

**Macao as the non-entry point to China:
The case of the Spanish Dominican missionaries (1587-1632)**

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Abstract

It has always been said that Macao was the entry point for the Catholic missionaries in China, especially for the Jesuits arriving in Macao under the Portuguese Padroado by the way of India. Less is known about the difficulties encountered by the Spanish Dominicans, who were based in Manila since 1587, and who tried to enter China through the same gate. For them the gate was in fact closed, although there was no clear reason for it. The perceived two reasons for this; the fear of the Portuguese merchants that their presence might jeopardize control of the gateway to the Guangzhou market and the opposition of the Jesuits who, especially since 1583, thought that China was such a difficult place for the missions that the best way to penetrate this vast land was to organize the missions by means of a single religious order utilizing a particular method.

Having found no way to enter China freely from Macao the Dominicans decided to look for an alternative entryway in Fujian, first going directly from Manila and later through the Spanish post of Isla Hermosa (modern-day Taiwan), which became the springboard that finally gave them access to the continent at the end of 1631. Once in Fujian they found the Jesuits, then the discussion of the Chinese Rites started. This paper recounts all the attempts of the Dominicans entering China and how this might have created a sense of rivalry between the two orders. To what extent the rivalry may have conditioned the initiation of the Chinese Rites controversy is still a matter of discussion.

Keywords: Macao, Fujian, Formosa, Dominicans, Jesuits

For the Catholic missionaries of the 16th and 17th centuries entering China represented a religious endeavor entwined with the political interests of their protectors (the Portuguese Padroado) and the rules and maritime policies of the late Ming dynasty. It is known that one of the fruits of the mission Valignano sent to the courts of Philip II of Spain and Pope Gregory XIII in 1582 was the endorsement by the Pope of the exclusive right to the Jesuits to preach in Japan. But the situation in China seems to have been different. For China, as far as I know, there was not such a norm supported by any Papal decree, though there was de facto exclusivity. The Portuguese institution of the Padroado took responsibility for the expansion of the missions, as happened with the Patronato in the Spanish colonies. Thus the apparent preeminence of the Jesuits entering in China was somehow connected to the help the Padroado offer to them. Nevertheless, as Ross mentions, “It has become a commonplace among some historians to assert that the Holy See, by the beginning of the 17th century, had begun to see the Padroado and the Patronato as more of a hindrance than a help to the evangelistic task of the church. In response, the Holy See set up the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in 1622.”¹ Besides, by that time the Holy See was in favor of the presence of other orders, and finally one decree by Urban VIII of 1633 gave formal permission to any order to set up their missions in China, or, as Ross put it, “Rome finally opened the gates of China to all religious Orders.”² But, according to Cummins it was not that easy, since “the Jesuits were curiously slow to recognize the fact, and continued to resist them [the other Orders] actively and passively for almost another half century”.³ This is the general framework that may help to gain a better understanding of the first attempts of Catholic missionaries entering China.

The early trips

Francis Xavier made the first, unsuccessful attempt in modern times to preach the Gospel in China in 1552,⁴ but the first successful entry is attributed to the Portuguese Provincial of the Jesuits in India Melchior Nunes Barreto, who stopped in China on his way to Japan. He visited Guangzhou on two occasions in July and August 1555, to free the Portuguese Mateus Brito, who had spent six years in prison there, but on both occasions Nunes had to leave after a month. He went a third time to Canton during Lent of 1556, and later continued on to Japan. He was followed immediately by the Portuguese Dominican Gaspar de la Cruz who arrived in Macao from Malaca later the same year. In Macao he obtained permission to go to Guangzhou and

¹ Andrew C. Ross, “Alessandro Valignano: The Jesuits and Culture in the East”, in John W. O’Malley (ed.) *The Jesuits. Cultures, Science and the Arts, 1540-1773*. University of Toronto Press, 1999, p. 338.

² Columba Cary-Elwes, Cary-Elwes, *China and the Cross*, Kenedy & Sons, New York, 1956, p. 109.

³ J. S. Cummins (ed. & tr.), *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete*, Hakluyt Society, Second Series, p. liii.

⁴ For some of the listed early attempts of missionaries entering in China in modern times see Joseph Sebes, “The precursors of Ricci”, in Charles E. Ronan and Bonnie B. C. Oh (eds.), *East Meets West: The Jesuits in China, 1582-1773*, Chicago, 1988, pp. 27-31. Gregory James (ed.), *Through Spanish Eyes*, pp. xxii-xlii.

preached freely for a month, after which he left and returned to India and Portugal. In a book he wrote afterwards he stated clearly that “There are two obstacles to propagate religion, the first is that any innovation is forbidden, ... the second is that foreigners are allowed to live only in Canton, with permission of the mandarins, who grant this only for a limited time”. Also he spread the notion that only the emperor can give a general permission to preach in China.⁵ But, De la Cruz did not mention as the third obstacle the difficulty of preaching in Chinese, the only language in which he would have been able to gather the crowds he claimed were listening to him. These earlier missionary trips to Guangzhou happened on the verge of the formal recognition of the incipient Portuguese settlement of Macao by the Chinese authorities, in 1557.

In the following years the Jesuits tried several times to enter China. Usually they were passing by Macao on their way back or forth to Japan, as was the case with Gago (1560-1561), Monte and Froes (1562-1563). The first formal attempt was the embassy of the king of Portugal to the emperor of China, whereby the ambassador was going to be accompanied by the Jesuits Pérez, Teixeira and Pinto, but this ended in failure. Nevertheless, by the end of 1565, Pérez and another Jesuit Escobar, both Spanish, managed to reach Guangzhou and were able to send a request to the magistrate of the city to remain there not to trade but to teach. Permission was denied and they were told that they would have to leave China within a month. In any case, in 1565 Pérez and Teixeira decided to set up a Jesuit residence in Macao, named the College of Saint Paul, which later became the headquarters for subsequent ventures. Probably the immediate venture was carried out by another Spanish Jesuit in 1567 who also reached Guangzhou with the idea of moving to Nanjing, but who was forced to return to Macao. Usually Jesuit attempts to enter China were made under the umbrella of the Portuguese merchants going to Guangzhou. This was the case of Ribera (1567-1568), Riera (1568), Belcior Carneiro (1569), Vaz (six weeks in 1574), Costa (two months, and other additional one in 1575), and Bishop Belcior Carneiro again (1575).

In 1575 new competitors hoping to enter China came from the newly established Spanish colony of the Philippines. On the occasion of the Spanish authorities helping the Chinese in persecuting the pirate Limahong, the possibility of sending a Spanish embassy to Fujian was granted. The Spaniards who went there stayed for 35 days, and were treated exceptionally well. Apart from soldiers, there were the Augustinians Martín de Rada and Jerónimo Martín, who requested to stay behind to preach. Their request was conditionally granted when the Philippine governor first captured Limahong; but the pirate escaped and the hopes of going a second time to China vanished.⁶

In 1579 some Jesuits visited Guangzhou again, and the same year a new expedition from the

⁵ His book is *Tratado en que contam muito per esteso as cousas de China, con suas particularidades, e assi do reyno d'Ormuz* (Evora, 1570), see González, *Historia de las misiones...*, pp. 14&57.

⁶ Different reports of this famous trip can be seen in Isacio R. Rodríguez, *Historia de la Provincia Agustiniiana del Smo. Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas.*, vol. XIV, pp. 262-358.

Philippines tried their luck. Now they were four Franciscans friars: Pedro de Alfaro, Juan Bautista Lucarelli de Pesaro, Agustín de Tordesillas and Sebastián de Baeza, accompanied by three members of the third order, Dueñas, Pardo and Villaroel. After a difficult trip they arrived in Guangzhou on 19 June, where after being checked in different courts were treated with some consideration and were even allowed to preach the Gospel. The Portuguese opposed this move, and they circulated rumors in Guangzhou that they were spies. All efforts on the part of Franciscans to explain their motives and the help provided by them by the Jesuit bishop of Macao (Carneiro) were in vain. Consequently, they spent fifty days under arrest on a ship in Canton and—since the emperor had not granted them permission to stay—they were forced to return to Manila not through Macao, but through Zhangzhou (漳州, Chincheo). Alfaro and Lucarelli requested to be sent to Macao because of their age, and this request was granted. On the other hand, Tordesillas and the lay members went to Zhangzhou, but unfortunately Baeza died in Guangzhou.⁷ As for the stay of Alfaro and Lucarelli in Macao, initially they were allowed to construct a convent in November 1579, but in June 1580 Alfaro was expelled from Macao based on negative remarks about the Portuguese he made in a letter sent to Manila, which was intercepted by the Portuguese. He was sent to Goa to explain himself, but before reaching Malaca his ship was lost. Soon later Lucarelli was also expelled from Macao because of the arrival of the news that the Castilians were trying to seize the crown of Portugal. The furious Portuguese sent Lucarelli to Malaca. Nevertheless, he managed to return to Macao when circumstances became favorable, and recovered the abandoned convent. In fact, some Spanish Franciscans later came to Macao, but eventually were substituted by the Portuguese Franciscans in 1585.⁸

The door to China was finally on the verge of being opened to Christian missionaries when the Jesuit Michele Ruggieri managed to stay for long periods in Guangzhou; once in 1580, twice in 1581 (first for three months when he was accompanied by Pires and later two months accompanied by Pinto) and once more in 1582 (for one month and a half).⁹ From Guangzhou Ruggieri went to Zhaoqing (肇慶) in June, back to Macao and again to Zhaoqing in December, this time accompanied by Passio. Finally Ruggieri, accompanied by Ricci, managed to establish himself in Zhaoqing in September 1583, and they were so successful that Ricci no longer had to leave China, and died in Beijing almost thirty years later (1610).

⁷ Otto Mass, *Cartas de China. Documentos inéditos sobre misiones franciscanas del siglo XVII*, Sevilla, 1917, pp. 3-4. A reprint of a 18th century satiric version of the trip in Gustavo Vargas Martínez (ed.), *Desatinos y zozobras de los primeros castellanos que fueron a la China a pisalla y conquistalla para la Fee de N. S. Jesuchristo en 1579, pero que apenas burlas y enredos prouocaron. Tomado de una chronica escrita por el P. Fr. Francisco de San Antonio en 1738*. Bogotá, 1991.

⁸ See Teixeira, “Os franciscanos en Macau”, in *España en Extremo Oriente*, pp. 317-333. Similar story happened again on the occasion of the first arrival of the Dominicans in 1887. Some new Spanish Dominicans were ostracized to Goa and later substituted in Macao by Portuguese ones.

⁹ Even one unexpected Spanish Jesuit from the Philippines, **Alonso Sánchez**, also appeared in that Chinese city in that year. For the reasons and context of the stay of Sánchez in Guangzhou (2-29 May 1582) see Manel Ollé, *La empresa de China*, El Acantilado, Barcelona, 2002, pp. 89-133.

During these crucial years the Franciscans also tried their luck again from the Philippines in 1582. Jerónimo de Burgos, Martín Ignacio de Loyola, Agustín de Tordesillas, Jerónimo de Aguilar and Antonio de Villanueva, though heading for Macao, landed instead in Fujian province.¹⁰ They were initially considered to be spies and sent to Guangzhou where they stayed for a year, but later they were set free and expelled to Macao.

A similar pattern was encountered the following year, 1583, with other discalced Franciscans friars Oropesa, Ruíz, Montilla and Ortiz, and also some lay brothers like Diego Jiménez, all of them on their way to Cambodia. They landed in Hainan driven by a storm, were charged as spies and sent to Guangzhou where they obtained their freedom after the Portuguese paid their ransom. During their stay in the prison they were visited by Ruggeri and Ricci, and were very impressed to learn that the Jesuits had obtained permission to reside in China. Oropesa's explanation of the reasons offered by the Jesuits why they had obtained permission to stay is most interesting:

“The Fathers had first sent him [the viceroy] a petition stating that they weren't Portuguese, but priests from the West (for there's a belief among the Chinese that something wonderful from that quarter) and people who deal with matters of the soul, that they weren't content in Macao nor were they happy with the Portuguese way of doing things: and they would very much like to live in China and be vassals of the king. This was why he had sent for them.”¹¹

It is not clear whether the Franciscans friars were intending to penetrate China to stay there or whether they were a kind of itinerant missionaries. In any case, let us make in the following table a summary of what we have said until now:

¹⁰ The narration of the trip to Guangzhou can be seen in Fray Martin Ignacio de Loyola, *Itinerario del Padre custodio Fray Ignacio de la orden de bienaventurado San Francisco, que paso a la China en compania de otros religiosos de la misma orden y la vuelta que dio por la India Oriental y otros Reynos, rodeando el mundo*, Roma 1585.

¹¹ *Relación inédita de Fran Diego de San José sobre la mission franciscana a Conchinchina y su paso por China (1583)*, in Jose Ignacio Tellechea Idigoras (ed.) in *Archivo Ibero Americano*, N. 53 (1993), pp. 459-487. The note comes from the English translation of James, *Through Spanish Eyes...*, p. 317.

Table 1: The missionary attempts of entering in China (1555-1583)

Year	Missionary	Order	reason	Nationality	Destination	stay
1555	Nunes Barreto	Jesuit		Portuguese	Guangzhou	1 mth
1555	Nunes Barreto	Jesuit		Portuguese	Guangzhou	1 mth
1556	Gaspar de la Cruz	Dominican		Portuguese	Guangzhou	
1556	Nunes Barreto	Jesuit		Portuguese	Guangzhou	1 mth
1560-1561	Gago	Jesuit			Guangzhou (Jp)	
1562-1563	Monte, Froes	Jesuit			Guangzhou (Jp)	
1565	Pérez	Jesuit	embassy	Spanish		
1565	Pérez, Escobar	Jesuit		Spanish	Guangzhou	1 mth
1567-1568	Ribera	Jesuit				
1568	Riera,	Jesuit				
1569	Belcior Carneiro	Jesuit				
1574	Vaz	Jesuit				six weeks
1574	Costa	Jesuit				2 mths
1575	Costa	Jesuit				1 mth
1575	Bishop Belcior Carneiro	Jesuit				
1575	Rada, Martín	Augustinan		Spanish	Fujian	
1579		Jesuit				
1579	Alfaro, Bucarelli, Tordesillas, Baeza	Franciscans		Spanish		
1580	Ruggeri	Jesuits		Italian	Guangzhou	
1581	Ruggeri, Pires	Jesuits		Italian	Guangzhou	3 mths
1581	Ruggeri, Pinto	Jesuits		Italian	Guangzhou	2 mths
1582	Ruggeri			Italian	Zhaoqing (June)	1,5 mth
1582	Loyola, Burgos, Tordesillas,	Franciscans		Spanish		
1582	Alonso Sánchez	Jesuit (Manila)	embassy	Spanish	Guangzhou	
1582	Ruggeri, Passio			Italian	Zhaoqing (Dece)	
1583	Oropesa, Ruíz, Montilla, Ortiz	Franciscans		Spanish	Zhaoqing	
1583	Ruggeri, Ricci	Jesuits		Italian	Zhaoqing	

After having a close sight to this thirty year overview, we can conclude several things: (1) the Guangzhou window to China was opened for missionaries trying to grasp some knowledge of to develop a relation with China for a period of a month, sometimes their excuses were credible, sometimes they needed some stratagems; (2) the length of stay was extended little by little to two months; (3) those who stood most to benefit of exploring the Guangzhou gateway were the Jesuits, helped by the fact they had established their residence in Macao in 1565; nevertheless it took them 18 years to obtain formal permission in 1583; (4) the permission was granted to the Jesuits thanks to their effort in exploiting their progressive knowledge of Chinese culture and the

loopholes in the Guangzhou authorities' regulations. Finally, the entire difficult process to achieving success might explain (5) the Jesuit reluctance in the face of the new, unprepared newcomers that appeared in the Macao scenario with great missionary pretensions but lack of knowledge of the language, and also (6) the inclination to control the gateway to China as much as they could. This might explain the way the Dominicans were received in Macao four years later, when they appeared in 1587 joining the competition for entering in China.¹²

2. The first five failed attempts of the Dominicans of entering in China (1587-1604)

The first time a group of Spanish Dominicans tried to enter China was in **1587**, the same moment that another group landed in the Philippines.¹³ Those bound for Macao were three Dominicans, Antonio Arcediano, Alonso Delgado and Bartolomé Lopez, who had left Spain in June 1586, and from Acapulco went directly to China in the ship *San Martín*.¹⁴ The missionaries were shipwrecked near Macao, but arrived finally in the city on 1 September 1587. We have to recall the fact that only five year earlier another expedition from the governor of the Philippines (the one of Alonso Sanchez) had arrived in Macao notifying the union of Portuguese and Spanish crowns under Philip II, an agreement that the Portuguese in Macao accepted but not without hesitation. They were assured that this dynastic union would not lead to a merge of administrations, which was very important to Macao, eager to maintain its independence from Manila. In this context the three Dominicans were received with suspicion but were allowed to stay there until the Viceroy from Goa—the highest authority of the Padroado—decided on the matter. In the meantime they were accepted by the Augustinians and later by the Father Provisor of the cathedral, who offered them a house to establish a convent, which that they did on 23 October, on condition of final approval of their stay from Goa. Three months the Viceroy of Goa's response arrived, denying them the right to stay and the Dominicans were expelled and sent back to Spain by the Indian route.¹⁵ Also his orders were that all their properties be transferred to the Portuguese Dominicans of the Congregation of the Santa Cruz of the Indies that would arrive soon in Macao, as happened in March 1588. From then on, the Portuguese Dominicans continued in Macao, but with a small presence and without the aim of entering China. We can say that this first attempt of the Spanish Dominicans to settle in Macao was rendered ineffective by the Portuguese Padroado.

A new attempt was made in **1590**, under the leadership of the Provincial himself, Fr. **Castro**,

¹² See José María González, *Historia de las misiones dominicanas en China*, 1964, vol. 1, pp. 33-55.

¹³ Diego de Aduarte, *Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario*, Manila, 1640. We have consulted the modern edition of CSIC, Madrid, 1962, vol. 1, p. 25.

¹⁴ In 1578 the Dominican Salazar was appointed as bishop of Manila, but the first Dominican expedition to the East was not ready until 1587. Forty missionaries were recruited, but for different reasons in Acapulco only were half of them ready to go: 15 bound directly for Manila and 3 to Macao. In other words, the first three Dominicans going to China went straight to that land from Spain.

¹⁵ Arcediano stayed for some years in Goa, where he founded the college of St. Thomas before returning to Spain. Lopez acted in Spain as procurator for the Holy Rosary province before the King court in Madrid. Delgado made a new attempt in 1593 gathering a group of 15 Dominicans to go to the Philippines with him, but he died in Mexico.

who tried the alternative route of the sangleys of Amoy going to Manila. Castro was accompanied by Fr Benavides, working in the recently established *parian* of Manila. They obtained the Governor and the Bishop's permission and approval, and went to China on board a ship with a crew of Chinese Christians. Upon arrival all of them were arrested and were imprisoned in Hai-teng. They stayed there encountering diverse fortune, until their final expulsion to Manila in March 1591.¹⁶ The Dominicans arrived in the Philippines with their sights set on China. They were not going to give up easily. From their ministry in the Chinese *parian* they started to learn the language and they were the first to study the Chinese language; for example, in 1592 Juan Cobo produced a manuscript with the first translation of a Chinese book to a Western language, the *Mingxin Baojian* (明心寶鑑) or *Ben Sim Po Can* (as pronounced in minnan language),¹⁷ but Cobo did not continue this sinological work because he died the same year during an embassy to Japan. The above-mentioned Benavides continued his work.

In 1593 another occasion presented itself because the Governor of Philippines, Luis Pérez Dasmariñas, sent an embassy requesting justice for the assassination of his father aboard a galley by Chinese rowers. Pérez Dasmariñas sent a ship to Zhangzhou (漳州, Chincheo) where it was believed the assassins were hidden.¹⁸ The embassy was composed of the cousin of the new governor, Fernando de Castro, and the Dominicans Luis Gandullo and Juan de Castro. Bad weather brought them to Guangdong province instead of Zhangzhou, where they were considered pirates and taken prisoner. The Chinese allowed the expedition to continue, as long as one of the two priests remained there as hostages. Gandullo offered himself, accompanied by a captain who volunteered to be his companion. After experiencing many difficulties an order from the Viceroy (Dutang 都堂) of Guangzhou arrived ordering to bring Gandullo there. The Viceroy freed them and gave them permission to go to the province of Chincheo. Going to the port Gandullo found three Chinese converted by Ruggieri, but after apostatizing they were running a pagan temple. From there they went finally to Zhangzhou, but did not find any reference to the galley of the assassins (because they had gone to Conchinchina), and thus they headed back to Manila. Gandullo studied the possibility of remaining in China, but concluded that there was little point. Nevertheless he made friends with someone, setting the base for an immediate return under more auspicious circumstances. The Dominican Aduarte who also went to China six years later, commenting on this event in his *Historia*, said that "there is no law in China of not admitting foreigners; on the contrary there is provisions to attract and retain them".¹⁹

By the end of the century there were two new failed attempts to enter China. The first one

¹⁶ González, pp. 37-39

¹⁷ See José Eugenio Borao, "Observaciones sobre traductores y traducciones en la frontera cultural del Mar de la China (siglos XVI y XVII)." In: *Proceedings of the V International Conference of the Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas Asiáticos (AIHA)*, Taipei, 8-9 January 2005, pp. 388-405.

¹⁸ Aduarte, *Historia*, vol. 1, pp. 586-590.

¹⁹ Aduarte, *Historia*, vol. 1, pp. 588.

was in 1596, led by the same Fr. Luis Gandullo who made this second attempt in hopes of finding his Chinese acquaintance in Fujian who was willing to help him. However, his ship was destroyed before leaving Luzon and he had to remain in Cagayan (northern Luzon) and from there he returned to back to Manila.

The fifth attempt was made in 1599 by Diego de Aduarte, who narrated his trip in detail in his *Historia*.²⁰ Previously he had accompanied ex-governor Luis Pérez Dasmariñas on an expedition to Cambodia, and returning to Manila, one of the ships, carrying Dasmariñas aboard, got lost in Lampacao (probably Lantau Island), and so could no longer continue their voyage. After the news reached Manila, Aduarte was commissioned to go to Lampacao on a ship and rescue him because he was completely helpless and because—according to Aduarte—the Portuguese did not lend him any money, or offer him any kind of help. Aduarte left Manila on 6 September 1599 and reached Lampacao after 20 days, where he was welcomed. When things were settled to go back to Manila, Aduarte said that “it was necessary to go to the court of the Governor of Guangzhou to obtain the license of departure, because without that they cannot leave the harbor, and he [Dasmariñas] commissioned me to go there to obtain it”. He was accompanied by two soldiers and one Indian. In Guangzhou they negotiated with the Governor, but there was considerable dispute in their discussions on the amount of taxes to be paid and how to deal with the expected bribes.

The most interesting aspect for our study is that since the negotiations took a few days, Aduarte met two Portuguese merchants who had permission to attend the seasonal fair of Guangdong. Since these merchants would have to stay there several days in the foreign settlement by the riverside, they would usually bring along a Jesuit priest to tend to spiritual services. In this case, there were other two Jesuits resident in China, Lazzaro Cattaneo and Diego Pantoja, who had gone from China to Macao for some matters and were preparing to reunite with Mateo Ricci in China at the very moment Ricci was leaving the southern missions and heading towards Nanjing and Nanchang. The event is particularly significant as this was the first time Jesuits and Spanish Dominicans met on Chinese soil. Aduarte was surprised to see the Jesuits dressed in Chinese clothing and wearing long beards but he perceived the encounter in a fraternal spirit, because the Jesuits offered Aduarte all the necessities to celebrate Mass. In any case, just at the moment Aduarte concluded celebrating Mass, Liculifu, an officer from an emperor’s envoy from Beijing, who just happened to be in Guangzhou, called on him to inquire why he was in Guangzhou, demanding to inspect his documents and to ascertain whether he was an spy. Aduarte was first tortured, later freed, and finally told that if he did do not offer the envoy one thousand taels of silver the very next day, he be killed. Aduarte’s misfortunes continued in others ways, but he finally managed to raise a loan, and so escaped, after bribing some sailors to take him to Lampacao. There he paid a surety and set sail with Dasmariñas towards Manila. But, he added in

²⁰ Aduarte, *Historia*, vol. 1, pp. 353-360

his book, that he felt so wretched from the torture he had suffered that he needed to go to Macao, and so he was separated from the main expedition. In his *Historia*, he doesn't say anything else about his stay in Macao, or about the day and the manner of his departure, except to note that the Dominican Alonso (who had been there since the expedition of Cambodia) died. Certainly, Aduarte's narrative has many strange points which are difficult to reconcile because none of the information is complete. Particularly strange aspects were his interest in going to Guangzhou to secure a license to leave Lampacao, and secondly his interest in remaining in Macao to seek a recovery from his wretchedness. Most probably this behavior explains his real interest to explore further the possibilities to open the gate to China just as the Dominicans before him had tried.

Another expedition took place in 1604, representing the third attempt by Fr. Gandullo. The occasion came after a massacre in Manila where approx. 20,000 Chinese were killed and as a result of which bilateral trade was temporarily suspended. The Governor sent an embassy once again to the Viceroy (Dutang 都堂) of Fujian to explain in detail the events that had taken place in Manila, to minimize the responsibility of the Spaniards and consequently to request resumption of trade, offering guarantees to the sangleys bound for Manila. Gandullo was accompanied by Captain Marcos de la Cueva. The embassy itself was successful because soon trade was resumed, but Gandullo failed yet again in his purpose of remaining in Fujian as missionary, and so he went back to Manila.

We have seen how especially in a short period of only 6 years (1590-1596) 4 attempts were made, indicating the clear determination of the Dominicans to reach China. We have seen also that the main excuse used to appear there was as part of an official mission, with the complicity of the governors, because it was clear to both parties (secular and religious) that after the completion of their mission, the missionaries would try to sneak into China.

Some conclusions can be made after presenting this overview. First, that the Dominicans always depended on official support, that is to gain a role in the embassies sent to China. Second, that after trying to access the natural gate of Macao and Guangzhou, and seeing the difficulties of that entry point they explored the Fujian harbors. This particularly was the route taken by Fr. Gandullo who seems to have been the most convinced of the benefit of this alternative gate, maybe because of the affinity in language. Entering China was an endeavor for determined persons, as happened with the Jesuits. Gandullo was also a person of great determination who tried on three occasions (1593, 1596, **and 1604**). In the next period, the new determined and stubborn Dominican was to be Bartolomé Martínez.

2. The failed attempts of Bartolomé Martínez (1612-1619) and the opposition by the Jesuits

In the previous attempts the Dominicans did not complain about any opposition to entering China on the part of other religious orders. The blame was put mainly on the Portuguese authorities. Nevertheless the situation would change in the first third of the 17th century, as we can see from

the complaints made by the Dominican Bartolomé Martínez. Another novelty during this time was the presence of the Dutch as rivals to enter China, either through the Macao gate or through any other alternative gateway that might appear.

The next attempt of the Dominicans to enter China took place in **1612**. As González said, the new opportunity had been created two years earlier, in 1610, upon the visit to Manila of the bishop of Macao, the Dominican Joao Pinto de Piedade (1604-1623). He thought that the Spanish Dominicans of Manila would do good missionary work in Macao and China, and he tried to bring some of them back. Pinto visited Manila and there wrote to the General Master of the Order saying that he would like to restore the convent founded in 1587 to the obedience of the Holy Rosary Province. The letter was discussed in Paris, agreeing that the convent should be restored to the Dominicans in Manila. These did not wait for the answer, and the Dominican council of Manila decided to send Bartolomé Martínez and Tomas Mayor to Macao, to set up headquarters for expansion in Fujian province, the place of origin of many of the Chinese who went Manila, whose language was known by the missionaries.

As we have said, since 1592 the Dominicans had started to become familiar with the Chinese in the Manila parian, the place where Martínez was assigned after his arrival to Manila in 1608, aged 23. Four years later he took part in the failed trip to Macao. According to Aduarte: “When they reached Macao, they encountered great opposition from the religious of the Other Religion [meaning the Jesuits], who are very powerful there, and they exerted all their strength to preventing our confreres in China”.²¹ Other Dominicans, like Navarrete, mention the opposition by the Jesuits to the efforts of the bishop to allow the Dominicans to enter China. After that failure Martínez returned to Manila waiting for a better opportunity, while Mayor went to Rome to discuss the matter there. In this way, the recourses to Rome to settle the China problems were initiated.

This failure brought the Dominicans again to explore alternative entries, leaving Macao in a standby position as the entry point to China. One possibility that emerged was going to China through Korea. The opportunity presented itself by the fact that, during the invasion of Korea by Hideyosi, a Korean nobleman called Tomas by Dominican sources, was taken prisoner and sent to Japan. Later he escaped and went to Manila where he converted. He offered to bring the faith to Korea because his father was now in a high position in the government. The Dominicans of Manila accepted the challenge and they saw that the best way to go to Korea was by passing by Nagasaki. They left in 1618, and when everything was ready in Nagasaki to cross the strait and to enter Korea, one of the four governors of the city “moved by those that should not oppose to these holy trips”²² was posing many difficulties, resulting in the fact that only the Korean was allowed

²¹ José María González, O.P. *Historia de las misiones dominicas en China, 1732-1700*, pp. 41-44.

²² This is a reference to the Jesuits. Aduarte, *Historia*, vol. 1, p. 122-123. In this situation, the Dominicans look for the help of a Christian, the son of another governor, that facilitated the trip, but when “the person opposing to the trip” discover it manage to put aside one of the guarantors, and the judge stopped the Dominicans going to Korea.

to go on (but not the friars), but he promised to send a ship for them. Suddenly things turned worse in Japan, and two of the Dominicans went back to Manila. Juan de Santo Domingo, who remained for a while waiting for the promised ship, was imprisoned in Omura on December 1618, where he was martyred in March 1619. In other words, the alternative ways to China from Japan also proved to be difficult, because persecution in this country, which was in the process of unification and isolation was getting worse.

Bartolomé Martínez appeared newly on the Chinese scene by means of the earlier method employed by the Manila embassy to Guangzhou. The motive now was related to the growing power of the Dutch controlling the coastal areas of China, and who were trying to cut the commerce between Fujian and Manila in particular. The usual Dutch method to add pressure to the Spanish presence in the Philippines was by making seasonal blockades in front of Manila harbor, especially at the moment they predicted the galleons from Acapulco was ready to reach the archipelago and enter Manila Bay. One of the ways to prevent or minimize this threat was to send messengers to China to stop the voyages of Chinese junks ready to go to Manila to sell silk for the galleons. These junks would be invited to go to Manila once the Dutch ships had set sail to the southern bases with the latest winds of the monsoon. In this context Martínez was commissioned by the new Governor General of the Philippines, Alonso Fajardo y Tenza (1618-1624), who had just arrived in Manila, to go as ambassador to the mandarins of Guangzhou and Quanzhou to warn them against sending sampans to Manila because they would surely run into a Dutch blockade. He left for China on January 1619, and his trip turned out to be eventful, as the ship sought refuge twice on the shores of Isla Hermosa. It was understood that, if circumstances were favorable, he would remain in China after completing his embassy. After his ship reached the Zambales coast in northern Luzon, it ran into a typhoon that damaged the ship. They reached the near area of Pangasinan but they had to abandon ship. With another ship provided locally by the governor they reached Cagayan in the most northern of the island and set sail to the open sea. Their difficulties continued and they had to take shelter twice in Isla Hermosa (Taiwan), though later they reached Macao. He encountered great opposition from the Portuguese preventing his ship to deliver the message to the Chinese, and he too named the Jesuits as those impeding him from reaching Guangzhou. In his later report on the attempt of entering Guangzhou, written probably to the Dominican Provincial, he described the difficulties put by the governor (see annex), and at the end he wrote the following comment:

“The oidor, Major Captain and the city did not find any problem at the beginning [for me to go to Guangzhou] and they told me that very willingly they will allow me to go. But a brother of a Teatin²³ said that there was great difficulty. And a citizen of this city [Macao]

²³ The Teatins order was founded in 1524 to restore the apostolic life, and sanctity among the priests. They were different from the Jesuits, founded in 1534, nevertheless some people used that name to call the Jesuits at the beginning. The Jesuits also were called "Iñiguists", "Papists" or "Reformed Priests".

was shouting on board ship that he was ready to offer his head to be chopped if the Teatins would allow me to pass to China. And it is publically accepted that they stopped my way.”

In fact Martínez got a clear notion that the Dominicans or any other order would never be able enter China from Macao. He wrote a second report,²⁴ probably addressed to the Governor General, defending the advisability of setting a post in Isla Hermosa to curtail increasing activity by the Dutch, but without mentioning missionary endeavors, or his quarrels with the Jesuits. In substance the report, based in his difficult experience in Macao, just said that it would be better for the trade of the Spaniards of Manila to set up a port in a different place from Macao, and that place should be a place called Pacan, in Isla Hermosa. His reasons were the following: (1) This place was centrally located in the commercial network, (2) it was better than the place called El Pinar that Luis Pérez Dasmariñas had tried before, and prices were lower than in Macao and El Pinar itself, (3) the mandarins would not be able to impose taxes, middlemen would be avoided, because Chinese themselves would reach Isla Hermosa. Later he commented that to establish a city similar to Macao would lead to a lot of troubles, the same as in Macao:

“Moreover, after spending much time, money and effort to establish a port in Pinar²⁵ or in any other part of the Chinese coast (which now will seem impossible, because China is now at war, and the Chinese are out to take Macao), we will end up their [the Chinese's] slaves, just like those in Macao, who eat out of their hands. In such a situation [the Chinese] can cut off their support or starve us to death by doubling the prices of food, just as they do in Canton. We will have to put up with thousands of difficulties from mandarins who can have us flogged and who require us to kowtow to them, obey their infamous laws and pay intolerable tributes. And, if we refuse, they will expel us from their land; and if we put up an armed resistance, we will lose our trade and commerce. We will not be able to enter their land unless we pay the *chapa* [license] at a very high price. The license to enter Canton to ask permission to cut trees to repair our ship in Macao cost us 450 pesos. We shall get nothing from this city but thousands of woes, expenses and robberies.”²⁶

And later he continued to describe the harsh lives led by foreigners living in Macao or Guangzhou:

“Whoever has been in Macao knows how the Chinese treat the Portuguese living there. The laws and ordinances written in Chinese characters and engraved in stone in the town halls are the least of their problems. The Chinese do not want them to live in their land in any other manner. When the Portuguese go to the fair in Canton, the mandarins would put

²⁴ Boraó, *Spaniards in Taiwan*, pp. 40-47.

²⁵ The earlier place mentioned as Lampacao.

²⁶ *Spaniards in Taiwan*, p. 42

up a sign at the city gates saying, ‘Allow the barbarians to do business in the city.’ To speak with the mandarin, the Portuguese captain and the judge who visit Canton are required to present themselves without sword or weapon, barefoot, bareheaded, and to kowtow to him. We, too, will have to bear all of this unless we choose to live on Isla Hermosa freely as Spaniards, respected, feared, and even grudgingly revered by the Chinese.”²⁷

He also added that if the Spaniards were to settle in places near Macao, like El Pinar, they would have to “trade with the Cantonese people whom we know nothing of, whereas Isla Hermosa has *chincheos* whom we know [from Manila].” Besides, he added the idea that of—politically speaking—Macao and Manila were incompatible cities because of the bad impact of this trade can have on the economy of the West Indies, “I was told that Macao will never enter into trade with Manila. They have certificates from the King prohibiting this.”²⁸

3. Isla Hermosa as springboard

With the Dominicans, and particularly Martínez, their determination to go to China was growing because of the steady growth of the figures of converts in the parian of Manila. According to Aduarte, the baptized Chinese in the church for Chinese in Manila between 1618 and 1633 increased to 4,752.²⁹ No wonder that Martínez tried again to open a gateway to China 7 years later, during his term as Dominican Provincial (1625-1629), via the route he had foreseen in 1619, by establishing a base close to Fujian, but outside of Chinese administrative control. The moment arrived in 1626.³⁰ This year the Spanish governor Fernando de Silva sent two galleys to the north of Isla Hermosa, not only to curtail Dutch activities, but—as seen by the Dominicans, and by Martínez, who was present at the conquest—to create a springboard to China and Japan. Martínez returned to Manila on the first occasion, but once he ended his term as Provincial he went back to Isla Hermosa in 1629 to organize the trips to China, but he died that year in a shipwreck off the northern coast of Taiwan. Those chosen for that final enterprise at the end of **1631** were Angel Cochi and Tomas Sierra, this time as ambassadors of the Spanish governor in Taiwan, Juan de Alcarazo. They rented a boat that enabled them to enter China clandestinely. Some pirates on board assassinated Fr. Sierra, though Fr. Cochi was able to escape. He ended in Fuan (福安)

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 43

²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 44

²⁹ Aduarte, *Historia*, vol. 1, p. 118.

³⁰ As a matter of fact, we must say that in the same year happened the case of the Jesuit of Manila Artemio de las Cortes whose story reflects quite well the one of the friars were to go through. In 1625 he departed from Manila to Macao for business of his order (in his report does not specify), but the ship where he was on board was brought to the coast of Fujian by the tempest. There he, the whole crew and the rest of passengers experienced a year of difficulties, moving from tribunal to tribunal, and finally the Chinese authorities sent them walking to Guangzhou, to be expelled from there to Macao in 1626. Artemio de las Cortes made a very interesting report of his trip published under the name of *Viaje de la China*, Beatriz Monc6 (ed.), Alianza Universidad, Madrid, 1991.

where he established the first mission, staying there until his death in 1633. But, before this happened, the Dominican Juan Bautista Morales and the Franciscan Antonio Caballero entered China together through the newly opened gateway, giving continuity to the mission.

During those years, other missionaries started going from Taiwan to Fujian. For example, the Franciscan Francisco Bermúdez and the Dominican Francisco Díaz went in 1634. In the spring of 1637, the Franciscan Gaspar Alenda arrived in China. But this did not last long. Díaz and Caballero went to Manila in 1636 to discuss the matter of the Chinese Rites. They separated, to be sure that at least one of them would reach their destination. Caballero went first to Quelang, and after leaving San Salvador was captured by the Dutch off the coast near Fort Zeelandia³¹. Díaz reached Isla Hermosa safely, but the superior of the Dominicans in Isla Hermosa—unaware Caballero’s plight—considered a trip to Manila unnecessary and he sent back Díaz to Fuan.

4. Macao as the expulsion gate for the Dominicans who had entered from Taiwan³²

When Díaz went back to their base in Fuan in September 1637, he was accompanied by the Dominicans García and Chaves and by the Franciscans Pelleja, Escalona and Urquicio,³³ making up a number of almost ten missionary friars in Fujian. This group did not remain there for long either, and it is difficult to trace them since they went back and forth to Formosa, moving to Zhejiang, dispersing or hiding, especially in the moments of persecution that soon followed. For example, during the persecution of 1637-1638, a time of three major different episodes sharpening the differences between the Friars and the Jesuits,³⁴ the three recently arrived Franciscans were arrested in Dingtou (Tingtao, 頂頭), and from there sent to Ningde (Ningteh, 寧德) and Fuzhou (福州), and were finally expelled to Macao. In their case, the Chinese authorities applied the easier and most expedient pattern for those unfamiliar with the language.

Fearing persecution, the others started hiding in different places, a situation that lasted until January 1638, when the Dominicans decided to risk preaching in a public. For instance, Morales and Chaves who were more versed in the language went to Fuzhou. They encountered some difficulties there,³⁵ but they were able to cope, and they returned to Fogan. There the situation was insecure for the church (the Franciscans Escalona, Alenda and San Marcos continued hidden), and Morales and Díaz moved on to preach in Zhejiang. After some movements there, they were

³¹ *Spaniards in Taiwan*, p. 247. After a year, Caballero was sent to the Moluccas and later to Batavia. Finally he arrived in Manila in 1637 after being rescued by some compatriots.

³² The main information of this part comes from Victorio Riccio and Diego Aduarte. José María Gonzalez summarizes it in his *Historia de las misiones dominicanas*, chapters VII-VIII.

³³ In fact, these three Franciscan missionaries had attempted a trip to Japan in 1634, but when they neared Lequios, they were forced to return to Taiwan because of inclement weather. Then they changed their interest for China.

³⁴ One example of the difficult relation among Franciscans and Jesuits is those years was related to the trip of the Franciscans, Caballero and Alenda, that reached Peking in 1637 and had a famous “dis-encounter” with the Jesuit Adam Shall. A matter that provoked a lot of comments in Manila.

³⁵ The soldiers showed to then an edict for exile, but they said it was intended not for them but for the Jesuits Aleni and Díaz. p. 138

arrested and sent outside the province. When they reached Fujian they were set free again. Back in Fogan they were captured by some bandits, who sent them to the local magistrate of the city, who transferred them to the higher one in Funingfu (福寧). After several days in prison they were sent to the Viceroy (Dutang 都堂) of Fuzhou in September 1638. On their way they were able to see the others mendicants, and agreed to reshape the mission, with some remaining there, and some returning Formosa to take a rest. At the same time Morales and Díaz requested that the Viceroy be exiled to Isla Hermosa instead of Macao, but this was not granted and they had to make the whole trip on foot, being interrogated by tribunal after tribunal, in all the cities they passed through.³⁶ From Macao, Díaz went to Manila where he stayed for two years compiling a Chinese dictionary. Morales stayed in Macao for two years, where he was unmolested by the Portuguese, but he was totally inactive without any ministry assigned to him. Finally in 1640 went back to Manila, before taking his famous trip to Rome.

At that moment they realized Fogan was a possible entry point because they had gained local supporters, and it appeared that unlike in Guangzhou the authorities here did not have clear guidelines for dealing with them. The magistrates applied some torments to dissuade them from staying, but the missionaries knew that there was some room for discussion and tolerance; consequently there was the possibility of eventually reaching the status of the Jesuits. New efforts were needed in 1640, because over a period of ten months (between 1640 and 1641) no missionaries were in China, since the only remaining missionary Juan García had returned temporarily to Isla Hermosa due to health problems. The Provincial sent Díaz back to China, accompanied by Capillas (the newest recruit for China from the Cagayan mission in northern Luzon), passing by Isla Hermosa. They stayed there for a year waiting for the appropriate boat, and eventually arrived in March 1642. This happened shortly before the Dutch took over the Spanish post of Taiwan. They reunited with García in the village of Fuan and continued the

³⁶ A very detailed report of this persecution can be found in Juan García: "Relación de la Vida y Progresos del Venerable y devoto P. Fr. Francisco Díaz, religioso de la Orden de Nro. P. E Sto Domingo y misionero en este reino de la Gran China. Dedicada al P. Fr. Theodoro (Quirós) de la Madre de Dios", APSR, Avila, Sección China, Tomo 4, Doc. 7. The synopsis of this document is the following: "Díaz went to the city to remove a placard forbidding the Christian religion. He did it publicly amid the astonishment of every one when he brooked the order posted by the Viceroy. He was arrested and brought to the judge, but he did not stop preaching in front of the judge, who sent it to the governor of the village. He was put into jail for 5 or 6 days, assisted by some Christians. Later they sent him to the city of Funing where the main court was located. There, one of the magistrates of the city severely punished him justifying his action saying that the foreigner came to preach the sect of the Law of God. Díaz was exhibited during 6-8 days, but at night he was brought back to the court. People feeling pity for him brought some food, but Díaz continue preaching from that situation, gaining the understanding of some people. He had some problems sleeping, and with the cold weather, because it was February. Later the judge sent him to the Viceroy of Fuzhou: "Who sentenced him to be exiled from that kingdom through Macao." In Ningte founded one literati Christian from the city of Fuan, who said to the officers that he will be responsible for the transportation in better conditions. In Fuzhou, a Christian called Juan Siu volunteered to take the place Díaz, he accepted and looked for a shelter. When Juan Siu arrived to the original village, the judge there thought that the judge of Fuzhou deceived him, because Siu was not a foreigner, and then freed Siu. Later he was captured with other missionaries and sent back to Macao again, but this time was finally expelled.

mission in China; in fact, until modern times.³⁷

Conclusion

From the day the first missionary entered Guangzhou, the Jesuit Melchior Nunes Barreto in 1555, up until the moment that the Jesuits obtained permission of residence in 1583, the evangelization of China greatly resembles a competition between rivals to enter this promised land, though the Jesuits were at an advantage after 1565, the moment in which they established residence in the Portuguese enclave. In these early years the main opposition to Spanish missionaries appears to have come from the Portuguese merchants who saw their weak position in Guangzhou threatened.

On the other hand the Spanish missionaries who tried to enter Guangzhou during these years came without any cultural or linguistic preparation, and appear to be exploring possibilities of having a chance, than moving there with a pre-determined goal. The picture changed at the end of the period (1582-1583), not only because the competition seemed to intensify but because at that time it was clear that, besides patience and negotiating skills, knowledge of the language, Chinese customs and etiquette were essential for the enterprise. The first one to succeed was the Jesuit Ruggieri. After 1583 the Jesuits realized the weakness of their position in China and became more conscious of the need to control entry by other missionaries. Besides, they were afraid that their method of proselytizing, which they considered to be the only valid one for the country, would be jeopardized by the presence of other orders, especially the friars.

It is in this context that we must place the attempts of the Spanish Dominicans from the Philippines after 1587, possibly the order most determined to enter China at the end of the 16th century and in the first third of the 17th. They always regarded Fujian as an alternative entry point, but from 1619 Martínez was totally convinced that Fujian would be the only entry point, which would be open after establishing permanent residence on the coast of Formosa, something that proved to be true the first day of the year 1632 under the embassy of Cocci. The Dominican attempts prior to the entry of Cocci can be summarized in the following table:

³⁷ Certainly, the whole picture changed after their Philippines-Isla Hermosa lifeline was cut off. The missionary presence in Fujian was able to continue notwithstanding some misfortunes, like the deaths of Francisco Díaz in 1646 and Francisco Capillas on 15 January 1648. The latter case happened as a result of the disorder created in Fu-an by the arrival of the Tartars. A new revival came when, in 1649, Morales arrived back from his trip to Rome, giving the Dominicans a new impetus in their evangelization.

Year	Dominican missionaries	Destination	Reason for the trip
1587	Arcediano, Delgado, López	Macao	Only missionary
1590	Castro, Benavides	Haiteng (prison)	Only missionary
1593	Gandullo, Castro	Zhangzhou	Ambassadors
1596	Gandullo	(Fujian)	
1599	Aduarte	Lampacao, Guanzhou	Emissary
1604	Gandullo	Fujian	Ambassador
1612	Bartolomé Martínez	Macao, (Guanzhou)	Assigned by the bishop of Macao
1618	Juan de Sto, Domingo	Japan, Korea, China	Only missionary
1619	Bartolomé Martínez	Macao, (Guanzhou)	Emissary
1632:	Cocci, Serra	Fuzhou	Ambassadors

The table clearly shows how the Spanish Dominicans employed different means, and that the ones to prove more successful were ambassadors or official emissaries. In fact, this guise had been used by the Jesuits as well, who went either in the entourage of the Portuguese ambassadors or at the service of Portuguese merchants; but it made more sense for from the faraway Philippines than from neighboring Macao. In both cases the two orders looked to their respective civil authorities for assistance; the Jesuits from the Captain General of Macao to prevent other missionaries from coming, and the Dominicans from the Spanish Governor of the Philippines to help with the logistics for entering China.

The Dominicans, finally succeed, especially since the decree of Urban VIII of 1633, however the rivalry between both orders did not end but was transferred to the theological arena. The fact that both parties (now the Dominicans helped the Franciscans) engaged in the discussion on the Chinese Rites leads us to think that the theological dissent was probably magnified by extra-theological matters, particularly many years of “dis-encounter” and rivalry, but more research might be needed to prove this point.

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Annex (APSR, Avila, Sección China, Tomo 4, Doc. 2. ff. 153r-156v):

Sexta mission que embió á China esta Pro. y llegada á Macan el P. Fr. Barthme. Martínez o detuvieron y no lo dexaron entrar los Portugueses por consejo y diligencia de los Padres de la Compañía. Son estos los papeles originales, é instrumentales. Año de 1619. Comienza:

En Macao.

Digo yo Fr. Btme. Martínez Religioso de la Orden de Sto. Domingo de la Provincia del Santo Rossari de las Yslas Philipinas q. Dõ Also. Faxardo de Tença, Governador y Capitã General de las Ysla Philipinas, Presidente de la Real Chançilleria y en ellas reside á pedimento de a ciudad de Manila me inviõ all Reino de China con una enuajada para lo cual tengo necesidad de pasar a la ciudad de Cantõn para allí requerir a los mandarines no permitan al olandés llegue a contratar a los puertos de China ni los chinos mercaderes uaian a contratar con él á la Sunda porque nos consta ser muchos los que allá van en grande detrimento de los estados de su Magestad. Lo cual el dicho ouernador y Capitã General de las Yslas Filipinas quiere impedir y para y *resmentelo* açer quiere primero se notifique á los madarines de la provincia de Canton y de Chincheo lo proivan á tanto que los Olandeses son declarados enemigos nuestros y suos.

Yten me ordenó su Sra. Procurando esto en Canton pase a Chin-cheo a procurar alli esto mismo y dar orden á los mercaderes chinas cómo desde aqui en adelante puedan ir á Manila sin caer en manos de los Olandeses pues consta estar el enemigo Olandes rico y poderoso por los rouos que los años atra á echo á los chinos en la costa de Manila lo cual es para grã mal y daño de los estados de Magestad y en particular de esta república y de la de Manila.

Auiendo yo llegado á esta ciudad dí luego cuenta á *Vendes* y al Capitan maior y oidor de esta ciudad á lo que venia. Ytem entregué a *Vendes* las cartas del Governador y Capitan General de las Philipinas de la ciudad de Manila en las quales certificauan á *Vendes*. á lo que uenia.

Constandoles pues á *Vendes* en nombre de quien y a que venia á 6 de Abril de este presente año de 1619. Todos los señores de este Cauildo y Regimiento de esta ciudad de Macao fueron al Conuento de nuestro Pe. Santo Domingo y notificaron al Governador de este Obispado y No. del dicho conuento una cedula de su Magestad en la qual manda que los religiosos que a esta ciudad uinieren de Manila sean compelidos a volver a la dicha ciudad. Y que atenta á esta cedula *Vendes* no podia dejarme pasar adelante. Y que el dicho P. Governador me mandase volver a la ciudad de Manila.

Digo que esta cedula abla con los Religiosos que aqui uienen de Manila como religiosos para fiçarse en esta ciudad o pasar adelante, pero no abla ni en ella se contiene que si algun Religioso uiene en nombre del Governador y Capitan General de las Yslas Philipinas y ciudad de Manila á negocios tan importantes como los que yo traio para el uien comun y estados de su Magestad se le estorue el paso y antes de procurar á lo que uiene sea compelido volverse á Manila.

Las cartas del Capitan Gaspar Nunez no contradicen á las que yo traio por que uenir distintas

cosas en distintas cartas no es contradecirme. En las que traio uiene lo susodicho, en las del Capitan Gaspar Nunez solo que de aviso a China no uaian este año á Manila los mercaderes chinos atento estar al enemigo Olandes en la costa aguardandoles. Estas cartas se enviaron a *Vendes* para que con breuedad las despachasen y llegase a Chincheo antes que partiesen los naos a Manila. No me las encargaron a mi por que ni envia el Governador de las Yslas Philipinas que me auian de detener en esta ciudad y en Canton y en el camino y que fueran de ningun momento el lleuarlos yo porque quando llegara todos los nauios auian de estar partidos de China.

Yten no se envia al presente enuajador de capa y espada con el acompañamiento, autoridad y presentes como se requeria por sauer ya *Vendes* mejor les constar quan timida es la gente de este Reino y no querer admitir extranxeros por lo cual fuera cosa dificil poder pasar el tal enuajador. Ynuiauan a un Religioso o dos, solos por entender no se reçelara dellos y ser los Religiosos de Santo Domingo de las Yslas Philipinas tan conocidos en la prouincia de Chincheo por el mucho uien q. en Philipinas les açemos y sauer su lengua todo lo qual façilitaua para se poder mejor lo susodicho negociar.

Y si pareciere que mi yda a la feria será de ningun prouecho (p. 154) digo que quando mas no pueda daré en Canton la enuajada q. traio a los mercaderes de Chincheo y informare el modo q. an de tener en hir a Manila sin caer en manos del Olandes y los certificaré en la aiuda y defensa que en el Gouernador y Capitan General de las Yslas Philipinas tendran para en adelante porque no desconfien y se quiebre el trato con Manila pues depende del gran parte del bien de aquella republica.

Atento pues mi yda y no ser en detrimento de esta republica sino ante ser en grande utilidad suia y de la de la de Manila a *Vendes* pido y suplico me dexen pasar a donde la feria se celebra en la enmarcacion que a ella sea.

Y en no se me dar licencia a *Vendes* pido se me responda en esta mi peticion porque se me estorua el paso para que le conste a Gouernador y Capitan General de las Yslas Philipinas y a la ciudad de Manila y de ello se de cuenta a su Magestad para que se quiten los inconvenientes que ai porque si en adelante aconteciere o fuere necesario inuiar algun Religioso para el Reino de a China con alguna enuajada en utilidad del uien comun y estado de su Magestad qual es la que yo traio, pueda libremente pasar por esta ciudad. Fr. Brme Martínez.

Nota: El Oidor, Capitan mor. y ciudad al principio no allaron dificultad i decian que de mui buena gana me dexarian pasar. Un hermano de un Tiatino dijo que auia dificultad. Y un ciudadano desta ciudad dio boces en el nauio que le cortasen la *ueca* si los Tiatinos no me inpedian i es fama publica q. ellos me han estorbado.