

CONNECTED HISTORIES IN THE EARLY MODERN WORLD



Edited by Christina H. Lee and Ricardo Padrón

The Spanish Pacific, 1521-1815, Volume 2

A Reader of Primary Sources

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The Spanish Pacific: 1521–1815



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Connected Histories in the Early Modern World

Connected Histories in the Early Modern World contributes to our growing understanding of the connectedness of the world during a period in history when an unprecedented number of people—Africans, Asians, Americans, and Europeans—made transoceanic or other long distance journeys. Inspired by Sanjay Subrahmanyam's innovative approach to early modern historical scholarship, it explores topics that highlight the cultural impact of the movement of people, animals, and objects at a global scale. The series editors welcome proposals for monographs and collections of essays in English from literary critics, art historians, and cultural historians that address the changes and cross-fertilizations of cultural practices of specific societies. General topics may concern, among other possibilities: cultural confluences, objects in motion, appropriations of material cultures, cross-cultural exoticization, transcultural identities, religious practices, translations and mistranslations, cultural impacts of trade, discourses of dislocation, globalism in literary/visual arts, and cultural histories of lesser studied regions (such as the Philippines, Macau, African societies).

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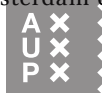


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Cover illustration: Detail from the frontispiece of the *Boxer Codex* (c. 1580–90s), Boxer Mss. II.
Courtesy Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Cover design: Coördesign, Leiden

Lay-out: Crius Group, Hulshout

ISBN 978 90 4856 019 6

e-ISBN 978 90 4856 020 2

DOI 10.5117/9789048560196

NUR 685

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Acknowledgements

We are most grateful to our contributors, all of whom responded to our call for primary sources with proposals that were both thought-provoking and consequential for better understanding the early modern Spanish Pacific. We are especially thankful to them for their collaborative spirit and their patience throughout the process of putting this volume together. We are grateful to the anonymous peer reviewers and to Ignacio López-Calvo for the careful reading of this volume and the discerning suggestions on how to better structure our manuscript. We would like to recognize Julia Schleck, the coeditor of the *Connected Histories* series, for her continuing support of Spanish Pacific Studies with this second volume of the reader, and Erika Gaffney, the senior commissioning editor of early modern studies at AUP, who has been one of the strongest promoters of Spanish Pacific studies and early modern studies more broadly.



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Introduction

Christina H. Lee and Ricardo Padrón

The Spanish Pacific: A Web of Connections

The primary sources included in this volume are meant to supplement the selection available in our original anthology, *The Spanish Pacific, 1521–1815: A Reader of Primary Sources*, but in preparing this volume, we have not assumed any familiarity on the part of the reader with that publication. If anything, this very introduction may be the best place for the reader to start, since it has been designed to situate the sources provided herein within the field of Spanish Pacific studies, as the editors understand it. It begins by defining what we mean by the Spanish Pacific, and then discusses current scholarship on the topic before outlining the contents of the anthology itself. A generous bibliography of work on the Spanish Pacific published since 2016 has been added to our introduction. We hope these materials will be useful to newcomers and seasoned specialists alike.

In the first volume of our publication, we conceptualized the early modern Spanish Pacific as the space located in Southeast and East Asia that the Spanish Crown and her subjects imagined as a transpacific extension of Spain's empire in the Americas, a region that included the Philippines and the Marianas, where Spain effectively established itself as a colonial power, but also parts of China, Japan, and the Moluccas that Spain mapped as part of the hemisphere assigned to it by the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas.¹ Yet we also proposed that the Spanish Pacific could be understood in other ways, not as a geographically bounded space, but as a “web of connections” that emanated from the crucial contact zone which was the Spanish Philippines to a host of varied and distant locations in Asia and Spanish America.² While the first concept recuperates the forgotten geographical imaginary of certain early modern actors, the second, loosely inspired by contemporary

1 Lee and Padrón, *The Spanish Pacific*, 11.

2 Lee and Padrón, *The Spanish Pacific*, 15.

social scientific and historiographical models, allows one to cut across the mutually exclusive, well-bounded territories of imperial and national cartographies. Here, we elaborate upon this second definition by suggesting that the Spanish Pacific can be understood as a social space constituted in and through a variety of spatial practices, including navigation, commerce, labor, migration, colonization, translation, and evangelization, which generated connections of all kinds between Asia, the Americas, and Europe.³

At the heart of this social space was a key piece of infrastructure, the transoceanic trade route that connected Manila with Acapulco and, ultimately, the great emporium that was Mexico City. Despite Spanish efforts to regulate it, the galleon route was freighted with contraband, riddled with corruption, and pockmarked with holes that leaked into sundry informal markets.⁴ The people and goods that crossed the ocean on the galleons did not necessarily start or end their journeys at the port cities. The silver that was loaded at Acapulco came from the mountains of Mexico and Peru, and went on to circulate in the markets of the South China Sea. The hardtack that sustained bodies on the long ocean voyages was produced by Indigenous bakers in central Mexico.⁵ The ivory that Chinese artists in Manila used to make religious figures for the American and European markets came from Southeast Asia and, sometimes, Africa.⁶ The people who disembarked in Acapulco went on to settle, some of them, in Mexico City and elsewhere in the Americas. So, while the galleon route lends itself to precise mapping, the Spanish Pacific does not. At either end of the central trunk, the Spanish Pacific branches out into the myriad social spaces that made up early modern Asia and America, making its outermost boundaries difficult to define.

Everywhere in the Spanish Pacific we find people of numerous races, nationalities, and ethnicities. Many of the inhabitants of Acapulco, for example, were of African origin, while those of Manila were Tagalog and substantially Chinese. From one end to the other, Asian and American natives, Chinese, Africans, and the progeny of the unions of these diverse groups worked as artisans, shopkeepers, merchants, interpreters, shipbuilders, pirates, crews, muleteers, soldiers, stevedores, healers, farmers, and much else besides. Some were free and others enslaved. Non-Castilian Europeans,

3 For a terse discussion of the Spanish Pacific along these lines, see Crewe, "Connecting the Indies." Our concept of a social space generated by spatial practices draws upon Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 68–168.

4 Blanco, "Presumptions of Empire," discusses how the network that was effectively created was not the one that the Spanish had intended to build.

5 Seijas, "Inns, Mules, and Hardtack."

6 Porras, "Locating Hispano-Philippine Ivories."



the Portuguese and the Dutch, in particular, were also involved, both within spaces controlled by Spain and in their own colonial outposts such as Macau and Batavia. The Spanish and the Spanish creoles included individuals from the metropolis and the colonies. The latter were the ones who most often profited from the galleon trade. The Spanish Pacific, therefore, was not the “Spanish lake” described over a century ago by William L. Schurz, a space built by and for Europeans: it was a complex space of movement, exchange, and transculturation in which Spanish initiatives played a key role, but in which the Spanish never held full dominance.⁷

Recent Scholarship on the Spanish Pacific

The scholarship on the Spanish Pacific has grown since 2016. Most notable has been the publication of Ricardo Padrón’s *Indies of the Setting Sun: How Early Modern Spain Mapped the Far East as the Transpacific West* (University of Chicago Press, 2020), which is the first monographic work that evinces and analyzes the discourses of Spanish cartographers, officials, historians, and missionaries who mapped the Americas and parts of Southeast and East Asia into a continuous transpacific space, challenging the tendency of specialists in area studies to treat these materials separately. Padrón reminds scholars of Asian studies, for example, that the most detailed description of Southeast Asia appears in print in Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo’s *Historia general y natural de la Indias*, a text that tends to be read exclusively by scholars of Latin American studies. In the same vein, Padrón points out that Juan González de Mendoza’s *Historia del gran reino de la China* is not just a text about China and her link to the Americas: it is also the first account of Antonio de Espejo’s expedition to New Mexico to appear in print.

Padrón’s study forms part of a contemporary wave in the study of the Spanish Pacific that dates back to the contributions of economic historians Dennis Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, who for a couple of decades have been making a powerful case for the importance of the transpacific silver trade to the emergence of the first truly global economy. Others have extended and elaborated upon our understanding of the Spanish Pacific as a space of economic exchange. The essays in *Redes imperiales: Intercambios, interacciones y representación política entre Nueva España, las Antillas y Filipinas, siglos XVIII y XIX*, edited by Carmen Yuste López and María Dolores Elizalde

7 Compare Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*, with Crewe, “Connecting the Indies.” See also Schurz, “The Spanish Lake.”



(CSIC, 2018), help us understand how specific transpacific commercial networks functioned, and how various aspects of the galleon trade changed over time. Those in *Las Filipinas ¿Una periferia global? Gobernar y vivir en los confines del imperio hispano*, edited by Guillaume Gaudin and Paulina Machuca (El Colegio de Michoacán, 2022) emphasize the challenges posed to long-range control by distance. José Luis Gasch-Tomás examines the negative effects of the transpacific trade in certain sections of the Castilian markets and on the frustrated efforts of the merchants in the Iberian side of the Atlantic to limit it in *The Atlantic World and the Manila Galleons: Circulation, Market, and Consumption of Asian Goods in the Spanish Empire, 1565–1650* (Brill, 2018). Gasch-Tomás furthermore studies the consumer dynamics of the New Spanish elite that drove the demand for Asian goods in New Spain and in the Spanish peninsula. More recently, Mariano Bonialian has highlighted in his *La América española: Entre el Pacífico y el Atlántico: Globalización mercantil y economía política, 1580–1840* (El Colegio de México, 2020) the central role that Peruvian merchants had in both the inter-American and the transatlantic commerce incentivized by the Acapulco–Manila galleon trade. Bonialian argues that, due to the explosion of the silver trade from Potosí to Asia, between 1580 and 1620, merchants in Peru managed to forgo many of the trade restrictions imposed by the Spanish authorities.

A number of publications have focused on the other end of the galleon route, in the South China and East China seas. Ubaldo Iaccarino's *Comercio y diplomacia entre Japón y Filipinas en la era Keichō (1596–1615)* (Harrassowitz Verlag, 2017) historicizes the commercial relationship between Spanish authorities in Manila Mexico, and Japan. Iaccarino follows the model set by Manel Ollé in that he mines primary and secondary sources in Spanish, Portuguese—along with other European languages—and Japanese. This approach allows Iaccarino to deeply examine the functioning of the Spanish galleon trade as well as into the dynamics of the Tokugawa system of maritime commerce—based on vessel licensing or *shuinsen*. What Iaccarino's study reveals is that both Spanish and Japanese commerce relied heavily on Portuguese and Chinese merchants, whose loyalty depended more on the promise of profit than their alliance to a specific political entity. The collection of essays by Jorge Mojarro and Serrano Avilés, *En el archipiélago de la Especiería: España y Molucas en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Desperta Ferro, 2021), breaks new ground by bringing attention to the little-known period when Spain ruled the Spice Islands from Manila. Geared toward a Spanish-speaking general audience, it includes work by scholars from Indonesia and Taiwan.



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Archaeologists and art historians have followed closely on the heels of the economic historians in developing contemporary scholarship on the Spanish Pacific, by tracing the flow of objects from Asia to America and the impact of Asian art and aesthetics on the Atlantic world. *Archaeology of Manila Galleon Seaports and Early Maritime Globalization* (Springer, 2019), edited by Chunming Wu, Roberto Junco Sanchez, and Miao Liu, is similarly largely focused on the Asian end of the galleon trade. This volume looks at the archaeology of the seaports and trade centers that comprised the maritime route of the galleon trade. It highlights the key role played by Yuegang port in the Fujian Region, a lesser-known port for scholars of European or Latin American studies, but that was possibly the most important transfer hub for the material goods that ultimately supplied the Manila galleons with luxury goods. It singles out Yuegang as the main entry point for New World products, such as sweet potatoes, maize, tomatoes, and tobacco, to China. The volume also traces the changes in the demand of porcelain for export by examining the remains of porcelain ceramics found along the transpacific galleon route, near Yuegang, Keelung, Macao, Taiwan, Nagasaki, Manila, and the Mexican port of San Blas.

The collection of essays edited by Florina H. Caspitano-Baker and Meha Priyadarshini, *Transpacific Engagements: Trade, Translation, and Visual Culture of Entangled Empires (1565–1898)* (Ayala and Getty, 2022), looks at the effects of the galleon trade from the vantage point of Manila. As the editors remind us, “long before the term ‘transpacific’ became fashionable,” the Manila galleon trade has been a “national preoccupation” in the scholarship of the Philippines.⁸ The collection of essays moreover highlights the significance of the study of transpacific material cultures in order to better understand how much of the galleon trade was defined by the exchange and melding of distinct skills and knowledge, as well as a preexisting Asian trade system that had brought Asian goods to the Philippines prior to the Spanish conquest.⁹

In her own monograph, Priyadarshini reminds us that there was a preexisting porcelain trade across the South China Sea to the Philippines during the pre-Hispanic period. In *Chinese Porcelain in Colonial Mexico: The Material Worlds of an Early Modern Trade* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), she surveys the journey of Chinese porcelain from the moment it was made in Jingdezhen, to its arrival in Acapulco and Mexico City via Manila. Priyadarshini also discusses how the demand for Chinese porcelain incentivized

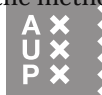
8 Capistrano-Baker and Priyadarshini, *Transpacific Engagements*, 29.

9 Capistrano-Baker and Priyadarshini, *Transpacific Engagements*, 28, 163–64.

the production of the ceramics industry in Puebla, which developed its own specific local features. In her discussion of the production of Chinese porcelain in Jingdezhen, the local source of the sought-after ceramics, she de-accentuates the European protagonism in the making of the porcelain by proposing that the techniques for the manufacture of porcelain were in place by the time Spanish began demanding it for their galleons. And while she acknowledges that it was the European demand that turned Jingdezhen into the ceramics capital of the world, she also points out that the global reach of porcelain had little impact in improving the lives of the artisans themselves.

Beyond the demand for Asian goods placed by the global market, in the eighteenth century, the armed conflicts and raids that resulted from empire building had a crucial role in the circulation of art and artifacts and architectural productions in the Spanish Pacific. As J. M. Mancini specifically argues in the first half of her *Art and War in the Pacific World: Making, Breaking, and Taking from Anson's Voyage to the Philippine-American War* (University of California Press, 2018), the British deliberately utilized the practice of “take and loot” during their occupation of Manila as a method of “surplus transfer.” The British looted silver, art, and artifacts that brought immense wealth and cultural capital to individual Britons, as well as maps, rare books, and manuscripts whose value lay in the (possibly classified) information they contained. Mancini additionally shows that in the aftermath of the British occupation the architecture of Manila was radically reconfigured to prevent and resist further attacks and lootings. Mancini’s argument that looting—and not only trade—was a key practice in the circulation of material cultures in the Pacific is indeed compelling.

Other scholars have continued to examine the impact of Asian cultural practices in New Spain beyond art and aesthetics. Paulina Machuca breaks new ground in *El vino de cocos en la Nueva España: Historia de una transculturación en el siglo XVII* (El Colegio de Michoacán, 2018) by tracing the Philippine origins of a drink as “Mexican” as mezcal. The examination of Mexican archives in Colima, Guadalajara, and the capital city, as well as the Spanish archives in the Archivo General de Indias—among other minor repositories—leads Machuca to assert that the systematic importation of coconut seeds occurred with the opening of the transpacific galleon trade, which led to environmental changes and the integration of the coconut into New Spanish foods and beverages (for example, coconut wine). As Machuca unearths in detail, the distillation process used to make coconut wine, brought by the *indios chinos* who arrived transpacifically from the Philippines, gave way to the method of producing mezcal.

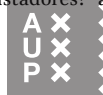


Interest in the migration of *indios chinos* has been growing since the publication of Tatiana Seijas's seminal *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), which exposed the slave trade of Asian subjects—known as “*indios chinos*” or simply “*chinos*”—who were sent in the transpacific galleon to New Spain.¹⁰ Rubén Carrillo follows the lives of these *chinos* in *Las gentes del mar Sangley* (Palabra de Clío, 2017) and shows the ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of this Asian population as well as the diverse range of their experiences. Among the *chinos*, he finds them enslaved or as free subjects, working as cooks, sailors, mule drivers, barbers, servants, merchants, and even landowners. Carrillo's work also shows that *chinos* married non-*chinos* (mestizos, Indigenous or Africans) in the seventeenth century and sought ways of establishing social networks of support not only through marriage and the practice of godparenting (*compadrazgo*) but also through membership to guilds and confraternities. Along the same vein, Diego Javier Luis's book *The First Asians in the Americas: A Transpacific History* (Harvard University Press, 2024) focuses on the transformation of the social and cultural convergences caused by the migration of Asians in New Spain during the early modern period.

Stephanie Mawson's two articles on the soldiers who were coerced to serve the Spanish Crown in the Philippines in the seventeenth century demonstrate that forced migration was practiced from both ends of the transpacific course.¹¹ These men, known as *forzados*, had been vagrants or criminals who were sentenced to serve in the Philippines as soldiers. As Mawson shows, they were not the compliant and loyal soldiers described by historian John Phelan, but were rather largely unwilling participants in Spain's project to conquer and evangelize the Pacific. They suffered from hunger, physical duress, and extreme poverty, which led them to desertion, mutiny, and criminality. They acted at times as agents of colonialism, but they also subverted colonial power by engaging in criminal activities, desertion, or mutiny. Eva Maria Melh's *Forced Migration in the Spanish Pacific World: From Mexico to the Philippines, 1765–1811* (Cambridge University Press, 2016) studies the cases of the four thousand Mexican soldiers sent to the Philippines in the century that follows Mawson's work on forced soldiers during the Bourbon era. Although she looks at different cases, she agrees with Mawson in her argument that most of these soldiers were involuntarily conscripted into the transpacific troops. Melh, moreover, argues that the practice was promoted and supported by the residents of New Spain, who

10 Mercene, *Manila Men*.

11 Mawson, “Convicts or Conquistadores?” and “Unruly Plebeians.”

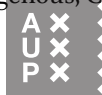


in the context of Bourbon social reforms, thought of banishment to the Philippines as a means to purge their urban spaces of its objectionable men and a chance for the latter to reform through strenuous military service.

Mawson's monograph *Incomplete Conquests: The Limits of Spanish Empire in the Seventeenth-Century Philippines* (Cornell University Press, 2023) focuses on the limitations of the Spanish colonial government instead of the processes that drove colonialization. Kristie Patricia Flannery's *Piracy and the Making of the Spanish Pacific World* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2024) shows that the limitations of Spanish rule were evident by the need of Spanish colonial officials and missionaries to forge alliances with Philippine natives and Chinese migrants in order to resist piracy or the threat of piracy by Chinese, Muslim, and British agents in the Pacific.

Andrés Reséndez's *Conquering the Pacific: An Unknown Mariner and the Final Great Voyage of the Age of Discovery* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2021) is another recent publication that problematizes the figure of the conquistador; in this instance by revisiting the transpacific voyage that led to the conquest of the Philippines and the pioneering the trip back (*tornaviaje*) to Mexico. Reséndez's take on this history is innovative in that the conquistador of his narrative is the Afro-Portuguese mulatto Lope Martín, a figure who has been largely overlooked by historiography in favor of the Spanish friar Andrés de Urdaneta despite the fact that he was the mariner who piloted the first ship to complete the East–West transpacific trip in 1565. Reséndez's main goal is to recognize Lope Martín's extraordinary maritime achievement, which was undermined by the Spanish authorities as soon as Urdaneta's ship made its return to New Spain from the Philippines after the Spanish occupation of Cebu and Lope Martín was accused and convicted of treason. In unpacking Lope Martín's exceptional biography and achievements, Reséndez drives the point that conquistadors were not a monolith. As seen in the example of Lope Martín, one could be both the subject and the agent of Iberian conquest and colonialism. Felipe Fernández-Armesto's *Straits: Beyond the Myth of Magellan* (University of California Press, 2022) tackles the much more well-known figure of Ferdinand Magellan, debunking myths about the explorer as a heroic figure.

One theme that arises from these latest works on the mobilization of humans in order to push the project of the Spanish expansion into the Pacific is the lack of shared purpose and ideology among those Spanish subjects. The publications mentioned above show that Spanish rule in the Pacific was not only under the threat of foreign powers, it was also impaired from within by its own armed forces, and it faced continuous opposition in the Philippines from the Indigenous, Chinese, and mestizo communities it had



supposedly subjugated. The essays in *Philippine Confluence: Iberian, Chinese and Islamic Currents, c. 1500–1800*, edited by Jos Gommans and Ariel Lopez (Leiden University Press, 2020), explore various forms of cross-cultural interaction, cooperative and conflictive, in the contact zone which was the Philippine Islands.

Christina H. Lee's *Saints of Resistance: Devotions in the Philippines under Early Spanish Rule* (Oxford University Press, 2021) delves into the strategies these communities developed to practice dissent and encode communal histories of the violence that accompanied the Spanish conquest and colonialism in the Philippine lowlands. More specifically, Lee argues that discourses of resistance fed, sustained, and were transculturated into many of the devotions to the saints that continue to be revered today. John Blanco's *Counter Hispanization in the Colonial Philippines: Literature, Law, Religion, and Native Custom* (Amsterdam University Press, 2023), on the other hand, largely credits the religious orders for the icon-based religious cults that developed in the native resettlements (away from Manila). He argues that apparitions, miracles, and prophecies were initially imposed by the respective religious orders in charge as a means to provide the native communities with an imaginary that would substitute for the Crown's failure to establish the rule of Spanish law in these missions. Blanco suggests that the missionaries (and the native elites) were incentivized to maintain the frontier condition of the resettlements they operated because they were the main benefactors of the absence of a hegemonic Spanish law.

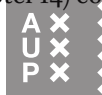
Finally, there have also been significant contributions to the history of knowledge production in the Spanish Pacific. Diego Sola's *El cronista de China: Juan González de Mendoza, entre la misión, el imperio y la historia* (Universitat de Barcelona, 2018) is the first monograph dedicated to one of the most important Spanish-language contributors to early modern knowledge of China, the Augustinian friar Juan González de Mendoza. Interest in the *Boxer Codex*, an anonymous anthology of texts dealing with the natural and moral history of the South China Sea that features a series of color illustrations believed to be produced by a Chinese artist, has exploded. Previously, the text was only available in Spanish, either through the digital surrogate of the original available on the website of the Lilly Library at Indiana University or the edition edited by Luis Abraham Barandica Martínez and published in Mexico City (Palabra de Clío, 2007). Recent years have witnessed the near-simultaneous publication of two separate Spanish–English bilingual editions, one in the Philippines by Isaac Donoso, María Luisa García, Carlos Quirino, and Mauro García (Vidal Foundation, 2016) and the other in the Netherlands edited by George Bryan

Souza and Jeffrey Scott Turley (Brill, 2016). The essays in *El Códice Boxer: etnografía colonial e hibridismo cultural en las islas Filipinas*, edited by Manel Ollé and Joan-Pau Rubiés (Universitat de Barcelona, 2019), serves as a point of departure for contemporary scholarship on the text.

The contents of the current volume were assembled through an open call for proposals that asked contributors to consider filling whatever gaps they saw in the original publication. The first four contributions allow us to hear subaltern voices as clearly as the sources allow. Yangyou Fang (chapter 1) and Guillermo Ruiz-Stovel (chapter 4) establish that the Chinese used the term “people of Tang” and not “sangley” to designate the Chinese in the Philippines, suggesting that “sangley” may have functioned as a slur used exclusively by people who were not Chinese. Fang’s contribution demonstrates that Manila’s Chinese elite viewed itself as socially equal to the Spanish colonists. Indeed, they may even have seen themselves as superior to their counterparts of European origin, as Ruiz-Stovel’s contribution suggests. There, we see how one Chinese writer refers to the colonists as Red-Haired Barbarians. The contribution of Kristie Patricia Flannery (chapter 3) allows us to perceive how transpacific space may have been understood by a lowly soldier, one of the *forzados* discussed above, and how his geographical ideas were mediated by popular Catholicism. Jorge Mojarro (chapter 2) edits a crucial text, the first known biography of a native Filipino living under Spanish rule.

The rest of the contributions appear in chronological order, but here we group them thematically. Given the active engagement of all of our contributors with Spanish Pacific studies, it is only natural that the texts they have chosen, translated, and edited fall in line with the prevailing concerns of the publications mentioned above. The challenges posed by Pacific distances that feature in Padrón’s work are further explored in the texts contributed by Guillaume Gaudin (chapters 5 and 7) and David Salomoni (chapter 6). Jean-Noël Sánchez (chapter 12) extends this discussion with a contribution that highlights the never-ending tension between the Spanish Crown and the Manila government. While the latter ascribed responsibility to the lack of financial support from the metropolis, the Spanish Crown believed that the economic troubles of the Philippines were caused by bad local governance.

The efforts of the local government to control Manila’s diverse population through spatial segregation figures in Diego Javier Luis’s (chapter 13) contribution to this volume, which sheds light on the displacement of West African Blacks from the city of Manila to an islet in the Pasig River between 1636 and 1652. It was the missionary orders, not the secular authorities, however, that exercised political power in areas far removed from the capital. David R. M. Irving’s (chapter 14) contribution helps us understand how the



missionaries utilized didactic narratives and confessions to control local populations, while Marlon James Sales's (chapter 16) contribution draws attention to their efforts to suppress the use of Tagalog and other local languages for theological purposes.

Other contributions suggest how very complex was the situation of people racialized as "Indians." Ernest Rafael Hartwell's (chapter 15) contribution provides insight into Spanish efforts to racialize the "Indians" of the Philippines by grouping them with the native inhabitants of New Spain. A number of the contributions address missionary efforts in China and Japan, and the controversies that often served to adjudicate the imperial frontier between Spain and Portugal. In Liam Matthew Brockey's (chapter 8) contribution, we see how the Jesuits worked to deny Spanish claims of authority over the mission in China. Giuseppe Marino (chapter 9) uncovers an anonymous letter written by a Jesuit in 1599 proposing the establishment of a Spanish Christian stronghold of Japanese–Spanish residents in Kyushu. Natalie Cobo's (chapter 10) piece underlines the efforts by the mendicant orders to overrule the 1604 papal brief that gave the Jesuits the monopoly on the missions in Japan. Finally, Noemí Martín Santo (chapter 11) brings us an account of clandestine Japanese Christianity after the 1614 expulsion of the missionaries from Japan.

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