Each tribe consists of about a thousand families. As soon as a foreign ship comes in sight, the natives approach it to barter. They live in rush huts. As there are no springs in the mountains, the women carry two or three jugs at the same time on their heads, in which they fetch water from the springs in the plain, and with this load they ascend the mountains as easily as if they were walking on level ground. In the most hidden valleys live people called *Hai-tan* (the Aëta or Negritos). They are of small stature, have round brown eyes and frizzled hair, and their teeth shine between their lips. They live high up in the tops of trees,³ where they dwell in families of from three to five individuals. Crawling through the thickets of the forests, they shoot from ambush at passers-by; wherefore they are much dreaded; but if a porcelain cup is thrown towards them they rush on it, shouting with joy, and escape with their spoil.

Then the mode of trading with the merchants of the Chinese ships is related. The native articles traded were cotton, cotton goods, beeswax, cocoanut, and fine mats, while the Chinese exchanged for them silk parasols, porcelain, and baskets plaited of rattan. Even in 1572 the inhabitants of Cagayan told the captain Juan de Salcedo, that their cotton weavings were bought up yearly by Chinese and Japanese traders. Chinese-Philippine trade must therefore have existed early in the thirteenth, and very likely in the latter part of the twelfth century.

Perhaps a still earlier ethnographical allusion to a Philippine tribe

¹ I am rather inclined to believe that the island of Mindoro is meant, which, according to Blumentritt (*Versuch einer Ethnographie der Philippinen*, p. 65), was called *Mait* in oldest times. In all likelihood the Chinese were acquainted with Mindoro at an earlier date than with Luzon. It was on Mindoro that in 1571 Spaniards and Chinese met for the first time. The Three Islands are probably Busuanga, Calamian, and Peñon de Coran. Of other localities mentioned by Chao Ju-Kua, Pai-pu-yen may be identified with the Babuyan north of Luzon; Pu-li-lu with Polillo, eastward from Luzon.

² An island group of the same name is mentioned in the History of the Mongol Dynasty as situated near Formosa, with a population of only 200 families. In language these people seem to have been different from the Formosans, for the latter could not understand the speech of an interpreter from there in the service of the Chinese. The group is certainly not the same as that above (see *Yüan shih*, chap. 210, pp. 4-5).

³ The *Tung hsi yang k'ao* mentions a mountain range on Luzon by the name of *Fou-ting-shan*. It says: "Wild barbarians dwell in nests on the top of these mountains, and shoot from trees at birds and animals, which they eat uncooked. One cannot follow their trails."

is contained in the "History of the Sung Dynasty" (*Sung shih*), in the chapter giving the history of Formosa for that period. After a few remarks on the native tribes of the island, the report goes on to say:

Near them (*i. e.*, the Formosans) is the land of the Pi-sia-ye (Visaya), whose language is not understood [on Formosa]. They go naked, and from the way they stare, one would say they are not like other people. In the period Shun-hsi (A. D. 1174-1189) the chief of that country daringly took some hundreds of his men and suddenly appeared in the Bay of Ts'üan-chou (Fukien Province). In Wei-t'ou and other villages they committed outrages and murder. In their plundering they looked chiefly for iron implements, spoons, and chop-sticks. When people shut their doors, they desisted, and only cut off the rings of the door-knockers. When spoons and chop-sticks were thrown to them, they stooped to gather them. When they saw a rider clad in iron, they struggled among themselves to cut off his armor; then, joining forces, slew him mercilessly. In close combat they availed themselves of spears, to which a rope of more than a hundred feet in length was attached with which to handle the weapon, for they save their iron and do not recklessly throw it aside. They had no boats or oars, but rafts made of bamboo poles tied together. Hurriedly they carried these off jointly, set them afloat, and disappeared.

The identification of the Pi-sia-ye mentioned in this text with the Visaya of the Philippines has already been proposed by Terrien de Lacouperie,¹ but has been rejected by G. Schlegel² on the ground that it is impossible that those islanders should have been able to make the long passage over sea on rafts, as the Chinese historian says—a feat which, however, was possible from Formosa to Fukien. Schlegel accordingly seems to infer, but does not state explicitly, that the Pi-sia-ye are a Formosan tribe.³ His arguments, however, are by no means valid. The Chinese text is not at all ambiguous, and says plainly that it was a country beside or near Formosa, and one with a different language; there is here, consequently, the question of a non-Formosan tribe. In the description of the Formosan tribes, Chinese authors never use the word "country" (*kuo*) as used above in connection with the Pi-sia-ye, but speak only of clans and tribes; furthermore, a tribe of the name Pi-sia-ye has never existed, nor does it exist, on Formosa. The mere linguistic evidence, however (*i. e.*, the phonetic coincidence of Pi-sia-ye and Visaya or Bisaya), is not in itself sufficient proof for assuming the identity of these people with the Philippine tribe of that desig-

¹ The Languages of China before the Chinese, p. 127.

² *T'oung Pao* (1895), vol. vi, p. 182.

³ James W. Davidson (The Island of Formosa, p. 3) falls into the same error.

nation. Culture-historical considerations must be added to make the evidence convincing.

There can be no doubt that the aborigines of Formosa form part of the Malayan group of peoples; and from the oldest account which we possess regarding them, which is contained in the Chinese Annals of the Sui dynasty, full evidence of the fact may be obtained, that in the beginning of the seventh century, when the Chinese first discovered the island, its culture was of a thoroughly Malayan character. Moreover, it has been observed that the languages of Formosa are more closely akin to those of Luzon than to any other Malayan stock, a large number of words being in common, even terms expressing relationship, and that striking agreements in the two cultures exist; *e. g.*, in the practice of and ideas concerning head-hunting. I am under the impression that Formosan and Philippine-Malayan cultures are only two variations of one and the same North-Malayan culture-type. The fact that the Formosans are immigrants is self-evident and confirmed by native traditions. Theoretically, there are only two ways possible for this immigration: either the Formosans came from the original seats of the Malayan stock or from the direction of the Philippines. I concur with Prof. H. Kern and P. W. Schmidt in the view that the Malayan home was somewhere off the east coast of Farther India—a theory now splendidly corroborated by the discovery by Schmidt of the relationship of the Malayan with the Mon-Khmêr languages. If the Formosans had taken their starting-point from there, they would doubtless have gradually followed the coast-line of the East-Asiatic mainland, and, touching along the shores of China, have reached their present home. Then, however, we should have expected that they would never have lost contact with the continent, and would have had some idea of the Chinese. The fact is, however, that the Formosans never had any cognizance of China, nor the Chinese of them, before the year 607, and at the first military expedition of the Chinese, in 610, the two cultures suddenly clashed like two alien worlds. The reason for this late mutual acquaintance may be sought partly in natural events, as in the fact that the channel which separates the island from the continent is shallow and perilous to navigation, and in that the whole region is the center of typhoons. On the part of the Formosans, the additional fact comes in that they were not and are not skilled seafarers, in contradistinction to their relatives. No Formosan word referring to boat-gear agrees with any Malayan

word; their national vessel is still the raft.¹ We hear nothing of ships and maritime enterprises, and it is strange indeed that they never visited the neighboring Chinese coast. This is one of the chief reasons which incline me to think that the tribe which, according to the "Sung-shih," made a piratical move toward Fuhkien at the end of the twelfth century, can not well have been of Formosan origin. If we now consider the only possible way which emigration to Formosa could have taken place—that is, from the Philippines—there is no longer any reason for wondering why the Pi-sia-ye should not have come from the same direction. Formosa can have been populated only from that region; not, however, as the result of a bold seafaring enterprise, but rather, it would seem, through several accidental adventures. In this connection the following incident may be instructive. In August, 1886, some fishermen in the neighborhood of Anping (now Tainan, southwest Formosa) picked up a castaway canoe in which there were three men, two women, and a child in a starving condition. They proved to be natives of an island to the north of Luzon, who had been blown to sea in a typhoon, and had ultimately drifted to the shores of Formosa, having been thirteen days without food, and dependent on rain water for drink.² It seems to me quite conceivable that in times gone by people may have thus drifted repeatedly to Formosa from the Philippines, especially from Luzon, making a series of emigrations which finally led to the settlement of the island. Such casual drifting was perhaps the case also with the Pi-sia-ye, who reached Formosa first,

¹C. Imbault-Huart, *L'île Formose* (Paris, 1893), p. 273. Some tribes may have formerly possessed canoes also.

²The following case, recorded by Davidson (*The Island of Formosa*, p. 580), also deserves mention in this connection. The Riru tribe of the Kirai district of the northern Ami (in southeast Formosa) state that their forefathers originally lived in an island to the east of Formosa. One man, called Tipots, and his family were out at sea in two canoes when a terrific gale arose, sweeping them away from their home-land and wrecking them on the coast of Formosa, where they built houses and gave life to the present Riru tribe. This tribe possesses an old canoe which they claim is the model of the one used by their forefathers. At present the village people once a year put the canoe into the sea and mimic the landing of their ancestors. After this ceremony they worship spirits of their departed ancestors. A more fanciful tradition is to the effect that their ancestors came from over the sea on the back of a large tortoise. "Thus it would appear," concludes Davidson, "that the traditions of the north Ami describe comparatively recent occurrences and are in the main very possible, if not probable."

and then, driven away by inhospitable natives,¹ turned to the shores of China. I think that in this manner a rational explanation of the event may be given. The account of the "Sung shih" is certainly incomplete and abrupt; but how should the Chinese, then entirely ignorant of the far-off Philippine Archipelago, have obtained a more detailed knowledge of a handful of people who paid only a flying and hostile visit to their coast? But the brief sketch of them showing their craving for iron, their mode of fighting, their bold Viking raid, is an ethnographical document of great impressiveness. If the identification of Pi-sia-ye with Visaya is justified, we have here the oldest historical allusion extant to a tribal movement and event of the Philippines.

A special section in the "Ming shih" is devoted to the Malayan tribe of the *P'ing-ka-shi-lan*, which I identify with the Pangasinan, who inhabit the western and southern shores of the Bay of Lingayen, on Luzon. Before the Conquest their territory extended much farther northward, but they were gradually repulsed by the Ilocanos. Since 1572 they have been subjected to the Spaniards, and at the present time they are all Catholics.² According to the Chinese records as preserved in the "Ming shih" (chap. 323, p. 20), they seem to have formed a small realm of their own in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Their first embassy to China mentioned was despatched in 1406 to the court of the Emperor Yung-lo, whom they presented with excellent horses, silver, and other objects. In return they received paper money and silks. Their second embassy falls two years later, in 1408; and a third was sent in 1410. In the former of these last two embassies the chieftain appeared personally with a large retinue, having selected two men from each village subject to his authority, each of whom led a number of his tribal clan to bring tribute to the court. The Emperor bestowed paper money (*ch'ao*) on the two sub-chiefs, and six pieces of an open-work variegated silk fabric for coats and linings for a group of a hundred men. Their followers also received gifts. In the same year, 1410, another embassy from the Philippines is mentioned, the

¹Compare especially chapter ix in Davidson's book, "Wrecks and Outrages on Navigators." It must be also remarked that the communication between Formosa and Luzon had no difficulties. According to Davidson (p. 563), the present plains tribes of Formosa, once in prosperous and powerful circumstances, formerly crossed the Bashee Channel to the south and maintained communication with Luzon. The traveling distance from Formosa to Manila is given by the Chinese to be 60 "watches" (*k'eng*), *i. e.*, 6 days and nights (*Ming shih*, chap. 323, p. 18 b).

²F. Blumentritt, Versuch einer Ethnographie der Philippinen, pp. 21-22.

head of which was a high official called Ko-ch'a-lao. He brought with him the products of his country, particularly gold. The natives therefore must be credited with the exploitation of gold before the advent of the Spaniards.¹ This becomes evident also from a passage in the "Wu hsio pien," a history of the Ming dynasty published in 1575. It is quoted in the "Tung hsi yang k'ao" (chap. 5, p. 1) as follows: "Luzon produces gold, which is the reason of its wealth; the people are simple-minded, and do not like to go to law."

As to how far the political influence of the Chinese extended over the Philippines in prehispanic times, we have only scanty information. The "Ming shih" (chap. 323, p. 11 a) relates on this point that in 1405 the Emperor Yung-lo sent a high officer to Luzon, who was to govern the country. The result of his visit was the embassy from Luzon under Ko-ch'a-lao in the same year. How long Yung-lo's delegate remained on the island and of what character his jurisdiction was are not narrated, but it is not at all incredible that the ambitious Yung-lo exercised a kind of supremacy, or at least claimed a prerogative of protection, over the Philippine Islands; for since its establishment the rule of the Ming dynasty has been characterized by a tendency toward expansion, from a desire to extend its fame over land and sea to the farthest extremities of the world.

In Yung-lo's time the Chinese started an extensive exploration of the Indian Ocean. In 1407 the eunuch Chêng-ho undertook a memorable expedition, accompanied by a fleet of sixty-two large ships, carrying 27,800 soldiers; and on his crusades, repeated several times in a space of about thirty years, he visited a number of countries in the Indian Ocean as far as the Arabian Gulf, and obtained the nominal allegiance of their rulers. For this reason the "Ming shih" abounds in geographical and ethnological descriptions of all Asiatic countries and peoples from Central Asia to Asia Minor.

Then Vasco da Gama had not yet navigated around the Cape of Good Hope; no European sail had yet been visible on the Pacific and Indian oceans, of which the Chinese and the Arabs were the unrestricted masters and the only representatives of an immense trade. It therefore seems not impossible that in that great age of maritime discoveries the enterprising Emperor had cast his eyes Philipineward and had won a temporary nominal suzerainty over the native tribes of Luzon.

¹Compare M. Sonnerat, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales et à la Chine* (Paris, 1782), vol. II, p. 114. Also De Morga mentions native gold-mines.

Some of the older Spanish authors also entertained the view that the Philippines were once subject to Chinese rule; and Father Gaubil relates in the *Lettres édifiantes* that Yung-lo maintained a fleet with thirty thousand men, which sailed to Manila at various times.

It was in 1571 that the Spaniards and Chinese met for the first time at Mindoro, before Legazpi, the conqueror of the Philippines, undertook his expedition to Manila.¹ That there was a colony of Chinese on Luzon before the arrival of the Spaniards, there can be no doubt, as it is clearly stated also in the "Ming shih" (chap. 323, p. 11 b), which says that "formerly the people of Fuhkien lived there because the place was conveniently near. They were traders of abundant means, ten thousand in number, who, as a rule, took up a long residence there, and did not return home until their sons and grandsons had grown up. When, however, the Franks snatched away this country, the Spanish king despatched a chief to suppress the Chinese. As he was concerned lest they might revolt, he expelled many of them. All those remaining had to suffer from his encroachments and insults."

According to the Ming Annals (chap. 323, p. 11 a) it was about the commencement of the Wan-li period (*i. e.*, 1573) that the Franks made their first appearance in Philippine waters. There is a curious tradition reported by the Chinese chronicler in connection with the first settlement of the Spaniards and their foundation of the city of Manila. This tradition runs as follows: "The Spanish Franks surpassed the people of Luzon in strength, and for a long time interchanged commerce with them. When they perceived that the country was weak and could be occupied, they bestowed rich presents on the king and demanded a plot of land as big as an ox-hide for building houses and living there. The king did not suspect any trickery, and assented. These men thereupon cut the hide of an ox into narrow strips, pieced these together until they extended the length of a thousand fathoms, and in this way encompassed the whole land of Luzon, which they then claimed, in accordance with their agreement. The king was exceedingly taken aback; but, as he had already given his promise, there was no way out of it but to yield to their demand. Thus these men obtained the land, erected houses, and built a city, where they planted firearms and safeguarded it against the attacks of highwaymen. Finally they took advantage of the king's unpreparedness, came upon him unawares, killed him

¹ F. Blumentritt, *Die Chinesen auf den Philippinen* (Leitmeritz, 1879), p. 1.

and his people, and took their country, the name of which was thenceforth 'Luzon-Spanish-Franks.'"¹

In this tradition a repetition of the classic story of the ruse of Queen Dido in connection with the foundation of Carthage will be recognized at once (see Appendix). That the Chinese tradition regarding the occupation of Manila, however, is not quite without foundation in some details, may readily be seen by a comparison with the Spanish account of Antonio de Morga, whose "Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas" was published in Mexico in 1609.² At the Bay of Manila the Spaniards found two fortified towns separated by a large river, each in possession of a chief. The Spaniards entered the town by force of arms, and took it, together with the forts and artillery, on the day of Santa Potenciana (the 19th of May, 1571), upon which the natives and their chiefs gave in and submitted, and many others of the same island of Luzon did the same.³ Then the commander-in-chief, Legazpi, hurried to the scene from Panay and established a town on the very site of Manila, which the chief presented to the Spaniards for that purpose. In the words of De Morga, *he took what land was sufficient for the city.*

After 1410 no further relations of China with the Islands are recorded until 1576, in which year an imperial army was forced to fight against the corsair *Lin Tao-k'ien* or *Lin-fung*.⁴ The inhabitants of the Philippines took an active part in the suppression of the rebels, and, in recognition of the service rendered to them by China, sent an embassy which traveled by way of Fuhkien. The speaker

¹ The *Tung hsi yang k'ao* (chap. 5, p. 1 b), after relating the same story, has the following in addition: "The King of Yü-ssü la (Islas, *i. e.*, Spain) despatched a chieftain to guard the place. After several years a change in the government took place. The Chinese who formerly traded with Luzon now do their business with the Franks. The Chinese go to Manila in great numbers, traveling to and fro. Those who make a long stay and do not return home are called *Ya-tung* (Cantonese, *At-tung*; literally, 'pressing the winter'). They live crowded together in the *Kan* (*i. e.*, the *parian* of the Spaniards). The number of those born there has gradually increased to tens of thousands. Occasionally there are found among the elder sons and grandsons those who cut off their hair." De Morga remarks that the Christians among the Chinese differ only in that they cut their hair short, and wear hats, as do the Spaniards.

² English translation by Lord Stanley, published by the Hakluyt Society (London, 1868). It is this edition to which reference is made in this paper. A new translation has just been issued by Blair and Robertson in two volumes (Cleveland, 1907).

³ De Morga, p. 18.

⁴ By Spanish authors he is called *Limahon*, from the Amoy pronunciation, *Lim-hong*.

of this delegation was a Mohammedan, who probably made himself understood in Arabic through Chinese Mohammedan interpreters, as, add the Annals, was also the custom in Corea.

In 1571, three years after its foundation, Manila was attacked and nearly taken by Lin-fung. The city was saved only by the valor of the hero Salcedo. This event was recorded at great length by the Augustinian monk Fray Gaspar, in his "Conquista de las islas Filipinas," which appeared in Madrid in 1698.¹ The "Ming shih" alludes to Lin-fung only once, in the passage above quoted; but the Chinese Annals of the province of Fuhkien, the Chronicle of Chang-chou, and the "Hai kuo t'u chi"² give fuller accounts of his piratical enterprises. The Spanish embassy mentioned in the "Ming shih" as having arrived after the expulsion of the corsair is confirmed by the Spanish documents of the time. The governor, Labezares, considered it his principal task to entertain peaceable and amicable relations with an empire whose pirates alone were able to slatter the Spanish possessions in Asia. He was led to such a policy still more by commercial considerations. The commander of an imperial Chinese war vessel, who had been sent out from Chang-chou to look after Limahon and who was charmed with the chivalrous character and the generosity of the Spaniards, offered to take Spanish envoys over to China in his ship. This embassy consisted of two military officers and two Augustinian friars. The instructions given by Labezares to this mission are not without a tinge of modern politics. He declared to the Viceroy of Fuhkien that the Spaniards were animated by the desire to live on friendly terms with the Chinese Empire, and to promote commerce between the two peoples. He requested that missionaries be admitted into the empire, and particularly that a Chinese port be ceded to Spain, whence, like Portugal in Macao, she could trade undisturbed with China; the envoys to pay attention to the customs and manners of the Chinese, and especially to study what articles of merchandise were best suited for interchange between China and the Philippines and what industrial products of Spain and her colonies would promise a fair market in China. This man, Labezares, was evidently more than three centuries ahead of his time. The embassy was unsuccessful in effecting its object, although it humiliated itself so far as to perform the kotow before the viceroy, and returned to Manila in 1575, accompanied by three Chinese captains who had come to bring Limahon

¹ F. Blumentritt, loc. cit., pp. 5-16.

² A geographical work published in 1844 (Wylie, Notes on Chinese Literature, p. 66).

in chains back to their country. These officers carried rich presents to the governor from the Viceroy of Fuhkien. Meanwhile, however, Dr. Francisco de Sande had succeeded Labezares as "Gobernador." The very learned but also conceited Dr. Sande now claimed these presents for himself, while the Chinese declared they were authorized to deliver them only to Labezares. The pride of Sande was sensibly hurt by this little incident, and from that day he showed such an antipathy toward everything Chinese that he endangered the interests of the Spanish Crown by his narrow-minded policy with regard to China.

Fray Gaspar relates that in 1576 a Chinese war junk arrived at Manila with a despatch from the Viceroy of Fuhkien, in which it was stated that the Emperor had read all the Spanish letters of Labezares, and consented to cede to the Spaniards an island between Canton and Pakian under the same conditions as Macao had been turned over to the Portuguese. *This account meets with no confirmation in the Chinese annals.* Sande did not accept this offer, and offended the Chinese ambassadors by not reciprocating the presents sent to him from the Emperor. The brightest idea that dawned on him was to saddle on the returning embassy two monks, who, however, never saw the shores of China. The Chinese had humor enough to unload this clerical ballast at Bolinao, soon after sailing from Manila.

Sande conceived the daring plan of conquering China by force of arms, and deluged King Philip II with a mass of alluring reports depicting in glowing colors the feasibility of such a scheme. These form fascinating reading matter, and are now easily accessible in the fourth volume of Blair's and Robertson's monumental work, "The Philippine Islands." Philip II flatly rejected this project, and ordered Sande to further amicable relations with China; and since that time Spain has taken no further political action toward China.

The *first* great political event related in the "Ming shih" is the rebellion of the Chinese *P'an Ho-wu* in 1593, who stabbed the then Spanish governor, or, as the Annals call him, chieftain, Don Perez Gomez das Mariñas. His name is preserved in Chinese under the form Lang Lei Pi-li Mi-lao, and that of his son as Lang Lei Mao-lin, which is intended for Don Luis das Mariñas. "Lang" is a term of respect, meaning a "gentleman" generally, and evidently represents a translation of the Spanish "Don," while "Lei" seems to stand for Luiz, "Pi-li" for Perez, and "Mi-lao" or "Mao-lin" for Mariñas. The Chinese account of this incident reads as follows:

In the 8th month of the 21st year of the period Wan-li (1593), when the chieftain Don Perez Gomez das Mariñas undertook a raid on the Moluccas,

he employed two hundred and fifty Chinese to assist him in the combat. It was P'an Ho-wu who was their lieutenant. The savages lay down, drowsy, in the daytime and commanded the Chinese to row the ship. As they were somewhat lazy, they were suddenly beaten with a whip, so that several of them died. Ho-wu said, "Let us revolt and die in that way. Should we submit to being flogged to death or suffer any other such ignominious death? Should we not rather die in battle? Let us stab this chieftain to death and save our lives. If we are victorious, let us hoist the sails and return to our country. If we should succumb and be fettered, it will be time enough then to die!" Then all of them at night stabbed the chieftain to death, and, seizing his head, shouted in a loud voice at the savages, who were frightened and arose, not knowing what was going on. They were all killed with the sword. Several fell into the water and died. Ho-wu and the others took possession of their gold, valuables, and military armor. Then they prepared the ship for their return, but lost their way, and proceeded to Annam, where they were robbed by the people of that country. Wei-kuo, Wei-t'ai, and thirty-two other men, being near to another ship, seized it; and when they returned (ashore), the chieftain's son, Lang Lei Mao-lin (Don Luis Perez das Mariñas), who stopped at So-wu (*i. e.*, Cebu) learned of the affair from them. Leading his troops, he passed quickly on (to Manila), and dispatched to China a priest to state the wrong done to his father, with the request that the war junk, gold, and valuables be returned, and that those men who had incurred his enmity be executed, and thus offer retribution for his father's life. The (Chinese) governor, Hsü Fu-yüan, informed the governor-general of the two Kuang provinces of the matter through an official communication and politely sent the priest back. They pardoned Wei-t'ai for having arranged this matter. Ho-wu remained in Annam and did not venture to return. This was the first (Spanish) chieftain who had been slaughtered. Those of his division who came down to Manila expelled the Chinese into the outer part of the city. They demolished their huts; and when Mao-lin (Das Mariñas) returned he ordered them to build houses outside of the city, that they might live there together. It is reported that when some pirates once came from Japan, Mao-lin feared they might join with the Chinese, which he considered would be a calamity, and again decided to drive them out. Fu-yüan sent an envoy (to Manila) to invite the Chinese to come back (to China). The barbarians, however, provided the messengers with food for the voyage, and sent them home; for the Chinese merchants, from their love of profit, did not care to risk their lives, so for a long time they again dwelt together in the city.¹

Antonio de Morga,² after describing Mariñas' plan to conquer the Moluccas, thus narrates the events of the expedition:

The governor and those who accompanied him passed the time playing on the poop till the end of the first watch; and after he had gone into his cabin to rest, the other Spaniards went to their quarters for the same purpose, leav-

¹ The same event is briefly alluded to in another passage of the *Ming shih*, where the history of the Moluccas is narrated. In Groeneveldt's translation of this passage (Notes on the Malay Archipelago, p. 118), the erroneous rendering "Portuguese" must in each case be corrected into "Spaniards."

² The Philippine Islands (London, Hakluyt Society, 1868). p. 35.

ing the usual guards in the midship gangway and in the bows and stern. The Chinese rowers three days back had agreed to rise up and seize the galley whenever they should find a favorable opportunity, from a desire to save themselves the labor of rowing on this expedition, or from coveting the money, jewels, and other articles of value on board, as it seemed to them ill to lose what was offered to their hands. They had provided themselves with candles and white shirts, and had appointed some of their number as chiefs for the execution of the plan; and they carried it out that same night, in the last watch before dawn, when they perceived that the Spaniards slept. At a signal which one of them gave, at the same moment all put on their shirts and lit their candles, and with their *catans* in their hands they at once attacked the guards and those that slept in the quarters and in the wales ("arrumbadas," planks or frames on which soldiers sleep), and, wounding and killing, they seized upon the galley. But few Spaniards escaped—some by swimming to land, others in the boat which was at the stern. The governor, when he heard the noise in his cabin and perceived that the galley was dragging, and that the rabble was cutting down the awning and was taking to the oars, hurried out carelessly, and his head being unprotected at the hatchway of the cabin, a few Chinese who were watching for him there, split his head with a *catan*. He fell, wounded, down the stairs into his cabin, and two servants whom he had within carried him to his bed, where he died immediately. The same fate met the servants, who were stabbed through the hatch. The only Spaniards that remained alive in the galley were Juan de Cuellar, secretary of the governor, and Padre Montilla, of the order of Saint Francis, who slept in a cabin amidship; and they stayed there without coming out; and the Chinese did not dare to go in, thinking that there were more Spaniards, until next day, when they took them out, and let them go on the coast of Ylocos, of the island of Luzon itself, in order that the natives might let them take water on shore, of which they were short.

The Spaniards who were in the other vessels, close to land, although they perceived from their ships the lights and the noise in the galley, thought it was some maneuver that was being executed; and when afterwards they knew, after a short space, through those who escaped, swimming, what had happened, they could give no assistance, and remained quiet, as everything was lost, and they were few in number, and not in sufficient force. So they waited till morning, and when it dawned they saw the galley had already set the mainsail, and was sailing wind astern, returning to China, and they could not follow it.

As the wind served, the galley sailed all along the coast of the island until leaving it. It took in some water at the Ylocos, and left there the secretary and the friar. It [the galley] attempted to cross to China, and not being able to fetch it, brought up at the Kingdom of Cochin China, where the King of Tunquin took from them what was in the galley, and two large pieces of artillery which had been embarked for the expedition to Maluco, and the royal standard, and all the jewels, money, and precious things, and left the galley to go ashore on the coast. The Chinese dispersed, and fled to different provinces. The governor, Gomez Perez, met with this disastrous death, with which the enterprise and expedition to Maluco, which he had undertaken, ceased also. Thus his government ended, after he had held it for little more than three years.

* * * In Manila the seizure of the galley and death of the governor became known very shortly, and with this astounding news the townspeople and the men-at-arms, who had remained there, met together in the house of the licentiate, Pedro de Rojas, to treat of what it was fitting to do; and first of all to elect him as governor and captain-general; and then they sent Captain Juan Ronquillo del Castillo, with other captains, in two frigates (for there was no other vessel) in pursuit of the galley; which was fruitless, for they never saw it. In like manner the governor sent to Don Luys Dasmariñas, and to the fleet and army, which was in Pintados waiting for Gomez Perez, advising them of his death, and of what had happened, and of the new election which had fallen upon him for the government, and ordered them to come with all speed to Manila, which was left very much deserted, and without the necessary precautions for anything that might occur.

If the death of the governor, Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, was unfortunate, as much for the loss of him personally as for such a good opportunity having been lost for the conquest of Terrenate, the success of which expedition was held to be certain, the return of the fleet and arrival of the troops in the city was none the less a fortunate event; since not many days later (anticipating the usual time for their navigation), a quantity of ships from China came to Manila with many men on board and little merchandise, and seven mandarins with the insignia of their office. This gave sufficient motive for suspicion that they had had notice of the departure of the fleet to Maluco, and of the city having remained defenceless, and that on this occasion they came to attempt to take the country; from which they desisted when they found the city with more troops than ever, and they returned without showing any particular motive which had brought them, and without any sign of consciousness being given by one side or other. Only the governor, Don Luys, was on the alert and very watchful, and took the proper arrangements, especially with respect to the Chinese and their quarters and parian.

Whilst Don Luys Dasmariñas governed, the suspicions and fear *continued with respect to Japan*, and people lived in anxiety as to that, and on account of the Chinese. The governor sent his cousin, Don Fernando de Castro, to China with letters and dispatches to the Viceroy of Canton and the Viceroy of Chincheo, where it was understood that there were many of the Chinese who had seized upon the galley and killed the governor, Gomez Perez. Supposing that they had gone there with it, a request was made for the guilty to be given up for punishment, and that the royal standard, artillery, and the other things which they had carried off should be restored. This was not obtained, because, as the galley went to Cochin China and the Chinese dispersed in so many directions, it could not be effected, though at the end of a few days a few of the guilty Chinese were brought from Malacca to Manila, whom the captain-major, Francisco de Silva de Menezes, had found there. From these it was known more accurately what had passed with respect to the seizure of the galley and death of the governor, and justice was done upon them.

The fuller account of Antonio de Morga agrees fairly well with the concise Chinese report, except that De Morga neglects to mention the cruel maltreatment of the Chinese sailors, and adduces no other reason for their revolt than their craving for treasure. The

Chinese embassy which he credits with the plan of taking Manila is of course identical with the peaceable envoy of the "Ming shih," whose task it was to bring his countrymen back to China. In this, as in subsequent cases, we find the Spaniards, in their dealings with the Chinese, misinterpreting their motives of action, and in consequence doing them injury and injustice. This was due chiefly to their ignorance of the language and to their lack of well-trained interpreters. From other temporary Spanish records it also becomes evident that Das Mariñas fell a victim to his own rashness and inconsiderateness. He had a large army ready to conquer the Moluccas, but was not able to secure rowers enough for his galleys. He therefore seized by force any Chinese in the parian of Manila he could lay hold of and had them chained to the banks of oars on the galleys. Most of these wretched victims were peaceable merchants and artisans. Besides these, he forced into his service as soldiers a number of Chinese traders and sailors who had just arrived from China. His murder is fixed by the Spanish chroniclers as having taken place on the night of October 25-26, 1593, which tallies exactly with the statement of the "Ming shih;" also the facts there told of the mission of Luis das Mariñas to China to ask indemnity for his slain father are confirmed by the Spanish authors. He returned without having effected his purpose; but the Portuguese gobernador of Malacca sent some of the murderers who had been caught there to Manila, where they were executed. It will be observed that the simple accounts of the Chinese are not valueless either in corroborating or in supplementing the Spanish records, and put in a much clearer and better light the true motives of the Chinese people, which could be but imperfectly understood by the Spaniards of those times.

An instructive example of how myth sometimes develops from history is furnished by Juan de la Concepcion, whose voluminous "Historia General de Filipinas" appeared at Manila in 1788-'92, in fourteen volumes. His account of the Chinese mutiny in 1593 is partial and one-sided. In speaking of the death of the governor, he says the Chinese split his head in two with their *alfanges*. He retired severely wounded, lay down on his bed, took the prayer-book of his order in his hands and an "imagen de Nuestra Señora y con estos consuelos de su piedad, dió su alma al Señor." The older sources relate nothing of such a touching scene, but agree in saying that his head was cut off at a blow.

From an historical point of view, the cruelty of Das Mariñas toward the Chinese, and his death, which resulted from it, form

important factors in the long line of relations between China and the West and the opening act in a deplorable series of unjust wars and inhuman outrages. This event, no doubt, must have left a deep and lasting impression on the minds of the Chinese world and furnished good grounds for their prejudices against foreigners. And not only that: the Spanish system of treating the Chinese became the model of the Chinese in their treatment of foreigners. This is expressly stated by an English writer, who remarked seventy years ago,¹ "That the Chinese authorities are not entirely ignorant of the situation of their countrymen at Manila, we infer from the well-attested fact that the system which they have long been endeavoring to impose upon foreigners here [in China] has been borrowed from the Spanish Government. We are informed on the very best authority that Pwankequa, the father of a late well-known senior *Hong* merchant and grandfather of him who bears the same name now, saw there the harsh treatment inflicted on the Chinese in order to keep them in subjection, and marked it as a 'model and motive' to be acted on, after his return to Canton. He was a man of considerable influence in regard to all measures concerning foreigners, and the restriction on their privileges which he caused to be introduced have been gradually becoming more severe since the middle of the last century."

Indeed, if we would fully grasp the innermost causes of the Boxer rebellion, we must go back to the history of the relations of the Spaniards to the Chinese in the Philippines.

When the famous governor, Pedro de Acuña, arrived at Manila, in 1602, trade with China had reached its climax. Yearly thirteen to fourteen thousand merchants assembled at a kind of fair, when with the spring monsoons the large junks came from China. Silks and nankeens, porcelain, copper and iron, besides many other products, were exchanged for Mexican silver. At that time there were, according to Argensola, thirty thousand Chinese settled in Manila.² This prosperity was destined not to last, however, for in the following year there appeared in Manila a Chinese mission in search of an *El Dorado*, an expedition which, though it deserves a place among the wildest and most visionary of quests after gold, yet was fraught with the greatest consequences for the Chinese inhabitants of the country. The story would have a humorous tinge were it not for the fact that the folly of one man cost the lives of twenty-five thousand.

¹*Chinese Repository* (1834), vol. II, p. 350.

²F. Blumentritt, *Die Chinesen auf den Philippinen*, p. 23.

Antonio de Morga, an eye-witness, gives an interesting and graphic account of these events in his temporary records.¹ It reads as follows:

In the month of this year of 1603 there entered into the Bay of Manila a ship from Great China, in which, as the sentinels announced, there came three great mandarins, with their insignia as such, and they came out of the ship and entered the city with their suite. They went straight, in chairs carried on men's shoulders, very curiously made of ivory and fine woods and gilding, to the royal buildings of the High Court, where the governor was waiting for them with a large suite of captains, and soldiers throughout the house and in the streets where they had to pass. When they arrived at the doors of the royal buildings, they were set down from their chairs, and entered on foot, leaving in the street their banners, equipage, lances, and other insignia of much state which they had brought; and went as far as a large hall, well fitted up, where the governor received them standing up, the mandarins making many low bows and courtesies after their fashion, and the governor answering them in his. They told him, by means of the interpreters, that the king had sent them, with a Chinaman whom they had brought with them in chains, to see with their own eyes an island of gold, which he had informed their king was named Cabit,² and was close to Manila, which was in the possession of no one; and that he had asked the king for a quantity of ships, and that he would bring them back laden with gold; and if it was not as he had stated, let them punish him with death; and they had come to ascertain the truth of the matter, and to inform their king of it. The governor replied to them in few words beyond giving them a welcome, and inviting them to rest in two houses which had been prepared for them within the city, where they and their people could lodge, and that their business would be talked of later. Upon this they went out again from the royal buildings, and at the door mounted their chairs on the shoulders of their servants, who wore colored clothing, and they were carried to their lodgings, where the governor ordered them to be abundantly provided with whatever they required for their maintenance during the time of their stay.

The arrival of these mandarins seemed suspicious, and [it was thought] that they came with a different intention from that which they announced, because, for people of so much understanding as the Chinese possess, to say that the king sent them on this business seemed to be a fiction. Amongst the Chinese themselves, who came to Manila about the same time with eight merchant ships, and those who were established in the city, it was said that these man-

¹ Hakluyt edition, p. 217.

² That is, Cavite, called in the writings of the Chinese Chia-i (in Cantonese, Kia-yit), which is the city of Cavite. The *Tung hsi yang k'ao* (chap. 5, p. 3 b) remarks that it was originally only a mountain, and that the Spaniards had founded a city there from fear of the Red-haired (*i. e.*, the Dutch), and concealed gingals behind the walls; in case pirates appeared, they repulsed them by means of these gingals, but did not venture to oppose them in open attack. According to the same passage, the mountain Ki-i shan mentioned by Chang-Yi as the gold mountain is a mistake for Kia-i or Kia-yit, and would therefore be identical with the mountains around Cavite. This agrees perfectly with the statement of De Morga.

darins came to see the country and its condition, because the king wished to break off relations with the Spaniards, and to send a large fleet before the year was out, with a hundred thousand men, to take the country.

The governor and High Court were of opinion that they should be watchful in guarding the city, and that these mandarins should be handsomely treated, but that they should not go outside of the city, nor be allowed to administer justice (as they were beginning to do among the Sangley¹ men), at which they felt some regret: they were desired to treat of their business, and then return shortly to China, without the Spaniards letting themselves appear conscious or suspicious of anything else than what the mandarins gave out. The mandarins had another interview with the governor, and he said to them more clearly, and making rather a joke of their coming, that it caused amazement that their king should have believed what that Chinaman they had got with them had said; and that even had there been in truth any such gold in the Philippines, the Spaniards would let it be carried away, the country belonging as it did to His Majesty. The mandarins replied that they understood well what the governor explained to them, but that their king had bid them come, and they were bound to obey him, and bring him an answer, and that, having done their business, they had fulfilled their duty and would return. The governor, to shorten the matter, sent the mandarins with their prisoner and servants to Cabit, which is the port, two leagues from the city, where they were received with many discharges of artillery, which were fired at the time they disembarked, at which they showed much fear and timidity; and when they landed they asked the prisoner if that was the island of which he had spoken to the king. He answered that it was. They asked him where was the gold. He replied that all that they saw there was gold, and that he would make it good with his king. They put other questions to him, and he always made the same answers, and all was taken down in writing, in the presence of some Spanish captains who were there with private interpreters; and when the mandarins had ordered a basketful of earth to be taken from the ground, to carry it to the King of China; and when they had eaten and rested, they returned the same day to Manila with the prisoner. The interpreters said that this prisoner had said, when hard pressed by the mandarins to answer to the purpose the questions they put to them, that what he had meant to say to the King of China was, that there was much gold and wealth in the possession of the Spaniards and natives of Manila, and that if a fleet and men were given him, he offered, as a man who had been in Luzon and knew the

¹ The Chinese were called by the Spaniards Sangleyes, derived from a word of the Amoy-dialect, "seng-li," trade. Each Chinese had to pay a head-tax "tribute," not to a Spanish official, but to his "capitan," who was a kind of mayor over the parian, called capitan de sangleyes, or alcalde mayor, and enjoyed a high authority among his countrymen. The wealthy Chinese would pay the tribute for their poor fellowmates. It was the principle of the Spaniards not to meddle with the inner affairs of the parian; the capitan represented the mediator between the Spanish authorities and the Chinese population. Sangley means only "trader, merchant," not "class of merchants," as Schott makes out in a note to Jagor's *Reisen in den Philippinen* (p. 272), nor "itinerant dealers," as Blumentritt (*Chinesen auf den Philippinen*, p. 18) explains after Barrantes.

country, to take it, and bring back the ships laden with gold and riches. This, together with what the Chinese had said at first, seemed of much importance, especially so to Don Fray Miguel de Benavides, archbishop-elect of Manila, who knew the language, and that it went much further than what the mandarins had implied. The archbishop, therefore, and other monks, warned the governor and the city, publicly and secretly, to look to its defense, because they held it as certain that a fleet from China would shortly come against it. The governor at once dispatched the mandarins and put them on board their ship with their prisoner, having given them a few presents of silver and other articles, with which they were pleased. Although, according to the opinion of the greater number of the townspeople, the coming of the Chinese against the country was a thing very contrary to reason, yet the governor began in a covered manner to make preparation of ships and other things for the purpose of defense; and he hastened to complete considerable repairs which he had begun to make in the fort of Santiago, at the point of the river, constructing a wall with its buttresses in the inner part of which looks to the parade, of much strength for the defense of the fort.

After the departure of the mandarins, suspicion against the Chinese constantly increased, and an uprising against Spanish rule was imputed to them—a charge heralded, first of all, by the influential clergy, but which was not justified by any plausible arguments. The well-to-do class of the Chinese population had certainly no mind to stake their lives and hard-earned property in a revolution. The preservation of the Spanish possession of Manila was a point of the most vital interest to them, for only under such conditions could they be enabled to amass wealth. If the Philippines should ever come under Chinese sway, trade with the Spaniards would naturally cease, and thus their means of subsistence be cut off. It was only the over-hasty initiative steps and the oppressive measures of the colonial government which incited the Chinese, first of all the proletarian class, to put an end to the unsafe situation by a general riot, into which finally the patricians were also forced, under pressure of a preposterous policy enforced by the mailed fist of the Spaniards.

Since 1598 Manila had also had a colony of Japanese.¹ Acuña summoned the Japanese nobles, and laid before them the question as to what part they would take in case of a Chinese insurrection. Their response was, already known to Acuña, that they would fight by the side of the Spaniards. This secret understanding was promulgated in the parian, where it provoked an indescribable panic. Part of the traders fled, but the majority were ready to kill the

¹ An interesting passage extracted from a Japanese work of travel, and relating to the life of Japanese on Luzon, will be found in the *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, new series (1865), vol. II, pp. 79-80.

Spaniards rather than have the hands of the Spaniards laid on them. In vain now were Acuña's efforts to restore peace. It was already an open secret that the Chinese had fixed the uprising for Saint Francis Day (October 4). A Tagal woman had learned this from her Chinese husband, and betrayed it to her father-confessor, who, of course, had nothing more urgent to do than to inform the Gobernador. Fierce combats during eighteen days followed between the Spaniards and the Chinese, which are full of romantic incident and teeming with merciless massacres. The lives of twenty-three thousand Chinese, according to the Spanish accounts, were sacrificed in the name of His Most Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, and twenty-five thousand according to the "Ming shih;" but in 1604 Chinese trade again flourished, and in 1605 six thousand Chinese again inhabited the parian.¹

Let us now turn to the account of the Ming Annals, which runs thus:

In 1602 two adventurers, Yen Ying-lung and Chang-Yi, came forward with the assertion that there was a mountain, Ki-i-shan, on Luzon containing gold and silver ore. An exploitation of these mines, so they said, might yield yearly ten thousand taels, or ounces, of gold and thirty thousand taels of silver. This rumor reached the ears of the Emperor Wan-li, who issued an edict that a commission be sent to Manila to verify the truth of this startling news. The court was highly amazed at this decree; and the President of the Imperial Censorate in Peking, Wên Shun-su, was bold enough to memorialize the Throne, and to attempt to dissuade the Emperor from such an erratic act.² He clearly set forth the danger of the Emperor's eccentric plan, and pointed out that it would provoke the Spaniards to acts of aggression. "I have heard," he said, "that the city of Hai-ch'êng has a highly developed maritime trade, which amounts to at least thirty thousand taels a year. Its inhabitants make every effort to seek commercial advantages, and it would therefore be utterly unreasonable to sail over the sea to Ki-yi, where I am sure gold and silver are not everywhere to be found, and to employ people there to mine the gold. The disadvantage arising from the carrying out of the imperial

¹ F. Blumentritt, *Die Chinesen auf den Philippinen*, pp. 26-29.

² The Censorate is one of the most curious institutions of administration in China. It is, so to say, a substitute for our modern idea of a constitution. The censors exercise a certain supervision over all deeds of court and provincial officials, and freely denounce to the Emperor any defects in their conduct. They receive, for delivery to the Emperor, appeals either of the people against their officials or of officials against their superiors, and they even have the right to accuse the sovereign and to send him warnings and admonitions. They are inviolable, and cannot be called to account for their official doings. Among the memorials of Chinese censors to the Throne, we find a great many documents which breathe a dauntlessness and frankness of speech worthy of a Cato.

decree is extremely great, and calamities and crimes would be sure to follow the dispatch of an army there."¹

The governor of Fuhkien was not inclined to go himself, but, compelled by the imperial decree, dispatched the assistant district magistrate of Hai-ch'eng (in Chang-chou fu, Fuhkien), named Wang Shih-ho, with a hundred individuals from the same city, to go to Luzon, together with Chang-Yi, to investigate the matter. When the Spaniards heard the news they were terror-stricken. The Chinese, who had a temporary residence there, thus addressed the envoys: "The Imperial Court has really no other intention than that such perverse evil-doers shall breed trouble!" When the governor came to understand a little the intention of their visit, he ordered the clergy to scatter flowers on the road which the imperial envoys would take, and to treat them with respect. He provided a large escort of soldiers to receive them. Shi-ho and his retinue entered the house of the governor, who entertained them with a feast, and after making inquiries, said, "The Imperial Court sends an embassy with the view of exploring our mountains. Each mountain has its owner. How will you explore them? There are mountains in China; could our country go there and open them? Furthermore, you speak of trees on which gold beans grow. Which is the tree that produces them?" Shih-ho could not answer, and looked at Chang-Yi. Chang-Yi replied, "This entire country is gold. Why is it necessary to inquire for beans?" All, without exception, burst out laughing, seized hold of Yi, and wanted to kill him. The Chinese all requested Shih-ho to return to China. He died heartbroken. The governor of Fuhkien was informed of this, and was requested to pass sentence on Yi for his wild speeches. In the meantime the Spaniards were suspicious that the Imperial Court was secretly planning to raid their country, and that the Chinese settlers were treacherously plotting to kill them. The next year the rumor was circulated that troops were to be detailed to take possession of the country. In consequence of this, prices in the iron market rose considerably. The Chinese, in their craving for profit, exhausted their supplies of iron, selling every inch in their possession. The governor issued an order to have the names of the Chinese registered, and divided them into groups of three hundred men, each group to reside in one building. The Spaniards broke into these houses and slew them. As their intentions thus became clear, the Chinese fled in large numbers to the outlying farms. The governor dispatched troops to attack the multitude. As they had no arms, they were killed. A great number took refuge in the mountains of the interior of Luzon (*Ta lun shan*). The savages followed them thither, assaulted them again, and killed a number. As the troops of the savages met with some resistance in the fight, the governor repented, and sent an envoy to deliberate concerning peace with them. The Chinese, suspecting this to be merely a pretext, threw the envoy down and killed him. The governor fell into a great passion, assembled his army, penetrated the city, and set an ambush, so that a great famine broke out among the Chinese near the city. They descended the hills, attacked the city, and suffered a decisive defeat from the division, which fell out of ambush. The total number of those killed in the successive battles amounted to twenty-five thousand. The governor, after holding an in-

¹History was to prove that his prediction was right; but at that moment, when the nation was maddened by a thirst for gold, no one paid any attention to the words of the clear-sighted censor.

quest, ordered that the property of all Chinese be plundered, which the soldiers did sincerely, knowing that treasures had been hoarded up by them. The Spaniards sent a letter to the governor of Fuhkien, saying that the Chinese had plotted a rebellion, but had failed in their plan, and that they had already requested the relatives of the dead to depart with their children. The governor, Hsü Hsio-ch'ü, promptly informed the Emperor of the revolt, who, in dismay and affliction, issued a decree that justice be administered to the instigators.

In 1604 (second month) the Emperor held a council, and said, "Yi and his accomplices have deceived the Imperial Court and bred quarrel beyond the sea, in which they caused the death by sword of twenty thousand wealthy merchants. This is a terrible disgrace to our country, and he must atone for this crime with his life. His head, hung on a pole, shall be sent over the sea to the chieftain of Luzon who dared kill the merchants." Accordingly the officials passed sentence on the criminal and made known the Imperial will to the governor, Hsio-ch'ü, who, in response, transmitted an official dispatch to Manila, censuring the perpetrators of the great slaughter and ordering the burial of the dead and the return of their wives and children. After that time the Chinese gradually flocked back to Manila; and the savages, seeing profit in the commerce with China, did not oppose them. For a long time they continued to gather again in the city.

So runs the account of the "Ming shih." We notice that not the slightest mention is made in it of an intended invasion of the Philippines, which existed merely in the imaginations of the frightened Spaniards. Even enlightened Spanish writers admit that the insurrection of the Chinese must be attributed to a panic on the part of the Spaniards which drove the Chinese into revolt. Several other Chinese books speak of this tremendous massacre. The local Chronicle of Hai-ch'êng states that eighty per cent of the Chinese slaughtered at Manila on the occasion were natives of that city, and the year in which it took place was one of dark foreboding, for in the same month a hurricane swept over Hai-ch'êng, which caused the river to rise so high that it flooded the country around and carried away part of the wall and fortifications of the city and drowned thousands of people, with their cattle and property. The Annals of T'ung-an, a city not far from Amoy, likewise mention this hurricane, and attribute it to the machinations of foreign priests at Manila. As we find that the principal instigator of the massacre was, to all appearances, the archbishop of Manila, Don Fray Miguel de Benavides, the historian of T'ung-an certainly comes very near the truth when he "smells a clergyman at the bottom of the affair."¹

The history of the Chinese on the Philippines up to modern times

¹ G. Phillips, Early Spanish Trade with Chin Cheo (*China Review*, vol. XIX, p. 254).

may now be briefly outlined.¹ In 1639 there was another great rebellion of the Chinese in Manila, still more obstinate and longer than that of 1603. In 1662 Chêng Ch'êng-kung, the famous pirate hero, known to the Spaniards and Portuguese as Kogseng or Koshinga (Koxinga), who drove the Dutch from Formosa and established a kingdom there that he might continue his struggle against the Manchu, sent a letter to the Gobernador de Lara in which he accused the Spaniards of suppressing the Chinese, and demanded that the governor submit to his rule immediately. Upon his failure to do so, the corsair stated that he would come to Manila with his entire force and wipe out the city. His threats caused a panic in Manila, but he died during the preparations for the expedition, and his son and successor to the throne of Formosa concluded a treaty of amity with the Spaniards. Their pent-up anger now burst forth in hatred toward the Sangleys, who were charged with having had an understanding with Koshinga. The parian was pillaged and its inhabitants killed or expelled. Nevertheless the Chinese appeared again, and their settlement was again tolerated. However great the hatred of the Spaniards and Filipinos toward them was, they were conscious of the fact that without Chinese trade and industry the Philippines could not exist. Since the seventeenth century the Philippines have been in decadence, owing to the decline of Spanish power. The consequence was that Manila lost its attractions for the big Chinese capitalists, who preferred to invest their money in the flourishing Dutch colonies, and that after the second half of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Chinese immigrants came from the lowest classes of the coast population of Kuangtung and Fuhkien—"poor devils," whose capital was made up of diligence and thrift only. In 1709 the Chinese were banished from Manila under the pretext that they were carrying off the public wealth; but they did not hesitate to come back again. In the course of the eighteenth century they settled down also in the smaller places on the island of Luzon. In 1747 a royal order for their final expulsion arrived from Madrid, the execution of which was suspended. When the British, in 1762, captured Manila and demanded the surrender of the Islands, the Chinese all joined the English. The governor, Señor Anda, then gave the order "All Chinese on the island to be hanged!" which was conscientiously carried into effect. Many Chinese retreated with the English, after they had returned Manila to the Spaniards on the conclusion of peace. Nevertheless the parian was populated

¹Compare F. Blumentritt, *Die Chinesen auf den Philippinen*, pp. 30-33.

again during the next years, though orders were issued from Madrid not to tolerate any settlement of Chinese at Manila. This, like all subsequent ordinances of Spain, was entirely futile in checking Chinese immigration, which continued, in fact, until the end of Spanish rule on the Islands.

That even the present Manchu dynasty still considered the Philippines as one of its tributary States appears from the official work, "Ta Ch'ing hui tien," the rules and regulations of this dynasty, in the section on "Court tribute" (*ch'ao kung*), in which the country of Luzon also figures among the vassals and tribute-bearers of China. It is stated there that it was conquered in the time of the Ming by the Franks, but the name remained unchanged. Trade was interdicted by K'ang-hsi, but resumed again under Yung-ch'eng.¹

Toward the middle and end of the eighteenth century a number of small geographical treatises appeared in China which attempt to study the geographical positions and conditions of the islands in the southeastern part of the Pacific by furnishing sailing directions to navigators and describing the peculiar features of the native tribes and foreign colonization. The Philippines were described repeatedly in this period. The most interesting of these little works is the "Hai tao yi chi," by Wang Ta-hai, published about 1791. The author had made a voyage to Batavia in a Chinese junk, and describes many of the Channel Islands from personal observation, and other countries from information gathered from various sources during his travels.² As an example of this literature, I will give an abstract of a pamphlet entitled "Records of Manila," written by Huang K'o-ch'ui about 1790. After a brief discussion of the various names under which the Spaniards were known in his time, the author goes on to say that the appearance of these men resembles that of the Chinese. "Their hats," he remarks, "are high and angular, their clothes have narrow sleeves. The articles they make use of in eating and drinking are identical with those of the Dutch. Their silver money, which is current in Fuhkien and Kuangtung, is cast and adorned with the portrait of their sovereign. The island of Luzon is in the southeast of the Fuhkien Sea at a distance of 1,000 li. The number of the native population must be estimated at least at 100,000. The products of this country are gold, tortoise shell,

¹ G. Jamieson, *The Tributary Nations of China* (*China Review*, vol. XII, p. 98).

² A. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, 2d edition, p. 65. The *Hai kuo wen kien lu* ("Record of What I Heard and Saw of the Sea Countries"), by Ch'ên Lun-kiung, published in 1744, describes the sea route to Luzon (*T'oung Pao*, vol. IX, p. 296).

Baroos camphor, birds' nests, sea-slugs, ebony, redwood, fish, and salt. These are all considered the best beyond the sea. Formerly, at the time of the Ming dynasty, Spain took this country and founded the city of Kuei-tou (Cavite) on the outer lake (*i. e.*, Manila Bay),¹ near the coast of the Western Ocean. They set a guard on the isle of Kêng-i, west from the city, that they might have this territory far and near under their control. The winds are extremely severe."

Now follow some curious remarks on the Catholic religion in Manila. The Spanish monks are designated as the foreign "Buddhist priests" (*fan sêng*)—a term derived from Sanscrit *samgha*, the Buddhist clergy. "The foreign priests," comments the author, "have established a church," a word which he expresses by *Pa-li yüan* ("a hall of the padres"), *pa-li* reproducing the sounds of the Spanish *padre*. "By means of a waterfall they make a clock strike in the church day and night. At the hours of noon and midnight it strikes the first stroke, and so on until twelve strokes sound, and this is repeated." To make this explanation clear in his language, the Chinaman had a great difficulty to overcome, as his day is divided into twelve parts, each comprising two hours of our time. Then he continues:

They do not sacrifice to their ancestors, but worship only their God *H'ci-lo*,² and, what is still stranger, the padres forgive people their sins. All the people regard the holy water with great esteem. The corpse of the king of the padres (probably bishop) is fried and turned into fat. A father of the religion superintends the work. If somebody desires to embrace their faith, they order him to take an oath to the effect that his body shall now belong to Wei-lo. After the oath the padre takes the holy water of the corpse and pours it over his head. Therefore it is called the "waterfall" water. At the celebration of a wedding the religious father takes a chain and fastens it around the neck of the man and the woman.³

On every seventh day they go to church and beg the padre for forgiveness of sins, and this they call "hearing mass" (*k'an mi-shih*=*la misa*). There is also a nunnery especially for the administration of funds with which to defray the needs of the country. This nunnery is a strict and dignified institution, and is kept locked, while the men who retire into monastic life enjoy an acknowledged authority and are greatly honored. The daily necessities of life are transmitted to the nuns by means of a revolving frame like a Chinese

¹ In Luzon, according to the view of the Chinese author, there are three lakes—an outer, a middle, and an inner one.

² This is doubtless intended for Spanish *cielo*. The Annals of Kuangtung give a number of Spanish words in Chinese transcriptions, and write *cielo* with the characters *hsi-lo* (Cantonese, *sai-lo*).

³ My friend Mr. Bandelier explained to me that this custom is still observed also in remote parishes of Spanish South America.

peck-measure, which is on the wall. Among these women there are those who really desire to enter the monastery for the cultivation of moral conduct.

The sailing-ships made in Spain are extremely large, with very strong sails and spars. They carry guns and cannon, which are kept in readiness so that pirates can not come near them. The people of Luzon avail themselves of the sextant, which reflects the surface of the water, shallow stones, and deep-lying rocks. There is nothing that the sextant can not penetrate. This method is more convenient and admirable than the compass. Whenever the people of Luzon are guests of the Chinese they constantly make merry. Their ships are supplied with oars, and it is pleasant to note how clever they are in steering. The large sailing-vessels that come to Manila take three months for their voyage up to the time of landing. When these boats return to their home country, the nature of the water is not the same, and it is necessary to reckon five months for the voyage. The Chinese have now for a century been in mutual commercial intercourse and peace with them. In the period K'ien-lung (1736-'95) the red-haired Ying-kuei-li (English) suddenly dispatched over ten ships straightway to oppress Manila. They desired to occupy this country and to convert the people. The padres were willing to pay them off with presents, and thus got free from the English in a courteous manner.¹ The English thereupon turned to China for trading purposes. Such are the records of Manila.

In a Chinese album containing wood engravings of ethnical types, the "Huang ch'ing chih kung t'u" (*i. e.*, "Pictures of the Tribute-Bearing Peoples of the Manchu dynasty"), published in 1752 by order of K'ien-lung, we find in the first book (p. 70), among other types of European nations, the portrait of a Spanish Jesuit and a nun, as well as that of a Spaniard from the Philippines, styled "barbarian from the country of Luzon," and a woman ("barbarian woman") as his counterpart. These two plates are accompanied with the following flattering explanation:

Luzon is situated in the Southern Sea. It is very near to Chang-chou, in Fuhkien Province. In the commencement of the Ming period it sent tribute to court. In the period Wan-li it was the Franks (Spaniards) who absorbed this country and forthwith gave its name to it. The Franks, being in the southwest of Cambodia, had formerly exterminated Malacca, and then divided the Moluccas with the Dutch (Red-Hairs) until they broke into Luzon. Their wealth and power increased more and more by sojourning in Macao and trading there. The barbarians inhabiting Luzon (*i. e.*, the Spaniards) are of tall stature, and have high noses, pupils like those of cats' eyes, a mouth like that of a hawk, and their clothing is much adorned. They are identical with the people of Spain and Portugal, in Europe. The women coil the hair, in which hairpins are here and there displayed, and wear earrings. The neck is bare, and around the breast they wear a short tunic.

¹The statement is correct in so far as, after the capture of Manila by the British (1762), the private property of the inhabitants was saved from plunder on condition that a ransom of a million pounds be paid, half of which was in money, and the other half in notes on the Spanish Treasury.

They have long petticoats, underneath which they wear a sort of round framework of two or three strips of rattan, one above another (probably identical with the old-style hoopskirt). Over the coil of hair they always wear a net.¹

Two very curious observations with regard to natural history in the Philippines are recorded in a small geographical work, "K'un yü t'u shuo," published (in Chinese) by the Jesuit father Ferdinand Verbiest, about 1673, in which he followed principally a geography of the world written by Pantoja, an Italian Jesuit, in compliance with an imperial order, half a century earlier.² The passage reads as follows:

In the southeast of Kuang-chou, Luzon is situated. This country produces falcons. When the king of the falcons flies up, the flock of other falcons follow him to take birds and animals as booty. The king of the falcons first takes the pupils out of the eyes of these animals, and afterwards a covey of hawks devour their flesh. Furthermore, there is a tree there which animals are not able to go near. As soon as they pass it they fall down dead at its foot.

Whether these statements have any foundation in fact, I am not now prepared to say.

After the Spaniards had been unsuccessful in establishing direct commercial relations with China in the port of Amoy, the people of Hai-ch'êng sent their junks to Manila, and extensive trade was carried on between the two cities. The bulk of Chinese merchandise, the chief article of which consisted in silk, pottery, and metal-ware, was made over to the ports of New Spain and Peru, which thus became a large market for Chinese manufactures. This trade was a source of immense profit to China. The importation of silver into Manila from Spanish America during two hundred and fifty years of intercourse (1571-1821) is computed by De Comyn at four hundred million dollars; and a large share of this, perhaps half, passed over to China.³

The entire Spanish colony subsisted until the nineteenth century

¹This is the well-known silk net called by the Spaniards *redecilla*.

"The women wear no caps, but tie a kind of network silk purse over their hair, with a long tassel behind, and a ribbon tied in a bow-knot over their forehead. This head-dress they call *redecilla*, and it is worn indiscriminately by both sexes" (Richard Twiss, *Travels through Portugal and Spain*, in 1772 and 1773 [London, 1775], p. 33).

²A. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, 2d edition, p. 58.

³*Chinese Repository*, vol. VIII, p. 173; see also G. Phillips, *Two Mediæval Fuhkien Trading Ports (T'oung Pao (1895), vol. VI, p. 456)*.

exclusively on the Chinese trade.¹ Despised, hated, and feared as the Chinese were, they were nevertheless indispensable to the Islands, and were practically their masters and rulers from an economical viewpoint. The boots made by Chinese shoemakers in Manila were so low in price that they could be sold with a large profit in New Spain. As early as 1603 De Morga wrote:

It is true that the city can neither go on nor maintain itself without these Chinamen, because they are the workmen in all employments. They are very industrious, and work for moderate wages.

After the great massacre of 1603 the Spaniards felt keenly the lack of the Chinese. There was no food to be found to eat, nor shoes to wear, not even for very exorbitant prices. "The native Indians," laments the chronicler, "are very far from fulfilling these offices, and have even forgotten much of husbandry, the rearing of fowls, flocks, cotton, and the weaving of robes, which they used to do in the times of their paganism."

De Morga gives a most extensive account of the manner of Chinese trade, of the articles traded, of their transshipment to America, and of the conditions of the life of the Chinese in the Philippines. To enter into a discussion of this subject is beyond the scope of the present paper; but I cannot refrain from relating a humorous incident which occurred in the history of early Spanish-Chinese trade. It is taken from a tract printed in Mexico in 1638 and embodied in Thevenot's "Voyages Curieux." These Chinese, says our authority, were so eager for gain that if a particular article of merchandise was a success one year, they tried the market again with it the follow-

¹In Pieter Nuyts' (Dutch Governor of Formosa) Report on the Chinese Trade to the Governor-General and Councillors of the United East India Company, written in 1628, it is aptly remarked: "It is, indeed, certain that the only support of the Spaniards and Portuguese in India is the China trade. The wars we [*i. e.*, the Dutch] have everywhere waged against them, with the disgrace which they have come to in Japan, have so weakened them, and ruined their trade in other countries, that there is no other place except China where they can make any profits worth mentioning. Accordingly, if we could succeed in depriving them of this trade, or at least in lessening their profits from the same, as we have often done elsewhere, they would be compelled to abandon their best settlements, such as Macao, Manila, Malacca, and Timor; while their factory at Moluccas would lapse of itself. The authorities at Manila clearly see this," etc. (Wm. Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch* [London, 1903], p. 53). About the same time, the merchants of Amoy petitioned the authorities, complaining that the Dutch, by their constant attacks on vessels trading with the Spanish, had completely destroyed the lucrative trade formerly carried on between Amoy and Manila (James W. Davidson, *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present* [London, 1903], p. 12).

ing year. A Spaniard who had lost his nose got a Chinaman to make him a wooden one to hide his deformity. The artist made such a splendid imitation that it pleased the Spaniard immensely and induced him to pay him the exorbitant sum of twenty dollars for it. The Chinaman, lured by the large sum paid to him, loaded a ship the following year with wooden noses, and returned to Manila with great expectations. Matters, however, did not turn out at all as he had anticipated, and he was only laughed at for his trouble; for, in order to have found a market for this new merchandise, it would have been necessary to have cut off the noses of all the Spaniards in the country.¹

Regarding the mode of Chinese-Spanish commerce, the "Tung hsi yang k'ao" (chap. 5, p. 6 a) has the following:

As soon as the (Chinese) ships arrived they sent out men to hurry with all dispatch to the chieftain (*i. e.*, the governor of Manila) to bring him presents of silk. The duties which they levied were rather high,² but the meshes of their nets were so close that there was no escape. Our people who have intercourse with them remained there without returning home, for the reason that they had the advantage of being but a short distance off and they quickly made money. There was much opportunity for quarrels, but later on they became more cautious. Our people at home were anxious lest the emigrating class might be too numerous there and after their return later on breed rebellion. It was therefore ordered that each junk should carry only two hundred men, and that the number of junks sailing should not exceed a fixed number. Returning home and sailing out again, the number of men was increased to four hundred, the number of ships remaining the same. When our people put to sea many gave a false name and figured only as a number. While their investigation was going on they suddenly escaped in the midst of it and went back to that country. The name of the market is *Kan nei*.³ Formerly it was within the city; afterwards, when they (*i. e.*, the Spaniards) became suspicious, they transferred it to the outskirts of the city and founded a new *Kan*.⁴

¹ *China Review*, vol. XIX, pp. 245-246.

² According to De Morga, the duty was 3 per cent.

³ The term by which the Chinese quarter in Manila is designated, the *parian* of the Spaniards. *Kan* is the Cantonese pronunciation of North Chinese *chien* (Giles' Dictionary, No. 1603), and means "a mountain torrent;" *Kan nei*, "inside of the mountain torrent."

⁴ "To Manila, all Chinese wares are openly sent from China in Chinese junks which pay export duty to the Emperor of China; and, in order to attract Chinese merchants and secure a monopoly of trade, the Spaniards were in the habit of advancing large sums of money, but the Chinese often failed to return with the value in goods. This went on for several years, till we settled here and the ravages of the pirates began; whereupon Chinese vessels were first kept at home, and then gradually began to visit us, so that during the last few years very little trade has been carried on at Manila." Thus wrote Pieter Nuyts as early as 1628 (Wm. Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch*, London, 1903, p. 52).

The following localities which I am able to identify are mentioned in the "Tung hsi yang k'ao":

Ta-Kiang (*i. e.*, "the great harbor," "the great Manila Bay") is the very first place reached in coming from the Eastern Ocean. A great government board is established there, and a city built of stone. The Franks guard this place under the rule of a chieftain. Rice and grain grow plentifully; but the only other products are objects made of leather and horn. Before the bay is reached, the Pi-kia-shan¹ is visible.

Nan-wang is contiguous to Ta-Kiang. In passing farther along, there are two tiny villages, Wei-mi-yen and Wei-yen-t'ang, which produce leather, horn, and cotton.

Tai-mei Kiang enters with sinuous windings into the configuration of the land, and is therefore called Tortoise-shell Bay (*tai-mei wan*). It is surrounded by a mountain which serves as a land-mark. All ships sailing to Luzon must observe this sign-post and steer towards it. This mountain is thus set up like a guard. Although the name "Tortoise-shell" is given, tortoise-shell is not produced there, but the only product is sapan-wood.

Lü-p'êng² is southward from Luzon, and produces univalve and bivalve shells.

Mo-lao-yang³ is situated behind Manila, and produces cotton, oil, hemp, and cocoanuts.

There are some other localities mentioned and described in the same work, but as I am still doubtful in regard to their identification, I must leave this for some other occasion.

There are three anthropological problems which must be taken up in considering the relations of the Chinese to the Philippines. The first is a question of physical anthropology, an investigation of which should show what proportion of Chinese blood is contained in the races and tribes at present inhabiting the Islands. Through intermarriage of the Chinese with Malayan women, a class of half-bloods has arisen whom the Spaniards call Mestizos de Sangley, or Mestizos chinos. They are described as people of tall stature, of sturdy build, intelligent, and possessed of the keen commercial abilities of their fathers. The retail trade of the country and the small banking business are largely in their hands. According to the views of many writers, the Igorrotes on Luzon of the present day represent a mixed race, the descendants of wild mountain tribes and those Chinese pirates who escaped the sword of the Spaniards after the expulsion of the great corsair, Limahon, in 1574. This, like many

¹ *Pi-kia* is a frame of porcelain, brass, copper, or crystal, on which to rest writing-brushes, usually made in the shape of cragged mountains; mountains, therefore, are again compared with this object. *Shan* means "mountain."

² Apparently identical with the Island of Lubang, discovered and conquered by Salcedo in 1569.

³ I think that the identification of this name with *Morong* would be justifiable.

other problems, should be solved by extensive physical research. An ethnological question of great importance would be a study of the traces of Chinese material culture, still remaining, in the life of the Philippine tribes. Such research requires, of course, a deeper knowledge of Philippine ethnology than is available at present, and more extensive and better-classified collections than are now at our disposal. From a cursory inspection of the Philippine material in the American Museum of Natural History, in New York, it seems to me that Chinese influence is particularly to be observed in connection with the industrial crafts of the Christian peoples, as in agriculture, fishery, navigation, pottery, and weaving. The types of Philippine footgear almost seem to be derived from China.

Another important problem in connection with the history of Chinese-Spanish-American trade would be to determine what influence objects of Chinese culture may have had on the peoples of Mexico and Peru. This question has been ventilated by Dr. Walter Hough, in his paper "Oriental Influences in Mexico."¹ Dr. Hough refers to a number of useful plants which were at that time introduced from the East into Mexico, probably by way of the Philippines, like the cocoanut, the banana, the plantain, the mango, and others.² He mentions, further, some evidences of contact in the industrial arts, as the making of palm-wine, the close resemblance in construction and shape of the rain-coats used in Mexico to those of China, and other items. To obtain a satisfactory solution of this problem, first of all, the ancient Spanish sources on South America and Mexico should be diligently searched for all references concerning early Chinese trade and imports; secondly, such remains of these as exist should be eagerly sought for and collected, particularly in the line of ceramics and textile manufactures;³ and, finally, the actual influence, if any, of these on the corresponding industries of American peoples should be investigated.

¹ *American Anthropologist*, 1900, pp. 66-74.

² See, however, O. F. Cook (The Origin and Distribution of the Cocoa Palm, *Contributions from the U. S. National Herbarium*, vol. VII, No. 2, Washington, 1901, p. 259), who contradicts this view. The cocoanut-palm is doubtless indigenous in America.

³ The following notice is interesting in this respect: "Grau y Monfalcon in 1637 reported that there were 14,000 people employed in Mexico in manufacturing the raw silk imported from China. This industry might be promoted by the relaxation of the restrictions on trade. It would also be for the advantage of the Indians of Peru to be able to buy for five pence a yard linen from the Philippines, rather than to be compelled to purchase that of Rouen at ten times the price" (from *Documentos inéditos del archivo de Indias*, in Blair's and Robertson's *The Philippine Islands*, vol. I, p. 69).

APPENDIX

THE DIDO STORY IN ASIA

The above Chinese account of the foundation of Manila through the Spaniards (p. 259) contains the well-known ruse of Queen Dido in connection with the founding of Carthage.¹ This is not the only case of its record in Chinese literature. E. Bretschneider² refers to Du Halde's *La Chine* (vol. I, p. 185), where the same tradition is repeated with reference to the settling of the Dutch on the Island of Formosa in 1620. Du Halde's account is drawn from a Chinese source, the "Annals of Formosa" (*T'ai-wan fu chi*), which imputes the Dido trick to the Dutch. James W. Davidson³ reproduces the story, and inclines to see in it an actual historical event. It is certainly far from this. In the Dutch sources regarding the history of Formosa, nothing of the kind is to be found. We have here nothing more than a simple tale, which has spread over almost the entire continent of Asia; and it is most curious to note that in nearly all cases the Asiatic peoples with whom the story is found make the tricksters some European nation who were then invading their country. This is sufficient proof to show that this is the case of a comparatively recent story-migration, which is further evidenced by its absence in any Asiatic literary records of earlier date.

The first to call attention to the wide diffusion of the Dido story was Reinhold Köhler.⁴ The same subject was taken up by Henri Cordier,⁵ Raoul Rosières,⁶ René Basset,⁷ and N. Katanof.⁸ Despite

¹ See O. Rossbach, Dido (Pauly's Realencyklopädie, vol. ix [Stuttgart, 1903], pp. 426-433); Meltzer, Dido (Roscher's Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie [Leipzig, 1885], col. 1012-1018).

² *China Review*, vol. iv, p. 386; and *Mediæval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources* (London, 1888), vol. II, p. 319.

³ *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present* (London and New York, 1903), pp. 12-13: "The wily Dutchman, with an old trick in mind, proceeded to cut the ox-skin in very long narrow strips, and, after fastening them together, produced a line of sufficient length to surround a vast plot of ground, while the Japanese were struck dumb with astonishment."

⁴ *Sagen von Landerwerbung durch zerschnittene Ochsenhaut* (Th. Benfey's *Orient und Occident*, 1864, vol. III, pp. 185-187).

⁵ *La légende de Didon* (*Revue des Traditions populaires*, 1887, vol. II, pp. 295 and 354); further parallels by Sébillot (*ibid.*, p. 355).

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 52-54.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 335-338.

⁸ *Türkische Sagen über Besitznahme von Ländern nach Art der Didó* (*Revue orientale*, [Budapest, 1902], vol. III, pp. 173-179).

the great zeal of these authors in collecting the material in question, I have found several versions myself not recorded by any of them. Two ways for the migration of the tradition from Europe into Asia are discernible—a land route and a sea route. From Byzance, where it was well known, it seems to have wandered into Russia, and from the Russians to the Ugrians and the Turkish tribes of Siberia. Among both Ugrians and Turks, the tricksters are the Russians. The Syryän tell of the foundation of Moscow in the same way as the Chinese that of Manila, and explain the name of the city by the word "Mösku," which in their language means "a cowhide."¹ The Cheremiss also have it in regard to the Russians, and the Russian farmers themselves relative to a wealthy land-owner of their own. Three Turkish versions have been noted by W. Radloff;² others are known from among the Kirghiz and Yakut, and from Tashkend and Hami.³ Through the medium of European nations, the story seems to have spread over the regions around the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In India the foundation of Calcutta is connected with it.⁴ In Burma, Adolf Bastian⁵ has recorded it. In this case the trickster is a female slave of the Burmese king Dwattabong. When the Portuguese penetrated into Cambodia, in 1553, they employed the same trick of cutting a buffalo hide, according to the tradition of the Cambodians.⁶ Finally we find it current among the Chinese, as already stated.

There are two points of interest in the dissemination of this story: First, it affords one of the few examples of a Western tale spreading to the extreme East, while as a rule the stream of folk-lore flowed from east to west in the old world; secondly, it shows that the transmission of folk-lore still goes on, even in recent times, by mere oral accounts. While in almost all cases where folk-lore is handed over from Asia to Europe we have been able to trace the fact of migration back to written sources transferred from nation to

¹ J. A. Sjögren, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. I (Historisch-ethnographische Abhandlungen über den finnisch-russischen Norden [Petersburg, 1861], p. 301).

² *Proben der Volkslitteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens*, vol. IV (Petersburg, 1872), pp. 11-12, 139-141, 179-181.

³ See Katanoff, *loc. cit.*

⁴ J. Todd, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (London, 1832), vol. II, p. 235. Regarding a Tibetan legend containing the same motive see Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal*, vol. II (Paris, 1905), p. 7.

⁵ *Die Völker des östlichen Asiens*, vol. V (Die Geschichte der Indochinesen, p. 25).

⁶ H. Cordier, *loc. cit.*

nation, and extant in polyglot translations, there is no such written testimony for the legend of Dido in any Asiatic literature to which, as the starting-point, all the current versions could be reduced. Thus we are led to presume, especially because of the introduction of Europeans into the plot, that its occurrence in southern and eastern Asia is due to the oral stories of European sailors and merchants, who had probably imbibed it during their school-days, while its propagation in Siberia seems to have emanated from the mouths of vagrant Russian adventurers.

It may not be without interest to American readers to repeat here some American parallels of the Dido story once discussed by the great linguist, Pott. In his essay, "Etymologische Legenden bei den Alten" (in the *Journal Philologus*, 1863, Supplementary vol. 11, p. 258), he quotes from a work by Kottenkamp (*Die ersten Amerikaner im Westen*, p. 382) the following: "The Indian reminded us of the fraudulent procedure which had once been practised from Pennsylvania against the Delawares. The whites had purchased a plot of land not larger than they would be able to encompass with a cowhide, and the Delawares had been infatuated by the appearance of the small area. The whites, however, cut up the hide into thin strips and covered a space a thousand times larger than the deceived Delawares had sold." To this, Pott remarks in parentheses, "Whether a white exploited in such a way the tradition of Dido which he had learned in school, by transforming poetry into prose and serious reality, may remain undecided. This matter, however, has been told by Indians on the occasion of the foundations of various establishments by Europeans. Thus this trick of land acquisition on the part of the Dutch at their first settlement in the State of New York has been related by Iroquois to subsequent travelers; likewise the story of the same swindle served for the provocation of the Ohio Indians in those times of which we speak."