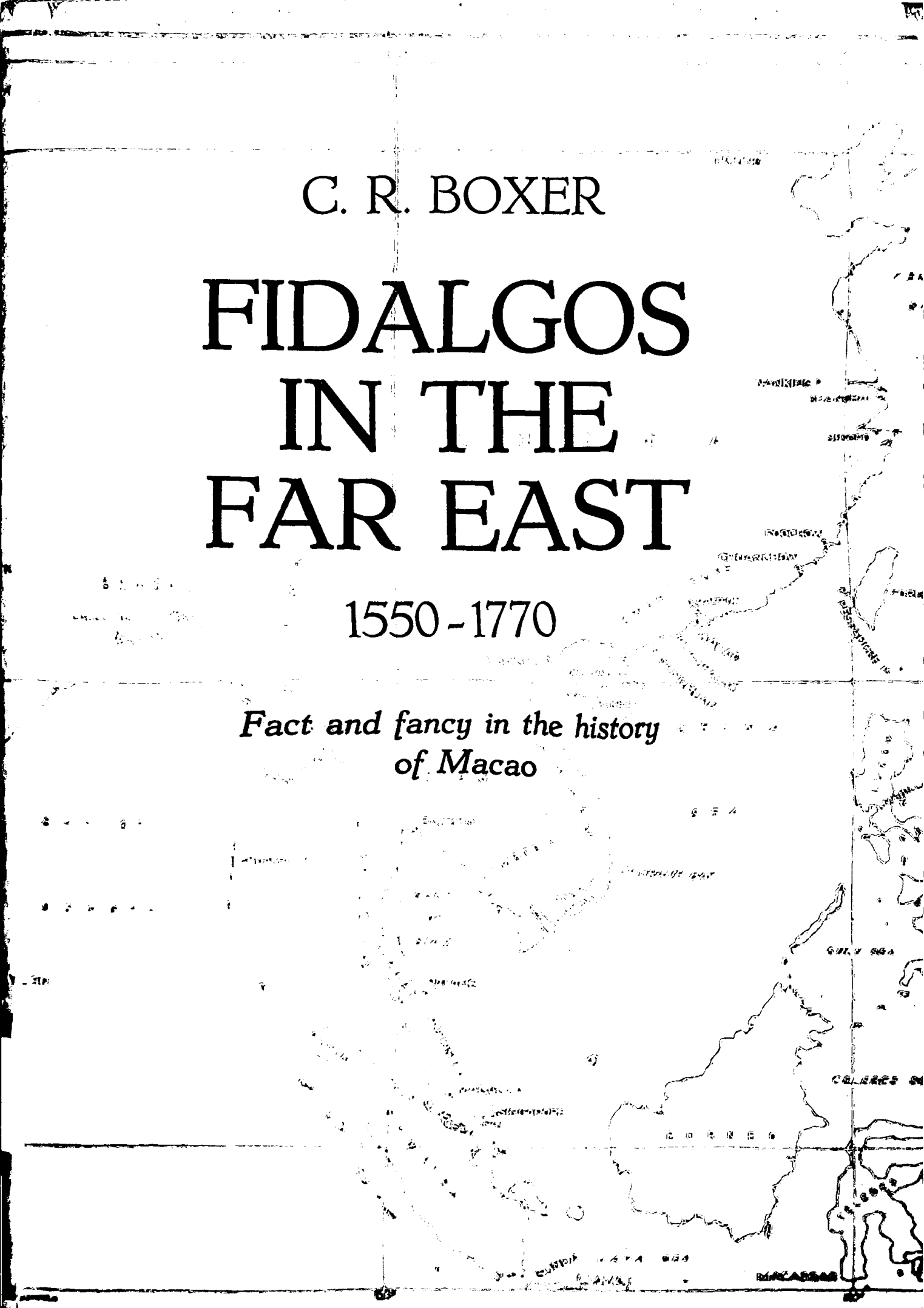
C. R. BOXER

FIDALGOS IN THE FAR EAST

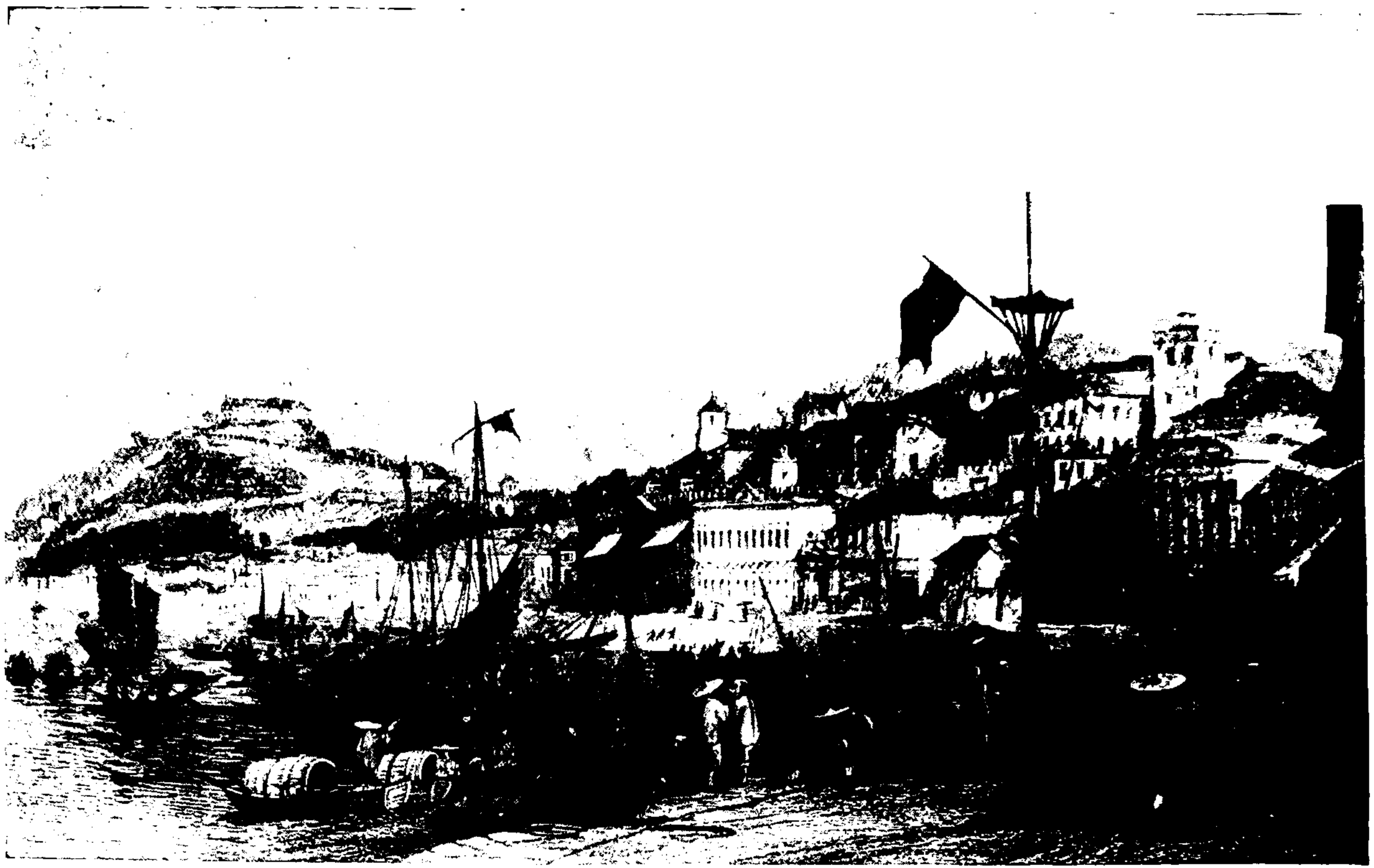
1550-1770

Fact and fancy in the history of Macao



To Francisco Vigen
Pinheiro for is research
in Macau. 2005. JUN
Zhi

FIDALGOS IN THE FAR EAST, 1550–1770.



View of Macao from the Praya Grande

FIDALGOS IN THE FAR EAST

1550–1770

FACT AND FANCY IN THE HISTORY OF MACAO

BY

C. R. BOXER

Camões Professor of Portuguese
at London University (King's College)

WITH 16 PLATES

THE HAGUE
MARTINUS NIJHOFF
1948

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

For ARMANDO and CARLOTA CORTESÃO

The greatest medicine is a true friend
(Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE)

CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

INTRODUCTORY

Bertrand Russell once suggested that history should be written by international committees, because only thus can any nation become acquainted with facts that its own historians would inevitably suppress, and only thus can it know what other nations think of it. This desirable state of affairs is unlikely to materialise until Dr. Johnson's dictum that Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel finds more general acceptance than at present. Meanwhile, the historian of early Western contacts with the Far East can at least make sure that he consults sources which reflect something besides the prejudices of "the missionary praying in his little Bethel, the diplomat enmeshed in the coils of punctilio, and the foreign trader lying drunk on the floor of his club", which a forgotten American reviewer characterised as inspiring most books on the subject.

This acidulous observation probably was not meant to be taken too seriously, but it contains enough truth to justify an explanation of the *fons et origo* of this book. Missionaries and drunken traders are not absent from its pages, but other aspects of God and Mammon have received due consideration. The book is not a history of Macao, but, as the sub-title implies, a study of key episodes and periods connected with the story of the colony, centered around typical personalities of the time. Readers unfamiliar with Portuguese may care to be reminded that *Fidalgo* is derived from the term *filho d'algo* 'son of a Somebody', originally applied to the so-called gentlemen of blood and coat-armour, but here used in the sense of men who were personalities in their own right, however doubtful or obscure their origin may have been.

Portuguese sources on the Far East have been unduly neglected by Anglo-Saxon writers, mainly through their ignorance of the language. Iberian scholars, on the other hand, are seldom at home with the Dutch and Japanese material which has been freely utilised in the present work. Polyglot Dutch historians have the widest knowledge of all, but their works are unfortunately closed books to the majority of Anglo-Saxon and Latin readers. This book, although written almost entirely from the resources of the author's own library, is based on extensive reading in all those languages. Even so, it can hardly claim to have achieved Bertrand Russell's standard, since a knowledge of Chinese would have enabled the author to use still more varied material. Nevertheless, although written primarily for the perusal of persons interested in the history of Macao it may afford something of interest to that wider public concerned with the larger problem of the clash of cultures and the conflict of races precipitated by European colonial expansion in Eastern Asia.

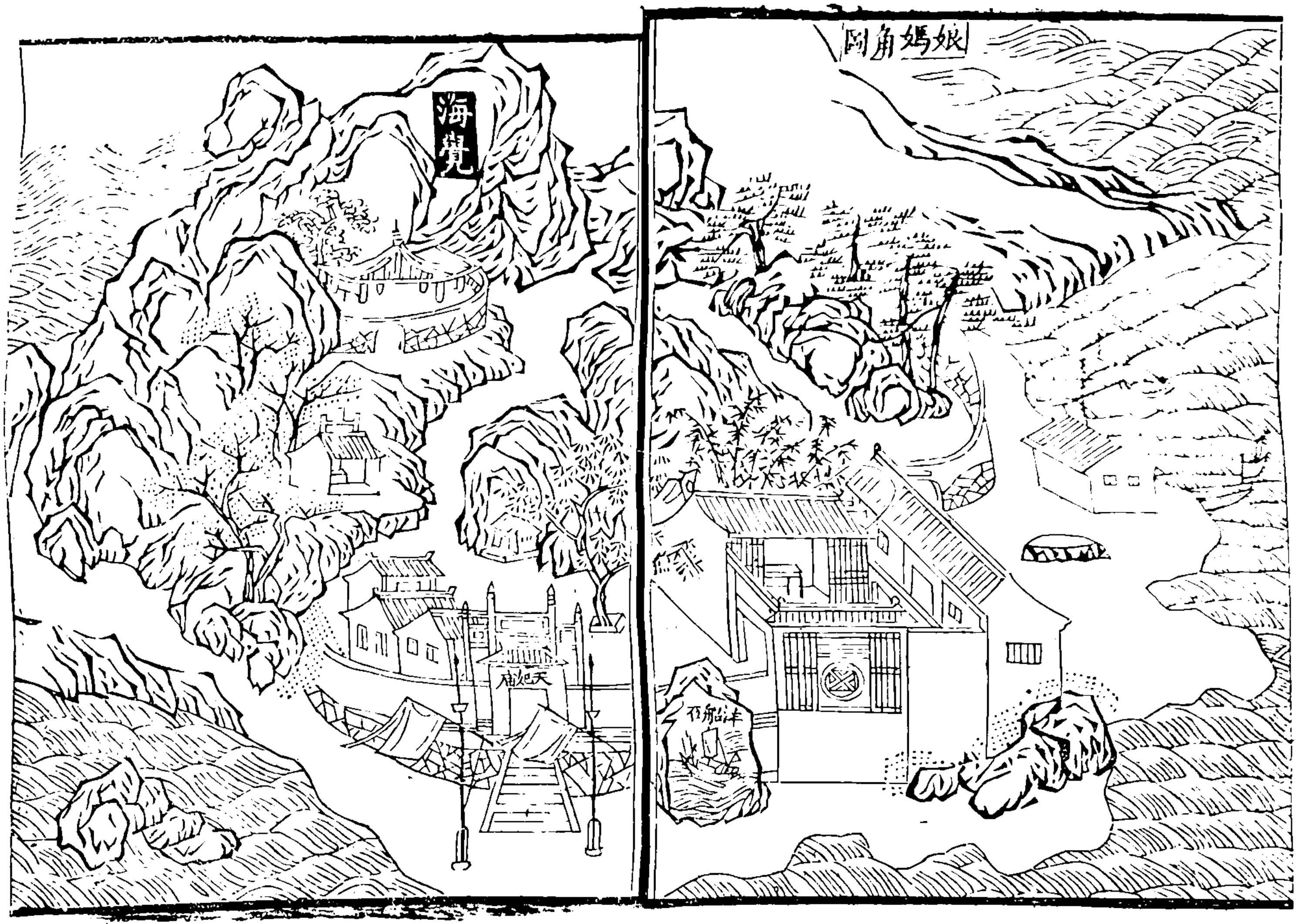
Both author and publisher regret that the high cost of printing Chinese ideographs in Europe, prevented their use in the text alongside the romanised versions of Chinese and Japanese names. As regards Japanese, the omission does not matter very much, for the Hepburn system of transliteration is as accurate as it is well-known. Moreover it closely corresponds to the method used by the Portuguese Padre João Rodriguez S. J. in his pioneer dictionary and grammar of 1603–04. It is far otherwise with Chinese, since the confusing systems in vogue lead to one and the same province being variously written as Anhui, Anhwei, Ngan-houei; whilst the Chinese name for Macao is rendered as Ao-Men, Ao-Mun, O-Mun etc. Worse still, although the *Heung* of Heungshan and the *Hong* of Hongkong are represented in the original Chinese by the same character (meaning 'fragrant'), yet Heungshan is never romanised as Hongshan nor is Hongkong written Heungkong. The most one can do in these circumstances is to avoid making the existing confusion worse confounded; and the author trusts he has achieved this modest aim through the use of a comprehensive glossary and index.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Thanks are due to Bodley's Librarian and the Council of the Hakluyt Society for permission to reproduce the relevant extracts and illustration from the Journal of Peter Mundy.

The vignette on the cover and title-page is a reproduction of the arms of the City of Macao as engraved over the entrance to Monte Fortress in 1626.

Plate I



The Ama Temple at Macao

I. BAY OF THE GODDESS AMA, AND CITY OF THE NAME OF GOD

When the Portuguese first reached India in 1498, the Chinese no longer traded West of Sumatra, although their junks had at one time navigated the Indian Ocean as far as the Persian Gulf and Somaliland. Malacca was the chief port they visited in the 'Golden Chersonese', but they voyaged periodically to the principal ports and islands in the Malay Archipelago, and to the warring states of Indo-China over which they claimed a shadowy suzerainty. The three main islands of Japan were torn by futile civil wars, whose ravages gave rise to the swarm of corsairs from the coasts of Kyushu who harried the shores of the China Sea from Shantung to Hainan. These *Bahan* or *Wako* as they were variously termed, alternated peaceful trading with their piratical pursuits; and in company with (or disguised as) lawful traders from the Ryukyu islands they occasionally visited the Malayan ports of Patani and Malacca. Formosa was virtually unknown and seldom visited by either Japanese freebooters or Chinese merchants, but both parties were better acquainted with the island of Luzon in the Philippines. Arab and Gujarati traders were to be found in some of the Indonesian ports between Java and the Moluccas; but at this time they no longer voyaged in the China Sea, and few traces remained of their once flourishing settlements at Canton and Ch'uanchow.

Although the search for "Christians and Spices" was the primary impulse behind the Portuguese voyages of discovery and trading, reports of the existence of China soon aroused the curiosity of King Manuel. the self-styled "Lord of the Conquest, Navigation and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India", — or the "Grocer King" as François I less grandiloquently termed him. He instructed

Diogo Lopes de Siqueira, who left Lisbon for Malacca in 1508, to find out all he could about China, which was not yet identified with Marco Polo's Cathay. Siqueira's visit to Malacca proved a fiasco, and he was compelled to leave before he could trade with the crews of three Chinese junks which he found in the harbour. When Affonso de Albuquerque conquered the city in July 1511, he not only established excellent relations with the masters of the Chinese junks he found in the roadstead, but also with those of some Japanese or Ryukyu vessels which came in shortly after the fall of the fortress.

These good relations between the representatives of the Farthest East and the Farthest West were not impaired by the pioneer Portuguese voyages to Lintin island in the Pearl River Delta in 1513–15, nor by the first official expedition under Fernão Peres de Andrade which paid a highly successful visit to Canton in 1517. But the good impression hitherto made by the Portuguese was quite ruined by the outrageous behaviour of Simão de Andrade, brother of Fernão Peres, who visited the Pearl River estuary with a squadron of four sail in August, 1519. His piratical behaviour caused a rupture in official Sino-Portuguese relations which lasted for over thirty years. During this time all the attempts made by the Portuguese to renew direct commercial relations with Canton were unsuccessful, whilst few (if any) junks from China, Japan and the Ryukyu visited Malacca, but instead they made Patani their Malayan port of call. Meanwhile an irregular kind of smuggling-trade, sometimes with the connivance of the local authorities and sometimes in despite of them, was obtained by the Portuguese at various places, and at different times, along the coast of Kwangtung, Fukien, and Chekiang, as far north as Ningpo. As the Japanese *Wako* continued to ravage the China coast during this period, the Portuguese must have met them occasionally. This is nowhere explicitly stated in the Portuguese chronicles (which moreover confuse the Japanese with the Ryukyu men under the name of *Guores* at their first meeting in Malacca) but is alluded to in passing in contemporary Chinese records.

The accidental discovery of Japan by three Portuguese deserters in a Fukien junk in 1542, opened a new and immen-

sely profitable market which temporarily diverted the Lusitanians from pressing their efforts to reopen officially the China trade. But the dangers of navigating their clumsy carracks and galleons during the typhoon season in the China Sea, soon forced them to try to obtain a sheltered port of call between Malacca and Kyushu, apart from the necessity of securing a base where they could get adequate supplies of the Chinese raw and wrought silks which formed the best part of their cargoes for Japan. In or about the year 1550, the Portuguese reached a tacit understanding with the Chinese, for an annual "fair", or exchange of goods, in the island of St. John or Shang Chuan (Sanchuan,) some fifty miles to the S.W. of Macao and where Francis Xavier died in 1552. This was, of course, no permanent settlement, and the Portuguese merely erected some matsheds during the trading season from August to November, on the conclusion of which they were burned. For some unknown reason, the annual fair was transferred from Sanchuan to the more easterly island of Lampacao (Langpakao or a site near the modern Bullock Horn island) in 1554–5; apparently as the result of a verbal agreement made in the former year by Leonel de Sousa with the Chinese authorities, which placed the trade on a more satisfactory footing. Lampacao remained the seat of the annual fair till 1558 at least, although it would appear that the Portuguese began to frequent Macao about the same time. At any rate, we know that Fernão Mendes Pinto and the Jesuit Padre Belchior Nunes Barreto were there in November 1555, since a letter of the former is dated from this port which is described as lying six leagues from Lampacao.

The Chinese names for Macao are legion, the one most commonly employed being *O-mun* 'Gate (or Port) of the Bay'. The Portuguese version is generally admitted to be derived from the term *A-ma-o* or *A-ma-ngao*, with the *ng* strongly nasalised in Cantonese, meaning Bay of Ama, Goddess of sailors and navigators. The picturesque temple dedicated to this Goddess at the entrance of the inner harbour is the oldest building in Macao, and is probably little changed from the time when Mendes Pinto and his compatriots first set eyes on it in 1555. The preliminary *A*,

variously written in Chinese, is often omitted as a superfluous prefix; but the Portuguese evidently picked up the full form from the local fisher folk, since they invariably wrote the name as *Amacao* in the town's early stages, whence the *Amacon* of Richard Cocks and his English contemporaries. The goddess *Ma* or *Ama* appears to be one of the manifestations of *Kwan Yin*, Deity of Mercy, the popular Buddhist equivalent of Our Lady. It is perhaps not unsuitable that if the Chinese Goddess of Mercy had to be displaced, her successor should have been the compassionate Christian Queen of Heaven.

The first Portuguese settlers of 1557, called their new home *povoação do Nome de Deos na China*, or Settlement of the name of God in China. This was sometimes varied by *Porto do Nome de Deos* or *Porto de Amacao*, or even more vaguely as *Porto da China*, i.e. Port of China. This varying nomenclature was officially ended by the grant of the status of a city to the colony by the Indo-Portuguese authorities in 1586, with the name of *Cidade do Nome de Deos na China*. This was too unwieldy ever to become popular; and the name of the Chinese goddess continued to be perpetuated in the more usual forms of Amacao and Macao. The *Santo* (*Holy*) which is frequently included nowadays in the title, is frowned on by ecclesiastical purists who point out that its insertion before the Name of God is redundant.

By this time the trade with China and Japan had been placed on a regular footing by the Government at Goa. For the first few years after the discovery of Japan in 1542, the trade was open to all and sundry; but by 1550 it was organized on a monopolistic basis in accordance with the economic and political ideas of the time. The right of trading in the China Sea was restricted to the Captain-Major of the Voyage of China and Japan, and this post was conferred annually by the King (or by the Viceroy of Portuguese India in his name) upon a fidalgo or gentleman whose services had been something out of the ordinary and who deserved a particularly lucrative reward. If the Captain-Major could not or would not make the voyage himself, he could sell his privileges to another, who then made the voyage with the same prerogatives. For the duration of the voyage, the Captain-Major

was the recognised chief of all Portuguese ships and settlements he might meet with between Malacca and Japan, and the official representative of Portugal vis-a-vis the Chinese and Japanese authorities. The port of departure was normally Goa; and Malacca (or occasionally Jacatra on the N.W. coast of Java) the only port of call before the China coast. The Captain-Major was usually responsible for fitting out his own ship, but in some cases the King provided a ship on loan against adequate security.

The Captain-Majors of the Japan Voyage (the 'China' was usually dropped from the title as being understood) were not appointed to a post which was unique of its kind. The trade to the Moluccas, Pegu, Bengal, Mozambique and elsewhere was organised on a similar plan based on the principle of a Royal Monopoly, but the China-Japan voyage was by far the most lucrative during the ninety years of its existence. The beneficiaries of the voyage were not always limited to honourable fidalgos, for on several occasions it was conferred on deserving institutions, such as the Municipalities of Cochin, Malacca and Macao, in order that they might sell it to the highest bidder and devote the proceeds of the sale to the fortification of their cities. In other instances, one or more voyages were conferred on ecclesiastical institutions, for example on the Monastery of the Incarnation at Madrid in 1629, at the request of the Queen of Spain. In later years the voyage was not given as a grant but sold or farmed to the highest bidder, who, as we said, could either make the voyage himself or by proxy, or sell it to another.

The great profits reaped by the Portuguese from this voyage, were due to the political situation in East Asia. Owing to the frightful havoc wrought by the Japanese *Wako* pirates along the China coast, direct commerce between the two Empires had been categorically forbidden by the Ming Emperor about 1480. It is true that a smuggling trade on a greater or lesser scale never entirely ceased, any more than did the illegal Sino-Portuguese coastal trade in 1520–1550, but the Imperial Ban did put the Chinese merchants at a great disadvantage. In this way, the peculiar position had arisen that the Chinese could only trade offici-

ally with their Japanese neighbours through the medium of the Portuguese, who, in addition to being (prior to 1600) the only important source of supply for European and Indian goods for Japan, likewise enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the Chinese silk export market which was far and away the most profitable part of the Sino-Japanese commerce. This sounds strange today, when Japanese silks have a deservedly higher reputation than Chinese, but the case was far otherwise in the sixteenth century when the wealthy classes preferred the Chinese material, both raw and finished, in much the same way as good English cloth was valued in Spain and Portugal above the native product. The Portuguese could therefore buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest, and the gold and silver bullion they carried away from Japan in payment for their silk imports, was profitably disposed of in India and China respectively, where the relative and fluctuating values of these two metals enabled them to make further profits on the rates of exchange.

The English traveller Ralph Fitch, who visited the East Indies in 1585–1591, gives the following succinct account of the trade in his time: — 'When the Portugales goe from Macao in China to Japan, they carrie much white silke, Gold, Muske and Porcelanes: and they bring from thence nothing but Silver. They have a great Carake which goeth thither every yeare, and shee bringeth from thence every yeare above 600,000 crusadoes; and all this silver of Japan, and 200,000 crusadoes more in Silver which they bring yearly out of India, they imploy to their great advantage in China: and they bring from thence Gold, Muske, Silke, Copper, Porcelanes, and many other things very costly and gilded.' This is corroborated by the Portuguese historian Diogo do Couto (1542–1616) who wrote in his *Dialogo do Soldado Pratico* at the turn of the 16th century, anent... "the silver which comes from Japan every year in our great ship of commerce (*náo do Trato*) which goes there, whose cargo is all exchanged for silver bullion which is worth more than a million in gold". Jan Huyghen Van Linschoten or rather his English translator of 1598, wrote in his *Discours of Voyages unto ye Easte and West Indies*, "The Captaine of the ship that sayleth to *Iapen* doth greatly profit by

his Voyage, for having a good summe of money to traffique thither withall, in a good ship which commonly is of 14 or 16 hundred Tunnes, hee may well gaine 150 or 200 thousand Ducats by the Voyage". In this respect, as in others, these captains were the worthy forerunners of the commanders of John Company's ships two centuries later, several of whom made upwards of £ 20,000 on a single voyage to Canton.

Modern writers are often inclined to overlook the fact that the Portuguese normally derived greater profits from the commerce which they drove as middlemen in Asia, than from the spices and commodities which they shipped to Europe. The basis of this commerce was their control of the export trade in cotton and calico textiles from the ports of Gujarat and Coromandel. These textiles found a ready market in Indonesia, where they were exchanged for spices and aromatic woods, and in East Africa where they were bartered for gold and ivory. The populations of these regions provided as profitable a market for Indian piece-goods in those days, as they did for the products of the looms of Manchester and Osaka in more recent times. Japanese silver was used to buy the Chinese silks which were then profitably disposed of in Japan and Manila, whilst Chinese gold was invested in the purchase of Indian manufactured textiles with similarly profitable results. The Portuguese control of this interlocking commercial system gave them a firm grip on the "Country Trade" (as their English successors called it), and accounts for the fact that Portuguese was the commercial *lingua franca* of the maritime trade of Asia for over two centuries. Pidgin English was derived from Pidgin Portuguese.

The first Portuguese voyages to Japan were made from Malacca with one of the islands off the coast of Kwangtung as an intermediate port of call, but once the trade had been placed on a regular footing, Goa became the starting-point and Macao the entrepot in China where the raw and finished silks bought at Canton were taken on board on the outward voyage, and where the bulk of the silver bullion was disposed of on the return trip. The exact date of the first *permanent* settlement at Macao, apart from its temporary use as a

trading mart for a few weeks or months, is still a matter of dispute. The most commonly accepted version is that the Portuguese were allowed to form a settlement on the peninsula in 1557, in recognition of their services in expelling a pirate band who had made the place their stronghold. This story has yet to be confirmed by a reliable Chinese source, but there is nothing inherently improbable in it. At any rate they began to settle here about this time, though Lampacao was not forthwith abandoned since there were still five or six hundred Portuguese there in 1560.

Macao owed its foundation and continued existence to an understanding reached between the Kwangtung provincial authorities and the Captain-Major of the Japan voyage. Neither the Chinese government nor the Viceroy at Goa took any official cognizance of the settlement for some years. In 1586 the Viceroy of Portuguese India, Dom Duarte de Menezes, issued a decree empowering the Senate or Municipal Council to elect its officers triennially, and to make a number of judicial appointments. Another Viceregal *Alvará* of the same date confirmed the classification of Macao as a City, with the same "privileges, liberties, honours and precedents" enjoyed by that of Evora in Portugal. This was the result of the initiative of the Bishop, Dom Leonardo de Sa, who in 1583 or 1585 (authorities differ as to the exact year) had called together the leading citizens and arranged for the formation of a municipal council, known as the *Senado da Camara* with elected Aldermen, Judge, Magistrate and other officials. The place had hitherto been known as the "Settlement (*Povoação*) or Port of the Name of God in China", but this was now changed to "City of the Name of God in China", which was confirmed by the Viceroy in this year and in due course by the King, who, however in January 1587 was still writing to the Viceroy about the *pouoação de Macao*. On this occasion, the King rejected the suggestion that Macao should be governed by an independent Captain and ordered that the Captain-Major of the Japan Voyage should continue in supreme control as hitherto. A special *Ouvidor* (Magistrate) in the person of Alexandre Rebello was appointed, but for a long time neither he nor his numerous successors held down the job for more

than a year or two, whether through their own fault or the intractability of the populace it is hard to say.

Not content with the privileges of Cochin and Evora, the inhabitants of Macao later petitioned the Crown for the same privileges as those of Oporto; but successive Royal Decrees of 1595, 1596 and 1709 merely ratified the original Viceregal concession of 1586.

A Royal Decree dated 16th February 1586, separated the judicial functions of the *Ouvidor* from those of the Captain-Major, and strictly prohibited the latter from any interference with or control of the executive functions of the former. It also enjoined that on occasions when the Captain-Major had left Macao for Japan before the arrival of his successor in August, the place should be governed by the *Ouvidor* together with a Captain elected by the citizens until the new Captain-Major arrived. It seems that this is the origin of the *Capitão da terra,* whose functions are nowhere described and who is so often confused by later writers with the Captain-Major and Captain-General. As regards the Senate, this was composed of elected representatives and Crown nominees. Briefly, the *moradores* or citizens elected representatives who in their turn nominated three residents as *Vereadores* or Aldermen. These together with three legal officials and a Secretary formed the Senate; this body was in practice responsible for the civil and financial administration of the colony, the titular Captain-Major's (Captain-General since 1623) jurisdiction being limited to the control of the garrison. The senatorial election was usually annual, but sometimes triennial, the presidency devolving upon each of the aldermen in rotation. On momentous occasions, the military and ecclesiastical authorities, together with the leading citizens, were convoked to deliberate with the Senators in a *Conselho Geral* or general council. It is true that the principal Indo-Portuguese cities like Goa, Malacca and Cochin, had a similar municipal organization, but in their case the Aldermen seldom ventured to challenge the wishes of the Viceroy or Governor, still less those of the Bishop or the Inquisition; whereas in Macao the Senate often acted as an effective check on the despotic tendencies of the local governor, and there was no branch of the Inquisition to worry them. Curiously

enough, this democratic form of government lasted until the establishment of the Liberal Constitutional Monarchy in Portugal in the early 19th century, when the Senate's powers were reduced to those of a mere municipal council.

It should be added that the Magistrate of the Hsiangshan or Heungshan district in which Macao lies, claimed a vague and undefined jurisdiction over the Chinese inhabitants of the place, which was enforced to a greater or lesser degree in accordance with the strength or weakness of the Portuguese. The latter called both the district and its metropolis *Ançião, Ançāo, Anssão,* etc., which was the nearest they could apparently get to the original Chinese name meaning 'Fragrant Hills', — compare the 'Fragrant Streams' of Hongkong. The modern name of Chungshan dates from Republican times, since when the district capital has been called Shekki. A few miles North of Macao lies the little town of *Tsinshan* known to the Portuguese as *Casa Branca,* or the White House, from the conspicuous Magistrate's dwelling-place therein. This Magistrate was the one who was chiefly concerned with claiming jurisdiction over the Chinese inhabitants of the colony, together with the Hopu or Customs Commissioner (written *Opu* by the Portuguese and *Hoppo* by the English) who had a shore office in Macao from 1688 to 1849.

It was from the profits of the Japan trade that Macao took shape, and this commerce, in spite of occasional setbacks and the competition later encountered from Spaniards, Hollanders and English, was the mainstay of the place until the expulsion of the Portuguese from the island empire in 1639. An illegal but lucrative trade was also carried on with Manila during this period, the most profitable exports being Chinese silk textiles for the Philippines, Mexico and Peru. Other markets were the Lesser Sunda islands of Timor and Solor, together with Macassar in Celebes, whose development compensated to some degree for the loss of the Japan Trade. Indo-China and Siam likewise provided an outlet for certain Chinese goods on a modest scale.

The existence of alternative markets explains why Macao was able to remain relatively wealthy and prosperous, at a time when the Dutch blockade of the straits of Malacca had

virtually severed communications with Goa, and when Portugal's remaining Asiatic colonies were slowly sinking before the Hollanders' incessant attacks. Full credit should also be given to the courage and determination of the Macaonese in developing these new markets, and in maintaining their precarious foothold in China, in spite of the many and at times almost overwhelming difficulties they encountered on all sides.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

João de Barros, *Decada Segunda da Asia; Terceira Decada da Asia;* (Lisboa, 1553; 1563).

Iohn Huighen Van Linschoten his Discours of Voyages unto ye Easte and West Indies. (London, 1598).

Diogo do Couto, *Dialogo do Soldado Pratico* (Lisboa, 1790).

Y. Okamoto, *Ju-roku Seiki Nichi-O Kotsu-shi no kenkyu* (Tokyo, 1936).

J. M. Braga. article in *T'ien Hsia Monthly* Vol. 8. pp. 420–32 (Shanghai, 1939).

Padre Manuel Teixeira, *Macao e a sua Diocese.* Vol. I. (Macao, 1940).

C. R. Boxer, *The Affair of the Madre de Deus* (London, 1929).

II. THE GREAT SHIP FROM AMACON

Although the Macao Carrack can only claim a modest three score years of life against the two centuries enjoyed by its more famous contemporary, the Manila galleon, yet it has left its mark in History and in Art. These huge ships, which excited the wonder of contemporaries in much the same way as the great Cunarders do with us, ploughed the China Sea in the typhoon season carrying Jesuit missionaries for Japan, Japanese Envoys for Europe: Portuguese merchants, captains and pilots; Dutch gunners, lascar sailors; negro slaves, Korean, Japanese and Chinese *mui-tsai* between Nagasaki, Macao and Golden Goa. The cargoes of silk, gold and silver bullion which they carried were the most valuable in the world, whilst this precious freight was supplemented by pedigree Arabian horses, Bengal tigers and peacocks. This picturesque past is vividly portrayed in the picture-screens of one of the most colourful schools of Japanese classical painting.

Between 1550 and 1615, the Macao-Japan trade was chiefly carried on by means of the annual *Nao* or *Nau*. No exact equivalent for this word exists in English, but its import is 'great ship', and these *Naós* were usually termed 'Carracks' by the English and Dutch, although the Portuguese seldom or never used the Iberian equivalent *Carraca* to describe their *Naós*. Carracks are frequently mentioned in medieval documents, but the Portuguese East-India Carracks which acquired such fame for their stupendous size and burden attained their greatest celebrity in the second half of the 16th century. A typical example was the colossal *Madre de Deus* which was taken by the English off the Azores when homeward bound from India in 1592, and which was rated by Hakluyt as a 1,600 ton ship. The difference between a *Naó* and a galleon is confusing. Broadly

Plate II

A Naó or Portuguese Carrack

speaking, a *Naó da Carreira da India* or East-India Carrack was a large merchant vessel, broad in the beam, with high poop and forecastle, lighty gunned and an indifferent sailer; whereas a galleon (in Portuguese *galeão*) was primarily a war vessel and a lighter and handier ship in every way. This distinction however was not always a hard and fast one, and in the first half of the 17th century it became very difficult to draw an exact line between galleons. and *Naós*

Up to about 1540, both *Naós* and galleons were of less than 400 tons burthen, but during the reign of Dom John III, the former type frequently attained 800–900 tons. Experience showed that these unwieldy Carracks, overladen and overcrowded as they usually were, proved inferior in seaworthy qualities to ships of smaller tonnage. Accordingly the next monarch, Dom Sebastian, promulgated a law in 1570 to the effect that no *Naó da Carreira da India* should be of less than 300 or more than 450 tons. This measure was apparently successful, as according to one seventeenth-century authority, not a single one of these carracks suffered shipwreck during this King's otherwise unfortunate reign. Under the Spanish domination of 1580–1640, this rule was allowed to lapse, and a pernicious reversion was made to the practice of building annually two or three large *Naós* of over 1,000 tons each, instead of five or six galleons of between three and five hundred. The shipwreck rate immediately rose alarmingly; and Severim de Faria alleges that of twenty-two ships (including seventeen *Naós*) which left India in the years 1591–1592, only two reached Lisbon.

It is no wonder therefore that many of the experienced Portuguese officers supported Admiral João Pereira Corte-Real when in 1622–1635 he tried hard to persuade the Iberian government to revert to the tonnage laid down by the law of 1570, but his efforts were only partly successful. In fact in some ways the position worsened; for whereas galleons had formerly rarely exceeded 600 tons, some were now built of 800, 900, or even 1,200 tons. The famous 1,200 ton *Santa Tereza*, destroyed by the Dutch at the battle of the Downs in 1639, is called *Naó* or *Carrack* in some contemporary accounts ,and *galleon* in others. Before

1622, Portuguese *Naós* had usually four flush decks, but smaller types of three or even two were also built, and these latter were sometimes called *Navetas*. Here again is another source of confusion, as the term *naveta* was also applied to small frigate-type India-built vessels which contemporary Dutch and English records call "yachts" or "frigates". The *Naó* was however a distinctive feature of Portuguese naval architecture, and no other nation built such "mountains of wood" as Corte-Real scornfully termed them. Even the Treasure ships from the Spanish Main were not so large, and a contemporary writer asserts that a Portuguese India-man could take four times as much cargo as the largest Spanish galleon on the Atlantic run. It must be added that this does not seem to have applied to the Pacific, as some of the galleons sailing between Mexico and Manila were as large as the average Portuguese Carrack. Incidentally both the Manila galleon and the Macao Carrack were called the "Silver-ship" by contemporaries, as the former was famed for the silver plate it carried from the Mexican and Peruvian mines for the purchase of Chinese silks and other goods at Manila; whilst the latter was celebrated for the silver bullion it carried from Japan for the purchase of Chinese silks, gold and musk at Canton and Macao.

The best and most seaworthy of these *Naós* were built in the Indo-Portuguese yards at Goa, Damão, Bassein and Cochin, those of the last two places being the most esteemed on account of the excellent teak wood of which they were constructed. The yards at Lisbon and Oporto built both carracks and galleons, but it was realized that the pinewoods of Portugal provided inferior material to the teak forests of Malabar; and instructions were repeatedly issued from Lisbon for the construction of ships in India in preference to Europe. A somewhat similar state of affairs prevailed in the Philippines, where the superiority of locally-built vessels over those built in Spain was often pointed out. But even the Spaniards at Manila preferred India-built Portuguese ships when they could get them, as exemplified by the remarks of Navarrete in his *Tratados* of 1676. A Manila report on available shipping in 1618, refers to the Naó *São Lourenco* "which was

built in India over 23 years ago" and had 3 flush decks, a quarterdeck and forecastle. Another report of the following year stated that ships built in Portuguese India were not only incomparably cheaper than those in the Philippines but lasted ten times as long, owing to the superiority of teak over all other woods for durability and resisting worm-rot. Perhaps the most famous of these India-built carracks was the *Cinco Chagas*, or *Five Wounds of Christ* built by the Viceroy, Dom Constantino de Braganza, at Goa and which made eight voyages between India and Portugal between the years 1560 and 1584. Another worthy of record was the 1,600 ton Cochin-built *Santa Cruz*, which took the Dutch gunner Dirk Gerritszoon to Japan in 1585, and his more famous compatriot Jan Huygen van Linschoten from Goa to Lisbon four years later.

The routine voyage of the Macao carrack once the Japan trade had got into its stride was after the following pattern. The annual carrack, with the Captain-Major on board, left Goa in April or May, laden with woolens, scarlet cloth, crystal and glass ware, Flemish clocks, Portuguese wines, Indian chintzes, cotton and calico piece-goods. If, as was usual, a call was made at Malacca, part of the cargo would be exchanged for spices; aromatic woods like sandal, eagle and aloes wood; sharkskins and deer-hides from Siam. From Malacca the carrack sailed for Macao, after a long or short stay according as to whether or not it missed the monsoon. At Macao a ten to twelve months wait was usually necessary, since the Chinese raw and finished silks which formed the bulk of the cargo for Japan could only be obtained at the half-yearly sales at Canton in January and June, whilst the carrack generally reached port between June and August. These unwieldy monsters did not of course go upriver to Canton, nor even to the bar at Whampoa like the 18th century East-Indiamen, but remained in Macao roads whilst the silks and other cargo were brought down either the Pearl River or the West River in lighters. The carrack finally left for Japan next year with the south-west monsoon between the end of June and the beginning of August, the voyage to Southern Kyushu taking anything from twelve to thirty days. The ship remained in port until the north-east monsoon set in at

the end of October or beginning of November; and subsequently set sail for Macao with her precious cargo of silver bullion at any time between November and March. The only commodities exported from Japan besides silver, were curiosities such as lacquer cabinets, boxes and furniture, painted gold-leaf paper screens, (*byobu* hence the Portuguese *biombo*) *kimono*, swords, pikes, and in later years, copper. In early times more gold was taken than silver, but after about 1563 silver took the chief place amongst the exports which it retained as long as the trade lasted.

At Macao, the bulk of the silver was usually unloaded and used for the purchase of next year's cargo of silks; whilst gold, Chinese silks and piece-goods, musk, pearls, ivory, and porcelain were taken on board for Goa. The reason why the trade proved so profitable was that silver was worth much more in China than in Japan, whereas the contrary was true of silk; since the Ming Court prohibited all direct trade between the two empires, the Portuguese cashed in as the indispensable middlemen. Of the other articles, the gold, whether bought in Japan or China could always be profitably disposed of in India, where its value was greater than in either; whilst the lacquer, porcelain and curios fetched large sums in Europe. The copper was chiefly used for casting bronze cannon, first at Goa and after 1629 at Macao, where the gun-foundry established by Manoel Tavares Bocarro remained the most famous in the Far East for twenty years. The round voyage from Goa to Japan and back might last as long as three years if a lengthy call was made at Malacca, or a monsoon missed at Macao. These seasonal delays account for the fact that sometimes there were two (on one occasion even three) Captain-Majors of the Japan Voyage in Chinese waters. Before 1571, the Great Ship went successively to Bungo, Hizen and Omura ports, but after the foundation of Nagasaki that year, this place became the official entrepot for the Macao trade; consequently the Carracks frequented it with increasing regularity in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and from 1600 onwards invariably. The voyage which began at "Golden Goa" thus ended normally at the "Long Cape", if Nagasaki be given its literal translation.

Some half-dozen *Alvarás* or grants of a Voyage to China

and Japan for the period 1563–1571 have survived obscurely in print, and from a collation of these, the Captain-Major's privileges and responsibilities can be summarised as follows.

He was entitled to make the voyage to China and Japan in a carrack or ship of his own, fitted out at his own expense; but if he could not afford this, he could freight one of the King's ships in India, if one was available, and if he could produce adequate financial backers and guarantors. If he needed any ships' stores or provisions from the Royal Yards, these were to be supplied (if available) at prevailing prices. He was to hold the rank and office of Captain-Major over all Portuguese ships and subjects he might meet on the high seas, or find in the ports of China and Japan at which he might call. On reaching Macao he could either go on to Japan in a ship or junk of his own, or freight one belonging to someone else. If he went to Japan in person, he was to be recognised as the Captain-Major of all Portuguese residing there. This with the proviso that he should not find another Captain-Major in China or Japan with a commission dated prior to his own; for in cases where two Captain-Majors found themselves in the same port, the one with the oldest commission was to be regarded as the holder of the post as long as they were in company. All grants and commissions took effect in chronological order. During the outward and homeward voyage, he was empowered to act as Custodian of the Property of Dead and Absent Persons, whether of the ships' company or in Macao, China or Japan during his stay there; unless these persons had formally nominated another trustee or custodian in their Wills or in due legal form, in which case the Captain-Major must hand the property intact over to them. This post of Custodian of Deceased and Absent Persons' Property was likewise only to be exercised if anybody with a previous commission was not present. In consideration whereof, all Captains, Pilots, Masters, and members of the ship's companies, as well as all persons living or visiting the said ports of Macao, China and Japan, were thereby formally required and ordered on the part of the King to acknowledge and obey their lawful Captain-Major, on pain of incurring the prescribed punishment and penalty if they refused.

With two exceptions these rules remained substantially unaltered down to 1623, when the governorship of Macao was separated from the voyage. The principal amendments were that the post of Custodian of Deceased and Absent Persons' Property at Macao was taken from the Captain-Major and made a municipal appointment in 1589; whilst in 1593 and again in 1610, it was ordered that any Captain-Major who wintered in Macao, or otherwise failed to carry out his journey, should forfeit his turn to his successor, regardless of his nominal seniority. It might be added that the Portuguese paid at this time no harbour or other dues in Japan on their ships or goods, whilst those at Macao were very light and frequently reduced by bribery. Beyond the annual presents to the Shogun and a few officials which amounted in all to 25,000 ducats, they had no taxes or imposts to worry about.

These carracks often carried Chinese pilots—mostly Fukien seamen apparently — to assist their Portuguese colleagues. Many of these latter were exceptionally competent seamen, as may be judged from a perusal of their *Roteiros* (Rutters or sailing-directions) for navigation between China and Japan, whose clarity and accuracy have been warmly praised by the late J. C. M. Warnsinck and other naval historians with practical maritime experience. Whilst on the subject of these *Roteiros*, it may be mentioned that some were translated into Japanese for the use of native pilots. One of these manuscripts dated 1622, compiled by a Nagasaki seaman from the dictation of a Portuguese pilot named Manuel Goncalves, survived the vicissitudes of time and was printed in Tokyo thirty years ago. The contents include directions for finding one's position at sea by means of the Southern Cross; tables for finding the altitude of the sun at noon, definitions of nautical and astronomical terms; use of the astrolabium and compass; difference between Gregorian and Julian Calenders, and so forth. The manuscript also contains a series of rutters from Nagasaki to various ports in South China and Indo-China, of the type printed in contemporary editions of the *Exame de Pilotos* by the Portuguese Cosmographer-Royal, Manoel de Figueiredo, at Lisbon between 1608 and 1625, and from one of which this unique

Luso-Japanese nautical treatise was undoubtedly derived. Such was the esteem in which Portuguese nautical skill was held in Japan at the time, that for some years all Japanese junks sailing overseas to S. E. Asian ports were compelled by government laws to carry Lusitanian pilots. Thus the superior local knowledge of the Chinese and Japanese pilots was complemented by the theoretical and technical skill of the Europeans; until the latter had attained the necessary local knowledge and the former acquired the additional technical qualifications. Whilst discussing these points, we may as well consider here why it was that the Portuguese took such a long time to discover Japan and Formosa after they had frequented the South China Sea since 1513.

The explanation is that after they had reached India, the Moluccas and China, the Portuguese were no longer primarily interested in discovery, but in trade. This was quite natural, and in so far as East Asia was concerned, they had no reason to go cruising around those stormy seas looking for new worlds to conquer, when first China and then Japan provided a more than sufficient outlet both for their commercial greed and their religious zeal. It must be remembered that from the time that Vasco da Gama took on board Arab pilots at Malindi to guide him to the Malabar Coast, the Portuguese had, wisely and inevitably, relied on native pilots to show them the way to the other Asiatic maritime ports of whose existence they had heard. With the help of Arab, Gujarati, Javanese, Malay and finally Chinese pilots, they made their pioneer voyages from Malabar to Ceylon and 'The Golden Chersonese'; from Malacca to the Sunda islands, Java, the Moluccas, Sumatra and Siam; from Malacca again to Canton, thence to Ch'uanchow, Ningpo and finally and accidentally, if inevitably, to Japan. Once they had attained these enormous commercial markets and fertile mission-fields, they had neither the time nor the inclination to indulge in organised voyages of discovery *per se* such as had led them down the West coast of Africa round the Cape of Good Hope to Sofala, and to the shores of Labrador, New Foundland and Brazil. Hence their pioneer voyages to the civilised states of Asia were

made with the help of Asiatic pilots; and their pure discoveries were virtually limited to places like Madagascar, New Guinea, Korea (and possibly even Australia) which they discovered when forced off their proper course by stress of wind and weather. This fact does not detract from their skill as seamen or enterprise as merchants; for obviously they would have been foolish in the extreme to have entrusted themselves and their ships to the uncharted coasts and unknown seas of the Orient, when they could readily obtain the services of experienced pilots in these perilous waters. Once they had found the way however, they dispensed, as a rule, with their Asiatic teachers, and not merely followed but improved on their store of nautical lore; as may be seen from numerous 16th century *Roteiros* printed in translation by Ian Huyghen van Linschoten. These clear and exemplary sailing-directions proved invaluable to their Dutch and English successors, and formed the foundation stones of the magnificent English Admiralty Pilot Handbooks of the present day.

The Japanese called these Carracks and galleons, *Kuro-fune* or 'Black ships', presumably because of the colour of their hulls, and this name was revived for Commodore Perry's ships three centuries later. They evidently made a great impression, as well as they might, being the largest ships then afloat on the Seven Seas. It is these Great Ships which form the favourite theme of one of the most characteristic forms of Portuguese influence on the art of Old Japan, the so-called *Namban-byobu,* or "Southern Barbarian screens" to give the literal translation. This type of art is peculiar to Japan, and possesses some clearly-defined characteristics which render examples thereof easy of identification.

The commonest type of *Namban-byobu,* and the kind to which the term is applied *par excellence,* has only one subject for its theme — namely, the arrival of a Portuguese ship in Japan, with the accompanying scenes on the disembarkation of the passengers and crew, and their meeting with Japanese and missionaries ashore. These screens are of either the eight-, six-, four- or two-leaf variety, the six-leaf being the most common and the two-leaf the rarest.

The subject is always treated in the same way. On the left-hand side (as the spectator looks at the screen) is depicted the Portuguese ship arriving or anchoring in the bay; in the centre we see a procession of cavaliers or fidalgos, headed by the *Capitão-Mór* and followed by a numerous retinue of slaves and attendants, wending their way to meet (as a rule) a missionary group on the right; this procession is known as the *Namban gyoretsu* or "Southern Barbarian Procession". The right-hand side of the screen is devoted to a religious or semi-religious *motif*, for here we see missionary priests and friars of the various orders, amongst whom the black-gowned Jesuits are usually the most conspicuous, advancing to welcome the oncoming Portuguese procession. Usually there is a church or convent in the background where a priest can be seen celebrating mass. Japanese Christians wearing half-Europeanised *hakama*, (divided skirt) and with rosaries round their necks, or in their hands, are usually also in evidence in this part of the screen. Often enough, a more homely touch is provided by the Japanese mother holding up her infant in arms to see the strange foreigners, or by parents pointing out the Southern Barbarians to their older children. Other details which are typical of this type of screen, and may be discerned on nearly all of them, are the negro sailors or lascars sporting in the ship's rigging and performing acrobatic feats — sometimes with disastrous results — in the shrouds or on the yardarms; the white and black Arabian steeds led in the procession, and the cages with hawks, peacocks, tigers, antelopes and other examples of Indian fauna which the Portuguese used to bring to tickle the fancy of Hideyoshi and his courtiers. Viewed as a whole, then, the panorama presented on these screens falls clearly into three parts. The secular or worldly motive supplied by the Portuguese on the left, and the religious or spiritual world typified by the ecclesiastical scenes on the right, both being connected by the intervening *Namban gyoretsu*. Looked at another way, the left-hand side represents *Namban* or Portuguese India and the right-hand side *Japan*. Sometimes these screens are in pairs; one screen showing the Portuguese ship setting out from its home port, presumably Goa or Macao, and the other screen repres-

enting the vessel's arrival in Japan, with the missionaries' welcome to their compatriots on landing. The superb pair of screens in the University at Kyoto, perhaps the best-known and most frequently reproduced set of *Nambanbyobu*, belongs to this last kind.

The majority of these screens were evidently excecuted for *daimyo* or for wealthy merchants interested in the foreign trade, since the materials used are very expensive and they are frequently painted by leading artists of the Kano and other famous contemporary schools. They are characterised by a most lavish use of gold (very rarely silver) leaf for the background, and the details are painted in with a profuse use of expensive colours such as powders of malachite, lapis-lazuli, gold-leaf, etc.

Very few are signed, but most of them are painted in the style of the Kano school, several of the better known being attributed to Kano Yeitoku, to Kano Sanraku and to Kano Naizen. Others are ascribed to artists of the Tosa school, which to the uninitiated is not always easily distinguishable from the Kano-ryu; and some of the later — and inferior — productions are the work of Jokei and other artists of the Sumiyoshi school. A curious feature of these screens is that they were not painted in Nagasaki, as the casual student might pardonably imagine, but by Kyoto and Sakai artists, some of whom, however, may have gone to Nagasaki to acquire local colour and derived inspiration from the stately Lusitanian ships and fidalgos who frequented that port. Quite obviously some screens were painted by men who had never seen a European ship, whilst the detail and accuracy of others afford equal proof that the men who painted these latter were not only consummate artists, but travellers who had been aboard these ships as well.

Some ill-informed and superficial European critics have thought to identify certain definite episodes in these *Nambanbyobu*; one explanation which has found wide acceptance among art critics, who ought to know better, is that the scene depicted is the meeting of Fernão Mendez Pinto and St. Francis Xavier, at Funai, in Bungo, in the year 1551. A little reflection will show this to be demonstrably untrue, for apart from the fact that these Namban screens were not

made until about forty years later, Pinto and his companions brought no Arabian horses with them, neither is there a solitary shred of evidence to justify this purely imaginary and fantastic ascription. At this time the Jesuits had no regular Church such as is shown on the screen, nor were there anything like the number of Padres here depicted (ten) at that time present in Japan. The Portuguese costumes are also of a later date, apart from many other valid reasons which can be brought against it. Others have sought to identify the scene with that enacted at Nagasaki on the return of the Jesuit *Visitador* Father Alessandro Valignani in 1590, with the Kyushu envoys who had been to Rome. This identification has something to support it at first blush, since a tall man in the sombre Jesuit gown usually figures prominently in the missionary group, and it is tempting to identify him with the *Padre Visitador*, for Valignani was a man of uncommonly tall stature. The embassy also brought two Arabian horses as a present from the Viceroy of India to Hideyoshi, and a black and a white Arabian steed are frequently depicted in the procession. Here again, however, there is the incontrovertible objection that Valignani and his companions arrived from Macao in a junk, and not in the usual *Naó da viagem*.

It is therefore certain that these *Namban-byobu* depict no particular isolated incident, but just a general representation of the picturesque side of Portuguese intercourse with Japan. At the same time, it is quite conceivable that the return of Valignani's mission in 1590 provided the original inspiration for this type of screen, since none is known to have been made prior to that date; and we learn from missionary records that a special effort was made to fit out all the Portuguese accompanying the Envoy as magnificently as possible, in order to outshine a Korean embassy which was likewise on its way to interview the Taiko, even the negro slaves being provided with velvet liveries and golden collars!

Be this as it may, these screens, or the best of them, were evidently produced between 1590 and Ieyasu's definite prohibition of Christianity in 1614, the majority of them being painted by artists of the Kano and Tosa schools at

Kyoto and Sakai, probably for Christian daimyo or wealthy connoisseurs with exotic tastes. It is possible, however, that their appeal was more general, and that cheaper and less gorgeous screens were produced for the humbler samurai or *hatamoto*. This cannot be stated with certainty, since the only screens which stood any chance of survival after the ruthless persecution and virtual extirpation of Christianity under the first three Tokugawa Shoguns, were those few which might have been concealed by powerful daimyo. If this form of art had its popular side, — and the contemporary craze for aping Portuguese dress, manners, food, and even on occasions speech, goes some way to prove it, — then it may be regarded as the precursor of the later *Nagasaki-e* or Nagasaki colour-prints which flourished at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries and were inspired by the sight of the Hollanders and their shipping in old Nagasaki.

The definitive prohibition of Christianity in 1614 did not mean the immediate end of the *Namban-byobu*, though the fundamental design underwent a significant change. It was no longer safe to represent Catholic priests or churches, any more than their associated paraphernalia like crosses and rosaries. Accordingly, we find that the right-hand half of the screen no longer represents missionary or evangelical scenes, but has been transformed into a purely Japanese background. Instead of the priests and their acolytes, we have Japanese townsmen or merchants coming to bargain for the foreigners' goods; instead of the celebration of mass in church or chapel, we see junketings in an inn where the Portuguese merchants are entertained by their hosts. The crosses surmounting the church roofs have gone, and their place has been taken by Buddhist symbols. Gone likewise are the crosses and rosaries with which the Japanese converts depicted on the earlier screens are so freely decorated, and their dress has lost its Lusitanian touches. Even though rendered thus comparatively innocuous, the *Namban-byobu* did not long survive the prohibition of Christianity, and it is probable that they ceased to be made in this style even before the final expulsion of the Portuguese and the rigorous prohibition of anything to do with them in 1639–1640.

Namban-byobu of a type are, it is true, to be found occasionally during the later seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, but in such a degenerate form as to be hardly recognisable for what they are intended to be. These bastardised specimens appear to have originated in Sakai with the Sumiyoshi school. The stately Portuguese fidalgos of the earlier screens have become hardly distinguishable from Chinese merchants in dress and appearance, and no casual observer would take them for Europeans. The European ship is either absent altogether, or rendered in so grotesque a form — *sans* masts, *sans* sails, *sans* everything — as to be practically unrecognisable. The old half-secular half-religious theme has completely gone, and the scene usually depicted on these screens is bargaining over merchandise in the market-place between these pseudo-Portuguese and Japanese traders. This type of *Namban byobu* must be distinguished from the late eighteenth-century adaptations or copies of the old sixteenth-century originals which began to make their appearance about the Temmei-Kwansei periods (1780–1798). These last came into being owing to the renaissance of interest in Western Art and Science which took place in Japan during the last quarter of the eighteenth century thanks to the influence of the Dutch scholars or *Rangakusha*. They can be easily distinguished from the originals of the Kano and Tosa schools by their comparative crudity and numerous mistakes of detail — thus the Portuguese cavaliers are depicted in their sixteenth-century costume, but with the long hair and wigs of the eighteenth-century Hollanders — an incongruity which has tripped up the busy modern forger of "old" screens more than once.

Finally, one other point must be mentioned about the genuine *Namban-byobu* of the Keicho period, 1596–1614. That is their great value and interest for the study of the iconography of both Japanese and Portuguese of the time, especially the latter. We have no sources whatever — if we except a few engravings in works like Linschoten's *Itinerario* published in 1596–for the study of the dress and costume of the Portuguese in Asia at that period, save for these *Namban-byobu*. From these we get an excellent idea of the kind of clothes they wore, the materials used and the

favourite patterns employed. The faithfulness of detail is apparent not only by comparison with the engravings of De Bry in the work of Linschoten — for these screens are far more colourful and natural than the stilted posings in the Dutch copper-plates — but by such instances as the rosaries carried by the Portuguese as they walk, or by the long lace or calico handkerchiefs held in their hands, after the fashion of the elegant ladies in the pictures of Velasquez or other contemporary Iberian painters.

An interesting sidelight on the popularity of the Portuguese from the "great shippe of Amacon" is afforded by the following extract from a letter of Jacques Specx, the Dutch Factor at Hirado, written in November 1610.... "The ship coming from Maccauw usually has about 200 or more merchants on board, who go ashore at once, each one of them taking a house wherein to lodge with his servants and slaves; they take no heed of what they spend and nothing is too costly for them; and sometimes they disburse in the seven or eight months that they stay in Nagasaki more than 250,000 or 300,000 taels, through which the populace profit greatly; and this is one of the reasons why they are still very friendly to them".

Although the *Naó* or Carrack held pride of place amongst the Portuguese shipping which visited Japan from the days of its discovery until 1618, other types were also used. Galleons were employed on several occasions, their burthen being usually about 600 tons. Contemporary Spanish and English sailors highly commended their qualities, but they never replaced the more unwieldy but more commodious carracks. Incidentally, the Carracks had a much better record of seaworthiness in the dangerous China Sea than they did in the less stormy Indian and south Atlantic Oceans, for only one is definitely recorded as having been lost in a typhoon. A contemporary Portuguese "expert Pilote's" description of these storms can hardly be bettered. "Nowe to understand the meaning of this word *Tuffon*, it is a *Chinish* word, which the Portingales also doe holde without altering the same, and signifieth a storme or Tempest, which you commonly finde in those voyages from *China* to *Iapon*. If you faile of it sometimes, it is not often, it commeth

and beginneth from one point, and do runneth with a continual storme almost about all the points in compasse, blowing most stiffely, whereby the poore Sailers have worke ynough in hande, and in such sort, that not any stormes throughout all the orientall Indies is comparable unto it, wherefore it is necessary to looke well to it, and to chose your times, that by calmes sodainely you bee not inadvisedly overtaken, as every man that hath sayled those wayes, can sufficiently shewe you, and every one or most part of them have found it to be so".

In consequence of the vulnerability of both carracks and galleons to the attacks of the Dutch and English ships which infested Far Eastern waters from the dawn of the 17th century, the practice of sending the whole of the Sino-Portuguese cargo in an annual carrack or galleon to Japan was abolished in 1618. The voyage was now made in a squadron of lighter vessels of the types known as *pataxos, navetas* and *galiotas*. Of these, the *Pataxo* corresponded to the contemporary English *pinnace*, and might be anything between 100 and 300 tons. The *Naveta* seems to have had no exact English equivalent, and the term was even, as we have seen, applied on occasion to small carracks of 5-600 tons. Normally however, a swift dispatch vessel of 2–500 tons seems to have been the kind of ship intended. In the case of the China-Japan voyage, the type usually employed between 1618 and 1640 was the *galiota* (English *Galliot*) which, like the *pataxos* seem to have averaged about 2–300 tons. They were so familiar a sight in the harbour of Nagasaki that the word *galiota* became part of the Japanese vocabulary and they were called *kareuta-sen* in state documents of the time.

In addition to these purely European types of ships, the Portuguese also made use of Chinese sea-going junks for the Japan voyage. Modern writers seem to have forgotten how large some of these were; nor were the Chinese alone, although they were certainly ahead of other Asiatics in this respect. Both Portuguese and Chinese sources state that some of the large Kwangtung and Fukien junks were very big indeed, much larger in fact than the 300–400 ton ships of the reign of Dom Manuel I. A large Kwangtung war junk had 3 decks and carried a crew of 2,000 men, whilst some trading

junks were even bigger. The Jesuit missionaries in Japan wax eloquent over the size of some of the junks built by Nobunaga and Hideyoshi *circa* 1580, one of them going so far as to say that Hideyoshi's flagship was as large as a Portuguese *Nao*. This however is unlikely, and the Taiko showed himself particularly anxious to obtain the loan of two carracks for his Korean campaign in 1592, his failure to secure them being one of the causes of his break with the Jesuits — or so some of them believed. Finally we may mention the junk which was flagship of the Javanese fleet routed by the Portuguese off Malacca in 1512. This took three years to build, carried over a thousand fighting men, and its hull was proof against the shot of the Portuguese bombards. "It was an amazing thing to see" wrote Fernão Peres de Andrade, the victorious Portuguese Admiral, "because the *Anunciada* near it did not look like a ship at all." It is not surprising that he adds that it was the largest ship hitherto seen in those parts. Although he does not say so, it seems probable that Chinese shipwrights had a hand in its building, as there is nothing to show that Javanese or even Arab or Gujarati ship-builders were capable of constructing vessels of this size. But be this as it may, the fact remains that the 'Great Ship from Amacon' was the largest ship in the world in its day and generation, and if only for this reason its memory deserves rescuing from oblivion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mariner's Mirror. Vol. 26 pp. 388–456. (London, 1940).
Archivo Portuguez-Oriental. Fasciculos 3 and 5(Nova-Goa,1861–6).
Y. Okamoto, *Juroku Seiki Nichi-O Kotsu-shi no kenkyu* (Tokyo, 1936).
J. C. M.Warnsinck. Introduction to the Linschoten Vereeniging edition of the *Itinerario* (Hague, 1939).
Armando Cortesão, *The Suma Oriental of Thome Pires* &c. (Hak. Soc. ed. London, 1946).
J. H. Van Linschoten, *Discours of Voyages* (London 1598).
C. R. Boxer, *The Affair of the Madre de Deus* (London, 1929).
—— *Some Aspects of Portuguese Influence in Japan*, 1542–1640. (article on pp. 13–64 of the *Transactions* of the Japan Society of London, Vol. 33, 1936).

A Portuguese Captain-Major

III. FIDALGOS AND SAMURAI

Japan was accidentally discovered by the Portuguese in 1542 (or 1543 according to some authorities) and Macao was not founded until some fifteen years later. We do not know how the Japan voyages were organised before 1550, but it would seem from the oldest surviving lists that the office of Captain-Major of the Japan Voyage dates from this year. This is the more likely, since at the time of the discovery trade with China was still on a haphazard and unofficial basis; whilst the slowness of communications, and the great distance between the China Coast and the Court of Lisbon, make it most improbable that any regulations for controlling the trade were decided on before then. When at length the commerce was placed under official control, it was combined with the China trade since the one depended on the other.

Macao when founded in 1557, naturally came automatically under the control of the Captain-Major of the China-Japan Voyage by virtue of the terms of his contract; and despite increasing encroachments on his authority by the Senate, he remained the titular head of the colony down to the appointment of the first Captain-General in 1623, if we except the short-lived interregnums of Diogo Pereira in 1563–4 and of Francisco Lopes Carrasco in 1616.

The oldest Catalogues differ as to whether the Captain-Major in 1550 was Dom Fernando de Menezes, who went in a junk to the port of Shimabara or Duarte da Gama who visited the harbour of Hirado in a *Naó*. Although Dom Fernando went in a junk, and Duarte da Gama in a 'Great Ship' it was apparently the former who exercised the office of Captain-Major. In the year 1551, Duarte da Gama came again in his carrack from Lampacao on the Kwangtung coast to the Kyushu province of Bungo; where he visited the ports of Funai and Hide according to Japanese sources. He

returned to China in November, taking with him five or six Japanese including an envoy of the young Daimyo of Bungo, the famous Otomo Yoshishige (Sorin) lifelong patron of the Jesuit missionaries and the Portuguese traders, and one of the most ardent promoters of the canonization of Saint Francis Xavier. In 1552 and 1553, the indefatigable Duarte da Gama was again trading with his carrack in various Kyushu ports, whilst in between his trips he was a witness of the death of his friend Francis Xavier who died at Sanchuan (Saint-John's) island where da Gama was wintering in December 1552. Other traders, including Manoel Preto, are also recorded as having visited Japan at this time. The ubiquitous Duarte da Gama was again in Japan in 1552–3; whilst of three Portuguese ships which left the Chinese island of Sanchuan for Japan in 1554 only the carrack of Duarte de Gama arrived. There are indications that a ship of Diogo Vaz de Aragão also reached Japan this season, although it is not clear whether she was one of the three from Sanchuan. This was not the first of Diogo Vaz de Aragão's visits to Japan. He had been a merchant in one of the first Portuguese carracks to reach Kyushu some ten years before. The treacherous seizure of this ship and massacre of her crew by the ruling Daimyo of Bungo, had only been prevented by the interference of young Otomo who was then the heir apparent. This in turn led to Diogo Vaz remaining in his entourage for three years; and Otomo lost no opportunity of pumping him for information about the wonders and civilization of India and the West. Next year (1555) there were three Portuguese ships in Japan, all of which put into Hirado, — Duarte da Gama in his carrack, Diogo Vaz de Aragão in a junk; and a ship belonging to Luis de Almeida, who later became a Jesuit and one of the most devoted and successful missionaries of the Order in Japan. With the profits derived from this and other voyages in the China Sea, he founded two hospitals in Bungo, one as an orphanage and the other for sufferers from syphillis and leprosy. We do not know which of these fidalgos was Captain-Major. This was the last of Duarte da Gama's six voyages to Japan in as many years, nor was his record ever surpassed by any of his countrymen.

The next Captain-Major was Dom Francisco Mascarenhas nicknamed *Palha* (tow-haired) who reached the port of Funai at the beginning of July 1556, returning to China in November. He may have been nicknamed *Palha*, to distinguish him from a contemporary of the same name who was known as *o dos Oculos* (the bespectacled); but as we have met with one or two other Dom Francisco Mascarenhas who were also nicknamed *Palha*, perhaps it was applied to him as a matter of course, like 'Buster' Brown or 'Dusty' Miller with the English. The Captain-Major in 1557 was Francisco Martins, who reached Hirado in September (very late in the season) and returned to China in November. It was in this year that Macao was founded by the Portuguese according to the generally accepted story, which there seems no reason to doubt although no indication of the month or season of the year is given. It is thus uncertain whether the founder of the colony was this Francisco Martins, as was presumably the case if the event occurred before his departure for Japan, or his successor Leonel de Sousa. It may even have been Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, if the event occurred very early in the year, although this is most unlikely as he would have probably left for Malacca and India in January or in February at the latest.

To add to the confusion, we know from a letter of Leonel de Sousa written at Cochin to the Infante Dom Luis on the 15th January, 1556, that there were then (so far as he knew) at least two and probably three Captain-Majors in the China Sea, in view of which he asked for a grant of three voyages to the Bay of Bengal instead of the China-Japan ones which had been previously awarded him. Although we may assume that one of these three fidalgos had left on his homeward voyage before de Sousa's arrival in Chinese waters the following year, the fact remains that there may have been not only one but two left when he reached the Kwangtung coast.

Leonel de Sousa was the first fidalgo other than Duarte da Gama who is more than a mere name to us. A native of the province of Algarve, who had married and settled at Chaul on the West coast of India, it was he who had made the agreement with the Kwangtung provincial authorities and

the *Haitao* or Admiral of the Sea in 1553–4, by which Sino-Portuguese trade was at last placed on a durable basis and the Portuguese could freely visit Canton from Sanchuan and Lampacao. De Sousa gives us some interesting details about the negotiations with the Chinese mandarins, commenting *inter alia* on their dislike of the Portuguese doing business with swords at their side, so contrary to Chinese ideas of a respectable citizen and merchant. He also, rather incongruously for a sixteenth-century European, stresses the cruelty of many of the Chinese forms of legal torture and punishment; adding that when he remonstrated with the officials about this, they replied that the commonality were so perverse that even these tortures did not suffice to deter them from crime. The Captain-Major has harsh words for the behaviour of some of his countrymen who, as the Mandarins complained, joined with Chinese pirates in raiding the coasts. It is interesting to note that he had no less than seventeen Portuguese ships under his flag when he made this agreement with the *Haitao*.

Another interesting point in connection with Leonel de Sousa, is that many Portuguese writers claim that it was in his company that Luis de Camões came to Macao as *Provedor-Mor dos Defuntos e auzentes-*, Custodian for the Property of the Dead and Absent. This has been strongly contested by others, and by the present writer in particular; but he feels bound in justice to point out that Leonel de Sousa specifically complains in his letter of 1556, that this post which usually was one of the prerogatives of the Captain-Major, had been taken from him and given to another. He does not say to whom, nor to which of his voyages he is referring; but if he means the 1557/8 one, then it is just possible that Luis de Camões was the recipient, and that he was numbered amongst the founders of Macao in 1557, and perhaps accompanied the Captain-Major later to Japan. Leonel de Sousa (who went to Hirado) was not the only fidalgo who visited Japan this year, as Guilherme Pereira, brother of Diogo Pereira, visited the port of Funai in Bungo.

The brothers Pereira came from Fayal, one of the Azores, and had done exceedingly well for themselves in India and China. The Jesuit Padre Cordeiro tells us in his *Historia*

Insulana (Lisbon, 1717) that Guilherme maintained the largest household in Portuguese Asia after the Viceroy of Goa. This is not hard to believe when we read that he had an establishment of three hundred persons, including a choir-master, band and drums, and that all his household plate was of gold and silver. He died in the house of his brother Diogo at Goa, just before returning to Lisbon to marry. He left 200,000 *cruzados*, but his brother apparently did not need them; since he was so wealthy himself, that on being sent as Ambassador to Persia, he added gifts worth 6,000 *cruzados* out of his own pocket to the presents intended for the Shah, considering the official items not sufficiently illustrative of the wealth of the Portuguese King. It is not thus very far-fetched to term these brothers the earliest *Taipan* (lit. Great Manager) of the Far East, as they certainly set a standard which even the wealthiest director of Jardine and Matheson would find it hard to surpass.

The next Captain-Major whose name is of any interest to us is Fernão de Sousa. There were at least two fidalgos of this name in India, one of whom came out in 1525, and the other in 1534 in the carrack *Rainha*. If, as seems probable, this last was the one in question, he was son of Cristovão de Tavora and Dona Francisca de Sousa. In either case he met with a sticky end, for he together with fourteen other Portuguese was killed in a brawl with the Japanese at Hirado in the year 1561. That season there were no less than five Portuguese ships in Japan; one of which, commanded by a certain Afonso Vaz, went to Satsuma, where he was also killed in the port of Akune by some samurai, — accidentally according to Shimadzu, the local Daimyo. These are the first recorded armed clashes between Japanese and Europeans, apropos of which the stern old Calvinist Jan Huighen van Linschoten has no hesitation in laying the blame on the Catholic *Portugales*, "I thinke it happened by their filthie pride and presumptiousnesse, for in all places they will be Lordes and masters, to the contempt and embasing of the inhabitants, which in all places will not be endured, namely in Iapon, being a stubborne and obstinate people. But to the matter", as the Hollander's English translator of 1598 reminds us. The Captain-Major in 1562 was Pero

Barreto Rolim, who went to the port of Yokoseura in the fief of Omura. He is entitled to a modest niche in the hall of Fame, through having been the friend of Luis de Camões and of the historian Diogo do Couto, with whom he wintered at Mozambique in 1568, on the homeward voyage to Portugal.

Hitherto the Captain-Majors of the Japan Voyage had acted as governors of Macao as enjoined by the terms of their commission and Letters-Patent. This continued to be the general rule, but an exception appears to have been made in favour of the wealthy Diogo Pereira for two years after the departure of Pero Barreto Rolim for Japan in the middle of 1562. The Italian Jesuit Padre Giovanni Batista do Monte, writing from Macao at Christmas of this year states" .... We reached this port on Saint Bartholomew's Day, August 23rd, and were hospitably received in the house of a friend of the Jesuits called Guilherme Pereira, since we came from India with his brother Diogo Pereira, who was sent to act as Captain-Major of the Portuguese in this port, and also with the credentials of Ambassador from the Viceroy of India to the Emperor of China". This was not the first time that Diogo Pereira had come on such a project, as it was he who headed the abortive embassy to China organised by his friend Saint Francis Xavier in 1552, and which fell through owing to the opposition of the Captain of Malacca, Dom Alvaro de Ataide, who was a personal enemy of Pereira. This venture also proved a fruitless one as we shall see.

In an unpublished manuscript of the Jesuit Father Sebastião Gonçalves, we read that the Viceroy Conde de Redondo in April 1563, "fitted out a galleon whose Captaincy he gave to Gil de Goes, brother-in-law of Diogo Pereira; giving him the present for the King of China, and orders that in the event that Diogo Pereira wanted to head the Embassy, he (Goes) would then take his place as Captain of the City of the Name of God situated in the port of Amacao; this measure was intended to forestall disorders like those that occurred with Fernáo Peres de Andrade [*sic* for Simão de Andrade] on which account the Ambassador (Tomé Pires) who had been sent with him was imprisoned at Canton,

where he died in the Jail. Gil de Goes took with him the Fathers Francisco Peres and Manuel Teixeira. On their arrival at the port of Amacao, Diogo Pereira chose to retain the Captaincy, so that Gil de Goes remained head of the Embassy which however never came to anything, owing to the many delays imposed by the Mandarins who suspected that the Ambassador was a trader", with the result that the whole project was dropped after two years had been wasted in futile negotiations.

The foregoing (and following) quotations make it quite clear that Diogo Pereira functioned as Captain-Major of Macao in 1562–4, independently of the Captain-Majors of the Japan Voyage. This has probably led to the mistaken assertion by some modern writers that he was Captain of Macao from 1562 to 1587. In the year 1564 Dom Pedro de Almeida visited Hirado with three carracks *Santa Cruz, Santa Catarina* and *Santa Clara,* the port of Yokoseura having been burnt to the ground at the end of the previous year by rebellious vassals of the Daimyo, Omura Sumitada, who had been converted to Christianity in 1562, and who was endeavouring to foster the spread of his new creed with methods more forceful than tactful. Almeida's flagship was the *Santa Cruz* which arrived in August, and left on the 25 October together with the other two *Naós* which had reached Hirado a month earlier.

After Dom Pedro de Almeida had left for Japan, more Portuguese ships reached Macao from Java and Malacca, which led to disputes about seniority succinctly described by Padre Antonio Franco S.J. in his classic *Imagem de Virtude* (Lisboa, 1714–19) as follows; "At this juncture there arrived at Macao, Luiz de Mello from Sunda and João Pereira from Malacca; both of them wealthy merchants and they were both provided with Royal Patents for navigating to Japan and for governing the inhabitants of Macao whilst awaiting the monsoon in that port. Each of them contended so strongly for the captaincy that the dispute was on the point of dissolving into a bloody strife. Padre Francisco Peres and the Vicar of Macao interfered at this point, and settled the quarrel by friendly arbitration, awarding the government to João Pereira, to whom Diogo Pereira handed

it over at once, without any quibbling or delay, like the man he was who always preferred the common weal above his own private advantage".

The 'wealthy merchant João Pereira' mentioned in the foregoing extract, was in fact a fidalgo named Dom João Pereira, son of Dom Manuel Pereira, second Count of Feira, and brother-in-law of the Viceroy Dom Antonio de Noronha who governed Portuguese India in 1564–68. Dom João had served as Captain of Malacca in 1556–57; and he later greatly distinguished himself in the night battle and capture of Mangalore in January 1567, so vividly described by another participant, the chronicler Diogo do Couto, in his *Decada VIII*. In the same work Couto also relates an incident which, although petty in itself, illustrates the stiff-necked pride of these fidalgos; it was occasioned by Dom João Pereira refusing to be seated on a stool, instead of the chair which fidalgos of his standing had hitherto been allowed to use in Viceregal audiences.

Dom João Pereira came to Japan as Captain-Major in 1565, his carrack being accompanied by a small galleon of Dom Diogo de Menezes, Captain of Malacca, which had a large number of Chinese merchants on board. These ships anchored in the bay of Fukuda, near Nagasaki in the fief of Omura Sumitada, since the Portuguese were naturally rather shy of visiting Hirado after the murder of their fifteen countrymen four years previously. Matsuura was exceedingly annoyed at being deprived of his potential pickings, and when pressure on the local Jesuit missionaries failed to produce any result, he sent a force of eighty craft between great and small, manned by several hundred chosen samurai to surprise and sieze the Portuguese ships as they lay at anchor. Surprise them the Japanese flotilla certainly did, although Pereira had been warned of what was toward by messages from the Padres at Hirado, which with true Iberian indifference he had ignored. Despite the fact that they were thus surprised at anchor early one morning, and with many of their crews on shore (the flagship had only eighty Europeans aboard) the Portuguese gave a good account of themselves. At one stage, the Japanese succeeded in boarding the carrack from the stern, breaking into the great cabin and car-

rying off Dom João's writing-desk. But these boarders were repelled, and the cross-fire from the cannon of the two ships wrought such havoc in the closely-packed frail *funé*, that the attackers eventually retired discomfited after losing over seventy killed and two hundred wounded. Many of the latter subsequently died, and the Jesuits wrote jubilantly from Hirado that this hard-fought victory had greatly increased Portuguese prestige, "for the Japanese had hitherto only known us as merchants and rated us accordingly no better than the Chinese". Such was the result of the first recorded naval action between Europeans and Japanese.

The next Captain-Major of any real interest is Tristão Vaz da Veiga. This fidalgo was one of the famous characters of his time. He was born in the island of Madeira, being a son of Manuel Cabral. He was *moço-fidalgo* in the household of King Dom Joao III, and embarked for India in 1552, at the age of sixteen. He served in the East with great distinction, particularly in the defence of Malacca against the combined Javanese and Achinese in the great siege of 1574–5. He was twice Captain-Major of Macao and the Japan Voyage and one of the founders of Nagasaki in 1571. After his return to Portugal, he was given the Captaincy of Machico in Madeira, celebrated as the legendry scene of the discovery of the island by the fugitive English lovers Robert Machin and Anne of Arfet (?) in the reign of Edward III. He restored this place "to its original and ancient splendour" according to his panegyrist, Padre Antonio Cordeiro, in his *Historia Insulana*. The same writer informs us that Tristao Vaz was made *General de guerra* of the whole island and *Alcaide-Mor* of the fortress of Funchal in 1585, and that he "always maintained at sea a war frigate and a galley, which deterred any pirate appearing off the island, maintaining these at his own expense out of his great wealth, and he used the coat-of-arms of the Veigas". "In 1590", adds our chronicler "he was 53 years old, tall of stature, broad shouldered, well proportioned and with a long grey beard. He maintained a large and costly household, with a Comptroller, two squires, five pages and twelve slaves. He had large income from rents in Lisbon and some from Arronches, apart from forty bushels of corn in the

island of Graciosa, all forming part of his patrimony, besides the Habit of Christ with 200,000 *reis* income, pending a vacant commandry, in addition to 900,000 from the Captaincy of Machico and 400,000 reis as *General de Guerra*. So great a Captain never married, and he had many brothers who were equally distinguished in the military and administrative posts which they filled". There was another Tristão Vaz da Veiga who soldiered in the Orient during this period, and who was killed in a disastrous expedition to the Persian Gulf in 1586. I presume however that it was the famous fidalgo from Madeira who was the defender of Malacca, Captain-Major of Macao, and founder of Nagasaki. Tristao Vaz came to Japan for the first time in 1567 when he went as Captain-Major of three ships to the port of Kuchinotsu in the fief of Omura.

In 1571 Tristão Vaz da Veiga made his second and most memorable voyage to Japan, since this was the year of the foundation of Nagasaki as the Kyushu entrepot of the Japan-China trade. The idea of Nagasaki becoming the terminal port for the Macao Carracks dates from 1567, when the Christian Daimyo Omura Sumitada, in whose fief it lay, wrote to his Jesuit friend Torres offering the site (then bare of human habitation save for a few fishermens' huts) as a centre for the Portuguese commerce and an assured asylum for native Christians, The offer was in due course accepted, and the magnificent harbour with its deep water and fiord-like entrance proved a better anchorage for the lubberly Macao Carracks than the more exposed roadsteads at Hirado, Yokoseura, or Kuchinotsu. Tristão Vaz was the first Captain who anchored here, and he was thus one of the founding fathers of the city which became the main port for Japan's overseas trade for nearly three hundred years.

The Captain Major in 1572 was Dom João de Almeida, son of Dom Antonio de Almeida, who had been granted a China-Japan Voyage (via Java) by a Royal Decree dated 26 February 1568. This *Alvará* was couched in the usual terms, and by virtue thereof Dom João de Almeida acted as Captain-Major of Macao before his departure for Nagasaki in June. He seems to have settled at Macao, for one of the anonymous Portuguese Pilots' *roteiros* (rutters) printed by

Linschoten in his *Itinerario*, refers to the "roof of the house of Dom João de Almeida" in connection with a sea-mark at the entrance of Macao harbour. He was Captain-Major of the City ten years later when the municipality took the oath of allegiance to King Philip (First of Portugal & Second of Spain), on which occasion he was described by the Spanish Jesuit Alonso Sanchez as a "cavallero nobre y cuerdo". He must have died soon afterwards as the King granted his widow an annual pension of 200 *pardaos* in March 1597, and these grants usually took many years to procure under the Iberian Dual Monarchy. His successor as Captain-Major, Dom Antonio de Vilhena, fidalgo of the Royal Household, was granted the Captaincy of a China-Japan Voyage and of Macao by an *Alvará* dated 8th March 1571. He was son of Christovão Manuel, and had come out to India with the Viceroy Dom Constantino de Braganza in 1558, distinguishing himself in the great siege of Cannanor by the Moplahs in 1559. After returning to Portugal, he came out to India again in 1571. During his captaincy of Macao he had the wooden roof of the Jesuit Collegiate Church of Madre de Deus replaced by a tiled one at his own expense. His Japan Voyage proved to be the most disastrous hitherto recorded, for his carrack, after picking up some survivors of another vessel which had foundered in a typhoon, was lost with all save two or three hands in another of these dreaded storms, a few days later on the 21st July, "Feast of Saint Praxedis the Virgin", within sight of the island of Amakusa.

The next Captain-Major of any interest was a certain Domingos Monteiro, who made three successive Japan Voyages in 1576–8. On the last of these he was nearly wrecked by a typhoon off the coast of Korea. He thus became the first recorded European to see the wild coast of Chosen. This name, which means *Land of the Morning Calm* would have struck him as a singularly inappropriate one in the circumstances, had he known it. In 1579, the Captain-Major of the Japan Voyage was Leonel de Brito, who went not to the port of Nagasaki, but to that of Kuchinotsu which evidently had not yet been completely superseded by the former. He left on the return voyage to Macao at the

end of the year. Diogo do Couto in Chapter 31 of his *Decada IX* gives us *en passant* the following curious biographical details about this fidalgo. He was "son of that Mem de Brito whom Dom Antonio de Vasconcellos, Lord of Mafra and son of the Count Penella, killed on account of a love affair he had with one of his female relatives. The murder was hushed up, and it was said that King John had ordered Dom Antonio to come to Lisbon with a large following, for fear of the relatives of Mem de Brito. I myself often met this Leonel de Brito with a younger brother of his riding pillion on the same mule whilst going to school". Couto adds that Leonel de Brito was Captain of the galleon from Malacca which anchored off the Castle of Saint John the Baptist at Ternate, three days after that fortress had been captured by the rebellious Sultan. Brito was allowed to take on a cargo of cloves and to remove the captured garrison, but Ternate was lost to the Crown of Portugal for good.

At the time of the Spanish usurpation in 1582, Dom João de Almeida was Captain-Major of Macao. In that capacity he wrote a lengthy letter on the 24th June to the Governor of Manila, describing the arrival of Padre Alonso Sanchez from Manila with the news of Philip II's accession to the Portuguese Crown in 1580, and declaring his willingness to recognise the Dual Monarchy. He gives some interesting details of the state of affairs in Macao, stating that the city was now "relatively large and prosperous", thanks to the large numbers of merchants who congregated there from China, Japan and Portuguese Asia, attracted by the profits derived from the China-Japan trade. He stresses their dependence on the Chinese for all kinds of supplies and foodstuffs, and adds that the flourishing Japan Mission likewise depended on Macao for its pecuniary support. He claims that the ships which left China for Goa paid over 50,000 ducats annually in Customs-dues at Malacca, which alone sufficed for the upkeep of that fortress; besides another 60,000 *cruzados* to the Customs at Goa. He concludes by asking the Spaniards to refrain from visiting and trading between Macao and Manila for the present, since the Chinese were very suspicious of Padre Sanchez' mission, so much so, that he was returning via Japan instead of direct to Luzon.

Padre Sanchez did indeed leave for Nagasaki in July, in the junk of André Feio, but was wrecked off the island of Formosa *en route*, and did not get back to Macao until the 14th December. These Iberian castaways from André Feio's junk were thus the first recorded Europeans to visit, albeit involuntary, the shores of the "Beautiful Island" as its Portuguese name implies.

The otherwise obscure skipper André Feio's name survived down to the end of the 18th century in charts and maps of the Canton River estuary which located a *enseada de André Feio* near Macao. The exact locality of this roadstead is a matter of dispute, but J. M. Braga has adduced strong reasons for its having been situated near the modern Broadway, on a branch of the West River (Saikiang).

The Captain-Major in 1583 was Aires Gonçalves de Miranda. This fidalgo had been installed as Captain-Major of Macao and the Japan Voyage in succession to Dom João de Almeida, when Padre Sanchez and his companions returned from Formosa to Macao on the 14th December 1582. Four days later he took the oath of allegiance to Philip II of Spain, at the hands of the Bishop of China, calling himself on that occasion *Capitão-Moor da China e Japão*, whilst the Bishop Dom Leonardo de Sá, addressed him as *Capitão-mor deste porto de macao e de Japão*. It is interesting to note that although Sanchez had arrived from Manila with the news of Philip's accession at the end of May 1582, it was not until the 18th December, that the authorities took the oath of allegiance to their new monarch; and even then they dispensed with the prescribed public solemnities for "fear of the Mandarins and other Chinese dignitaries". There is a hardy tradition in Portugal that Macao never yielded its allegiance to Philip of Spain, but this ridiculous theory is completely exploded by a study of the numerous documents which prove the contrary and which (since 1903 at least) are available in print. The allegation that the Spanish flag was never hoisted at Macao (which continued to fly the *Quinas* of Portugal during the 'Sixty Years Captivity' of 1580–1640) is more correct, but rests on a misconception. This was not, as patriotic writers seem to think, due to the exclusive patriotism of the Macaonese; or, as their critics

allege, to fear of the Chinese; but simply and solely to the terms of the Cortes of Thomar in 1581, which expressly stipulated that the Portuguese colonies should continue as hitherto with their national flag and administration. It applied therefore in Malacca, India and Brazil also.

Aires Gonçalves de Miranda had fought in the abortive expedition of Dom Alvaro de Silveira to Bahrein in the Persian Gulf in 1559, and was an earnest devotee of the Franciscan Order, later building Chapels for these Friars Minor at Taná, where he was settled and married, and at Malacca. Miranda made his voyage to Nagasaki and stayed there somewhat longer than was usual, as he left on his return voyage to Macao at the end of February 1584. The Rutter of this trip was printed by Linschoten in his invaluable *Itinerario* (pp. 399–400 of the English edition of 1598). This fidalgo visited Nagasaki for the second time in 1584. On the 10th March this year, King Philip wrote to the Viceroy of India, asking for information about the temporal and spiritual government of Macao, since he had been informed "that the settlement of Macao in the regions of China was waxing greatly".

In 1585 Francisco Paes made the Japan Voyage as Captain-Major on behalf of Dom Leonis Pereira, a brother of Dom João Pereira and son of the second Count of Feira who had been awarded it by a Royal Decree dated 1567. Paes left Macao on the 5th July in his carrack *Santa Cruz*, and reached Nagasaki at the end of the month. He set sail on the return voyage on the 20th March 1586, and the round trip of the *Santa Cruz* is described in one of the contemporary Portuguese Rutters preserved in Linschoten's *Itinerario*. The chief gunner on board this carrack was a Hollander, Dirck Gerritszoon Pomp, later nicknamed *China* by his countrymen on account of his pioneer voyages in East Asia. There were also some Chinese pilots on board, about whose abilities the anonymous Portuguese Pilot who was the author of the original Roteiro makes some caustic comments. But it is interesting to note that the Europeans still made use of Chinese pilots in waters they had now been navigating for over forty years.

Domingos Monteiro, who had made three previous

voyages to Japan as Captain-Major in 1576–8, made his fourth and last in the year 1586. He wintered at the island of Hirado, not being able to sell his cargo of silks for some months owing to the civil war raging in Kyushu, where Hideyoshi was engaged in the reduction of this island, most of which had been conquered by the Shimadzu Daimyo of Satsuma. After the pacification of the country as a result of Hideyoshi's victory, Monteiro was able to do business and left for Macao in October 1587. This brings us to the affair of Dom João da Gama.

The Jesuit Father Luis Frois, in his annual Letter for 1589 wrote "Dom João da Gama who was sailing for New Spain, was forced to seek shelter here in Japan, owing to the terrible storms and tempests he encountered, which he did with great peril and difficulty, his ship being badly battered and her rudder broken. He put into the port of *Saxinocu* (*Sashinotsu*?) in Amakusa, and from him we learnt that owing to difficulties which had arisen in the port of Macao, it was unlikely that there would be any voyage this year". This is confirmed by the Ajuda Jesuit Codex which states, "there came no junk from China, nor *Soma*, this year; only the carrack of Dom João da Gama which was forced into the port of *Saxinocu* in the island of Amakusa whilst bound for New Spain, and which continued its voyage at the end of October. A frigate with dispatches bound from the Philippines to Mexico was also forced to seek shelter in Satsuma about the same time".

Dom João da Gama had served a tour of duty as Captain of Malacca, where he had behaved in such wise as to induce the King to order him to be sent home as a prisoner in irons. Before the Viceroy could act on these instructions Dom João had reached Macao, where he was accused of committing further disorders, and whence he set sail for Mexico in defiance of the Iberian navigation Laws, which expressly prohibited all contact and travel between the colonial dominions of the two Crowns. Despite her stormy voyage in Japanese waters, his ship reached Mexico in safety (the first Portuguese ship to effect the crossing of the Pacific) but he was arrested by the Spanish authorities there and sent prisoner to Spain, whither the confiscated cargo

of his ship was likewise remitted. He seems to have died soon after; but a lengthy lawsuit ensued over the impounded goods, for which his heirs claimed compensation. This they apparently eventually received, which is somewhat surprising in view of the grave irregularities he was said to have committed at Malacca and Macao. It was on his voyage across the Pacific in 1589–90, that Dom João da Gama sighted that *Gama land* which proved such a puzzle to 17th and 18th century cartographers, but which was probably Hokkaido (Yezo) or one of the Kurile islands.

About the year 1590, the administration of the town and port of Nagasaki which had hitherto been in the hands of the Jesuits and the Captain-Major for all practical purposes, since Omura's overlordship was purely nominal, was taken over by Hideyoshi. The Regent or *Kwambaku* as he was termed, made it into a special municipality under the direct control of the central government, administered by one or more *Bugyo* as these Commissioners or Governors were called. This form of municipal government placed Nagasaki on the same footing as Kyoto, Osaka, and Sakai which were similarly administered by Bugyo, independent of the surrounding Daimyo. Yedo (the modern Tokyo) was added to these four municipalities after its foundation as a City by Tokugawa Ieyasu, and these cities were henceforth known as the 'Five Imperial Cities' to foreign traders in Japan.

In March 1594, King Philip of Spain and Portugal wrote to the Viceroy of India, commending him for sending the *Ouvidor-Geral* Luis da Silva to Macao, in order to investigate the charges of disobedience by many of the citizens to the lawful Justices and Captain-Major of the Japan Voyage. As usual these investigations petered out inconclusively; nor were the authorities more successful in their efforts to stop the forbidden Macao-Manila trade, which was now flourishing exceedingly. The King particularly complained of the behaviour of a Spanish hidalgo Don Rodrigo de Cordova, who had come in a Spanish ship from Peru to Macao with a large amount of silver bullion for the purchase of Chinese silks for the Manila market. The Jesuits were mixed up in this transaction and showed no disposition to disgorge their

share of the proceeds. Don Rodrigo himself met a heroic death when homeward-bound in the Bassein-built carrack *Cinco Chagas*, which was burnt by the Earl of Cumberland's squadron off the Azores in 1593, after several attempts to board her had been repelled, — largely owing to the courage of Don Rodrigo de Cordova who exhorted the crew to continue the fight even after his legs had been shot away by a cannon ball.

One of the conditions of the Cortes of Thomar, which legalised Philip's forceful acquisition of the Portuguese throne in 1580, was that the colonial dominions of the two Crowns should remain separately organised as hitherto, and that all navigation and trade between them should be strictly prohibited. So far as Macao and Manila were concerned this prohibition was a dead-letter from the start, and the attempts made by the colonial authorities to enforce it were both spasmodic and ineffectual, at least in so far as commercial matters were concerned. This Macao-Manila trade did not however prevent a parallel growth of Hispano-Portuguese rivalry in the Far East, due to the attempts of the Spaniards from the Philippines to 'horn in' on what the Portuguese of Macao regarded as their exclusive political, religious and commercial preserves in China and Japan. One such attempt of the Spaniards to tap the rich China trade at its source was made during the Captaincy of Dom Paulo de Portugal.

The chronicler Diogo do Couto, gives us the following interesting details in his *Decada XII* concerning Dom Paulo de Portugal, son of Dom Francisco de Portugal, Master of Horse to the ill-fated King Dom Sebastian, who had come out from Portugal as Captain-Major of Macao in the fleet of 1596. "In May 1598, the Count dispatched Dom Paulo de Portugal to make the three Japan Voyages which he had bought; one from the heirs of his father, Dom Francisco de Portugal, another from the Hospital at Goa which the King had ordered to be repaired and which voyage was to take precedence over the other two, and the third for the Church of Saint John in Goa. These voyages were to be made in rotation; and on their account he purchased a beautiful carrack in which he sailed very well fitted out and provided withal". Couto adds that he also carried a Viceregal Pro-

vision, passed at the request of the Municipality of Goa, prohibiting the authorities and citizens of Macao from placing obstacles in the way of Goanese merchants trading direct with the Chinese at Canton. The reason for this was that the Macaonese bought their silks primarily for the Japan and secondly for the Philippine market, and were not interested in the less profitable Indo-Portuguese field, to the detriment of the royal customs revenues at Malacca and Goa. Needless to say, this edict was disregarded and the Macaonese merchants continued to dispose of their silks in the more profitable Japan and Manila markets and to elbow out their Goanese competitors.

Dom Paulo de Portugal reached Macao in October 1598, and fifteen days after his arrival, a Spanish frigate from the Philippines, under the command of Don Juan Zamudio (or Çamudio) appeared off a neighbouring anchorage known to the Iberians as *Pinhal*. The location of this site is a matter of dispute amongst scholars, and the latest writer on the subject, the French diplomat Albert Kammerer, places it on one of the branches of the Saikiang or West River, N. W. of Macao. He does not realise however that *Pinhal* is the Iberian word for pine wood or pine forest, which was frequently used by the Portuguese and Spaniards as a place name, sometimes purely descriptive, and sometimes in translation of the native original (thus Frois writes of a *lugar de sete pinheiros* which is a direct translation of the original Japanese *Schichi-hon-matsu*. A more likely suggestion is that of J. M. Braga, who identifies it with the anchorage of Tonkawan at Kumsing-mun on the east coast of the island of Chungshan (Heungshan). This is the only place between the Bocca Tigris and Macao where a grove of pine trees has flourished for centuries; and it was also used as an anchorage by the English and American clippers of the early nineteenth century.

Dom Paulo wished to expel the Spaniards forthwith, but was prevented from doing so by the protests of the inhabitants of Macao who, jealous as they were of Spanish commercial competition, were more afraid of armed reprisals by the Chinese authorities who had evidently given the Spaniards express or tacit permission to establish a base there. The

Captain-Major accordingly referred the matter to the Viceroy of Goa for a decision, who evidently felt no qualms about instructing him to use force. "By virtue of this order" writes Diogo do Couto in his above-quoted *Decada XII*, "Dom Paulo de Portugal in 1599 went against the Castillians who were ensconced in the port of Pinhal, and expelled them by force of arms, nor did they return there again". This drastic action brought no unpleasant repercussions from the Mandarins at Canton, as had been feared, but it did nothing to improve inter-Iberian relations in the Far East.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Iesus escreverão dos Reynos de China e Iapão... 1545–1580. (Evora, 1598).

Padre Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese.* 2 vols. (Macau 1940).

J. M. Braga, *O Primeiro Acordo Luso-Chinez em* 1554. (Macau, 1939).

Y. Okamoto, *Juroku Seiki Nichi-O Kotsu-shi no kenkyu* (Tokyo 1936).

James Murdoch, *A History of Japan.* Vol. II (Kobe, 1903).

Archivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasciculos 3 and 5. (Nova-Goa, 1861–1866).

C. R. Boxer, *As Viagens de Japão e os seus Capitaes-Mores* 1550–1640. (Macau, 1941).

—— *Subsidios para a Historia dos Capitais-Gerais e Governadores de Macau* 1557–1770 (Macau, 1944).

IV. BLACK SHIPS AND RED-HAIRED BARBARIANS

The year 1600 may be said without undue exaggeration to mark a turning-point in the history of the Far East in more ways than one. In the first (and most important) place, it witnessed the decisive battle of Sekigahara (20th October) which gave Tokugawa Ieyasu the mastery of Japan, and went far to settle the fate of that country for the next two hundred and fifty years. Secondly, it saw the appearance of the first Dutch ship in Japanese waters, the unlucky *Liefde*, whose Captain rejoiced in the name of Jap Quaeck and whose Pilot was the famous Kentishman Will Adams. The heretic Hollanders speedily received the name of *Komojin* or Red Haired Barbarians to distinguish them in Japanese (and Chinese) eyes from their *Nambanjin* or Southern Barbarian rivals of Portuguese India and the Philippines. Thirdly, it was in December 1600 that Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to the merchant-adventurers who formed John Company, as the subsequently famous English East India Company came to be called. Last (and admitedly least) in the year 1600, Horatio Neretti made a most successful and profitable voyage in the Great Ship from Macao to Nagasaki, on behalf of the Captain-Major Dom Paulo de Portugal.

This last-named fidalgo was prevented from making his oft postponed voyage in 1601, by a series of events succinctly described by the Jesuit chronicler Padre Fernão Guerreiro in the second volume of his *Annual Relation*. Three carracks had left Goa for China, one of which was wrecked in a typhoon on the Kwangtung coast, fourteen leagues from Macao, whilst the other two staggered into port badly battered from the storm on the 26th September. The day after their arrival three strange sail hove in sight. These were assumed by the populace to be hostile, as no further shipping was expected from India; and the gentry hastened to put

Plate IV

A Japanese warrior, circa 1600

their families and silver-plate in the Jesuit College, which, standing on a small hill, had been selected as a place for the last stand should the enemy succeed in disembarking. These vessels were the Dutch ships *Amsterdam*, *Gouda*, and a pinnace, commanded by Jacob Van Neck who had made an unsuccessful attack on the Portuguese fortress of Tidore in the Moluccas the previous June.

The Hollanders, who were bound for Canton after having been blown off their original course for Patani, were very surprised to find themselves on the morning of 27th September in sight of "a great town spread out before them, all built in the Spanish style". Realising that it must be Macao, they sent off a skiff to reconnoitre the place, flying large white flags. Dom Paulo de Portugal promptly dispatched some armed boats which captured the skiff with its eleven occupants. Next morning the Dutch pinnace unwisely approached the inner harbour and was taken by four Portuguese junks, the prisoners including the pilot, Jan Dircks-zoon, and the Factor, Marten Ape. Van Neck sailed away on the 3rd October after vainly trying to procure the release of the twenty captive Hollanders. Seventeen of these hapless prisoners were barbarously executed as pirates by the Portuguese in November, after they had vainly tried to save their lives by becoming Roman Catholic converts at the eleventh hour. The Jesuits professed unctuous satisfaction over their change of faith; but it is impossible to believe that it was inspired by anything but the hope of evading the gallows. A similar shameless fraud was perpetrated on thirteen prisoners from one of Oliver Van Noort's ships captured by the Spaniards in Manila Bay the previous year, who were likewise butchered after having been "converted" to the Church of Rome. The three survivors of the Macao holocaust, — two boys who were spared on account of their youth and the Factor — were sent via Malacca to Goa, whence Martin Ape returned to Holland in 1604.

A Royal Letter of 22 February informs us that there were then over 600 Indo-Portuguese families established at Macao, apart from the numerous merchants who frequented the place. In 1602 Dom Paulo de Portugal at last made the Japan Voyage in person. After his return to India, he took part in

the expedition of Dom Martin Afonso de Castro which relieved Malacca from the siege by the Dutch Admiral Maatelieff and the Raja of Johore in 1605. He subsequently died of dysentry at this place, without having been called to account for the judicial murder of the seventeen Dutch prisoners of 1601, despite the promises of Fernão de Albuquerque, the then Governor of Malacca (later Governor of India in 1619–22) that the persons responsible for this atrocity would be brought to justice.

He was succeeded as Captain-Major of Macao in 1603 by Gonçalo Rodrigues de Sousa, who was prevented from making his Japan Voyage by the chapter of accidents related by Padre Fernão Guerreiro as follows:- "On the 30th July of the year sixteen hundred and three, between eleven o' clock and midday, there arrived at the City of Macao a Siamese junk which brought news that in the previous March the carrack from China which was bound for Malacca (the richest and largest for many years) had been taken by the Dutch in the straits of Singapore. And that very same evening, when the carrack which was going from China to Japan was on the eve of departure, two ships and a pinnace of the said enemy reached this port of Macao and took the carrack where it lay without any resistance whatsoever, since there was nobody in it, everyone being ashore getting ready to embark. And forasmuch as the citizens of Macao lost virtually all of their capital in these two ships, which were each worth about a *conto* of gold, whilst they were still more deeply indebted in Japan for goods they had bought there on credit, they were all left in a condition rather to receive than to give alms," — to the Jesuits who had also lost a pretty packet in this double disaster. The references are to the carrack *Santa Catarina* of 1,500 tons, Captain Sebastian Serrão, which had been taken by Jacob Van Heemskerck together with a Macaonese junk laden with provisions for Malacca; whilst the carrack captured at Macao by the Dutch ships *Erasmus* and *Nassau* in July, was found to be laden with over 1,400 piculs of raw silk besides a quantity of gold and other merchandise.

The lading of the *Santa Catarina* when sold at Amsterdam yielded three and a half million guilders; and from the

large amount of Ming porcelain captured in this ship, Chinese pottery was subsequently known for many years in Holland as *Kraakporselein* or "Carrack-porcelain".

It is also interesting to recall that next year the Directors of the Dutch East India Company commissioned Hugo Grotius to write a legal treatise defending the right of prize (*De Jure Praedae*) in connection with the capture of the *Santa Catarina* and the sale of her cargo. Although the complete work remained unpublished for centuries, one chapter thereof (the 12th) was printed in 1609, under the title of *Mare Librum*, and its fame survives to this day as the classic exposition of the freedom of the seas in international law.

In 1604 the critical situation of Macao — and the perilous financial plight of the Jesuit Japan Mission — was relieved by the prosperous voyage of João Caiado to Japan "which yielded enormous profits" this year. And large indeed they must have been, to have aroused this comment at a time when anything less than a 100% profit in this market was regarded as disappointingly low. The Captain-Major left Nagasaki for Macao at the beginning of December. He had previously served as Captain of Amboina in 1597–8, and was later Alderman of the Senate of Goa in 1609; Captain of Malacca in 1615–16, where he was removed for being concerned in the murder of Estevão de Teixeira; he soldiered later in the Persian Gulf, where he died *circa* 1619. He may be identified with the João Caiado de Gamboa, son of Dr. Antonio Roiz de Gamboa and of Isabel de Figueiredo, who came out to India in 1568. Nuno de Costa made the Japan Voyage in 1605 on behalf of Dom Diogo do Vasconcelos de Menezes who was then Captain-Major of Macao. Whilst this carrack lay at anchor in Nagasaki roadstead, a typhoon swept over the harbour and wrought great damage but the ship itself escaped "owing to the mercy of God".

On the 26th March the Dutch Admiral Wybrant Van Warwyck (who had vainly cruised in the South China Sea during the summer of the previous year to waylay the Japan-bound carrack and to open up trade with China) put into the harbour of Patani where he captured the richly-laden Nao *Santo Antonio*, bound from Macao to Malacca, with the connivance of the local Malay Queen.

Dom Diogo de Vasconcelos de Menezes made a prosperous voyage to Japan in 1606, which was otherwise an important one in the history of European enterprise in the Far East. In 1605, the Dutch had captured all the Portuguese strongholds in the Moluccas, but a vigorous Spanish counter attack under Don Pedro d'Acuná, the Governor of Manila, regained Tidore and Ternate for the Crown of Spain in May 1606. In the same month the Dutch Admiral Cornelis Maatelieff de Jonge and the Raja of Johore laid siege to Malacca, which was strongly defended by André Furtado de Mendonça with the help of a contingent of Japanese adventurers. The siege was raised by the Viceroy of Goa in August, but this preliminary Portuguese success was offset by the destruction of most of the Portuguese Armada at Malacca in October. Maatelieff then sailed for Ternate, where he retook part of the island from the Spaniards, leaving for China in June 1607.

We now come to one of the most interesting episodes in the history of the Portuguese in Japan, namely the destruction of the Great Ship from Amacon after a four day (or rather night) naval action in the offing of Nagasaki harbour. The epic resistance of Captain André Pessoa recalls Sir Richard Grenville's heroic defence of the *Revenge*, — albeit the Portuguese captain went one better, in that his order to "sink me the ship, master gunner, sink her, split her in twain" was actually obeyed. I published an account *per longum et latum* of this action over twenty years ago (*The Affair of the Madre de Deus*, London 1929); but it contains a few minor errors of fact and surmise which are now corrected in this shorter version. This is derived from the original Portuguese account by Padre João Rodrigues Girão S. J., written at Nagasaki in 1610 and preserved in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum (*Additional Mss.* 9860 fls. 129–135). The Spanish and Japanese sources as quoted by J. L. Alvarez in *Monumenta Nipponica* (Vol. II pp. 147–179) have also been utilised.

André Pessoa was born in the little Ribatejan town of Azambuja, son of Lourenço Pessoa and Francisca Calado. He served in India and the Azores from 1577 onwards, taking part *inter alia* in the expedition of André Furtado to

Spaniards and Portuguese would do the like. As previously pointed out, this is a net of the Devil spread out over these seas in the form of this commerce, derived from the silver which is invested in silks, which are bought at such high prices that by virtue of this traffic they are now more expensive in the Philippines than in Spain itself."

It is to be feared that the Bishops and Governors who were the Jewish economist's informers were none too accurate in their presentation of the facts. The Chinese production of silks for export was quite sufficient to take care of the Macao, Manila, Mexican and Japanese markets, with plenty for all and to spare, — provided always that the *entrepreneurs* of Macao and Manila did not insist on a minimum profit of one hundred percent. The main reason for the relative decrease of the profits from the sale of Chinese silk at Nagasaki, was not Castillian competition as argued by Gomes de Solis, but was due to the institution of the *pancado* by the Japanese Government in 1605. This was the name given by the Portuguese to the system whereby they were compelled to sell the whole of their silk imports in bulk at a price fixed by a ring of merchants from the five Shogunal municipalities of Yedo, Kyoto, Osaka, Sakai and Nagasaki. This practice was later extended to the Dutch, who complained about it as vehemently and as vainly as did their predecessors, — but in neither case did it prevent either the Southern or the Red-haired barbarians from making large profits, even if a mere 40% or 50% in comparison with the 100% of the good old days. The Dutch, although formidable competitors of the Macaonese, never succeeded in supplanting them in Japan until after the latter had been driven out for purely political-religious motives in 1639. Solis overlooks the fact that the Portuguese had more to fear from direct Chinese competition in Kyushu (which was steadily increasing and averaged 50 or 60 large junks a year) than from their heretic rivals, dangerous as the latter doubtless were.

Despite official disapproval in the highest quarters, attempts were sometimes made to legalise the flourishing Macao-Manilla traffic, if only for the Crown to "cash in" on the profits derived therefrom. Dom Francisco da Gama,

Count of Vidigueira, and Viceroy of India in 1623–28, (the same fidalgo who during his previous Viceroyalty in 1599 had ordered the forcible expulsion of the Manila Spaniards from the Pearl River) went so far in May 1625, as to order Dom Francisco Mascarenhas to organize a voyage from Macao to Manila for the benefit of the Royal Exchequer; the proceeds were to be invested in Japanese copper required for casting into cannon at Goa, and in Chinese gold earmarked for the upkeep of the Indian Ocean Armada. The Macao Senate was up in arms — literally as well as figuratively — at the prospect of this filching of their forbidden fruits. So much at least may be gathered from a perusal of Dom Francisco's papers at Evora previously referred to. One section of these deals with the arguments of the Captain-General and Senate over the pickings of this voyage in Sept-October 1624; whilst another drawn up at about the same time commences, "The origin of the rebellion which broke out in this City of Macao on the 10th of October, and of all the other disorders, springs from the interest which the Aldermen and other officials have in filling the various captaincies, factorships, places and liberties in the ships of both the Japan and Manila Voyages." Eventually a compromise was reached whereby part of the profits were allotted to the upkeep of the local garrison and fortifications, whilst the Governor, Senators and other influential persons retained a fair share of the spoils.

This agreement was continued by the second Captain-General, Dom Felipe Lobo, with the tacit approval of the Iberian authorities; until the Viceroy of Goa, Dom Miguel de Noronha, Count of Linhares, upset this particular apple-cart by selling three Manila voyages *en bloc* with those of Japan to the syndicate headed by Lopo Sarmento de Carvalho in 1629. This viceregal decision met with much opposition from the Macao Senate, who had the additional grievance of being forced to find other financial resources from which to pay for their garrison and still unfinished fortifications. These three Manila voyages of 1630–3, were supervised by Lopo Sarmento's brother-in-law, Antonio Fialho Feireira. He evidently made a good thing out of them, since he became a generous benefactor of the Poor

Clares' Convent at Macao; his beautiful daughter, Leonor, being one of the first inmates. He also made himself so unpopular with the majority of the citizens that he was eventually forced to flee the colony and seek refuge in Goa whence he returned to Portugal by the overland route.

Meanwhile the home government had given Linhares a sharp rap over the knuckles for putting the Macao-Manila trade on a legal footing, and sent him stringent orders to forbid it once and for all. This attitude was doubtless inspired by the plaints of the Andalusian silk merchants and the Spanish colonial authorities, as voiced in the *Memorials* of Frey Diego Aduarte O.P. (1619), Los Rios Coronel (1621), Don Pedro Quiroga y Morga (1635) and Don Juan Grau y Monfalcon (1638–1640), English translations of which are available in the monumental work on *The Philippine Islands* (1493–1898) by Blair and Robertson. The consequence was that the Viceroy ordered the cessation of this traffic on the expiration of the Sarmento de Carvalho contract in 1633, with results that might have been forseen. Chinese merchants were quick to take advantage of the ban on their Macaonese competitors, and no fewer than forty large sea-going junks laden with Chinese silks from Amoy and other Fukienese ports entered Manila Bay in 1634. Nor did the mischief end here. Spanish galleons, under the pretext of buying munitions, or pleading stress of weather, appeared in Macao roads and were willingly supplied with the coveted silks by local mechants under cover of night. A single galleon usually brought about half a million silver dollars for this contraband trade. The most flagrant instance was afforded by the Sergeant-Major Alonso Garcia Romero, Governor of the Spanish settlements in Formosa, whose galleon sailed into the inner harbour on the plea of evading a typhoon while bound for Keelung, and who subsequently only escaped the outraged Captain-General's clutches by braving the fire of the battery of Santiago in April 1634. It is to this incident and its aftermath that Peter Mundy refers in his *Journal* on the 6th August 1637, when he writes, — .... "Some 5 or 6 yeares since, as theyre late, A Spanish shippe comming from Manilla was not suffered to enter but keptt outt with their Ordenance, not suffred to trade;

of this affront the Spaniards complayned to the King, butt these gave soe good reasons for whatt they had don thatt hee allowed and confirmed their privileges." Finally to cap everything, the Macaonese merchants, forbidden to sail from the harbour, clandestinely fitted out or freighted Chinese junks in the neighbouring islands and made the Manila voyage in this way.

The inevitable result was that the prohibition went the way of its predecessors in a couple of years, and the galliots from Macao were openly — if not legally — sailing to Manila as before. Nor were the Spaniards quick to discontinue their practice of sending a galleon to Macao, despite the mixed reception which the governor of Formosa had met with in 1634. The Acapulco Plate-ship herself came into Macao roads during the time that Captain Weddell's squadron lay at anchor there in the autumn of 1637. The sight of this legendary treasure-ship aroused all the buccaneering instincts of the English crews, who were deeply chagrined at their commanders' decision (only reached after heated discussion and with great reluctance) "not to meddle with her". This latent piracy did not prevent them from becoming very friendly with the Spaniards subsequently; for Peter Mundy struck up a cordial friendship with her Captain, Juan Lopez de Andoyna, who introduced the Cornishman to the delights of drinking chocolate — which he enjoyed immensely — and nearly persuaded him to take passage in the galleon on the return voyage across the Pacific to Acapulco.

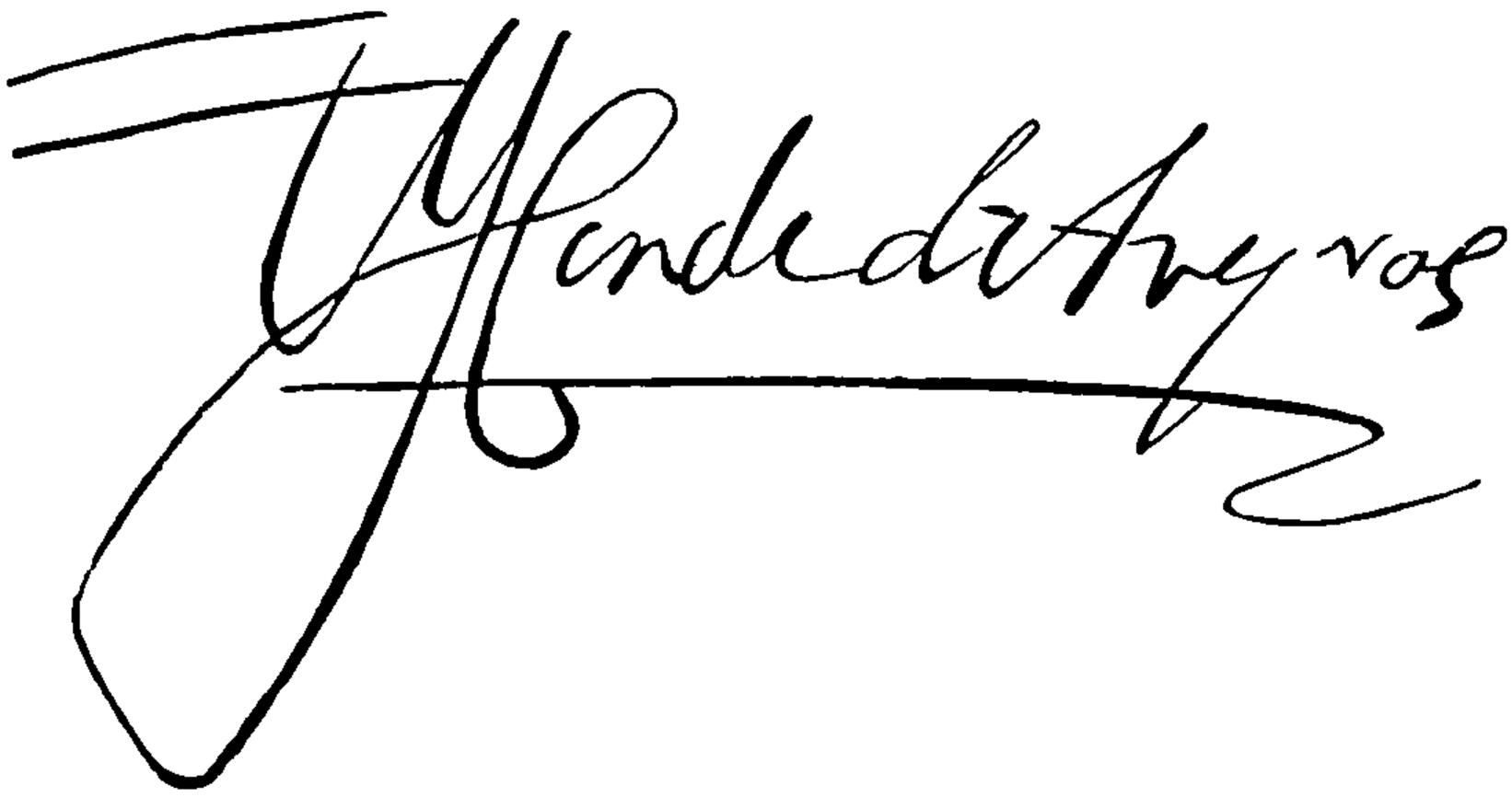
Thus the Macao-Manila voyages at the time of the Portuguese revolt from Spanish domination in 1640, were strictly forbidden by the authorities at Lisbon and Madrid, but were connived at by their representatives in Asia, and carried on by the adventurous citizens of Manila and Macao to their mutual profit. Contemporary Portuguese sources state that the cargo of a large *pataxo* (pinnace) yielded between 25–30,000 *patacas* or silver dollars on a single voyage. The final loss of the Japan trade in 1639–40 induced the Macao Senate to write once more to King Philip, urging him to allow them to recoup their losses by formally licensing the commerce with Manila, or even extending it to include

Mexico or Peru. They pointed out that the rigid enforcement of the royal prohibition in 1633–34, had merely diverted the treasures of Potosi from the pockets of His Most Catholic Majesty's subjects at Macao into the coffers of the heathen Chinese at Canton and Amoy. "Better to give the bread to the children than to the dogs" they protested, but by the time this remonstrance reached Europe, their liege lord was no longer King Philip of Hapsburg but King John of Braganza.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Travels of Peter Mundy (Hak. Soc. Ed.) Vol. III. (London, 1919).
C. R. Boxer, *Macao 300 Years Ago* (Macau, 1942).
—— *Subsidios para a historia dos Capitais-Gerais e Governadores de Macau* (Macau, 1940).
Frei Joseph de Jesus Maria, *Asia Sinica e Japonica* (Mss. Macao, 1744–45).
W. L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York, 1939).

Plate IX



The Conde de Aveiras, Viceroy of Goa, 1640-1645

IX. RESTORATION AND RECRIMINATION

If ever there was a man who had greatness thrust upon him, it was John, Duke of Braganza, first monarch of the Portuguese dynasty of that name. His twin passions were music (tradition credits him with composing the popular tune for *Adeste Fidelis*) and hunting, in which sport he could outride the toughest of his Courtiers. He asked nothing more of life than to be left in the tranquil enjoyment of these peaceful pursuits at his country seat of Villa Vicosa. His elevation to the throne in December, 1640, was the work of a small but determined group of fidalgos ably abetted by his virile Spanish wife, Dona Luisa de Guzman, whose native patriotism had been supplanted by a burning ambition to become a reigning Queen. The Restoration (as the accession of the House of Braganza to the throne is termed by Portuguese writers) was accomplished with surprising ease in so far as the mother-country and the majority of the colonies were concerned; since it came at a time when the Spaniards were busy trying to suppress one of the periodic attempts of Catalonia to assert its independence with the active support of France.

Although the conspirators of December 1640, a queer medly of disgruntled grandees, ambitious lawyers and intriguing clerics, found that their immediate success surpassed their wildest hopes, the new government was in considerable trepidation about the potential reaction in the colonies. For obvious reasons it had been impossible to let these in on the secret until the *coup d'etat* had succeeded, but a successful revolt is its own justification.

Treason doth never prosper,
What's the reason?
For if it prosper
None dare call it Treason.

The Restoration of 1640 was no exception to this rule, and the whole colonial empire followed the lead of Lisbon with a few trifling and (save one instance) temporary exceptions. This is not to say that there was not considerable searching of heart in some instances, nor is this surprising. After all, although the Portuguese as a whole were thoroughly sick and tired of their "sixty years captivity" as the period of their subjection to the Spanish Crown was termed, the new deal gave plenty of food for thought to those in positions of authority who had the prospect of something to lose. Preoccupied as Spain was with her costly campaigns in Catalonia, Flanders and Italy, her resources were still much greater than those of Portugal, and it was a short distance from the Spanish frontier to Lisbon. Portugal had no army and virtually no navy; Castilian troops were garrisoned at strategic points in the mother-country, in the Azores and in Brazil. Such soldiers as the Portuguese had were mostly employed in colonial service overseas, or in Spanish regiments in Catalonia and Flanders where they were so many hostages to fortune. Many of the leading families had representatives dancing attendance at the Court of Madrid, whilst John's promising younger brother, the Prince Dom Duarte, was serving in the Spanish army in Germany.

All things considered, it will be seen that the colonial authorities had something to mull over before they took the plunge, and officially recognised as their liege lord a new monarch whose reign might prove as ephemeral as that of the 'Winter King' of Bohemia, our King Charles I's luckless brother-in-law. This was evidently the view taken by the Viceroy of India, João da Silva Tello, Count of Aveiras, when the glad tidings eventually reached him at Goa on the 8th September 1641. True it is, that in his official apologia, accepted by all subsequent writers, he claims that he did not really hesitate a moment in giving his allegiance to the new monarch. Any apparent hesitation in fixing an early date for the formal proclamation of King John was merely due to the fact that he wished to gain enough time to have a special gala costume made for the ceremony, he — or rather his mouthpiece Jacome de Mesquita — explains in

his somewhat laboured defence. Although his disavowals were evidently accepted without question by King John, since the latter appointed him Viceroy of India for the second time nine years later, some forgotten witnesses tell a very different story. The Hollanders, whose ships were then blockading Goa's bar, and who had an excellent espionage service ashore, inform us that the Viceroy's attitude was equivocal to say the least; until the Archbishop ended his hesitation by showing him a paper authorising him to assume the government if the Count should decline to recognise the new King. The Dutch were certainly in a position to know what was afoot, as apart from their able intelligence service, they had captured one of the two ships sent from Lisbon with the news and which carried all the royal instructions and correspondence for the authorities at Goa. Further confirmation is afforded by an unexpected source, the celebrated Jesuit Father Antonio Vieira, who in the course of commenting on one of his favourite prophecies by Goncalo Eanes Bandarra, the cobbler-rhymster of Trancoso *circa* 1556, and apostle of the curious cult of Sebastianism, wrote to the King's confessor on April 1659, —

"The cat signifies the State of India, which as soon as the news of the Acclamation reached Goa, wished to proclaim it publicly; but the Viceroy hesitated, for he evaded the importunity of the populace and the soldiery by shutting himself up in the Palace, to consider like a cunning man, what he should do in this weighty business .... Bandarra concludes his disapproval of the Count by insinuating that he would strip bare the State of India .... and I, relying on Bandarra's aversion to the Count of Aveiras, when the King made him Viceroy of India for the second time, I told His Majesty that I was greatly amazed that he should select as Viceroy a man of whom Bandarra spoke ill. That it could not turn out well was shown by what happened subsequently". Although it is not strictly speaking connected with our story, I cannot forbear from quoting Vieira's description of the Count from the same letter, since contemporary portraits of these fidalgos are so few and far between; and this word-sketch confirms the impression made by the crude seventeenth century oil painting of the Viceroy still preserved

at Goa. "The Count of Aveiras was very hairy and heavily bearded, as we all saw; he had a lot of hair on the eyebrows, in the ears, on the inside and outside of his nose, and only his eyes were free of hair, albeit his beard came up close to them. I once heard his nephew, Dom Rodrigo, Count of Unhão, say that his uncle had wool like a sheep all over his body .... As for his great cunning, it only failed him when he agreed to go to India again; but in knowing when to speak and when to keep silent, in his carriage, in his behaviour, and in all his actions, both outward and inward, there is no doubt at all but that the Count of Aveiras had those qualities which lead people to call men cunning; and as such the King regarded him, even when he didn't boast about it." But it is time to leave the Viceroy and his hesitations, for a consideration of how the news was received at Macao.

Since the City of the Name of God lay "in the confines of the remotest shore of China", it was a toss-up whether Spaniards from Mexico and Manila or Portuguese from India would get there first with the news, — and in all probability the first comers could count on getting the place for their King. That Portugal won the race was chiefly due to the ability and energy of one man, Antonio Fialho Ferreira, Captain-Major of the Manila voyages in 1630–3, and what corresponded in those days to an "old China hand". Fialho who had left Macao hurriedly and under a cloud in 1638, was busy badgering the colonial office in Lisbon two years later, after an adventurous homeward journey through the wilds of Asia Minor. John IV was hardly seated on his as yet far from secure throne, when Fialho got himself appointed as Royal Envoy to carry the news of the King's accession to Macao in January 1641. He set out (via London) in an English ship which dropped him at Bantam in September. From here he went to Batavia, where the Dutch Governor-General Antonio Van Diemen received him on the 27th of the same month. The Hollanders in the East were anything but pleased at the news of Portugal's secession from Spain, since they found predatory warfare against the decaying Iberian empire more profitable than peaceful commercial competition. Van Diemen consequently re-

fused to listen to Fialho's suggestion that hostilities should be suspended until official notification of the Luso-Dutch truce was received from Europe. This belligerent attitude was a great disappointment to all the Portuguese colonial authorities from Brazil to China, since one of their main expectations in breaking away from Spain was that their new-found independence would relieve them from the crushing hostility of the Dutch.

Eventually Fialho talked Van Diemen into letting him carry the news to Macao, mainly because otherwise the Spaniards would get there first, and that would be even worse for the Hollanders. He accordingly took passage in the ship *Capella* bound for Formosa, which dropped him in Macao roads at the end of May 1642, somewhat transparently disguised as a returned prisoner of war.

At this point it may be as well to take stock of the situation which confronted Antonio Fialho Ferreira when he reached his journey's end on this fine May morning. Writing to King Philip in 1640, the Senate of Macao stated with modest pride that "This city has seventy large cannon mounted in four Royal Forts and five bulwarks, firing shot from 12 to 40 lbs; another twenty fieldpieces, and good material for works of fortification, redoubts and trenches; a good foundry for all kinds of metals, and spacious gunpowder mills. Married Portuguese number about six hundred, and their sons who are capable of taking arms, somewhat less. The native born are over five hundred including married men and soldiers. Slaves number about five thousand, so that altogether we can surely reckon on putting two thousand good musketeers in the field". These figures are of course exclusive of the Chinese population which then numbered about twenty thousand according to a contemporary chronicler, who however obviously exaggerated when he added that "everyone was abundantly rich, without there being a single person who was known to be poor. This notorious opulence led to many persons, not only adventurers and refugees but highly respectable people, leaving India and even Portugal to settle down and live in this place, marrying here owing to the enormous dowries then in vogue".

Making due allowance for exaggeration, the colony was indubitably prosperous, maugre the loss of its mainstay in the shape of the Japan trade. Commerce with Manila was still flourishing, in despite of repeated official bans, and a profitable if less lucrative business was carried on with the warring states of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, with the Moslem Sultan of Macassar, and with the petty pagan chieftains of Timor, Solor and Flores in the Lesser Sunda islands. It was not only the profits of this overseas trade or the money and persons of Eurasian heiresses which attracted prospective settlers, but freedom from the attentions of the Holy Office — since the long arm of the Inquisition was pretty well paralysed by the time it had reached Macao. This explains the relatively high proportion of wealthy crypto-Jews or *Christãos-novos* amongst the European community, if one may judge from the fact that many of the wealthiest settlers came from places like Braganza and Beira-Baixa which were notorious strongholds of the *Marranos* (Swine) as the New Christians were popularly if inelegantly termed. This hated class had more than its fair share of energy and brains; and this again goes far to explain the remarkable resilience of Macao under such unfavourable circumstances, and why this remote outpost weathered the storms which wrecked so many other exposed Portuguese colonies. It may be added that the Chinese population increased rapidly during this period. Alderman Lourenco Mendes Cordeiro, writing to the King in November 1644, stated that there were then over forty thousand souls in the city. This was however probably a temporary phenomenon, caused by the widespread misery attendant on the Manchu invasion and civil wars raging in China. These wars led to an influx of refugees in much the same way as did the Japanese occupation of Canton and Hongkong three centuries later.

The Macaonese however were apparently like Dryden's English:

a headstrong, moody, murmuring race
As ever tried the extent and stretch of grace

for the numerous dangers which threatened them abroad were insufficient to distract them from fratricidal strife

within the narrow confines of their home. One of these perennial disputes was in full flower at the time of Fialho's arrival, and (to change the metaphor) had the whole city by the ears. The trouble originated with the arrest and imprisonment of an unruly cleric named Paulo Teixeira, by order of the Governor of the Bishopric, Frei Bento de Christo, — a "God-fearing prelate" according to his friends, and a "crazy Capuchin Friar" in the opinion of his enemies. Teixeira broke his arrest and took refuge in the Jesuit College where the Rector in his capacity of Commissary of the Inquisition refused to give him up, all censures, threats, and denunciations notwithstanding. The incident is best related in the words of an eighteenth century Franciscan chronicler, Frei José de Jesus Maria.

"Both threw off the mask and drew their swords, the Commissary brandishing that of the Holy Office, and the Prelate that of his authority and jurisdiction, which, since both weapons were those of the Church, caused the most terrible scandal to Christians and gentiles alike. For they saw fixed on the doors of churches, excommunications issued by the Commissary against the Prelate, swiftly followed by others of the Prelate against the Commissary, some being torn down and replaced by others, I not venturing to decide which with better reason and justification. The affair came to such a pitch that the very churches and the faithfull suffered from it; some finding themselves involved and debarred from receiving the Sacraments, whilst the Church of God was rent by civil broils in a heathen land where the very gentiles do not allow such profanation of their own temples.

"All the clergy and the holy orders which are represented here, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians ranged themselves on the side of the Prelate, demonstrating in most erudite memorials the just reasons which motivated his decisions. [So much for our friar's claim for impartiality]. The Commissary with his Fathers, who in these distant lands (as common report has it) like to be regarded as the wisest and most powerful of all, seeing that they could make no headway with their project as they were wont, recognizing the character, pride, sinister intentions and malevolent

disposition of the Captain-General, got him on their side, hoping to carry off the matter by force of arms, suffocating all opposition. With this violence the Fathers of the Company forcibly rescued the prisoner from the jail and took him to their collge; and as feeling was running high on both sides they flew to arms, and put the whole City in an uproar of virtual civil war with this new outrage. Recourse was had to the law, and to the ecclesiastical authorities at Manila for their opinion; there were imprisonments, alternating with violent releases; both sides appealed to Goa with complaints and counter-affidavits; the two tribunals concerned found it difficult to give a decision; but finally everything calmed down with the joyful news that King John the Fourth had been proclaimed in Portugal".

Our monkish chronicler was mistaken in this last point as we shall see, but the foregoing quotation makes it amply clear that it was to no peaceful and united city that Antonio Fialho Ferreira came with the tidings of the new King's accession on the 31st May, 1642. Nor is it surprising to find that now, as twenty years previously, the Macao Senate petitioned for the appointment of a Bishop who should be neither a Friar nor a Jesuit, and thus unlikely to show undue partiality for any one of the rival religious orders.

Contemporary accounts differ widely as to Fialho 's reception when he broke the news to a conclave of assembled notables, presided over by the Captain-General and the Governor of the Bishopric. The Viceroy's stooges would have us believe that this news was received with incredulity, until some letters from the Count of Aveiras were found amongst Fialho's papers which finally resolved all doubts. Fialho himself claims that he won all hearts with an eloquent speech which ended by proclaiming the new monarch, amidst general applause and protestations of loyalty led by his brother-in-law, Lopo Sarmento de Carvalho. From an examination of the 18th century transcripts of the original minutes of the council meeting, we can legitimately infer that there was in fact a certain amount of argument — based not so much on reluctance to accept the Duke of Braganza as King, as on dislike of doing so at the bidding of the unpopular Antonio Fialho Ferreira.

with the loud lamentations of grinding poverty which the Senate of Macao addressed with such monotonous regularity to the King. Citizens who could afford to dress not only themselves and their wives but even their slaves in velvet and cloth of gold, evidently still had a shot of some kind in their financial locker. This thought evidently struck the priestly chronicler of these *festas*, for after boasting (truly enough) that "in sober truth a more impressive spectacle could not have been staged in the courts of European Monarchs", he adds somewhat lamely, "whilst this city contains such great store of treasure in the form of diamonds, rubies, pearls, seed-pearls, gold, silk and musk, it is none the wealthier for it, since the Chinese care nothing at all for such precious things but only for silver, of which there is such a total want at present that we are a living example of that legendary Midas who died of pure hunger at a table of gold dishes".

It is interesting to compare this colourful glimpse of Portuguese colonial life with that of their countrymen in Brazil, or with their Dutch rivals at Batavia. With regard to the former, the Macaonese seem to have been better off than their American or African compatriots, for contemporary travellers are united in their testimony as to the total want of all comfort or culture in the houses of the wealthy *fazendeiros* of the Atlantic colonies. The latter had jewels and gala clothing enough and to spare, but evidently lacked the refinements of household goods, lacquer furniture, silks and hangings which the Macaonese adopted or adapted from their Chinese neighbours. In their love of music and employment of slave orchestras, the Macaonese were no different from their Batavian contemporaries, whose houses at night likewise resounded to lively airs from guitar, zithern and lute. They did not however share their rivals' passion for pictures, and there is no equivalent in Portuguese colonial art to the oil paintings which the countrymen of Rembrandt brought with them overseas. Dancing amongst the Macaonese was virtually limited to the morris and folk dances which (as in Portugal) were such a prominent feature of both religious and lay processions.

A leading part in the summer festivities of 1642, was

taken by the Captain-General Dom Sebastião Lobo da Silveira, whose portly frame "dressed in a Moorish costume of rich gold and sky blue silk, with a red cap on his head" appeared to good advantage, or so his priestly panegyrist would have us believe. This same author alleges that his lavish participation in these *festas* financially embarrassed the already heavily indebted Captain-General. "For since he reached this city in the last year of the Japan Voyage (1638) which was broken off the next year, he was also ruined like the rest, living on loans which some noble citizens gave him, and who should be reimbursed by the Crown for their trouble," adds the Reverend Marques Moreira somewhat ingenuously. Other clerics were not so flattering in their opinion of this functionary. The Franciscan Friar Joseph de Jesus Maria who, as we have seen, ascribes the ecclesiastical troubles of 1641–44 to the machinations of the Captain-General on Jesuit prompting, does not scruple to assert that "Macao at this time was in an uproar due to the tyrannical and iniquitous proceedings of its Captain-General, Dom Sebastião Lobo da Silveira, who wolf as he was [Lobo=Wolf] appeared desirous of devouring everyone irrespective of their quality". The quarrel between the Mendicant Orders backed by the acting Bishop and the Jesuits backed by the Captain-General, flared up afresh after a lull occasioned by the loyal celebrations of 1642. It was further complicated by an acrimonious dispute between the Senate and the Captain-General over the treatment of some Spaniards who had arrived under a flag of truce from Manila to claim the place for Philip of Spain and whom the Senate had allowed to land under safe-conduct. It is neither easy nor necessary to unravel what actually happened; but bitter street fighting in which artillery was used took place between the contestants before order was finally restored with the arrival of a new Governor from Goa, Luis de Carvalho de Sousa, in 1644.

The worst of Dom Sebastião's many crimes was his cold-blooded murder of the Crown Administrator, Diogo Vaz Freire, whom he kept chained in a filthy dungeon in the basement of his house for eight months, before beating him to death on the night of the 4th May, 1643. Not only

did the Governor brutally refuse his victim's pitiful pleas to be allowed the sacraments and confession before dying, but in his sadistic rage he strangled a slave-boy who ventured to appeal for mercy for the dying wretch. He crowned this double atrocity by depositing Freire's mangled corpse at the door of the *Misericordia*, where a horrified crowd gathered next morning to see the body "covered with sores and weals, and with one eye hanging out from its socket". Dom Sebastião then had the incredible effrontery to write to the king that he had killed the Administrator in cold blood and without trial, "since it was convenient for His Majesty's credit, the honour of the Portuguese nation, and the safety of his own life!" Needless to say the home government took a very different view, and ordered his immediate arrest and deportation to Portugal for trial. But repeated orders for the confiscation of his property were evaded or ignored (allegedly through the connivance of his Jesuit friends at Macao), and when he finally sailed from Goa for Lisbon in February 1647, it was with most of his ill-gotten gains still in his possession. The ship was wrecked on the desolate coast of Natal, but the majority of passengers and crew reached the shore and began the long overland trek to Mozambique on the 15th July. One of the few survivors of this terrible journey gives us the following details of the erstwhile Captain-General of the City of the Name of God in China.

"Dom Sebastian was so incapable of walking, due to his excessive obesity and other drawbacks which prevented him from taking more than a few steps at a time, that he persuaded the cabin-boys to carry him. This they agreed to do for love of his brother Dom Duarte Lobo, who was greatly admired by all, and he was carried in a hammock made from fishing lines, each lad being paid 800 *xerafines*, which Dom Duarte Lobo guaranteed, and gave them some gold on account". Next day the refugees were compelled to abandon a couple of nuns who could go no further, while "Dom Sebastian was nearly left behind, for the cabin-boys who were carrying him, found the work too heavy for them, and refused to do so, until Dom Duarte appeared and persuaded and bribed them to carry him by short stages".

Later on, "as the going got worse and the food less, the cabin-boys resolved to leave Dom Sebastian Lobo, which was temporarily prevented by arranging that twelve of the strongest should carry him and that their gear should be carried by the remainder". On coming to a deep and swift-following river, the youths finally lost patience and abandoned him; his brother, who was in the vanguard, not discovering what had happened until camp was pitched for the night. The faithful Dom Duarte then induced some of the sailors to go back with him for six miles, finding his brother where they had left him. "They brought him into the camp very late at night, he declaiming in a loud voice that he was not afraid to die, but that he did object to the scurvy way he had been treated". Dom Duarte had the greatest difficulty in persuading the sailors to carry their unwanted burden next day, "protesting vehemently the high rank of this fidalgo and the fact that he had been summoned to the kingdom by His Majesty's special command".

Next day the exhausted band reached another deep and wide river which proved too great a strain on their further charity. "Dom Sebastian confessed himself here and made his Will, realising that he could accompany us no further, revealing many jewels and precious things which he had hitherto concealed, offering them to whosoever should try to carry him. In view of this, and urged on by the Master, Jacinto Antonio, to whom he had given six gold chains for the purpose, sixteen of the strongest sailors agreed to take him, on Dom Sebastian giving them there and then all the jewelry which he had displayed". Three days later even the stalwart sixteen could carry him no further, and Dom Sebastian realised that his end was come. After confession, "he gave a ruby ring to each one of those who had taken him thus far, and giving away everything else, even including a reliquary Cross which he wore on his breast, and a small copper kettle, for he had nothing to eat as there was nothing. Everyone took a duly sorrowful farewell of him, leaving him under a small cloth shelter, fat and in good heart and with all his wits about him, since he felt unable to walk. A small Chinese stayed with him together with a negro slave of Domingos Borges de Souza. His brother Dom

Duarte Lobo, stayed with him a great while, Dom Sebastian displaying in this crisis so great patience and courage that if he persevered in this, it may be piously hoped that he found sure salvation". Such was the end of Dom Sebastian Lobo da Silveira and his faithful Chinese slave on the inhospitable coast of Natal. It can be seen from this concise account that there is not a vestige of truth in the popular Macao tradition (repeated *ad nauseam* by modern writers including the usually careful Padre Manuel Teixeira) that he was murdered by the patriotic mob in the precincts of Government-House whilst plotting to surrender the colony to the Spaniards.

This hoary tradition is more applicable to another Macao Governor, the ill-fated Dom Diogo Coutinho Docem, who took the place of his predecessor Luis de Carvalho de Souza in August 1646. This unfortunate fidalgo was the son of a nobleman of great promise, Dom Francisco Coutinho Docem, who had come out from Portugal in 1635 "with the appointment of General of Macao, and with the verbal promise of the Catholic King Philip IVth that if he demeaned himself in Macao as expected of him, he would be made Viceroy of India". The father never reached his destination, being killed in a fierce night action with the Dutch near Malacca, leaving his son as Captain of that Fortress. Here an English traveller met him in May 1637, and was apparently not very favourably impressed with this syphilitic scion of a warrior stock, whom he described as "being wounded more with Cupidd's shaftes than Mars his lances". He was also severely criticised by his own countrymen for being largely responsible for the fall of the Fortress three years later, "when Luis Martins de Sousa Chicorro went as General of that stronghold, whilst Dom Diogo Coutinho was Captain of the Fortress; and such bitter dissension arose between them that it culminated in open civil war, in which more than seventy Portuguese are said to have lost their lives".

The exact circumstances of his tragic end are obscure; but from the narrative of Friar Joseph de Jesus Maria, it seems that the garrison mutinied against him and the Senate when their pay was longer than usual in arrears. The sol-

diers seized the Guia Fort, posted seditious proclamations on the church doors, and trained the fortress cannon on the Senate House. The citizens on their part took up arms, and in the ensuing free-for-all fight which followed, stormed into Government House and cut to pieces the unfortunate Captain-General, whom they found cowering under the staircase. Even at the time when the Franciscan Friar wrote his History (1745), the original records had been too badly damaged by white ants for him to decipher the rights and wrongs of this dispute, which is therefore likely to remain 'wroped in mystery.' As may be imagined, the assassination of the chief Crown representative by the mob, coming as it did hard on the heels of Dom Sebastian Lobo's excesses, caused considerable annoyance in Lisbon, but King John had too many troubles to contend with nearer home to enable him to take drastic action. He therefore contented himself with writing to the Viceroy of India, "for the present (until a better opportunity arises) we must needs dissimulate in order to avoid causing another disturbance, as would happen if a judicial investigation were made (albeit the gravity of the affair demands otherwise), both because we do not know for certain who are the guilty parties as because further proof is required before inflicting punishment." This equivocal attitude was probably inevitable in the circumstances, and was also taken by the Lisbon Government when the populace of Goa revolted against the Viceroy Count of Obidos in 1650, and when the citizens of Rio de Janeiro rebelled against their Governor, Salvador Correia de Sa y Benevides, in 1661.

In view of this chronic condition of civil anarchy it is not surprising to find the English Factors at Bantam reporting to their headquarters at London in January 1649: — "As for the Portugalls in Maccaw, they are little better than mere rebells against their Vice Roye in Goa, having lately murthered their Captaine Generall sent thither to them; and Maccaw itselfe soe distracted amongst themselves that they are dailie spilling one anothers blood". Nor is it a matter for astonishment that Friar Joseph tells us sententiously that "like as the old proverb says that *in a starving household, everyone quarrels and nobody is in the right,* so was

this verified here to the letter, with the violent discords, murders and feuds which were rife. Things came to such a pass that the very negros (of whom there were many) not only became bold enough to flout their masters, but even plotted an armed rising against the City with the object of capturing one of the forts, — for which outrageous behaviour, eight of the ringleaders were sentenced by the Law and died on the gallows".

We have not space here to deal with the story of the various military expeditions sent by the Macaonese to help the tottering Ming Dynasty against the Tartar invaders, nor with their relations with the celebrated Fukienese pirate-turned-Admiral, Cheng Chi-lung, better known to Europeans under his Portuguese *sobriquet* of Nicholas Iquan. These events are more part of the history of the Portuguese in China than purely affecting Macao. It is at first sight rather surprising that the victorious Manchus did not "take it out" of the Macaonese for their staunch support of the failing Ming cause. For this they had to thank their Jesuit patrons at Peking, who adroitly contrived to run with the Ming hare and hunt with the Manchu hounds to the satisfaction of both parties. It was likewise the Peking Padres who intervened effectively on behalf of the threatened City when the Manchu Court promulgated its iniquitous edict ordering the evacuation of the coastal districts of Kwangtung province, in the fatuous belief it could thus forestall the ravages of the pro-Ming Chinese pirates from Formosa. Thanks to their representations, the Edict was commuted in so far as Macao was concerned, although local shipping suffered a severe blow with the destruction of half a dozen vessels engaged in the coastal trade, on the orders of the *Haitao* of Kwangtung in 1666. The order for the abandonment and depopulation of the maritime districts was repealed in 1669, but only after hundreds of thousands of innocent lives had been lost for no purpose, and vast areas of the countryside laid waste.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arquivo Historico Colonial, Lisbon. Macao, Caixa I (1630–1700).

J. L. D'AZEVEDO, *Cartas do Padre Antonio Vieira.* Vol. III (Coimbra, 1928).

C. R. BOXER, *Macao* 300 *Years Ago.* (Macau, 1942).

PADRE MANUEL TEIXEIRA, *Macau e sua diocese.* (Macau, 1940).

FREI JOSEPH DE JESUS MARIA, *Azia Sinica e Japonica.* (Mss. Macao, 1745.)

BENTO TEIXEIRA FEIO,- *Relaçam do Naufragio que fizeram as Naos Sacramento e Nossa Senhora da Atalaya.* (Lisboa, 1650).

,*

Bairros replied that he neither knew nor cared, "for he did not trouble himself with researches into other people's lives". In this at least he was hardly representative of many of his compatriots, for nowhere has the pseudo-science of heraldry and genealogy more ardent devotees than in Portugal, where it frequently assumes the proportions of a mania.

Despite the somewhat unco-operative attitude of the witnesses, the Holy Office representative did establish the fact that the ex-Governor of the Maranhão had a bastard child by Angela de Bairros about 1682, who was called Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho after his father, and who had been educated in Portugal after receiving his first lessons from the parish priest of his birthplace, Santa Cruz do Camuta. From these and other documents unearthed from the archives by my friend Senhor Frazão de Vasconcelos, it is likewise established that the youthful Antonio de Albuquerque was shipped off to India to seek his fortune like many another bastard or younger son, in 1700. He sailed in the ship *São Pedro Gonçalves* which left Lisbon in March and reached Goa in September, after a voyage marked by heavy mortality amongst the passengers and crew.

Albuquerque came out as a private soldier, but this was purely a formality in the case of those who like himself were of fidalgo origin, and hence it is not surprising to find him as a fully-fledged captain of marines eight years later. In this capacity he sailed in the frigate *Nossa Senhora das Neves* (Our Lady of the Snows) which left Goa for Macao in 1706. On board with him were two fidalgos named respectively Dom Henrique de Noronha (who was first lieutenant of the ship) and Francisco Xavier Doutel, both of whom fell foul of him in Macao as we shall shortly see. The frigate was nearly wrecked in a typhoon off the coast of Kwangtung, and had to be towed into port on the 23rd August "with all her rigging gone, dismasted, rudderless, and without even a beakhead". Being reduced to a sheer hulk, she had to spend two years in Macao harbour, undergoing repairs in an evidently leisurely fashion, during which space of time Satan certainly found mischief for idle hands to do.

A succinct account of Macao in Albuquerque's time, mar-

red by only a few minor inaccuracies, is contained in Captain Alexander Hamilton's *A New Account of the East-Indies* (Edinburgh, 1727):

"This City stands on a small Island, and is almost surrounded by the Sea. Towards the Land it is defended by three Castles built on the Tops of low Hills. By its Situation and Strength by Nature and Art, it was once thought impregnable. Indeed their beautiful Churches and other Buildings give us a reflecting Idea of its ancient Grandeur, for in the Forepart of the seventeenth Century, according to the *Christian Aera*, it was the greatest Port for Trade in *India* or *China*.

"The largest Brass Cannon that ever I saw are mounted in proper Batteries about the City. I measured one (amongst many) out of Curiosity, and found it 23 Foot from the Breech to the Muzzle Ring, nine Inches and a Quarter diameter in the Bore, and it was 12250 *Rotullaes* or *lb*. Weight of solid Metal.

"The City contains five Churches, but the *Jesuits* is the best, and is dedicated to St. *Paul*. It has two Convents for married Women to retire to, when their Husbands are absent, and orphan Maidens are educated in them till they can catch an Husband. They have also a Nunnery for devout Ladies, young or old, that are out of Conceit with the Troubles and Cares of the World. And they have a *Sancta Casa* or the holy House of the Inquisition, that frightens every *Catholick* into the Belief of every Thing that holy Mother Church tells them is Truth, whether it be really so or no.

"The Forts are governed by a Captain-General, and the City by a Burgher, called the *Procuradore*, but, in Reality, both are governed by a *Chinese Mandereen*, who resides about a League out of the City, at a Place called *Casa Branca*. The *Portugueze* Shipping that come there, are admitted into their Harbour, and are under the Protection of the Town; but the *Chinese* keep the Custom-house, and receive Customs for all Goods imported.

"That rich flourishing City has ruined itself by a long War they made with *Timore*, as I have observed before. They have exhausted their Men and Money on that unsuc-

cessful Project of Domination, so that out of a Thousand creditable House-keepers that inhabited the City before that War, there are hardly fifty left; and out of forty Sail of trading Vessels, they have not above five left, so that in the whole City and Forts, there are computed to be about two hundred Laity, and six hundred Priests, and about fifteen hundred Women, and many of them are very prolifick, for they bring forth Children without Husbands to father them."

Apropos of this last ungallant accusation, a Dutch account of Macao in the Batavian *Dagh-Register* for 1681, informs us that there was then a garrison of 150 soldiers, and a citizenry of between two and three thousand people, "but provided with a good 12,000 womenfolk".

We have already observed that Macao was then a favourite resort for impecunious suitors from other parts of the Portuguese Asiatic Empire, since many of the local damsels were richly dowered. The greatest catch at the time of Albuquerque's arrival was an orphan heiress named Maria de Moura, whose tender age of nine years did not deter two ardent lovers from pressing their suit. These were respectively the frigate's first lieutenant, and the captain of marines. The latter had the support of his commanding officer and (even more valuable) that of Bishop Casal and the Jesuits. On the other hand Dom Henrique de Noronha had the tacit approval of the grandmother, who felt, perhaps not altogether unreasonably, that the child was too young to know her own mind. Matters came to a head one fine afternoon in June 1709, when Maria de Moura was more or less forcibly abducted from her grandmother's house, and solemnly betrothed to Antonio de Albuquerque by the Vicar General, Lourenço Gomes, at the parish church of Saint Laurence.

A few weeks later Albuquerque whilst riding through the streets to the Franciscan Convent, was shot at by a negro slave of Noronha's armed with a blunderbuss. The shot went wide and Albuquerque, who was nothing if not courageous, attempted to ride his assailant down, but the culprit made good his escape. Returning from his fruitless pursuit through the Rua Formosa (near the modern Riviera Hotel, familiar to

all visitors to Macao), Albuquerque was fired at from the window of a house on the street corner by Dom Henrique himself, whose aim was rather better, since the bullet struck him in the right arm above the elbow. Wounded as he was, Albuquerque rode on to the Franciscan convent, where a third attempt on his life was made by another negro slave whose aim was as poor as that of his colleague. The intended victim had to be helped from his horse at the convent gate, where the hospitable friars gave him a welcome sanctuary. The municipal surgeon and the ship's doctor who were called in to heal the wound made light of the effects, but an English surgeon from a passing East-Indiamen, who came to see the patient a fortnight later, diagnosed that gangrene had set in, and advised immediate amputation if his life was to be saved. On hearing this, Albuquerque sent a message to his sweetheart, asking whether she would still be prepared to marry him when mutilated by the loss of his right arm. Maria de Moura made the classic reply that she would marry him even if his two legs were cut off, so long as he was still alive. The old chroniclers naturally extol the mutual faithfulness of this couple who were so readily prepared to sacrifice all for love; and the sensation created by this affair was for many years commemorated by a popular folk song which ran:

Não he tão fermosa
Nem tão bem parecida,
Que, por seu dinheiro
Maria arma tanta briga

which may be rendered into English as:

She is not so beautiful
Nor yet so fair
That for her money
Maria should cause such stir.

But the lovers, as Shakespeare's Lysander might have told them, were by no means out of the wood yet. At Christmastide that year (1709) the unfriendly grandmother, Maria de Vasconcelos, appealed to the Senate to take charge of her granddaughter, since it was plain that Antonio de Albuquerque intended to kidnap her on board the frigate and carry her off to Goa. The Senate was rather embarrassed by the

request since the courtship of Albuquerque was strongly supported by the frigate's captain, who went so far as to land detachments of sailors and marines to protect the lovers from further molestation. Moreover the Senator's previous efforts to interfere on the grandmother's behalf, had been rudely rebuffed by the Bishop and his Vicar-General, nor were they more successful this time. Meanwhile Dom Henrique de Noronha, after the failure of his murderous attempt had sought sanctuary in the Dominican convent. The Governor had this place surrounded by a detachment of soldiers, but the culprit made good his escape during the night and took refuge in the house of Charles Maillard de Tournon, Patriarch of Antioch. Here he not only remained unmolested, but was visited by his friends, and by the other jealous but unsuccessful rivals of Albuquerque for the hand of the fair Maria de Moura. It is incidentally an interesting comment on the remarks of those historians who (relying exclusively on French and Italian sources) twit the Portuguese with their cruel imprisonment and rigorous treatment of the Papal Legate, that the Governor of Macao, Diogo de Pinho Teixeira, hostile to de Tournon as he was, did not dare to force the latter to give up the criminal whom he was sheltering in defiance of the secular justice. This alone is sufficient to disprove much of the nonsense written about the outrageous treatment of the ill-fated Cardinal in Macao.

True Love ran its chequered course for a full year after the attempted assassination of Albuquerque, until finally the devoted pair were safely united in holy wedlock on the night of the 22nd August 1710. Even then the wedding ceremony was nearly substituted by a funeral, as another jealous rival, Francisco Leite, laid a murderous ambush for Antonio Albuquerque. Fortunately for himself, the captain of marines had taken the precaution of having the chapel guarded by a company of his men, whilst more fortunately still, the would-be murderer mistook the rendezvous and went to the wrong church by mistake. His staunch friend the frigate's captain, Jeromino de Mello Pereira, was present at the ceremony; but his unsuccessful rival, the First Lieutenant, was presumably amongst the band of Francisco

Leite who lay waiting in vain for the appearance of the betrothed outside the Church of Santo Antonio.

The Albuquerques' married life lasted four years and seems to have been ideally happy, if the subsequently bereaved husband's later actions are any guide. His "very rich and very beautiful" twelve-year old wife presented him with a daughter in 1712, who lived only a week, and two years later with a son. The birth of the latter was a signal for great rejoicing, Albuquerque giving Chinese plays in the street outside his door (another interesting example of Chinese influence on Macaonese social life) and organising equestrian sports and other displays at his own cost. The infant's christening on the 27th July 1714, was a sumptuous affair, dignified by the presence of the Governor with two companies of soldiers, and celebrated by discharges of cannon from the citade of São Paulo do Monte. All these rejoicings were cut short by the unexpected death of the mother four days later, which induced a contemporary chronicler sententiously to observe

O que de manhãa foy mimo
He ja lastima de tarde

'What is joy in the morning, turns to sorrow at night'.

If Albuquerque had lost his wife he still had her money, and the use he made of it (or perhaps his mere possession of it) aroused much ill-feeling amongst his fellow-citizens. He was clearly a short-tempered and somewhat autocratic individual, but a perusal of such contemporary documents as are still extant in the Senatorial Archives at Macao gives one the impression that he was as much sinned against as sinning. He was for several years a prominent committee member of the Senate, and as presiding Alderman in 1712 played a leading part in the re-establishment of commercial relations with Cochinchina, negotiations with the prefectural authorities of Heungshan-hsien, and other municipal business. His critics, chief amongst whom at this time were Francisco Xavier Doutel and Manoel Vicente Rosa, gained the ear of the Viceroy of Goa, Vasco Fernandes Cesar de Menezes, who ordered his arrest and return to Goa in 1715. When these instructions reached Macao, Manoel Vicente Rosa took advantage of the fact that he then held a magi-

strate's post to imprison Albuquerque in the fortress of Nossa Senhora da Guia, whence the latter penned a long-winded denunciation of his enemy to his former colleagues in the Senate which seems to have resulted in their ordering his release. Nor did he have much difficulty in clearing his good name on his return to Goa; for although the outgoing Viceroy had recalled him in disgrace to answer charges of "tyrannous behaviour not only to the citizens of Macao but equally to the foreign nationals who sought to trade in that port," his successor, the Archbishop-Primate Dom Sebastião de Andrade Pessanha ,not only quashed the charges but nominated the accused to the post of Governor and Captain-General of the City of the Name of God in China to boot.

The night before Albuquerque was due to embark, the Captain of the ship which was to take him to Macao suddenly raised anchor and put to sea without warning, leaving the Governor stranded ashore. This unexpected contretemps may have been due to an approaching storm, but was more likely an act of pure spite on the part of the Captain, Francisco Xavier Doutel, a native of Braganza in Tras-os-Montes and a bitter personal enemy of Albuquerque. The latter was not the man to take this sort of thing lying down; and within a week of the captain's scurvy departure, he left Goa on the overland trip to Madras accompanied by a small staff and a few slaves on the morning of the 30th May 1717. Despite the lateness of the season and the torrential rains in the mountain passes of the Ghauts, to say nothing of the difficulties of crossing the warring principalities of the Carnatic with so small an armed escort, Albuquerque traversed the Indian peninsula in safety and reached Madras in the second half of June. Here he was disappointed in his expectation of taking passage on an English East Indiaman bound for China; but nothing daunted he bought a small ship in which to make the voyage himself. He hired an English pilot and a motley crew to work the vessel, in which he left Madras on the 5th August.

The voyage was an unexpectedly long and arduous one. Struggling with contrary winds and lack of water, Albuquerque put into Malacca roads and sent his English pilot ashore

for assistance. As this was not forthcoming from the Dutch authorities with sufficient promptitude and on terms that he considered consistent with his dignity, Albuquerque put to sea again without waiting for the pilot to re-embark or obtaining what he required. This ill-timed display of amour-propre lost him his passage to China, and forced him to winter in the river of Johor. This sultanate was then in the throes of a civil war between the reigning Sultan Mahmud and the Buginese adventurer Raja Kechil, real or pretended son of the pederastic Sultan Mahmud who had been murdered by his Prime Minister in 1699. Albuquerque perforce found himself involved in these hostilities, wherein the fortune of war changed with bewildering rapidity. By an adroit mixture of diplomacy and bluff, the Governor not only contrived to back each of the contestants in turn and in the right order, but was also able to rescue the crew of an English 'country' ship which was wintering in the river, and whose captain had lost his life in the course of a murderous affray at the Sultan's Palace. The grateful Raja Kechil after the (temporary) success of his coup, took a strong fancy to Albuquerque and even allowed him to choose a site for a Portuguese church and Factory near Johor-Lama in March 1718. Nothing concrete came of this gift, but it may be recalled that a proffer of Singapore island was made by the then Sultan to Alexander Hamilton fifteen years previously. This offer was likewise never followed up, but these abortive grants form an interesting anticipation of Raffles' acquisition of the island in 1819.

Albuquerque resumed his voyage in April, and after a difficult passage in the South China Sea finally reached the island of Sanchuan with all on board suffering so badly from scurvy that it was necessary for them to disembark. He himself transhipped to a Chinese fishing junk in which he reached Macao on the 30th May 1718, — exactly a year to the day after leaving Goa. He took over the governorship of the colony the next day, and a few weeks later Francisco Xavier Doutel who had given him the slip so scurvily the previous year put into the harbour, having likewise lost his voyage and wintered in Solor. Doutel was naturally apprehensive that the injured Governor would now seek his revenge and

therefore took sanctuary in the Franciscan Convent. He need not have worried however, as contrary to the general expectation, Albuquerque made no attempt to use his official position to the detriment of his personal enemies, and the double-crossing sea-captain was allowed to go home unmolested.

The story of Albuquerque's eventful journey across the Carnatic, his magnificent reception by the Raja of Vellore, his participation in the civil broils of Johor and other events of his twelve-month odyssey, were recorded by his chief of staff, Captain João Tavares de Vellez Guerreiro, in a book printed after the Chinese manner from wood-blocks at the prefectural capital of Heungshan in 1718 or 1719. Copies of this original xylographic edition are now exceedingly rare; but the present writer is the proud possessor of one which is particularly interesting, in that it once belonged to the Jesuit Padre Henrique de Carvalho, Confessor to the Prince (later King) Dom José, and one of the most influential patrons of the Jesuit mission in China.

This work was reprinted by the Catalan printer Don Jayme de La Tey y Sagau in 1732, from a fount of new type recently imported to Lisbon from Holland. An excellent modern edition was edited by the Portuguese Orientalist J. F. Marques Pereira in 1905 (reprinted 1913), whilst the part relating to Johor was translated into English and published in the *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 13 (Singapore 1935) by the late D. Trevor Hughes, whose death in Changi P.O.W. camp was a great loss to students of Far Eastern history.

The reader of this present essay, and still more the student of the history of Macao, will probably have gathered that the governors and the Senate seldom saw eye to eye; whilst popular discontent with the autocratic or would-be autocratic tendencies of the captain-general frequently culminated in rioting and bloodshed. There was nothing in Albuquerque's earlier and stormy career in the city to indicate that his government would be other than usually hectic; and the popular view was that he had secured his appointment by bribery, purely with the idea of furthering his private ends at the expense of his personal enemies. To the

general surprise and gratification, this logical surmise turned out to be entirely mistaken. Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho proved in fact to be the most popular Governor which the colony ever had under the reign of the Braganzas. It is true that friction was not wholly absent, for Albuquerque had a dispute with the Senate about childish questions of protocol and precedence so dear to the official heart. But this was nothing serious, and at the end of his brief governorship of a little over a year, he laid down office amidst general expressions of regret from persons in all walks of life. One of the most striking testimonials came from the truculent old Bishop of Macao, Dom João de Casal, who had previously given a very different opinion of Albuquerque in his salad days, and who now wrote to the Viceroy at Goa that for the easing of his conscience he felt compelled to retract what he had previously written and to acknowledge frankly how well Albuquerque had ruled the colony. Since Casal (as his nearly half century of life in Macao showed) was not the type of man to eat his words, but contrariwise one of those who would rather break than bend, this was merited praise indeed; and so the Viceroy realised when he read the Bishop's letter.

In addition to his unexpected magnanimity, Albuquerque also derived a good deal of credit from the greatly increased material prosperity of the colony which coincided with his rule, but in this instance it must be admitted that the credit was somewhat vicarious. True it is that his just and prudent administration doubtless facilitated matters, and at least avoided arbitrary interference with the normal channels of trade; but the real reason for Macao's sudden resurgence to prosperity lay with causes quite outside his control.

In 1718, the *Tsungping* or Commander of the Green Banner troops at the city of Chak-shek in Kwangtung province, a Fukienese official named Chen Ngan submitted a memorial to the throne, strongly criticising certain aspects of European commercial and religious relations with the Middle Kingdom. As a result of this memorial and of the discussion which it provoked at the Court of Peking, an edict was issued to the effect that English and French ships would not be allowed to trade at Canton as hitherto, but

should anchor in the Taipa roadstead opposite Macao and trade from there. This order reached Macao at the end of May 1717, — the very day that Albuquerque left Goa on his adventurous journey. Although this decree proved to be of short duration, another result of Chen Ngan's memorial which had a greater effect on Macao, was the promulgation of a further Imperial edict prohibiting the sailing of Chinese junks to all foreign countries save Japan. This edict of Kang-hsi gave the death blow to the flourishing trade of the Cantonese junks to Batavia, where the steadily growing demand for tea for the European market assured both Macaonese and Chinese of a ready sale for their cargos. Since the Chinese could no longer voyage to this port, the supply of tea to the Dutch virtually became a Macaonese monopoly, and the number of ships registered in Macao rose from 9 to 23 in a single year.

This limitation of Chinese overseas trade to Macao and Canton only lasted until 1723, but during the six years of its enforcement the former place flourished greatly despite the greed of the local merchants who tended to spoil the market by cutthroat competition at Batavia. At one stage the Emperor (probably at the instigation of the Jesuits) even proposed to transfer the prosperous English factory at Canton to Macao. This suggestion was short-sightedly declined by the local authorities, perhaps because of the opposition of the Bishop who feared that the presence of so many heretics might contaminate his flock, already endangered by the alleged Jansenist influence of the ill-fated Cardinal de Tournon's entourage. At any rate this was the reason why a similar offer was rejected on the advice of the ecclesiastical authorities in 1733. It is not surprising to find that this decision was severely censured by the Viceroy of India, Dom Luis de Menezes, Count of Ericeira. After blaming the Senate for its fatuous inertia, he wrote to his friend Padre João Mourão of the Jesuit Mission at Peking, asking him, if the opportunity arose, to raise the matter again with K'ang-hsi since the citizens of Macao belatedly regretted having declined the Imperial favour. But as the Peking Padre doubtless informed him, the fleeting opportunity had gone, never to recur, — 'He who will not when he may, when he will he shall have nay'.

The foregoing facts are taken from a letter written by the Count of Ericeira to Padre Mourão in April 1720, which also contains some references to Albuquerque and the prospects of the China mission worth considering here. English writers, following in the footsteps of Whiteway in his *Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, have been too prone to dismiss all the Viceroys and Governors of Portuguese Asia since the great Affonso de Albuquerque (or at any rate since the hardly less famous Dom João de Castro) as a bunch of base and incompetent bigots. Credulous and priest-ridden many of them doubtless were; but contemporary Englishmen were equally hidebound by modern standards, if in a different way.

Other writers, including those who should know better, dwell on the admittedly grave corruption of some of the Portuguese officials as if it were universal. Thus Father James Brodrick S.J. in his otherwise instructive little work *The Progress of the Jesuits* (1556–1579) permits himself an unworthy sneer at "the degenerate Portuguese authorities in India [who] were too busy feathering their own nests to have time for adventures in charity". This slur is all the more gratuitous as these same "degenerate authorities" were by and large the most consistent and enthusiastic supporters of the Society in the East, as anybody acquainted with the period must know. A more Christian as well as a fairer judgement was given by one of the Peking Padres who wrote to the Captain-General and Senate of Macao in 1656, acknowledging their generous support of the China mission in good times and in bad. He concluded his letter with the moving exhortation, — "Can God forget the Piety of such a City, which maintains so many Religious of all sorts and sexes and where so many Masses and Oblations are daily offered? Where is the Refuge and Sanctuary of Religion but in this City, which is Gloriously called after the name of God? Can God forget his promise? He hath promised tribulations, and an hundred-fold for the sufferings of his Saints, and an hundredfold will he pay". Apart from this, the successors of Albuquerque and Castro were by no means all bigoted fools. Men like Dom Miguel de Noronha, Count of Linhares, in the seventeenth century, and João de Sal-

danha da Gama, a hundred years later, were able administrators and far-sighted statesman who would have been a credit to any government. If they were not more successful, it was because events beyond their control were too strong for them.

Dom Luis de Menezes certainly compares favourably with most 18th century Europeans in Asia, and took a scholarly interest in the native civilizations of India and China which few of his contemporaries evinced. Only 27 years old when appointed Viceroy of India in 1717, he busied himself by collecting Asiatic manuscripts and books in his leisure hours, many of which he had translated for the benefit of his friends in Portugal, — who it is to be feared probably never read them. He bombarded the Peking Padres with requests for information, asking Father Mourão to find out whether there were any Jews in Tartary or any trace of Judaism in Northern China or Turkestan, — not so fatuous a question as it may seem when we recall that there was a group of Semitic descendents in Kaifeng-fu who kept up a form of Talmudic ritual down to modern times. He also asked for information on the "boundaries, wars, interests, religion, products, commerce, wealth, government, names, ages, virtues and vices of the ruling princes of the countries bordering on China"; identification of Kashgar and Cathay, together with all the geographical maps, pictures and drawings of Chinese fauna and flora which his hard-worked correspondent could collect. In (rather inadequate) return he sent a copy of Chauvin's *Philosophical Lexicon* for the Fathers' Library in Peking. This in course of time came to be a very interesting one, containing as it did many volumes sent by their correspondents in Lisbon, Paris, London and Moscow, who included some of the principal European scientists and geographers of the Age of Enlightenment.

Whether Father Mourão ever had the time or inclination to satisfy the Count's avid curiosity I do not know, but even had he done so the results could not have come down to us. Dom Luis de Menezes left Goa at the end of his Viceroyalty in January 1721 in the great ship *Nossa Senhora do Cabo* with his valuable library and Asiatic armoury aboard. The vessel was dismasted in a typhoon in the Indian Ocean and put

into the French island of Bourbon (the modern Reunion) for repairs. Whilst she lay at anchor in the roads, she was attacked and boarded by two pirate ships, *Victory* and *Fancy*, under the famous (or infamous) Jasper Seager *alias* Captain England, who entered the harbour under false colours and thus took their prey unawares. The Count-Viceroy was nearly killed in the scuffle which followed when the pirates swarmed aboard; but fortunately their Quartermaster recognised the distinguished fidalgo by the splendour of his scarlet coat and Order of Christ, and rescued him from being slaughtered by the sailors after his rapier had been broken in the hand-to-hand fight on the deck.

With the engaging courtesy of that century, the pirates treated their prisoner with the consideration due to his rank, firing a salute of 21 guns when sending him ashore in the ship's boat after fixing the amount of his ransom (promptly paid by the French Governor who was probably confederated with England and Co.) and offering to restore to him the whole of his private baggage intact. With true Iberian hauteur, Dom Luis de Menezes rejected the offer; and when the pirates politely persisted, he firmly retorted that if they made any distinction between himself and the other prisoners in this way, he would throw the chests overboard before their eyes. This quixotic pride resulted in all his precious Asiatic manuscripts being used for cartridge-paper by the corsairs; whilst the crowning blow came a few weeks later, when such books as he had previously sent ashore were destroyed by a fire which burnt the house wherein he was staying. His further career, though interesting enough in its way, need not detain us here, and we must return to a consideration of his correspondence with Father Mourão.

In discussing the vexed questions of the Chinese Rites and the *Padroado*, the Count ridiculed the Papal contention that the Chinese Emperor should not be termed *Supreme Lord* in native christian literature unless the words *of his Empire* were added. He pointed out that the King of Portugal was officially addressed as 'most high and powerful Lord', without stating Lord of what, or assuming that this referred to Heaven. He deprecated the appointment of

the Patriarch Mezzabarba as *Legato a Latere* and the Papal reluctance to create three more Chinese Bishopricks subject to the *Padroado*, complaining that the Portuguese proverb *the Bride delivered and the Dowry promised* was verified in the present instance. He further complained of the Papal prohibition forbidding the Jesuits to accept the rank and status of Mandarins "which made them respected in China and served so greatly to exalt the Christian Name, in consideration of the Missionaries occupying such high positions in a heathen nation so civilized and proud".

What annoyed him most, was the attitude of the Archbishop-Primate of Goa, that same Dom Sebastião de Andrade Pessanha who had appointed Antonio de Albuquerque as Governor of Macao in 1717. When the Count suggested to the Archbishop that he should publish a pastoral in favour of the Jesuit attitude on these contentious questions, the latter replied, "that experience had shown that all previous disputes between Kings and Pontiffs had been amicably settled sooner or later, and that all those prelates and priests who directly or indirectly had ventured to oppose the decisions of Rome had subsequently been visited with the severe displeasure of the Vatican". Furthermore he had taken the oath to obey the Papal Constitution on the Rites at the hands of the Nuncio in Lisbon, and he regarded this and any other Bulls which the Pope might publish as being more binding than the real or pretended prerogative of the Portuguese Crown. The Viceroy did not dissemble his indignation at what he regarded as the weak-kneed and unpatriotic attitude of the Archbishop, which certainly would have caused Father Antonio Vieira to turn in his grave.

From this correspondence between Goa and Peking, we learn *inter alia* that Padre João Mourao had brought Antonio de Albuquerque's model governorship of Macao to the notice of the Emperor K'ang-hsi himself; and furthermore that both the Jesuits and the Court of Peking were desirous that this fidalgo should be continued for some time longer in the position he filled to such general satisfaction. The Viceroy replied that unfortunately the matter was beyond his control, as Albuquerque's successor, Antonio de Silva Tello de Menezes, had already sailed to super-

sede him and his patent was dated prior to that of the former. He added that if he had received the Jesuit's letter earlier, he could have arranged for Menezes to exchange Macau for another governorship, but as things were it was now too late. The uncommonly good impression created by Albuquerque in Macao may be gathered from the following and final quotation from the Count of Ericeira's correspondence; this time from a letter to one of the ex-Governor's bitterest enemies, Francisco Xavier Doutel, — "Antonio de Albuquerque has arrived here; and even though I have not yet spoken to him, I have realised from letters written by trustworthy persons, and those moreover who were always opposed to the former General, that his government had been a most successful one, since he had known how to subordinate his own inclinations to the public weal when occasion demanded it".

In view of his striking success in the ticklish and responsible post of Macao, it is scarcely surprising that the Count of Ericeira's successor, the Viceroy Francisco José de Sampaio e Castro, appointed Antonio de Albuquerque as Governor of the turbulent settlements in Timor and Solor in 1721. An account of his stewardship was given in the preceding chapter, and here we have only to record his arrival in the City of the Name of God on the 29th September 1725, after finishing his eventful three-year tenure of office in Timor. He stayed with his old friends and ghostly fathers of Saint Francis in their Monastery at the end of the Praia Grande, where a requiem Mass for his dead wife and daughter was celebrated on the 23rd November. The consideration in which he was held locally is shown by the fact that at the end of the service a salute of minute guns was fired by the fortress of Monte whilst the bells of all the Churches were tolled. It was on this occasion that Albuquerque ordered an urn to be made, in which he deposited the bones of his lost wife and child together with that of his right arm amputated in 1709. This urn was originally placed in the Convent Church of São Francisco, whence it was transferred to that of Santo Agostinho on the demolition of the former in 1865, and where it remains to the present day.

Two years after his return to India from Timor via Macao, Albuquerque was appointed *Provedor* of the *Misericordia* at Goa in 1728. This charitable Institution and its beneficent activities have been strangely neglected by the historians and critics of Portuguese Asia, who might tone down some of their acerbities if they realised what an immense amount of unselfish charity this pious foundation performed amidst so much undeniable bigotry and squalor. The story of the *Misericordia* at Goa is one of the redeeming features of Portuguese imperialism in Asia and one which had no parallel in other European Asiatic colonies until modern times. In succouring the needy and oppressed, befriending the orphan, and guarding the patrimony of the widow and and the fatherless, this organization performed a truly merciful task, and performed it very well. Abuses and mistakes were often made of course, but by and large the administration remained on a surprisingly honest level. On the whole the institution may justly claim to have fulfilled its name and the purpose of the charitable Queen Dona Leonor, under whose patronage the original Holy House of Mercy was founded by her father-confessor at Lisbon in 1498.

The Goa branch was established shortly after the conquest by the great Afonso d'Albuquerque himself on the same principle as the parent house. At one time or another there were as many as twenty branches scattered throughout the Portuguese Asiatic colonies, of which that at Macao was the most important. The funds which supported this great endowment were entirely derived from private charity and from legacies in mortmain; through which means a percentage at least of ill-gotten gains was returned to the poor and needy from whom (perhaps) it had been squeezed in the first place. When the *Advocatus Diaboli* has had his say, it remains true that whatever was done in the way of mitigation of the inevitable ills of humanity, was done wisely, sympathetically, and reasonably honestly by the *Misericordia*. The duties of the brotherhood of the *Misericordia* were defined as being seven spiritual and seven corporal works. The former were:

1. *Giving good advice.*
2. *Teaching the ignorant.*

3. *Consoling the sorrowful.*
4. *Punishing evil-doers.*
5. *Pardoning injuries received.*
6. *Suffering our neighbours' shortcomings.*
7. *Praying to God for the living and the dead.*

Whilst the latter comprised

1. *Giving food to the hungry.*
2. *Giving drink to the thirsty.*
3. *Clothing the naked.*
4. *Visiting the sick and prisoners.*
5. *Giving shelter to the weary.*
6. *Ransoming captives.*
7. *Burying the dead.*

The rules of the *Misericordia* at Lisbon provided for a brotherhood of 300 members, of whom half were gentry and half *mechanicos* or plebians. In Macao, members would only admit belonging to the former category, even though many of them came originally from the slums of Lisbon or Porto, or from squalid hamlets in Beira or Alentejo. Once round the Cape of Good Hope every Portuguese gave himself the airs and graces of a fidalgo, according to the unanimous testimony of Linschoten, Mocquet, Pyrard de Laval, &c. All members of the brotherhood in addition to being "men of good conscience and repute, obedient to God, modest, charitable and humble", were supposed to be endowed with the following qualifications, in default of any of which they were liable to instant expulsion on detection.

1. *Purity of blood, without any taint of Moorish or Jewish origin.*
2. *Freedom from ill repute in word and deed.*
3. *Of a suitable age, and not under 30 years old if unmarried.*
4. *Not suspect of serving the Misericordia for pay.*
5. *Of sufficient intelligence and able to read and write.*
6. *In sufficiently comfortable circumstances to obviate any temptation to embezzle the funds of the Misericordia, or any others to which they might have access.*
7. *To accompany only the Bier of the Misericordia and no other.*

It would be too much to expect that this standard was

invariably maintained. In 1644, we find King John IVth reprimanding the Brotherhood at Macao for refusing to admit Chinese Christians to their ranks and enjoining them to do so. Sixty years later, the Governor, Francisco de Melo e Castro, fell foul of the local *Misericordia*, through forcing it to admit a heathen Chinese who was seriously ill, which, as Frei Joseph de Jesus Maria indignantly informs us in his *Azia Sinica e Japonica* (1745) was "an unheard of and quite impracticable thing, since this class of people was never admitted therein, nor had it been instituted for this purpose. And moreover if this one was admitted, innumerable others would seek admission, whilst if any of them died, the Mandarins would force the Misericordia to pay up". These and other reasons were adduced by the *Provedor* to refuse the Chinese admission; but the Governor, nothing daunted, arrested that functionary and put in his protégé by brute force. Reference to the original *Compromisso* or Statutes of the Macao *Misericordia*, as amended in 1662, shows that it was ostensibly instituted for the exercise of charity to all in need, regardless of creed and colour; albeit the preamble specified that charity began at home with fellow Christians as the principal beneficiaries. As a matter of fact, indiscriminate charity to the local Chinese populace would have been quite impracticable in view of the modest resources of the colony in the eighteenth century. In Goa, where the penniless proletariat were not quite so numerous proportionately, the colour bar seems to have been a good deal less rigid.

The *Provedor*, or President of the Board of Guardians as we would probably term him in English, was the authority who represented the establishment before the Viceroys, the Comptroller-General (*Vedor da Fazenda*) and all the other officials and ecclesiastics with whom it had to deal, and from whose rapacious clutches its coveted patrimony frequently had to be defended. The essential qualities which the 'Brothers' — as his fellow guardians were termed — had to find in the man of their choice, were defined according to the original statutes as being "a fidalgo or gentleman, honourable, authoritative, virtuous, of good repute and very humble, and a person whose character would inspire respect in

princes, prelates, and the common people alike". Not an easy order amongst a set of fidalgos notoriously as proud as Lucifer; but it is surprising how often the *Provedors* lived up to their presumed qualifications once they had assumed office, even if their previous behaviour had left something to be desired.

It was thus no sinecure post to which Albuquerque was elected in 1728, but he did not hold it for long. In December he was appointed Governor and Captain-General of the island of Patta (Pate) a dependency of Mombassa which had been retaken by the Portuguese from the Arabs of Oman that year. The reconquest (Mombassa had been Portuguese until its capture by the Arabs in 1699) proved an ephemeral one, and Albuquerque abandoned the island to its native Swahili chiefs, after a local rising had prevented him from building a fort as he had been instructed to do. His premature abandonment of Patta, and still more his failure to try and relieve Mombassa which fell to an Arab counter-attack a few months later, got him into serious trouble on his return to Goa in September 1729. He was brought to trial for dereliction of duty but honourably acquitted by the Court when he proved to its satisfaction that his diminutive garrison of 150 men were all at death's door from malnutrition, and that he could not have sailed to Mombassa against the monsoon. It is true that the Viceroy, Saldanha da Gama, insinuated that his acquittal was due to his clever defence and to judicious bribery of witnesses; but the verdict was duly confirmed by the highest Tribunal at Lisbon after a delay of some years. Locally his prestige does not seem to have suffered, as he was again elected *Provedor* of the *Misericordia* in 1742; whilst some years previously he had held the responsible position of presiding alderman in the city council or Senate.

In this capacity he was responsible for the repair of the ruined chapel of Saint Catherine, founded in 1550 to commemorate the conquest of the city from the Adil Khan forty years previously, but otherwise nothing is recorded of his activities. He took the field for the last time in 1740 when he was appointed commandant of a district near Mormugão during the Mahratta invasion which

threatened Goa itself. The final notice relating to him is contained in a dispatch of the Viceroy Marquis of Castelo-Novo in January 1746, when he refers to Albuquerque in the course of giving a biographical sketch of the principal fidalgos at Goa:

"Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho, son of Antonio de Albuquerque who governed Angola and the Mines, aged over sixty years, a widower without issue. He has occupied various posts with distinction and courage, and governed Timor, Macao and Pate with the rank of General and with prudence and skill. He was finally General of Bardes, which post he resigned to live amongst the Franciscan Friars of the Province of the Mother of God, where he is now leading a devout and holy life. He is very clever, honest and truthful". No bad epitaph for a man of his antecedents; but one cannot help wondering whether his religious meditations in the quiet peace of that Franciscan monastery garden were occasionally interrupted by less edifying thoughts of those bygone days in Macao, when he and the fair Maria de Moura had ventured all for love, and found the World well lost in quite another sense.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arquivo Historico Colonial, Lisbon. *Macao, Caixa II, Papeis de* 1715. (copy kindly given me by Dr. Jose Caetano Soares).

C. R. Boxer, *A Fidalgo in the Far East. Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho in Macao;* article on pp. 387–410 of the *Far Eastern Quarterly* (August, 1946).

J. F. Ferreira Martins, *Historia da Misericordia de Goa.* Vols I and II (Nova-Goa, 1910–12).

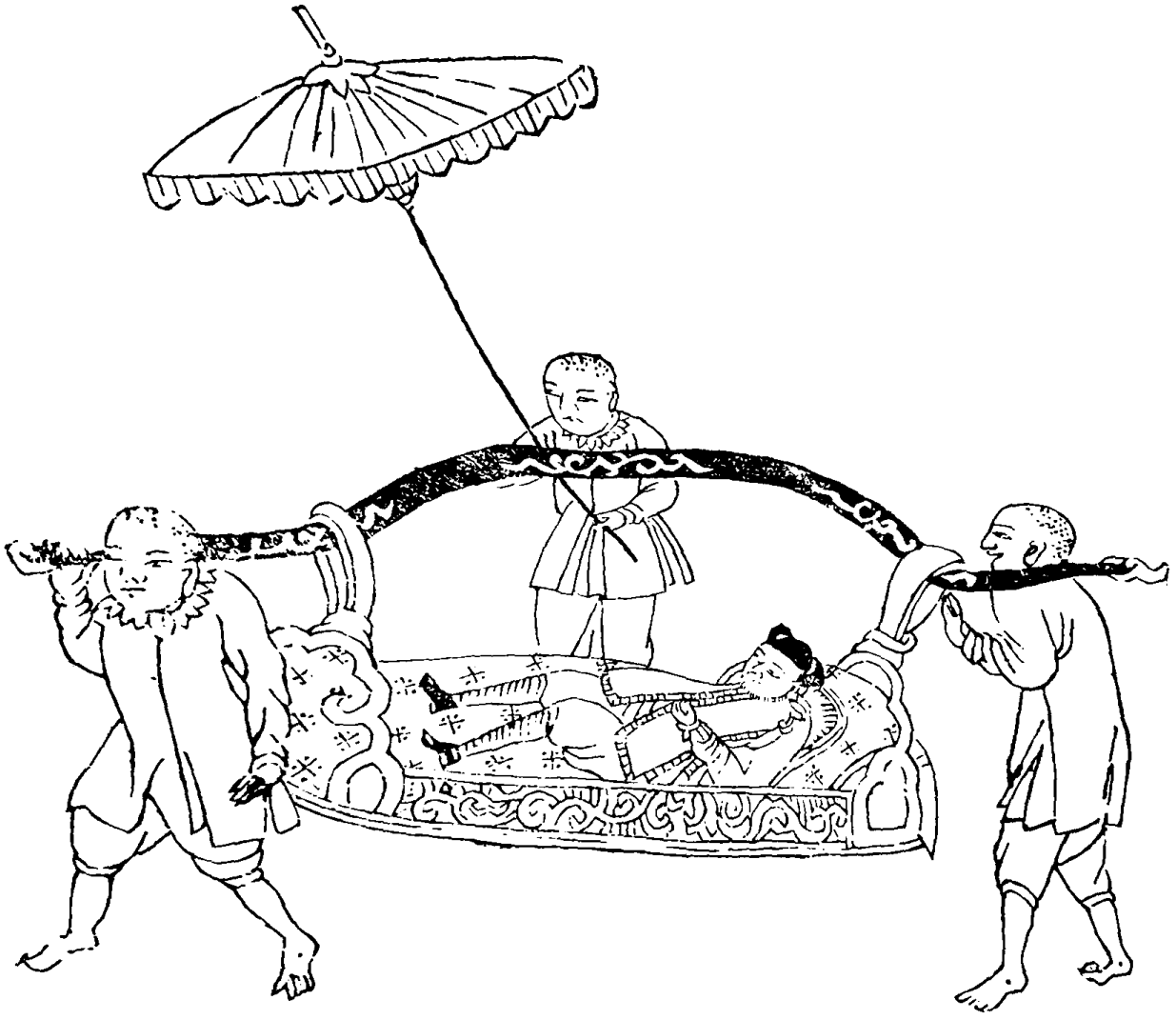
Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses (ed. Pantheon-Litteraire) Vol. III (Paris, 1843).

Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Macao* (Hongkong, 1902).

XIII. MUITSAI IN MACAO

Thomas Babington Macaulay, in defining the qualifications of a historian, observed that he must not limit his observations to palaces and solemn days. "He must see ordinary men as they appear in their ordinary business and in their ordinary pleasures. He must mingle in the crowds of the exchange and the coffee houses. He must obtain admittance to the convivial table and the domestic hearth. He must bear with vulgar expressions. He must not shrink from exploring even the retreats of misery". It is the fashion nowadays to disparage Macaulay; but probably few of his critics would disagree with these particular *obiter dicta*. We have seen the proud fidalgos in the citadel of Monte; we have accompanied Peter Mundy to the hospitable homes of the Macaonese; we have listened to the "uncivil and discourteous language" of Domingos da Camara "reported to have been a tinker"; and we now come to consider the lot of the most hapless class of all those whose lives were spent in the City of the Name of God in China, — the *muitsai* and the slaves.

Slavery was far from being unknown in China, but generally speaking, it took a much milder form than in the contemporary colonial slave-holding systems maintained by European Powers from the Caribbean to the Indian Ocean. Officials and even Mandarins could be slaves (Chinese slaves of Tartar Manchu princes), and the fact of being a slave was not necessarily of itself dishonourable. There was nothing corresponding to the vast gangs of field hands toiling in the tropic sun on the sugar plantations in the Antilles and Brazil, although Chinese political offenders were sometimes enslaved and sentenced to forced labour on the confines of remote regions like Mongolia and Yunnan. But on the whole, slavery was limited to household and



Litter carried by slaves at Macao, circa 1750

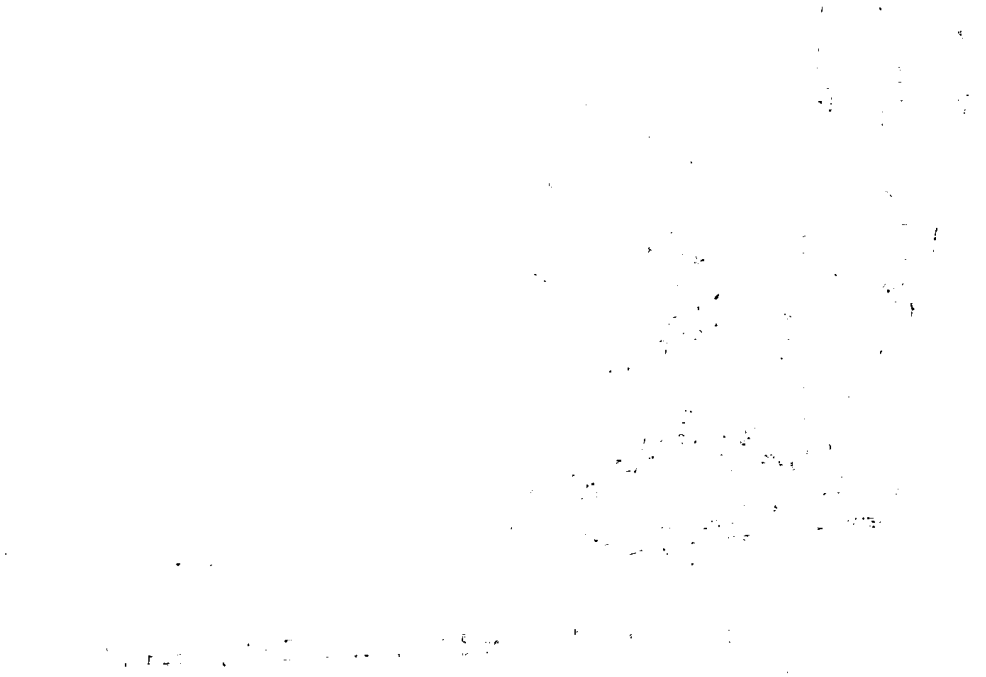
disgraced Ivan the Terrible. But that is another story; and we are here only concerned with his decree emancipating the *muitsai* of Macao, which anticipated his abolition of slavery in Portugal proper three years later.

After invoking the long-neglected emancipatory law of 1624, Pombal proceeded to dispose of the various pretexts alleged for its non-observance. The excuse that the kidnappers would kill the children whom they brought for sale if they could not find any buyers, was rebutted by the Minister's observation that if there were no buyers there would be no sellers and no crimps. The allegation that infanticide was practised on a large scale by indigent parents, was controverted by the statement that numerous public orphanages had been established by the Chinese Government for the reception of these unwanted children. Here Pombal was misinformed, although a few such establishments did exist. The one at Canton is described in the most glowing terms in a letter of Pere Antoine Gaubil S. J., dated 4 October 1722. Pombal was on safer ground when he continued that in any case the barbarities committed by the Chinese did not excuse similar inhuman behaviour by the Portuguese. He accused the *Pay dos Christãos* of conniving at this scandal by giving baptismal certificates at the slave owners' request, thus bringing the Christian religion into ill repute in China by identifying slavery with Christianity. To end these abuses once and for all, it was therefore decreed that all Chinese of whatever sex should be regarded as free persons from the date of publication of the edict of March 1758, which was made retroactive in its effects. All Chinese slaves and *muitsai* were to be released within 24 hours and the office of *Pay dos Christãos* was abolished, the duties and responsibilities of this ecclesiastical functionary being transferred to the civil power. Severe pains and penalties were threatened to all potential transgressors or evaders of this law.

Although it would be too much to claim that Macao has been a model municipality ever since this draconic piece of legislation was enforced, and although at times it was not enforced at all, this measure may be put down to the credit of the "enlightened despot", who like so many others of his

Plate XIV

Portuguese Fidalgo and Macaonese Lady, circa 1750



their usual expedient of closing the Barrier-gate and cutting off the supply of food. When the Senate was intimidated into promising the surrender of the guilty soldiers, the Governor hurriedly shipped them off to Timor, thus evading compliance. The affair was finally settled out of court in the usual way, by paying heavy "squeeze" to the Heungshan officials through the intermediary of the Jesuits. Meantime the Governor arrested the informer Franco and subjected him to a rigorous punishment on the strappado. This incident was remembered by the Chinese to the Governor's disadvantage when he passed through the colony nearly 20 years later on his way to govern Timor.

Another instance of the Governor's severity occurred in November 1748. He had previously ordered the Municipal Judge to pay some attention to his legal duties, since many litigants had complained that they could never get their cases brought to court. The Judge, a certain Antonio Pereira Braga, paid no attention to these orders. Since the complaints of the would-be litigants increased in number and volume, Telles de Menezes summoned the unsuspecting official to his residence in the fortress of Monte. Menezes at first treated his guest courteously, begging him to relax all formality by removing his sword and coat. When he had done so, the Governor then upbraided him in the bitterest terms for his delinquency, and summoning his negro slaves into the room, gave the unfortunate *Ouvidor* a severe thrashing. No sooner was this finished however, than he gave the victim back his sword and clothing, treated him with every consideration and regaled him with a glass of brandy as if nothing untoward had happened. It is not surprising to read that after the Governor had served in a similar fashion two or three more of the local officials who had offended him, there was a universal reluctance to accept the proffered hospitality of Government House. Those who received invitations were apt to seek refuge in one of the convents, or even find it necessary to pay an urgent visit to Canton.

A more patriotic gesture of this truculent Governor was evinced in the course of a dispute with the local representative of the *Hopu*, or Kwangtung Customs Commissioner, in the same month. On the grounds that the latter had

exceeded his authority in erecting some matshed walls around the Customs House, he had these flimsy structures torn down by his negro slaves, whereon the aggrieved Chinese officials appealed to the Senate for redress. The latter remonstrated with the Captain-General but got no change out of him. He drafted a counter protest to the Senators, pointing out that Macao was a Portuguese colony by permission of the Chinese Emperor, adding that in so far as he was concerned, "wherever the Portuguese Standard flew, it could not be lowered without shedding much blood". The Senators however were made of weaker if more practical stuff, and the trouble was eventually settled by their replacing the damaged structure with more durable material at their own expense.

This crisis came at a particularly awkward moment for the colony, as its security was already threatened by one of the periodical anti-Christian persecutions, which was raging throughout the Empire. In the course of this persecution, five Spanish Dominicans were martyred at Foochow, whilst the heroic Portuguese Jesuit missionary Padre Antonio José, and his Italian companion Tristan de Attimis, met a similar fate at Suchow in Kiangsu province on the 13 September 1748. Simultaneously the Kwangtung Provincial authorities began to turn the screws on Macao, and ordered the publication of an Imperial Edict forbidding all proselytizing in the colony and condemning the Christian religion as false. The publication, or at any rate the implementation of this decree was evaded; but the local mandarins also demanded the closing of the Seminary of Santo Amaro, which was run by the Jesuits for the instruction of neophytes and the formation of a native clergy. At this point the opposition stiffened, and the whole ecclesiastical community ranged themselves behind Bishop Hilario and the Jesuits, who, although usually at loggerheads with each other, were now united in defence of the faith. The Senate, who at first adopted a somewhat equivocal and wavering attitude, were emboldened to refuse the Chinese demand after the Jesuit Provincial, Padre Estevão Lopes, had flatly declined to hand over the keys of the Seminary to the mandarin of Heungshan. The Cantonese authorities eventually dropped

the matter, presumably after their palms had been suitably greased.

Telles de Menezes would doubtless have strongly supported the Bishop and the Jesuits in their stand, but he was no longer in the colony when matters came to a head, having been shipped off to Goa in disgrace. It is obvious that his arbitrary if courageous conduct had created many bitter enemies for him amongst the leading citizens. One of them was Manuel Vicente Rosa, the wealthiest and most influential of all, who, according to the traditional account of these events, combined with the Senators to discredit the Governor with the Viceroy at Goa. The popular story alleges that the conspirators persuaded the mandarins at Canton to write to Goa, complaining of the conduct of Telles de Menezes and demanding his recall. It is further alleged that Manuel Vicente Rosa supported these complaints with a present of solid gold oranges to the Viceroy, who was so impressed that he sent a legal official to Macao for the express purpose of arresting the Governor and giving due satisfaction to the mandarins. The nineteenth century historian, Antonio Marques Pereira, a careful and conscientious writer who lived many years in Macao, claims that the truth of this story was proved by authentic documents which he himself had examined.

Despite the integrity of Marques Pereira, there are some doubtful points in this tale. In the first place, the allegation that the Cantonese mandarins had written direct to Goa is demonstrably untrue, as there is no recorded instance of the Chinese authorities ever corresponding with the Viceroy of Goa. Secondly, the allegation of bribery, although natural enough, is difficult to credit in the present instance; since the Viceroy of Portuguese India in 1744–1750 was the Marquis of Alorna, an exceptionally honest and impartial official. However it must be admitted that the Marquis *was* influenced in some way; his apologist, the well-known Lisbon pamphleteer Jose Freire de Monterroyo Mascarenhas, makes the following rather cryptic allusion to this affair in Part VI of his *Epanaphora Indica*, published at Lisbon in 1752.

"In the previous April some complaints against the

Governor of Macao, Antonio Telles de Menezes, had reached Goa. None of these impugned his distinctive valour, nor his upright conduct, nor the cleaness of his hands. They were all concerned with some arbitrary acts into which his haughty spirit had led him. It was at once realised that all these charges had been trumped-up by a very wealthy but very proud merchant established in that city. But so persuasive were the arguments of his procurators in Goa, that they succeeded in inducing the Viceroy (who was immovable in all else) to deprive that fidalgo of his government which he had occupied for over a year, appointing in his stead the naval captain João Manuel de Mello. At the same time he sent an authorisation to Dr. Antonio Pereira de Silva, Judge of the High Court of Goa, with orders to leave for Macao in the next monsoon and to make a most searching inquiry into the crimes of which the former Governor was accused".

The Viceroy's sentiments were evidently not shared by the Bishop of Macao, who had written him in a dispatch dated January 1748: "Antonio José Telles de Menezes, Governor of this City, is a person worthy of estimation, and I have already experienced his good will in helping me in what he can. I greatly regretted the departure of Cosme Damião Pinto Pereira, but the successor whom he left me has assuaged this loss; and since I am indebted to both of them, I would be obliged if Your Excellency would favour him whenever the opportunity occurs".

The Bishop's patronage was not enough to prevent Telles de Menezes from being deposed from his office and confined in the fortress of Guia, after having been led through the streets by the sheriff's posse, and exposed to the obliquy of the bystanders. This took place in August 1749, after which he was transferred under close arrest to Goa. Here it seems that he was able to exculpate himself, or maybe Alorna's successor in the Viceroyalty, the Marquis of Tavora, was not so amenable to gifts of golden oranges. Anyway, his next appearance on the public scene was when in an evil hour for himself he contracted to marry a wealthy mulatto heiress, Dona Ignez Gracias Cardozo, who lived on her vast estates in the valley of the Zambesi in East Africa.

The holders of these estates, *prazos* as they were called, lived a life of luxury and dissipation which would have astonished many a contemporary West-Indian planter. The wealthiest of these territorial magnates had thousands of negros in their employ, not as field-hands but as tribes in a state of subjection. The Portuguese colonies in the Zambesi valley were run on different principles from the sugar and tobacco plantations of Brazil, the Antilles, and Virginia. Spasmodic government-sponsored efforts to found purely European settlements with a heterogenous lot of convicts, prostitutes, and destitute peasants sent out from Portugal having failed, the country was now occupied by landowners of mulatto or Goanese origin with a sprinkling of pure Europeans. These waged intermittent warfare with the hostile Bantu tribes of Monomatapa (roughly identical with the present Rhodesia and Nyasaland) varied by bloody feuds and vendettas with each other. They used the Bantu tribes under their own control to fight these battles, and employed roving negros to collect gold-dust and ivory for them throughout the countryside by barter.

They paid a purely nominal allegiance to the Portuguese Crown, whose small and sickly garrisons were too few and far between to curb their insolence and independence. They were exceedingly hospitable in their way, and lived in barbaric luxury with costly hangings, furniture and jewelry imported from Macao and Goa, with the profits they made on the sale of gold-dust, ivory and slaves, — the three main products of the colony of Mozambique. Their estates varied widely in size, but some of them ran to many thousands of acres, and were comparable to the holdings of the cattle-kings in America. The settlements in the Zambesi valley were under the titular authority of a military officer grandiloquently entitled *General of the Rivers* (General dos Rios), who in his turn was subordinate to the Governor and Captain-General of Mozambique. The retail trade was in the hands of Hindu and Parsee merchants from India; whilst the colonists were too lazy to grow cotton, sugar, or tobacco on any scale, and contented themselves with rice, fruits and the products of the chase. Such, in barest outline, was the nature of the society into which

Antonio Jose Telles de Menezes married, and which formed the backdrop to the ensuing tragicomedy described in a lengthy dispatch by the Governor of Mozambique, Francisco de Melo de Castro, addressed to the Viceroy of India in August 1757.

After Telles de Menezes had lived an uneasy married life for some time with his mulatto bride, they quarrelled so continuously that they eventually separated. The wife retired to one of her ranches, whence she ordered all her negro slaves and domestics to abandon her husband and leave him to his own devices. Not content with this, she bribed or intimidated the General of the Rivers, David Marques Pereira, to turn her husband out of the house he was living in, for which action he was severely censured by the Governor. The unfortunate Menezes now made his way to Mozambique where he brought a court action for the restitution of his rights, including the ownership of various properties which his wife had made over to him on the signing of the marriage settlement. The court having given a decision in his favour, he spent two years vainly attempting to induce the General of the Rivers to enforce it, which the latter under the pressure of Dona Ignez consistently declined to do.

In February 1757, he obtained an escort from the Governor which enabled him to take possession of one of the disputed properties at Luabo. The officer commanding the escort having performed his duty, returned upriver to Senna by himself in a canoe. On the way he met Dona Ignez coming downstream with a large flotilla of canoes filled with armed slaves levied to expel her husband from Luabo. This flotilla forthwith attacked the Sergeant-Major who defended himself valiantly, keeping his assailants at bay as long as his powder and shot lasted. Eventually he ran out of ammunition, and when bending down to get his pike out of a case, his canoe was rammed and overset, the unhappy man being killed or drowned as he tried to swim ashore. By order of Dona Ignez his corpse was fished out of the water, and his head cut off and stuck on a post on the river bank.

Having blooded her slaves in this way, Dona Ignez continued her voyage to Luabo, where she landed and set fire

to the house wherein her husband was living. The latter escaped from the flames "with great difficulty and equal peril", but once outside he was attacked and wounded in the shoulder by the Bantus, only making good his escape down-river by a very narrow margin. His clothes and household effects were seized by the Kaffirs who divided the spoil amongst themselves to the great amusement of Dona Ignez. Her harrassed husband now sought refuge in the local Jesuit establishment, only to find that his vengeful wife had been there before him, and he was driven away by showers of bullets, assegaies, arrows and stones, again narrowly escaping with his life. He finally retired to Quelimane, where he arrived with nothing but the rags and tatters he stood up in, and where he was forced to live on charity. Meanwhile Dona Ignez murdered a local Portuguese settler, his mulatto wife and their little daughter, for the sole reason that they had given her husband some food and shelter on his flight.

After this display of vengeance, the sanguinary Amazon retired to her estates near Senna, whence she sent a message to the commander of the local garrison, telling him that he had nothing to worry about, since she had no hostile intentions against the settlement, but was resolved to pursue Telles de Menezes wherever and whenever she might find him. The Governor of Mozambique concluded his report by stating that the local authorities in Zambesia had done nothing to apprehend Dona Ignez nor would they dare to in the future. All the settlers were on her side through fear or favour, and he suspected that the Crown officials themselves were not exempt from either.

The final scene played out in this tragicomedy is not recorded in print, but evidently this terrible experience had considerably shaken the nerve of the one time 'Tiger Governor' of Macao. So much at least may be inferred from the fact that ten years later Antonio José Telles de Menezes, who was then Governor of Timor, abandoned the stronghold of Lifao when it was besieged by the rebellious 'Black Portuguese' under Francisco de Hornay, and transferred the seat of government to the more easterly Dilli (Deli) where it has remained ever since. True it is that there were some exte-

nuating circumstances in this withdrawal, as Lifao was a stronghold only in name, and had been frequently besieged or blockaded by the rebels. But judging from his behaviour at Macao in 1748, it is not likely that he would have taken a similar attitude then; whilst the siege of 1769 does not seem to have been more closely pressed then those successfully withstood by some of his predecessors. Be this as it may, we will round off this chapter by briefly chronicling these last days in Timor.

The failure of the *Larantuqueiros* or 'Black Portuguese' to expel their white cousins and nominal overlords from this turbulent island in 1721–31, as narrated in Chapter XI, caused them to turn their attention to the Hollanders of Castle Concordia at Koepang. On the 18th October 1749, the *Opperhoofd*, Jacob van der Burgh, and his Council were surprised by the appearance of one of their tributary petty chiefs, who brought the unexpected and unwelcome news that "his people had seen a fearful multitude of armed men in the uplands and mountains, and heard the beating of many drums". Scouts sent out to verify this alarming report, returned with the information that there were indeed 2,800 Black Portuguese matchlock-men, apart from numerous hostile native tribesmen, marching on Koepang. They were headed by their "Lieutenant-General", Gaspar da Costa, and were flying "the King of Portugal's flag, standard, and Banner, called by them *El Real*". Although the Koepang tribesmen were terrified by this "awesome multitude", the Hollanders succeeded in scraping together a motley force of 23 Europeans, 130 Mardijkers (native freemen) and about 350 tribesmen, who were placed under the command of Ensign Lip. This little force, strengthened by the adhesion of more local tribesmen, sallied forth to attack the enemy in their stone-wall encampment on the field of Penefoeij, Sunday 9th November 1749.

Four of the enemies' *paggers* were stormed after heavy fighting, and whilst the beaten foe were falling back on their fifth and last stone-wall, the Dutch Timorese auxiliaries who had hitherto mostly been passive spectators of the conflict, "now taking courage, suddenly fell on the enemy from all directions, and made such a frightful slaughter amongst

them, that in an instant the field was covered with dead bodies. Meanwhile our men met with a very stiff resistance in this last entrenchment, for the Lieutenant-General and his other high officers who were behind it, seeing the slaughter of their men outside, and having no hope of escape, defended themselves with the courage of despair. Finally however they had to succumb to the might of the Honourable Company's arms, and the entrenchment was stormed and captured by the united Europeans, Mardijkers and brave Savonese tribesmen. Now at last the inmates tried to save themselves by flight, but our men were too close on their heels. Fearful was now their defeat on all sides, within and without, the more so since we had captured their horses and could pursue them closer. The Lieutenant-General, who had fled on horseback with 3 or 4 others when this last entrenchment was overrun, was overtaken about a thousand paces away, brought down by a Timorese with a javelin, and forthwith beheaded like all the others who had been cut down. Their total casualties are uncertain, but our own Timorese brought in about one thousand heads that evening and as many more within the next two days in triumph, whilst they are still pursuing the flying foe. We on the other hand have lost only 19 Timorese, one Mardijker and two volunteers, albeit there were not a few wounded", the official report of 18th May 1750 triumphantly concluded. Ensign Lip's remarkable victory on this Bloody Sunday caused the surviving Black Portuguese to resume their attacks against Lifao and to leave Koepang severely alone.

The reader may recall that in 1750 there were only eight Portuguese and a few Dominican friars left to represent the mother-country on Timor, where the state of things could hardly have been worse. Deteriorate conditions did however, for it had by now become the common practice to send only jail-birds thither, on the rare occasions when anyone was sent from Goa at all. Thus tne Judge-cum-Treasurer who was the senior official on the island in 1781, was a man who had been found guilty of embezzling the funds of the *Misericordia* in the Indo-Portuguese capital. With such gentry in charge of the administration, it is not surprising that the few honest officials who appeared on the

scene were periodically removed by poison. The government of Lifao was thus often left in the hands of Dominican friars or the Black Portuguese de Hornays, or of an uneasy alliance of both. By this time the Hornays and Costas had composed their differences to the extent that a representative from each succeeded in rotation to the leadership of the *Topas* community. Accordingly after Gaspar da Costa's death or the stricken field of Penefoeij, a de Homay took his place as Tenente-General. In view of this chaotic state of affairs, some of the Dutch Residents sought to fish in troubled waters, although they received no encouragement to do so from their superiors at Batavia, who repeatedly forbade them to interfere in the strife between Black Portuguese and White. A better deterrent than these formal orders was given by the fate of the German *Opperhoofd* Albrecht Von Pluskow in 1761. This individual sought to reinstate an expelled Governor of Lifao by force, — with a view to seizing the place for the Dutch if the Portuguese accounts are to be credited. He miscalculated the fundamentally loyal character of the rebels, for he was murdered by the minions of Francisco de Hornay soon after he set foot on shore. Hornay held the place for the King of Portugal until the arrival of the next Governor, who was poisoned five years later.

When Antonio José Telles de Menezes reached Lifao via Larantuka in 1768, he was closely blockaded by de Hornay, who nevertheless failed to carry the place by assault in a two-day frontal attack. But although temporarily victorious, Menezes' position was anything but enviable. He describes the place as being defended by a line of rudimentary stockaded earthworks, irregularly laid out over too extensive a tract of rugged and broken ground. He had 1,200 mouths to feed, of whom over half were women and girls, with only fifteen white men in the garrison. His appeal to Macao for assistance resulted in the arrival of 150 piculs of rice which did not provide rations for more than a month. A rebel flotilla cut off his supplies by sea, whilst Francisco de Hornay pressed the blockade by land so closely that the garrison could not sally out to forage for sago or cocoanuts. The surrounding country was in the hands of the rebels, or of the

Dutch, whilst the sixty cannon available for the defence of Lifao were either dismounted or of uneven calibre. All in all, Antonio Jose Telles de Menezes can perhaps hardly be blamed for considering his situation tactically hopeless and deciding to abandon Lifao; although, as already mentioned, Governors Guerreiro, Albuquerque, and Pedro de Mello, had "sat out" sieges equally difficult.

His decision taken, Menezes abandoned Lifao on the night of the 11/12 August 1769, taking advantage of the arrival in port of a large ship from Macao some weeks earlier, in which he was able to transport most of the garrison and armament. He set fire to what stores and equipment remained behind, and sailed eastwards. His first port of call was Batugade, where he left 12 guns and some reinforcements. From here he sailed to Dilly (nowadays known as Timor Dilli) which he reached on the 10th October. In this unhealthy and malarial site, which had nevertheless the advantage of being pretty far removed from the area controlled by the Black Portuguese around Larantuka and Lifao, he founded the new capital of the colony. And here through many vicissitudes it has remained ever since, including the days of Joseph Conrad, and the Japanese interregnum of 1942–45. Although Lifao was thus abandoned, it was not lost to Portugal, for even the rebellious de Hornays of Dutch ancestry acknowledged allegiance to the Lusitanian Crown. The very rebels flew the flag of the *Quinas*, which still flies today over this enclave of Portuguese territory in the Dutch half of Timor, — a colonial fossil comparable to Franco-Dutch Saint Martin in the West Indies, or to British Honduras in Central America.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. E. VAN BRAAM HOUCKGEEST, *Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine* 1794–95. (Philadelphia, 1798) Vol. II.

A. F. MARQUES PEREIRA *Ephemerides commemorativas da historia de Macau.* (Macau, 1868).

J. Monteroyo Mascarenhas, *Epanaphora Indica*. Parte VI. (Lisboa, 1752).

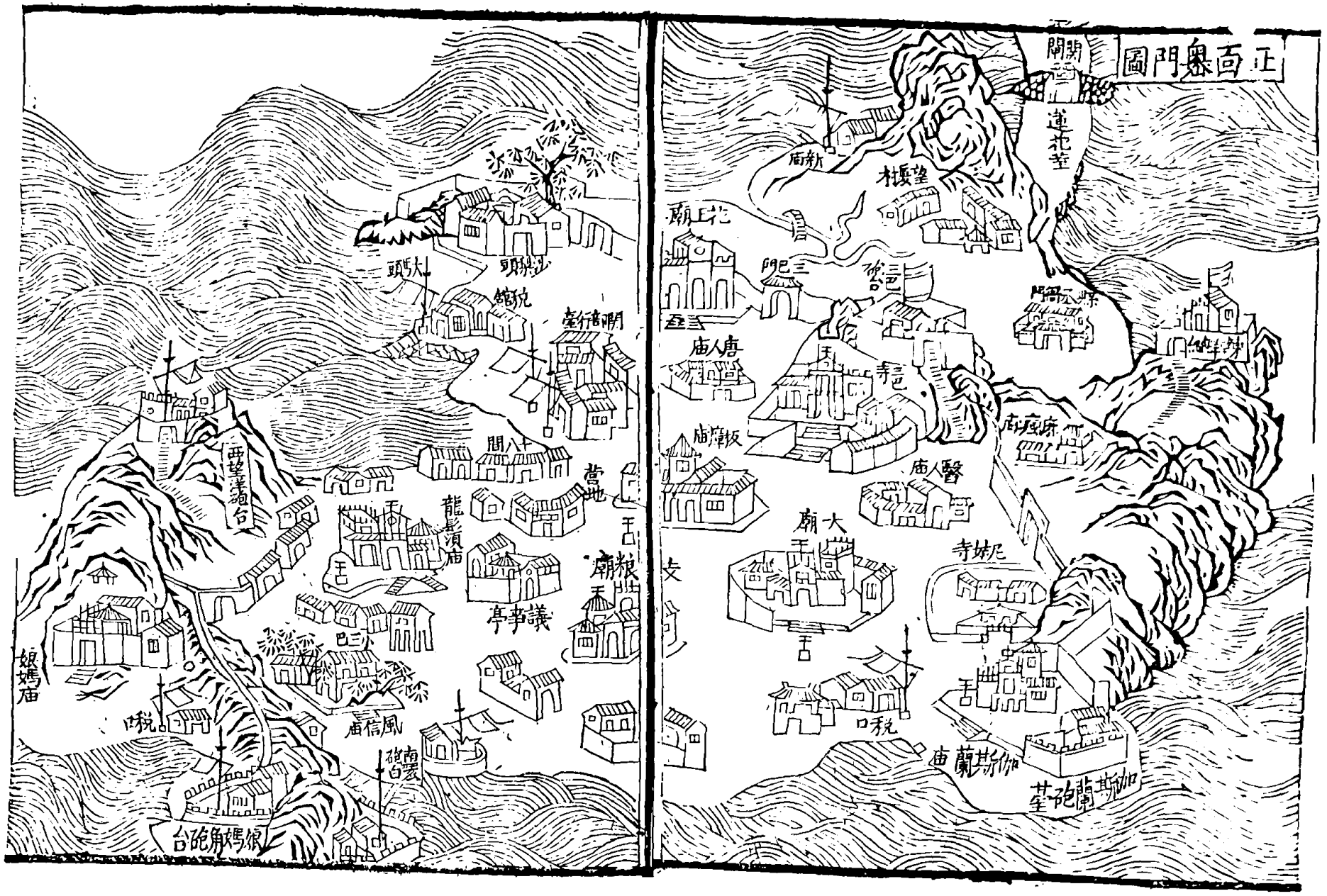
Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Macao* (Hongkong, 1902).

Arquivo das Colonias. Vol. IV (Lisboa, 1919).

Affonso de Castro, *As Possessões Portuguezas na Oceania*. (Lisboa, 1867).

A. Haga, *De Mardijkers van Timor De Slag by Penefoeij en Vendrig Lip*. (articles in *Tidschrift Bat. Gen.* Deel *XXVII*, 1882).

Plate XV



View of Macao, circa 1750

XV. ICHABOD

If we contrast the eyewitness accounts of Macao at the time of the Restoration of the Braganzas with those of a century later, we shall see beyond a peradventure that the glory has departed. This comparison, however odious, is the easier to make, since the fullest accounts of the social and economic life of the colony under the old regime belong precisely to those two periods. Peter Mundy's inimitable account of Macao in its heyday, may be contrasted with the cynical disillusionment and Cassandra-like forebodings of the Franciscan friar José de Jesus Maria, who wrote his *Azia Sinica e Japonica* during his four year sojourn in the colony in 1742–5.

This worthy monk ascribed the decadence of the city mainly to the improvident character of the Macaonese, who had no thought of saving for a rainy day, but spent their scanty earnings within twenty-four hours of receiving them. Since the place entirely depended on maritime trade, its inhabitants were largely at the mercy of the wind and weather which ruled their shipping. In the decade of 1735–45, they were particularly unfortunate in this respect, losing no fewer than eleven ships by storm, shipwreck, and fire, — three of them complete with crews and cargo. These misfortunes were aggravated by the obstinate refusal of the Macaonese, like their Portuguese progenitors, to learn any handicraft or manual vocation whereby they could maintain themselves in time of unemployment. This aversion to manual work applied to both sexes, who would rather beg their bread in the streets than do a hand's turn in what they regarded as menial and degrading labour. The consequence was that the population became little else than a seething mass of pauperised women.

If Gamelli Carreri and Alexander Hamilton had already

commented adversely on the excess of females fifty years earlier, Friar José was even more emphatic. He tells us that from a computation of the parish registers in 1745, he had ascertained that there were than 5,212 Christian souls in the City, of whom 3,301 were women and girls. The 1,911 men and boys included resident foreign employees of the English, Dutch and French East-India Companies, as well as converted Asiatic slaves other than Chinese. European Portuguese numbered only ninety. The Chinese population in the same year totalled about eight thousand, of whom only forty were Christian, or so Friar Joseph was reliably informed. This total population of 13,000 may be contrasted with the 44,000 souls living in the city exactly a century earlier. If we are to believe the scandalised Franciscan monk, economic decadence had been accompanied by a corresponding moral laxity, for he solemnly assures us that the town in his day was a hotbed of "lechery, robbery, treachery, gambling, drunkenness, brawling, wrangling, cheating, killing and other similar vices".

The whole of the local retail trade was in the hands of the Chinese, on whom the European and Eurasian citizens depended for the necessities and the luxuries of life. Friar Joseph would have us believe that they took a natural but unfair advantage of the constitutional laziness of their Iberianized fellow-townsmen, by defrauding them in every possible way when occasion offered. He instances their selling with short weight; adulterating rice with sand, and salt with earth; moistening firewood in water to increase its weight, and adulterating fruit and vegetables in the same way. Worse still, he complains that when he remonstrated with some of his compatriots for their behaviour, they replied that it was impossible to live in Macao without indulging in dishonesty and deceit. Part of the blame he lays on the sailors and merchants who acquired bad habits in the heretic ports of Batavia and Madras, whence they returned as past masters in various nefarious practices. He makes a revealing admission when he states that the ecclesiastical corporations, such as the dean and chapter of the cathedral, or the local monastic orders which had formerly been very wealthy, had latterly been reduced to dire straits owing to

the repeated embezzlement of their funds lent out to traders on *respondencia*. He neglects to point out, however, that in some instances the clergy had only themselves to blame, as in the case of the cathedral chapter whose funds were embezzled by the dean Casal, nephew of the cantankerous old Bishop of that name. The practice of ecclesiastical trading extended even to the Poor Clares of the Franciscan Convent of Santa Rosa, if a Senatorial complaint of December 1746 may be credited. The Senators alleged that although the nuns complained of poverty, they were simultaneously advancing considerable sums on *respondencia* to French, Armenian and Spanish merchants. They also resuscitated earlier complaints that the convent was absorbing all the wealthy girls of the city. One heiress brought with her the sum of 15,000 cruzados, although under the terms of the original charter the foundation was only supposed to receive dowerless maidens. These allegations are confirmed by the account of a contemporary Dutch resident, who further observed that the import duty of 1% *ad valorem* levied as contribution for the upkeep of the Convent, brought in an average annual income of 3,000 taels. The Senate suggested that no further novices should be admitted, and deplored the effect of their entry on the colony's population and morals.

The morals of the colony were not improved by the expulsion of the Jesuits and the confiscation of all their property on the orders of Pombal. The suppression of the Society in Macao was affected at 3 a.m. on the 5th July 1762, when the Jesuits were rounded up and confined in the Dominican convent, pending transportation to Goa and Europe. Numbers of them died in confinement or succumbed to the rigours of the homeward voyage, since for the most part they were kept in chains in the hold and given insufficient food and drink. Local tradition relates that the authorities expected to surprise them with Pombal's decree of expulsion, but found them, when called upon to leave the colony, mustered in a file, and ready to leave with nothing but their breviaries under their arms. It was believed that being forewarned of what was toward, they had previously disposed of their valuables to trustworthy citizens. There

seems no more reason to credit this allegation than the popular belief that they had concealed priceless treasures in the secret subterranean passages of Saint Paul's. The expulsion of the Jesuits also dealt a severe blow to the economic condition of the colony. Foreign observers were unanimous in their opinion that the commercial decline of the city was greatly accelerated by the loss of its most energetic and competent administrators. One of their most important properties was the Ilha Verde or Green Island in the inner harbour. This place was used as a starting-point by missionaries who were smuggled into the interior during times of persecution; apropos of which the Swedish historian Ljungstedt comments acidly, "Might they not have done more good by remaining where they were born?" The island subsequently became the property of the Vicente Rosa family, in liquidation of a debt which the extinct Society owed them.

Green Island was now about the only place left for the Macaonese to disport themselves *extra muros*. The Jesuit property at Oitem on Lapa island, directly fronting the inner harbour, which had been granted to the Order by the last Ming Emperor as a burial ground of Padre Sambiasi, was reclaimed by the Chinese about this time. The Augustinians who at one time also had property on Lapa, had abandoned their holdings some years earlier. Chinese encroachments had likewise resulted in the loss of landed estates in this area which had belonged to prominent citizens like Antonio de Mesquita Pimentel (Governor of Macao 1685–88) during the last quarter of the 17th century. The boating picnics on neighbouring islands which Peter Mundy mentions as being so numerous in his time, seem to have fallen into disuse, possibly owing to an increase in piracy. A letter of 1764 states that "the gardens and country houses, which the inhabitants formerly owned on the other side of the channel, had in consequence of misfortune and the ruin of the occupants been abandoned and entirely left in the hands of the Chinese". The general decadence is reflected in contemporary travellers' accounts of Macao, when compared with those of the previous century. A typically unflattering description occurs in the inimitable *Memoirs of William Hickey*.

Although one may agree with Rose Macaulay's observation concerning Mr. William Hickey, that wherever chance placed him he managed to put in a wonderful time, his brief visit to Macao was decidedly not a success. The jaundiced eye with which he regarded the colony one August morning in the year 1769, may have been due to the after-effects of a severe typhoon which had buffeted his ship off the Ladrones on the previous day. Readers of the *Memoirs* will however probably be more inclined to attribute it to a hangover, resulting from dining well rather than wisely aboard the East-Indiaman *Plassey*, in which he had taken passage from Madras to Canton. Whatever the cause, the Portuguese settlement found no favour in his eyes. The 'genial tripper' whom Miss Macaulay so charmingly commends for his unaffected enjoyment of Lisbon with its sights, sounds and smells in 1782, had nothing good to say of the 'gem of the Orient Earth'.

"Our sea-pilot having taken the ship into Macao roads, we there anchored to wait the arrival of a river pilot, and were told we had no chance of one until the following day. I therefore after dinner went on shore to this miserable place, where there is a wretched ill-constructed fort belonging to the Portuguese in which I saw a few sallow-faced half-naked, and apparently half starved creatures in old tattered coats that once had been blue, carrying muskets upon their shoulders, which, like the other accoutrements, were of a piece with their dress. These wretches were honoured with the title of 'soldiers'. Not only the men, but everything around bespoke the acme of poverty and misery. Satisfied with what I had seen, and nothing tempted by a printed board indicating the house upon which it was fixed to be 'The British Hotel' where was to be found 'elegant entertainment and comfortable lodging', I did not even take a look within, but walked as fast as my legs could carry me to the seaside, where McClintock, as disgusted as myself with Macao, had procured a boat, in which we returned to our own really comfortable apartment on board the *Plassey*".

That the sour note sounded by William Hickey was not entirely due to his own intemperance or that of the weather, may be gathered from the complaints of Bishop Alexander

Guimarães a few years later. In seeking to justify his exclusion of non-Portuguese missionaries from Macao, this prelate alleged that the local authorities could not afford to flout the Chinese demands in this respect. The population of Macao included 22,000 Chinese, whereas the Christians of both sexes and all ages did not amount to 6,000 persons of very poor physique. If necessary, the Emperor could at a moment's notice fill Macao with so many Chinese that "if each one of them threw a slipper into the river, the bar would be silted up". The Bishop also found much to criticise in the behaviour of Macaonese women, who, in his opinion, were too fond of imbibing spirituous liquors, "which give rise to carnal desires". Other things which offended his puritanical zeal included tea-drinking and the chewing and spitting of betel in church. More serious perhaps was the practice of women crowding around a penitent during confession, so that they could hear what she was saying, and gossip about it afterwards. This last practice he checkmated by ordering a chalk circle to be drawn at a distance around the confessional box, only one woman at a time being allowed within the circle.

He also threatened to deport any woman under fifty years of age who should be found soliciting alms (or something else) without an episcopal and municipal licence. Such licences, he explained, would only be granted to those who were blind, crippled, or elderly. He further visited his strictures on the lax way in which the religious processions were organised on high days and holidays. These were evidently liable to degenerate into a free-for-all, owing to the negro slaves getting out of hand and making unedifying scenes outside the Church doors. Nor did the manners and modes of the local clergy escape his censures. They were admonished *inter alia*, to shave their beards and cut their hair, to refrain from attending secular banquets, gambling parties and theatres. They were likewise enjoined to go to bed early, not to carry weapons in the streets, to bury the poor free of charge, and to pay more attention to the duties of their sacred calling in general. All in all, the episcopal pastorals give us no very high opinion of contemporary Macaonese morality; but such as it was, the Bishop evidently

considered it capable of still further deterioration. It was on this pretext that he deprecated a projected transfer of the English factory at Canton to Macao, since the heretics would corrupt local society, raise the cost of living and introduce luxurious standards of food and clothing. The Bishop never met William Hickey, but he would have been confirmed in his opinion had he done so. It was the practice of the budding Bengal attorney to take his breakfast at Canton with his young friend Bob Pott. This latter scapegrace was accustomed to overturn the table with all the chinaware on it, if anybody stayed too long over the meal for his taste. When Hickey once (and once only) remonstrated with him for this wanton waste, Bob Pott replied airily "Why, zounds! you surely forget where you are. I never suffer the servants to have the trouble of removing a tea equipage, always throwing the whole apparatus out of the window or down stairs. They easily procure anotner batch from the stewards' warehouse". Whatever criticisms may be levelled at the social shortcomings of tne eighteenth-century Macaonese, their table manners were undoubtedly superior to those of these boorish representatives of Hogarth's London.

One of the the questions dealt with by Bishop Guimarães was the ticklish topic of the colony's exact political status. This was never satisfactorily determined prior to Amaral's outright annexation of the place in 1849, and its formal admission by the Chinese Government in the Sino-Portuguese Treaty of 1888. Nor in the nature of things could it have been, for it was neither fish, fowl nor good red herring. Patriotic Portuguese from the time of the Visconde de Santarem (1845) onwards have claimed that the colony was lawfully ceded by the Ming Emperor in 1557, but they have never been able to adduce any contemporary document to prove it; nor do the existing Chinese records imply any such formal alienation of Chinese soil, which is inherently improbable on the face of it. On the other hand, modern Chinese claims that the place was entirely under the jurisdiction of the Kwangtung provincial authorities at all times, are likewise refuted by the known facts. English sneers, dating from the early days of Hongkong, that Macao was "an unrecognised and unpermitted but unchallenged squat-

ting on an undefined portion of Chinese Territory", must also be dismissed as inspired by ignorant malice and commercial jealousy. When it suited their own interests (as in 1803 and 1808) the English took a very different view of Portuguese rights; the following quotation from a little book by one Joseph Thompson, "Late of the East-India House", entitled *Considerations respecting the trade with China* (London, 1835) gives at once a juster and more temperate view, and one which sums up the actual position of Macao from 1557 to 1849, better than any other which I have seen.

"The supracargoes in detailing to the Court of Directors, a few years ago, a difference which had occurred between them and the Portuguese authorities of Macao, observed that the original document, granting Macao to the Portuguese, was supposed to be lost. The supracargoes, however, according to my remembrance of the circumstances, expressed their conviction, that the cession from the Chinese was full and complete. At times, it is said, the Portuguese acted as though they considered themselves possessed of full sovereignty at Macao; and on other occasions, particularly when the English sought permission to trade there, they pretended they held the place so entirely under the Chinese, that they could not grant any such request. But the fact undoubtedly is, that landed and other property at Macao is bought, sold, and possessed, by virtue of, and according to, the laws of Portugal. Civil, ecclesiastical, and criminal proceedings are also carried on according to Portuguese jurisprudence; and a case occurred, only a few years ago, in which a foreigner was tried, condemned, and executed at Macao under the sanction of, and in obedience to, those laws, the Chinese neither complaining nor interfering on the occasion. Hence whatever may be supposed respecting the real terms in which the original grant of Macao was couched, it may be presumed, that as in fact the Portuguese authorities do at the present time exercise many of the prerogatives of sovereignty in that district, it may be safely inferred, that the Portuguese government in Europe may, if they should deem such a measure advisable, transfer Macao to the English, on the same conditions as they appear

to have formerly received it from the Chinese, and thereby give the same authority to the English, to exercise the same prerogatives as the Portuguese now undoubtedly possess and exercise, under the sanction of the Crown of Portugal".

".... Transfer Macao to the English" .... Aye, there's the rub! But whilst that specious proposal largely accounts for this bland piece of special pleading, the facts stated are quite incontrovertible. Other instances could be adduced to show that the Ming and Manchu mandarins regarded Macao as not being entirely a part of the Middle Kingdom, although they would not have agreed that it was completely independent of Chinese suzerainity. Chief amongst these is the fact that at times when the celebration of the Roman Catholic cult was strictly prohibited throughout the Chinese Empire, no effort was ever made to apply this ban to Macao, if we except the half-hearted attempt by the *Sun-to* of the two Kwang in 1749. — and this was soon dropped in face of the resolute stand by Bishop Hilario and the Jesuits. Other striking instances are the rejection by the Senate of the *Sun-to's* proposal to transfer the foreign factories at Canton to Macao in 1718 and 1733. Had the Manchu government regarded Macao as a piece of Chinese soil pure and simple, they would never have consulted the wishes of the colonial authorities, but would have enforced the measure without hesitation. Contrariwise, the Portuguese plea that the colony was on a par with their other Asiatic settlements is likewise contradicted by all the available evidence. Nor did they pretend otherwise before the break-up of China began in the early 19th century.

A final quotation from Bishop Guimaraes limns the situation with sufficient accuracy, — "On this spot of China the great power of His Most Faithful Majesty is only absolute, *in solidum*, free and despotic in so far as regards his own vassals, who are likewise subject to the decisions of the Emperor. And as the allegiance is therefore a mixed one, dependent on both Our Lord the King and on the Emperor of China, I do not know how anything can be carried out by force against the orders of the lord of the soil. The Emperor has all the strength and we have none. He is the direct lord of Macao which pays him an annual

quitrent, whereas we only enjoy the practical ownership. The place was not obtained by conquest, and thus our residence is not firmly established". These arguments were advanced as reasons for opposing a line of action ordered by the home government with which the Bishop did not agree, and may be taken *cum grano salis*. But when all has been said *pro* and *con*, the fact remains that from 1557 to 1849, Macao, for all practical purposes, was under a mixed regime administered by the Portuguese but strongly influenced by the Chinese.

Although the genial English toper and the puritanical Portuguese Bishop make it quite clear that the glory had departed from Macao in their time, there was still a sunset glow of attraction about the place which exerted its fascination on other and more discerning spirits. Such a one was William Hunter, who wrote of Macao as he first saw it in the days of the painter Chinnery during the early nineteenth century. He commends its delightful climate, completely within the sea breezes, and its beautiful situation, comparing the Bay of Macao with that of Naples. At that time, and for another half-century it offered a perhaps unique specimen of Western colonies in the Eastern world as they existed three centuries ago, — in its forts, churches, and walls, its convents, senate house, and the extensive solidly-built private residences.

The scenic beauties of the place made a similar impression on an earlier visitor and contemporary of William Hickey, the Hollander A.E. van Braam Houckgeest, who spent long years as chief of the Dutch East-India Company's factory at Canton and knew the Portuguese colony well. He devotes a hundred pages to a description of it in the second volume of his *Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine dans les annés* 1794 *et* 1795, printed at Philadelphia of all places in 1798. This is the fullest account of Macao which appeared in print before the present century, but it has been ignored or neglected by modern historians. Although full of admiration for Macao's natural beauty and potential economic advantages, he partakes of William Hickey's scorn for its inhabitants; albeit in his case with more reason,

since his knowledge of the place was not limited to a quick trip ashore from a hospitable East-Indiaman.

Van Braam's impression of the domestic interior of a wealthy Macaonese hearth and home in 1770, is a sorry contrast to the colourful glimpse of family life afforded Peter Mundy in 1637. The Dutchman admits that the houses were large and spacious, but alleges they were badly designed and clumsily built, — "more like labyrinths than dwelling-places inside". Rooms communicated directly with each other, and were furnished more in the Chinese than in the European taste. The family lived on the first floor, the ground floor being usually used as a warehouse, or for storing surplus furniture. Houses were strongly built, the walls being usually three or four feet thick.

In strong contrast to the golden days of the seventeenth century, even the wealthy Senators kept a very poor table, "the richest Portuguese often contenting themselves with a little salted fish and rice". This spartan fare was indeed a surprise to anybody who, like Van Braam, was accustomed to the profuse hospitality, not to say downright gluttony, which characterised the lucullan boards of the wealthy Factors at Batavia, Calcutta and Madras. Latin abstemiousness in wine was also another source of never ending wonder to the jolly topers of John Company, who noted with pained surprise that the Portuguese "never proffer a man drink unless he ask for it". Van Braam considered the social manners of the Macaonese on a par with their taste in household furniture, which he described as *nil*. He noted that the women usually had no chairs in their apartments, but sat about on a low dais or on mats. He had no reason to be surprised at this, since his own country-women at Batavia had an even more Asiatic standard of living, as may be seen from the accounts of contemporary travellers like Stavorinus. His acidulous criticisms of Macaonese society were equally applicable to the tedious social gatherings in the Dutch East-India Company's establishments.

Van Braam dismisses the Macaonese as a "bastardised and degenerate race", and he thought that nowhere else in the world would it be possible to find such a mixture of races and colours, from all shades of black through every

variety of yellow and brown to white. He seems to have forgotten the mixture of Hollander-Hottentot-Bantu-China-man-Malay at the Cape of Good Hope. As for the women who formed two-thirds of the population, "beauties amongst them were as common as white feathered crows." This criticism anticipated similarly unflattering accounts of his Eurasian countrywomen at Batavia by the English army of occupation in 1811–16. He was on safer ground in ascribing the prevalance of prostitution amongst Macaonese women to their grinding poverty, and the common Iberian belief that it was less shameful to beg than to work, for the Bishop and Friar José de Jesus Maria were of the same opinion. The benevolent activities of the local *Misericordia* on behalf of the widows and orphans formed a pleasing exception to the general degeneration and squalor, as Van Braam notes.

The general run of the friars and parish clergy, on the other hand, incur his severest censures, the truth of which is to some extent attested by the Episcopal Pastorals already referred to. As an instance of the low state of their intelligence and morality, he adduces their belief that all Jews were born with tails, in punishment for their part in the crucifixion of Our Lord. This ridiculous allegation was not confined to the clergy of Macao, for it was widely current in Portugal where the crackpot Sebastianists and crazy friars also propagated the belief that male Jews and "New Christians" menstruated like women.

Van Braam gives us some interesting details on the commerce of Macao, which are corroborated by Friar José de Jesus Maria and others. There were only a dozen Macao-owned ships most of them of comparatively small burthen. Normally, two were employed on the Bengal (Calcutta) run, one to Goa, one to Timor, sometimes one to Batavia, and the remainder to Indo-China. The duties levied on sandalwood from Timor had at one time paid for the upkeep of the place, but Indian opium was the most profitable import in Van Braam's day, and for nearly half a century afterwards. Macao has incurred a great deal of unmerited odium in connection with this traffic. Unprejudiced observers must perforce agree with William Hunter, who after forty years residence at Canton, Macao, and Hongkong wrote, — "As

compared with the use of spirituous liquors in the United States and in England, and the evil consequences of it, that of opium was infinitesimal". A chest of opium bought at Calcutta for 4–700 rupees might fetch between 5–8,000 *livres* at Macao, in the palmy days of the trade. Customs dues at Macao were less onerous than at Canton or Whampoa. Import duties were limited to six percent, of which 5% was for the Municipality and 1% for the Convent of the Poor Clares. There were no export duties.

Van Braam considered that a far more profitable source of income for the colony was derived from the factors of the English and Dutch East India Companies, who resided at Macao annually during the dead season for business at Canton. According to him, not only did many Macaonese householders make a living by acting as compradores and agents for the foreign factors, but also as pimps for the supply of concubines from among the women of their own families. Our oft quoted Friar Joseph informs us that in good times the municipality's income from the 5% import duties amounted to between 15 and 18,000 taels, which sufficed to pay the salaries of the Governor, garrison and officials, as also the upkeep of the ecclesiastical establishments. The cash as well as the glory had departed by 1770 however, and only the ever-increasing importance of the opium trade saved Macao from commercial extinction.

When Friar José de Jesus Maria shook the dust of Macao off his feet somewhat self-righteously in 1745, he did not, he tells us, expect the colony to survive for more than a brief space. Van Braam expressed the same viewpoint twenty-five years later, whilst William Hickey, had he stopped to give the 'miserable place' a second thought, would doubtless have said Amen. But although conditions time and again threatened to end in a catastrophe, some peculiar core of toughness for which none of the carping critics made allowance, enabled the despised Macaonese to surmount the apparently insuperable difficulties which confronted them. In our own time Macao has proved a hospitable haven of refuge to those in need, as she did to the missionaries in days of yore. None should begrudge her any Indian Summer of prosperity which may yet come her way.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

FREI JOSÉ DE JESUS MARIA O.F.M. *Azia Sinica e Japonica*. Mss. (Macao, 1745).

Memoirs of William Hickey. Vol. I. (London, 1924).

Arquivo das Colonias. Vol. II. (Lisboa, 1918).

JOSEPH THOMPSON, *Considerations respecting the Trade with China*. (London, 1835).

WILLIAM HUNTER, *The Fan-Kwae at Canton before Treaty Days* 1825–1844. (Shanghai, 1911).

A. E. VAN BRAAM HOUCKGEEST, *Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales vers l'Empereur de la Chine*, 1794–1795. Vol. II. (Philadelphia, 1798).

APPENDICES.

A. CAPTAIN-MAJORS OF THE JAPAN VOYAGE, 1550–1640

The following list is compiled from two eighteenth-century transcripts in the codex *Jesuitas na Asia* (*Cod.* 49–IV–56 & *Cod.* 49–IV–66) of the Ajuda Library at Lisbon. Both were drawn up in 1744 by Padre João Alvares S.J. in the College of Madre de Deus at Macao, from the originals in the Jesuit Archives. The first of these covers the years 1549–1597, and the second the complete period 1549–1639. I have called the former *List A* and the latter *List B*, collating the series which follows from a comparison of the two. Even so, the names for the first few years are tentative only. The normal change-over took place between June and August.

1550. Dom Fernando de Menezes. (? Duarte de Gama.)
1551. Manuel Preto. (List B.). (? Duarte da Gama).
1552. Duarte da Gama (List B.). Manuel Preto (List A).
1553. Duarte da Gama.
1554. Duarte da Gama (?).
1555. Duarte da Gama (?).
1556. Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, nicknamed *Palha*.
1557. Francisco Martins.
1558. Lionel de Sousa.
1559. Rui Barreto.
1560. Manuel de Mendonça.
1561. Fernão de Sousa.
1562. Pero Barreto Rolim.
1563. Dom Pedro de Guerra.
1564. Dom Pedro de Almeida.
1565. Dom João Pereira.
1566. Simão de Mendonca.
1567. Tristão Vaz da Veiga.
1568. Dom Antonio de Sousa.
1569. Manuel Travassos.

1570. Manuel Travassos.
1571. Tristão Vaz da Veiga.
1572. Dom João de Almeida.
1573. Dom Antonio de Vilhena.
1574. Simão de Mendonça.
1575. Vasco Pereira.
1576. Domingos Monteiro.
1577. Domingos Monteiro.
1578. Domingos Monteiro.
1579. Lionel de Brito.
1580. Dom Miguel da Gama.
1581. Inacio de Lima.
1582. Antonio Garces.
1583. Aires Gonçalves de Miranda.
1584. Aires Gonçalves de Miranda.
1585. Francisco Paes.
1586. Domingos Monteiro.
1587. No Voyage.
1588. Jeronimo Pereira.
1589. No Voyage.
1590. Antonio da Costa.
1591. Roque de Melo Pereira.
1592. No Voyage.
1593. Gaspar Pinto da Rocha.
1594. Manuel de Miranda (List A). No Voyage (List B).
1595. No Voyage (List A). Manuel de Miranda (List B).
1596. Rui Mendes de Figueiredo.
1597. No Voyage.
1598. Nuno de Mendonça.
1599. No Voyage.
1600. Horatio Nerete.
1601. No Voyage.
1602. Dom Paulo de Portugal.
1603. No Voyage.
1604. João Caiado de Gamboa.
1605. Nuno da Costa.
1606. Dom Diogo de Vasconcelos de Menezes.
1607. No Voyage.
1608. No Voyage.
1609. André Pessoa.
1610. No Voyage.
1611. Dom Nuno Souto Maior (Envoy).
1612. Pedro Martins Gaio.
1613. No Voyage.

1614. João Serrão da Cunha.
1615. Martin da Cunha.
1616. No Voyage.
1617. Lopo Sarmento de Carvalho.
1618. Antonio de Oliveira de Moraes.
1619. Jeronimo de Macedo de Carvalho.
1620. Jeronimo de Macedo de Carvalho.
1621. Lopo Sarmento de Carvalho.
1622. No Voyage.
1623. Diogo Cardoso de Melo.
1624. Agostinho Lobo.
1625. Agostinho Lobo.
1626. Luis Paes Pacheco.
1627. No Voyage.
1628. Antonio Monteiro Pinto.
1629. Antonio d'Oliveira Aranha.
1630. Dom Gonçalo da Silveira.
1631. Lourenço de Lis Velho.
1632. Lopo Sarmento de Carvalho.
1633. Lopo Sarmento de Carvalho.
1634. Lopo Sarmento de Carvalho.
1635. Dom Gonçalo da Silveira.
1636. Dom Gonçalo da Silveira.
1637. Dom Francisco de Castelo-Branco.
1638. Dom João Pereira.
1639. Vasco Palha de Almeida.
1640. Luis Paes Pacheco (Envoy).

B. GOVERNORS OF MACAO, 1557–1770

From its foundation in 1557, until the appointment of Dom Francisco Mascarenhas as Governor and Captain-General in 1623, the colony was governed by the Captain-Major of the Japan Voyage; if we except the brief periods when Diogo Pereira (1563–4) and Francisco Lopes Carrasco (1616) officiated as titular chiefs of the Colony. After the formation of the municipal government known as the Senado da Camara in 1583–4, the Magistrate (*Ouvidor*) and Aldermen (*Vereadores*) took over most of the routine administrative work from the Captain-Major, whilst the powers of the Captain-Generals were chiefly confined to their control of the garrison and military affairs. The Bishops and higher clergy, such as the Jesuit Rector, also had a powerful voice in all municipal matters in which they chose to interfere. As in the case of the previous list, many of the earlier names are tentative only, as it is seldom clear exactly when one Captain-Major left for Japan and handed over the colony to his successor. Normally, the Captain-Major's appointment was annual, the Captain-General's triennial. In both cases, the normal change over took place between June and August, due to the monsoons.

1557. Francisco Martins.
1558. Lionel de Sousa.
1559. Rui Barreto.
1560. Manuel de Mendonça.
1561. Fernão de Sousa.
1562. Pero Barreto Rolim.
1563. Diogo Pereira.
1564. Diogo Pereira.
1565. Dom João Pereira.
1566. Simão de Mendonca.
1567. Tristão Vaz da Veiga.
1568. Dom Antonio de Sousa.
1569. Manuel Travassos.
1570. Manuel Travassos.
1571. Tristão Vaz da Veiga.

1572. Dom João de Almeida.
1573. Dom Antonio de Vilhena.
1574. Simão de Mendonça.
1575. Vasco Pereira.
1576. Domingos Monteiro.
1577. Domingos Monteiro.
1578. Domingos Monteiro.
1579. Lionel de Brito.
1580. Dom Miguel da Gama.
1581. Inacio de Lima.
1582. Dom João de Almeida
1583. Aires Gonçalves de Miranda.
1584. Aires Gonçalves de Miranda.
1585. Francisco Paes.
1586. Domingos Monteiro.
1587. Jeronimo Pereira.
1588. Jeronimo Pereira.
1589. Uncertain.
1590. Anrique (or Antonio?) da Costa.
1591. Roque de Melo Pereira.
1592. Domingos Monteiro.
1593. Gaspar Pinto da Rocha.
1594. Uncertain.
1595. Manuel de Miranda.
1596. Rui Mendes de Figueiredo.
1597. Uncertain.
1598. Nuno de Mendonça.
1599–1602. Dom Paulo de Portugal.
1603. Gonçalo Rodrigues de Sousa.
1604. João Caiado de Gamboa.
1605–6. Dom Diogo de Vasconcelos de Menezes.
1607–1609. André Pessoa.
1610. Uncertain.
1611. Pedro Martins Gaio.
1612–13. Miguel de Sousa Pimentel.
1614. Joao Serrão da Cunha.
1615. Martin da Cunha.
1616–17. Francisco Lopes Carrasco (took over 31st August, 1616).
1617. Lopo Sarmento de Carvalho (?).
1618. Antonio de Oliveira de Moraes.
1619–20. Jeronimo de Macedo de Carvalho.
1621–22. Lopo Sarmento de Carvalho.
1623–26. Dom Francisco Mascarenhas.

1626–29. Dom Felipe Lobo.
1630. Dom Jeronimo da Silveira.
1631–36. Manuel da Camara de Noronha.
1636–38. Domingos da Camara de Noronha.
1638–44. Dom Sebastião Lobo da Silveira.
1644–46. Luis de Carvalho de Sousa.
1646. Dom Diogo Coutinho Doçem (murdered).
1647–50. Dom João Pereira.
1650–54. João de Sousa Pereira.
1654–1664. Uncertain.
1664–66. Manuel Coelho da Silva.
1667–1670. Dom Alvaro da Silva.
1670–1672. Manuel Borges da Silva.
1672–1677. Antonio Barbosa Lobo.
1678–79. Antonio de Castro Sande.
1679–82. Luis de Melo Sampaio.
1682–85. Belchior de Amaral de Menezes.
1685–88. Antonio da Mesquita Pimentel.
1688–91. André Coelho Vieira.
1691–93. Dom Francisco da Costa.
1693–94. Antonio da Silva Melo.
1694–97. Gil Vaz Lobo Freire.
1697. Cosme Rodrigues de Carvalho e Sousa.
1697–98. Senado da Camara (Municipal Council).
1698–1700. Pedro Vaz de Siqueira.
1700–02. Diogo de Melo Sampaio.
1702–03. Pedro Vaz de Siqueira.
1703–06. Joseph da Gama Machado.
1706–10. Diogo do Pinho Teixeira.
1710–11. Francisco de Melo e Castro.
1711–14. Antonio de Siqueira de Noronha.
1714–18. Dom Francisco de Alarcão Sotto-Maior.
1718–19. Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho.
1719–22. Antonio da Silva Telo e Menezes.
1722–24. Dom Christovão de Severim Manuel.
1724–27. Antonio Carneiro de Alcacova.
1727–32. Antonio Moniz Barreto.
1732–35. Antonio de Amaral Menezes.
1735. Bishop Dom João do Casal.
1735–38. Cosmé Damião Pinto Pereira.
1738–43. Manuel Pereira Coutinho.
1743–47. Cosmé Damião Pinto Pereira.
1747–49. Antonio José Teles de Menezes.
1749–52. João Manuel de Melo.

1752–55. Dom Rodrigo de Castro.
1755–58. Francisco Antonio Pereira Coutinho.
1758–61. Dom Diogo Pereira.
1761–64. Antonio de Mendonça Corte-Real.
1764–67. Jose Placidio de Matos Saraiva.
1767–1770. Diogo Fernandes Salema e Saldanha.

C. GLOSSARY

The following words and phrases are usually explained on their first mention in the text, but are placed in alphabetical order for the reader's convenience in consultation. They are mostly derived from Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson. A Glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases* (London, 1903); and its Portuguese equivalent, Dalgado, *Glossario Luso-Asiatico*, 2 vols. (Coimbra, 1919–21), with a few older works such as Crawfurd's *Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian islands and adjacent countries* (London, 1856), apart from Japanese and Chinese sources.

Alcaide-Mor. Portuguese title derived from the Arabic, meaning provost, governor, or constable of a fort, town, or castle. An honorary distinction from mediaeval times.

Alfama. Working-class quarter and slum district of Lisbon.

Alvará. Decree, charter, or Letters-patent, issued by the King or by Ministers or Viceroy in his name.

Ançião, Ancão, Anssão &c. Portuguese corruption of the Chinese Heungshan 'Fragrant Hills', district capital of the delta island on which Macao was situated. Nowadays called Chungshan or Shekki. Also written *Hiangxan* and variations thereof.

Bahan. Term applied to Japanese *Wako* pirates (q.v.) from their use of the ideographs for Hachiman, God of Battles, on their banners.

Bakufu. Lit. 'camp or curtain government'. Term applied to designate the military regime which ruled Japan under the Shogunate until 1868.

Bugyo. literally, 'bringer of presents'; generic name for high officials of the Japanese Shogunal government. The *Bugyo* of Nagasaki was roughly equivalent to the Governor or chief magistrate of that port, invested with wide administrative, military, and judicial powers. They were sometimes one, sometimes two, occasionally three in office.

Byobu. folding picture-screen; usually in pairs of 4, 6 or 8 leaves. From the Japanese term was derived the Macao-Portuguese

word *biombo* and its Anglo-Indian corruption *beeobie* &c. They generally have a background of gold-leaf paper.

Captain. Besides the present day sense, also used in the following ways in the text. (a) head of a section of the foreign community in an Asiatic trading port, *viz*,- *Captain-China*, head of the Chinese community at (say) Hirado, or Batavia, or Malacca. Other nationalities had their own 'captains' on occasion. The 'Captain' usually exercised certain jurisdictional rights over his compatriots. (b) *Captain-General*;. *Captain-Major* &c. Portuguese military and naval titles, normally only awarded for the duration of office or command of the incumbent, i.e. Captain-Major of the Japan Voyage.

Capuchin. A branch of the Franciscan Order, called *Capuchos* in Portuguese Asia. Distinct from the Italian *Cappuchini.*

Carrack. (Dutch, *Kraak*) term used oy the English (and Dutch) for the type of large trading ships of between 1,000 and 2,000 tons favoured by the Portuguese in the East-India and China trades in the 16th/17th centuries. Cf. *Nao* (*Nau*) infra.

Casa-branca. lit. 'White-House'. Name applied by the Portuguese to the Chinese town of Tsinshan a short distance north-west of Macao, from the conspicuousness of the local mandarin's dwelling.

Catana. Japanese word for sword, adopted by the Portuguese, whence *catanhada*, a blow or cut with a sword. Seventeenth-century Englishmen used the form *Cattan* or *Kattan.*

Cho. Macaonese word, derived from the Cantonese *t'so*, a sea-going junk.

Christão-novo, 'New Christian' or crypto-Jew. Generic term for persons of Jewish origin, whose Christianity was usually, although not invariably, simulated. The division of the Portuguese population into Old and New Christians, although not always an official one, persisted from the reign of King Manuel I until its abolition by Pombal in 1773.

Comprador(e) From the Portuguese *comprador*, 'purchaser,' or 'buyer'. Hence by extension 'Contractor', in which sense it is usually employed nowadays. Also applied to the equivalent of house-stewards or butlers in large households.

Conhecimento. Here used in the sense of *respondentia* bond and/ or bill of lading.

Conto. Portuguese term for a million. Thus *conto de ouro*, 'a million of gold,' or a million *cruzados* (ducats), although *cruzados* were usually silver coins.

Country. (ships, trade, &c). Term used colloquially and in trade, as an adjective to distinguish vessels built or owned in In-

dian ports, though often officered by Europeans, from the bona fide English East-India Company shipping. By extension, the 'country trade' was the interport trade carried on by these vessels.

Cortes. The Portuguese parliament, composed of the 'three estates' of nobility, clergy and burghers, which met but seldom during the period under review.

Cruzado. Portuguese silver coin nominally worth 400 *reis.* Sometimes translated as *ducat*, and roughly equivalent to the Mexican *peso* or 'piece of eight'.

Daimyo. lit. 'Great Name'. Japanese feudal and territorial nobility. Chief of a clan with a minimum revenue of 10,000 *koku* (bushels) of rice.

Datu; *Dato*; *Datoo* &c. From the Javanese *Datuk*, Grandfather; senior; elder &c. Title of the head of a tribe or senior elder in Timor and elsewhere.

Enseada. Portuguese for anchorage, roadstead, or gulf.

Factory. A European trading establishment or Agency in an Asiatic port or mart, such as the thirteen European factories at Canton, or the Dutch and English factories at Hirado. The term was taken over from the Portuguese *Feitoria*; (*Feitor*= a Factor.).

Fazenda. Here used in the sense of 'plantation'; large farm or country property, normally cultivated by slave labour as in Brazil. *Fazendeiro*, Proprietor of such an estate. In another sense the *Fazenda* was the Royal Treasury or Patrimony; whence the *Vedor da Fazenda* was the Comptroller-General, or Director of Finance.

Fidalgo. (filho d'algo), 'son of a somebody'. Gentleman or petty noble.

Fune. Generic Japanese term for 'ship' or 'vessel', but here used in the sense of small sailing vessels or oared craft.

Galiota. Portuguese for Galliot. Those trading to Japan from Macao in the 17th century were usually between 3/400 tons. The word was taken over by the Japanese under the form of *kareuta-sen.*

General. Besides its ordinary meaning, used by the Portuguese as an abbreviation for 'Captain-General' or Governor; thus, 'General of Macao' was the Governor of Macao, and 'General of the Rivers' was the Governor of the Zambesi river valley.

Goshuin. lit. 'August Red Seal'. Shogunal trading pass given to Japanese (and sometimes foreign) owned junks trading under licence from the central government to Indochina, Malaya, Manila &c. *Goshuinsen* a ship or junk provided with such a pass.

Haitão or *Haito*. Provincial Admiral, or 'General of the Sea' of Kwangtung province. The Portuguese also used the forms *Aitão, Haytao* &c.

Hatamoto. lit. 'under the flag'. Petty samurai offiicials and direct feudatories of the Shogun.

Heungshan. 'Fragrant Hill(s)'. Name of the district in which Macao was situated, corrupted by the Portuguese to *Hiang-xan, Ancião* &c.

Hoppo; *Hopu*. Title erroneously given by Europeans to the Chinese Commissioner(s) of Customs at Canton and Macao, which is really applicable to the Ministry or Bureau of Finance. The Portuguese called him *Opu*.

Inkyo. Japanese term for a state of retirement from worldly affairs for the purpose of religious (Buddhist) contemplation. Often largely nominal.

Interloper. Name applied to 'country' traders like Alexander Hamilton, trading on their own account, or in defiance of the monopolistic claims of the English East-India Coy, between different Asiatic ports.

Kampong. Malay word for village. Also applied to a quarter or subdivision of a town.

Katana. A Japanese sword. Cf. *catana* supra.

Komojin. lit. Red-haired people. Term applied by the Japanese (and to a lesser degree by the Chinese) to the Hollanders, by way of differentiating them from the *Nambanjin* (q.v.) or Southern Barbarians as the Portuguese were called.

Kurofune. lit. 'Black ship'. Name applied by the Japanese originally to the 16th-17th century Portuguese *Naos* or Carracks, later to Commodore Perry's American Ships.

Kwambaku or *Kwanpaku*. 'Regent'. One of the titles taken by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who, not being of Minamoto descent, could not take the title of *Shogun*.

Kwang. The two Kwang were the neighbouring provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi ruled by a Viceroy with his seat at Chao-ching on the West River in the former province (also called Shiu-hing).

Larantuqueiro. Term applied to the *Topases* (q.v.), Eurasians or 'Black Portuguese' from Larantuka at the E. tip of Flores who under the leadership of the Hornays and Costas settled in Western Timor during the 17th/18th centuries.

Lofu. Chinese for 'Tiger'; hence 'a fierce man.'

Manchua. 'petty handsome things resembling little Frigatts; Many curiously carved, guilded and painted, with little

beake heads', Mundy describes them in 1637. Originally of Malabar origin.

Marrano. lit. 'swine'. Abusive term applied in Spain and Portugal to crypto-Jews.

Mestiço. Indo-Portuguese term for halfcaste or Eurasian. Now obsolete.

Misericordia. Charitable foundation for support of orphans and widows in Portugal and colonies.

Moço-fidalgo. A Page.

Morador(es). Citizen(s) or inhabitant(s) of Portuguese colonial city or town.

Muitsai. Slavegirl or bondservant, hired for fixed or indefinite term for domestic service from infancy.

Nambanjin. 'Southern Barbarians'. Japanese name for the Portuguese, 1542–1640.

Nao (Nau). lit. 'Great Ship,' *Anglice* 'Carrack', usually between 800 and 2,000 tons.

Naveta. Swift sailing ship of galliot type averaging about 300 tons.

O.F.M. Ordinis Fratrum Minorum, i.e. a Franciscan Friar.

O.P. Ordinis Praedicatorum, i.e. a Dominican Friar.

Opperhoofd. Dutch chief of Agency or 'factory' of the East India Company.

Ouvidor. Judge or Magistrate. Senior legal official. Chief-justice.

Padroado. Right of Crown Patronage claimed over Ecclesiastical establishments in Asia by Portuguese monarchs in conformity with various Papal Bulls.

Pagger. Term used in the East-Indies to denote (a) wall made of loose stones; (b) defensive work like a stockade or fenced entrenchment.

Pai (Pay)dos Christãos. Priest or Monk appointed to look after the interests of the newly converted, and their spiritual welfare.

Pancado. Term applied by Portuguese to the price-fixing procedure adopted by the Japanese authorities at Nagasaki for the bulk purchase of their imports of Chinese silks.

Pardão. Two kinds of gold and silver coins of fluctuating value, the former originally worth 6 *tangas* or 360 *reis*; the latter five *tangas* or 300 *reis*, later equivalent to half a rupee.

Pataca. Name given by the Portuguese to the Spanish *peso* or Mexican dollar. Nowadays the Macao dollar.

Pataxo. Vessel of about 2–400 tons, corresponding to the English pinnace.

Pinhal. A pine grove, pine wood, or pine forest, such as the *Pinhal de Leiria.*

Prazo. Term applied to the vast landed holdings of Portuguese adventurers in E. Africa.

Procurador. Procurator, Attorney or Solicitor according to the context.

Propaganda. The Congregation of the *Propaganda Fide* at Rome for the spread of foreign missions.

Provedor. Official responsible for supervision of various semi-public departments or institutions.

Quinas. The Arms of Portugal. A central shield enclosing 5 shields containing the 30 pieces of silver for which Christ was sold.

Reis. Portuguese currency is founded on an unseen and non-existing unit, — the *real,* of which one thousand make a *milreis.* the nominal equivalent of a dollar, and 5 *milreis* a gold piece.

Respondencia. Technical term meaning money borrowed on the goods and merchandise of a vessel, as distinct from *bottomry* which signified money borrowed on the vessel itself.

Roteiro. Written sailing and navigational directions. The English *Rutter.* (16th cent.).

S.J. *Societatis Jesu.* i.e. A Jesuit.

Sampan. lit. 'three boards'. Small Chinese oared craft, probably of Malay origin.

Samurai. Feudal retainer; vassal of a Daimyo (q.v.). Japanese normally use the term *Bushi.*

Sebastianism. Messianic and widespread belief in Portugal during the 17th and 18th centuries, that King Dom Sebastião had not really been killed in the fatal battle of Alcacer Kebir (August 1578), but was living in a secret hiding-place, pending his 'second coming' and assumption of the Crown, when the national glory would be restored.

Sergeant-Major. In the 17th century was a senior commissioned officer; in the Portuguese army ranking after an infantry colonel.

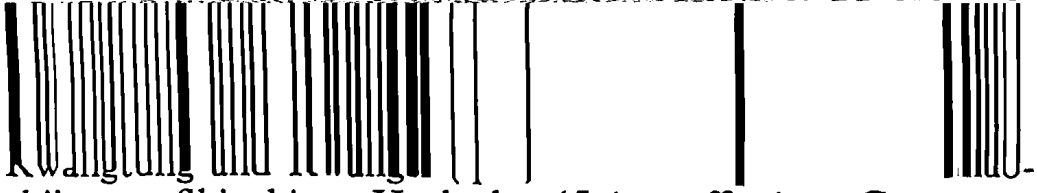
Shimabara-onna. Japanese whores from Shimabara island near Nagasaki.

Shogun. lit. 'Generalissimo'. Head of millitary government of Japan prior to 1868.

Soma. From the Malay *som.* Applied by the Portuguese to large seagoing junks.

State of India. Term applied by the Portuguese to their Asiatic possessions from the Persian Gulf to Timor, with headquarters at Goa. East Africa was included until about 1750.

Suntó. Viceroy or Governor-General of the two provinces of



ch'ing or Shiu-hing. He had a 'flying office' at Canton.

Tael. Weight and money of account in the Far East, representing a varying weight of silver in different localities.

Tanga. Indo-Portuguese silver coin of fluctuating weight, but fixed value of 60 *reis.*

Taiko. One of Hideyoshi's titles, and that by which he was usually known.

Taipan. Chief or Head; Pidgin-English or Portuguese for heads of firms and so forth. *lit.* Great Manager.

Topas. (*Topass*; *Topaz*; *Toepass*) Synonym for *mestiço* or half-caste; also applied more loosely to native Christians. The etymology is variously derived from the Hindustani *Topi* (a hat), and the Dravidarian *Tuppasi* (interpreter).

Trato. Trade, Traffic or commerce; *Nâo do Trato,* the Macao-Japan Silver ship, from 1550 to 1618 the equivalent of the Spanish Manila Galleon trading to Mexico.

Tsungping. A Chinese military official, Commander of the Green Banner Troops, or provincial levies composed partly of Chinese and partly of Manchus (after 1650).

Vereador(es). Senators or Aldermen of the Municipal Chambers at Goa, Macao &c.

Wakizashi. The shorter of the two swords commonly worn by Samurai.

Wako. Sinico-Japanese term for the Japanese pirates who ravaged the China Coast in the period of the Ming Dynasty.

Xerafin. Derived from the Arabic coin *ashrafi* and adopted by the Portuguese for a silver coin of 300 reis in value.

D. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The summary bibliography given at the end of each chapter will satisfy the curiosity of the average reader, but the student may care to be informed (or reminded) of the source material which is available.

The principal Chinese source for the history of Macao during the first two centuries of its existence is the *Ao-men chi-lueh*, the first draft of which was completed in 1745–6, by two Kwangtung provincial officials named Yin Kuang-jen and Chang Ju-lin. This work in its original form is thus exactly contemporaneous with the manuscript history of Macao written by the Franciscan Friar Joseph de Jesus Maria under the title of *Azia Sinica e Japonica* in 1744–5, and like its Portuguese counterpart is largely based on older records which are now lost. Both these Chinese officials, like Friar Joseph, were personally acquainted with Macao, where they were stationed at different times.

Yin Kuang-jen was a native of Paoshan in Kiangsu province near Shanghai. After entering the civil service in 1726, he spent most of his career in various magistrate's posts in Kwangtung province, and was largely responsible for negotiating the release of Commodore Anson's Spanish captives from the Manila galleon *Nuestra Senora de Covadonga*, in July 1743. Yin's tactful handling of the prickly circumnavigator, whose contemptuous dislike of the Chinese is only too evident in the official narrative of his voyage round the world, earned him promotion to a senior position amongst the Chinese officials who participated in the administration of Macao from the neighboring town of Tsinshan. After holding this office for about three years, he was cashiered on account of some alleged misdemeanour in a previous post, but his disgrace proved only temporary. He held a number of other prefectural posts in the provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi before his retirement from government service to his native Paoshan *circa* 1754.

His literary and official colleague, Chang Ju-lin was a native of Anhui province and came to Kwangtung in 1736 as a district magistrate. He succeeded Yin as vice-prefect detached for duty

at Macao in 1746, and took a leading part in the attempt of the Canton provincial authorities to enforce the letter of the anti-Christian Laws in the Portuguese colony, — an attempt that was thwarted, at least in part, by the determined opposition of Bishop Hilario de Santa Rosa and the Jesuits, as related in Chapter XIV. He was also involved in the celebrated murder-case which gave so much trouble during the governorship of Telles de Menezes, and which is dealt with at length in the same chapter of this work. Chang's attitude on this occasion was strongly disapproved of by his superiors at Canton, who accused him of undue leniency; and it seems obvious from the Portuguese version of the affair that he was in fact bribed by the Senate to settle it without the surrender of the culprits. He was later cashiered on this account, and never took public office again before his death in his native Anhui in 1769.

The original draft of the *Ao-men chi-lueh* was lost soon after its completion by the death of a bibliophile to whom the manuscript had been confided. It turned up again five years later however and was completed for publication in 1751, when Yin was acting Prefect of Chao-chao-fu and Chang was Intendant of the Kwangtung provincial Salt Gabelle. The first edition of the completed work was printed xylographically a few years later, apparently at Paoshan after Yin's retirement to his ancestral home. This *editio princeps* is nowadays exceedingly rare. It was reprinted (or rather re-engraved) from new woodblocks at Chiangning in 1800, and it is from this second edition that the illustration in this book are taken. The *Ao-men chi-lueh* was often reprinted during the nineteenth century, the edition of 1884 being perhaps the best known. These numerous editions prove the work's popularity in China, and its repute was extended beyond the bounds of the Middle Kingdom through a Japanese translation made by the Tokugawa scholar, Kondo Morishige, about the beginning of the nineteenth century. The present writer is the fortunate possessor of copies of the first and second editions, and takes this opportunity of acknowledging his indebtedness to Mr. Fang Chao-ying of the Library of Congress for his kindness in supplying some biographical material about the co-authors of this rare and curious work. Ignorance of Chinese has unfortunately prevented the author from making full use of this and other printed Chinese sources, such as the district topographies of Kwangtung, which doubtless contain many valuable texts relating to the doings of the Portuguese in South China during the Ming and Manchu dynasties.

Whilst Yin and Chang were busy on their Chinese version of the history of Macao, Friar Joseph de Jesus Maria was engaged

on writing it from the Portuguese and ecclesiastical point of view in his *Azia Sinica e Japonica* during the years 1744–5. He took the manuscript with him on his return to Europe, where it remained unpublished until the Portuguese Orientalist, J. F. Marques Pereira, acquired it and began printing it with elaborate notes and annotations in his valuable but short-lived periodical *Ta-ssi-yang-kuo*. Less than a third of the 350 odd pages of the original had been printed when this magazine ceased publication in 1904, whereafter the manuscript again disappeared until the present writer acquired it in 1939, and began publication of an annotated edition in the monthly Macaonese magazine *Boletim Eclesiastico da diocese de Macau*. This printed version was brought to a temporary stop by the outbreak of the Pacific War of 1941–5, after about half the original manuscript had been printed, and has only just been resumed at the time of writing. Friar Joseph's work is particularly interesting, since it contains many important transcripts from the old Senate Archives whose originals have long since disappeared, and were not available even to writers of a century and a half ago.

Whilst on the subject of the archives of Macao, it may be added that the original records of the municipal archives do not go further back than the first decade of the 18th century. Lack of earlier documents is partly compensated for by the existence of later transcripts of seventeenth century documents, which are particularly abundant for the periods 1630–1640 and 1680–1700, but there are numerous gaps in the other decades, whilst the formative years of the 16th century are very poorly represented. A selection — haphazard but interesting — of these records was printed at Macao in 3 volumes in the years 1929–30, belatedly followed by a further volume in 1941, when the events of December of that year put a stop to the resumption of publication. These four volumes at once went out of print and are now very hard to come by, so it is to be hoped that the local government will resume printing this valuable series before long. Meanwhile the student has to rely on filling the gaps in these records from references to Macao in foreign publications of a similar nature such as Colin-Pastell's *Labor Evangelica* (3 vols. Barcelona, 1904) and Van den Wyngaert's *Sinica Franciscana* (Quarrachi-Firenze, Vols II–IV, 1933–44), both of which contain much material from the Spanish side; the Dutch *Dagh-Register gehouden in 't Casteel-Batavia* covering the years 1624–1682 in over twenty volumes; and Sir William Foster's *The English Factories in India*, 1618–1669, edited in a baker's dozen of scholarly volumes which are a model of their kind. Readers of Japanese should not neglect the *Gaiban-*

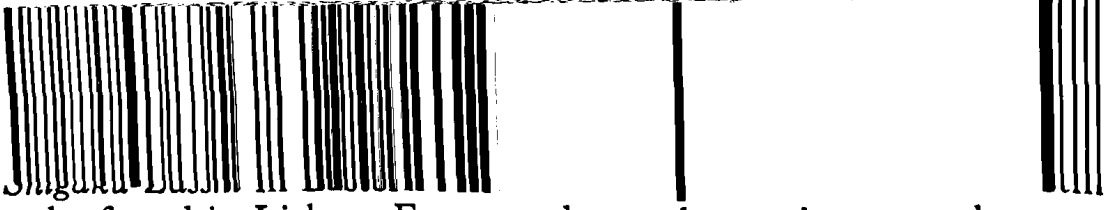
Tsusho and similar collections of state papers which contain original material from the Japanese standpoint, including transcripts of Shogunal edicts relating to the Macao Carrack and its commerce in the early seventeenth century. Some of these have been utilised in Y. Takekoshi's *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan* (3 vols; London, 1930), but this English translation is vitiated by numerous mistakes, and even the original is written in a highly confused and confusing manner. Morse's voluminous work on the *Chronicles of the East-India Company Trading to China* is only indirectly concerned with Macao, and the editor's few observations in this connection betray his total ignorance of Portuguese sources and consequent inability to understand the Macaonese point of view.

The self-styled Sir Andrew Ljungstedt's *Historical Sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China* (Macao, 1832; Boston, 1836) was for long the only serious history of Macao, and even today is much sought-after, despite its obvious prejudices and shortcomings. These are partly atoned for by the fact that Ljungstedt used some municipal records which have since disappeared, whilst his more obvious mistakes are corrected by Montalto de Jesus in his *Historic Macao* (Hongkong 1902; Macao, 1926). The Macaonese author is understandably indignant at some of the Swedish writer's unmerited slurs on his countrymen; but his own work, although a great improvement on Ljungstedt's, likewise requires a good deal of revision. Of lasting value are the careful and scholarly works of the two Marques Pereiras — the *Ephemerides commemorativas* published by the father at Macao in 1868, and the two historical reviews *Ta-Ssi-yang-kuo*, one series edited by the elder at Macao *circa* 1868, and the other by the son at Lisbon in 1899–1904. Later writers on the history of Macao have for the most part contented themselves with repeating or rehashing the statements of Marques Pereira and Montalto de Jesus, with or without due acknowledgement as the spirit moved them. The student's attention may profitably be directed to the monthly review *Boletim Eclesiastico da diocese de Macau*, where he will find a good deal of material both old and new, especially in the volumes published in the years 1937–1941, which include valuable contributions from local historians like Jack Braga and Padre Manuel Teixeira.

When all is said however, it must be admitted that the most valuable and interesting material is still unpublished. The paucity of the existing Macao archives is counterbalanced by the magnificent transcripts made *circa* 1744–1747 by Padre João Alvarez S.J. from the crumbling records in the Jesuit Collegiate Church

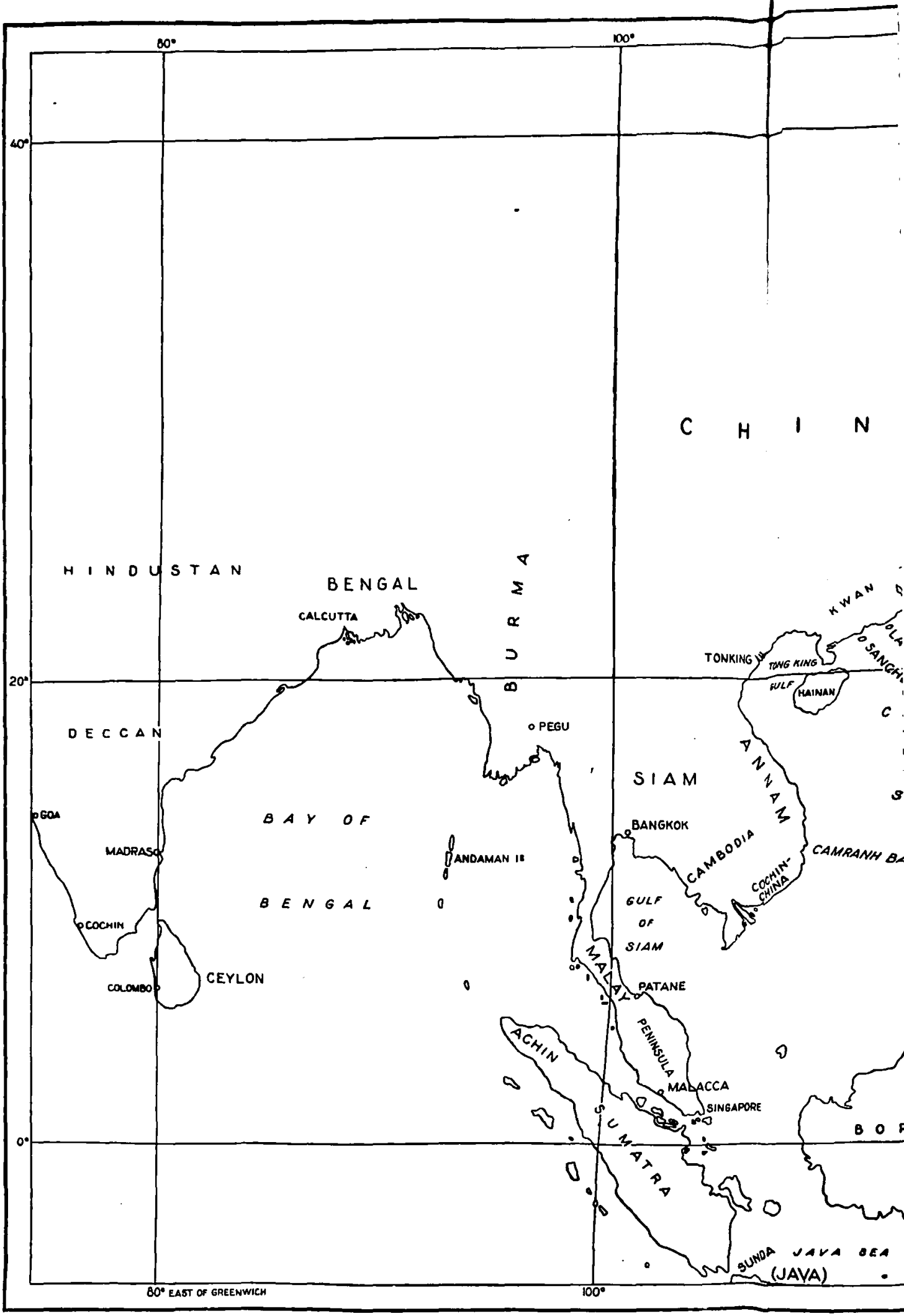
of Madre de Deos (São Paulo), which were duly sent to Portugal and are still preserved in the Library at Ajuda. In this connection it is interesting to recall the following passage in a letter of the famous French Sinologue, Father Antoine Gaubil S.J., written at Peking on 17th October 1752, ... "I have never been to Macao, but all those who have tell me that without great care, the damp, white ants, and the worms destroy everything, and that the library of the College which is very interesting is already half lost. If this is so, it is a great pity.... you know that the Portuguese as a rule are intelligent, but the majority need a little prodding in order to keep them up to the mark." This implied reproach was not entirely unmerited, but fortunately the copyists of 1744–47 have preserved for posterity much priceless material, including transcripts of the monumental works of the Jesuit fathers João Rodriguez Tçuzzu, Alessandro Valignani and Luis Frois on Japan, Antonio de Gouvea on China, and Joseph Montanha on Macao. A good idea of the wealth of material that was thus saved from the spoilation of the emissaries of Pombal, or from the flames which devoured the former Jesuit College and Library in 1835, may be gained from a perusal of Father G. Schurhammer's article *Die Schatze der Jesuitenarchive in Makao und Peking* printed in *Die Katholischen Missionen* Vol. 57 pp. 224–229 (1929). Another rich and virtually untapped source is afforded by the complete collection of the papers of Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, 1623–1626, preserved in the Public Library at Evora as noted in Chapter VI of this work. The documents of the former Portuguese Colonial Ministry (*Conselho Ultramarino*), now suitably housed in the Colonial Archives at Junqueira, would also repay investigation. None of these sources were utilised by T'ien-Tse-Chang in his pretentious but disappointing work, *Sino-Portuguese Trade from* 1514 *to* 1644: *A synthesis of Portuguese and Chinese sources* (Leiden, 1934) which despite its promising title is little more than a re-hash of the pioneer works of Ferguson (*Letters from Portuguese Captives in Canton*), Danvers (*Portuguese in India*), and Montalto de Jesus, with the erroneous Chinese identifications of these authors corrected from the original Chinese sources. Curiously enough, Dr. Chang has otherwise made only the most sparing use of Chinese sources, and even his quotations from the *Ao-men chi-lueh* are very few and far between.

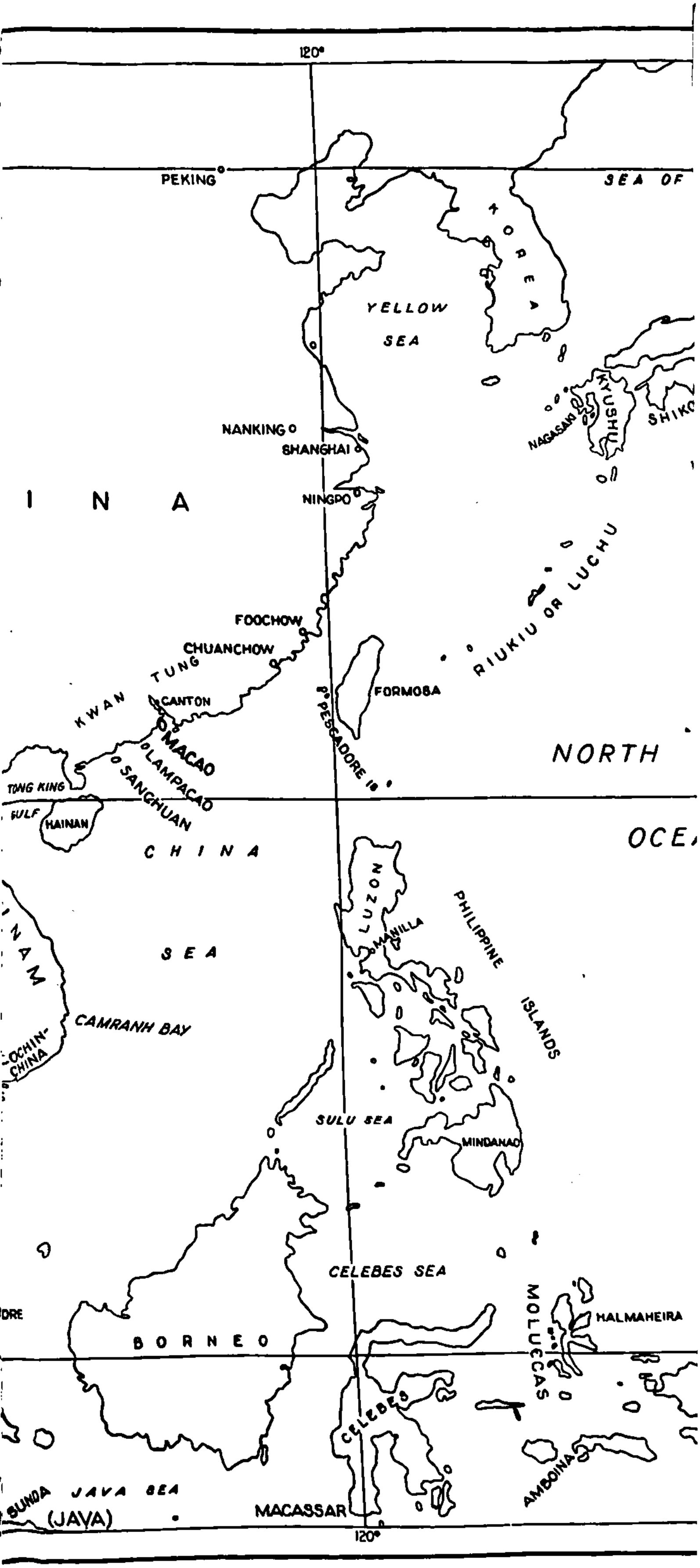
Much therefore remains to be done, and much material is still available, for the foregoing by no means exhausts the list of even printed works. It will occur to every student that some light on the history of Macao can be obtained by a perusal of learned periodicals like *T'oung Pao* in Western Europe or the



to be found in Lisbon, Evora, and, to a lesser degree perhaps, at Peking and Canton. One of the swarm of thesis-hunters might well do worse than take some aspect of the story of the City of the Name of God in China for his theme, provided always that he realises that in Macao, if anywhere, East and West did meet.

INDEX


80°
100°
40°
20°
0°
CHIN
HINDUSTAN
BENGAL
BURMA
CALCUTTA
TONKING
TONG KING
GULF
HAINAN
KWAN
SANGHA
DECCAN
PEGU
SIAM
ANNAM
GOA
BAY OF
BENGAL
MADRAS
ANDAMAN IS
BANGKOK
CAMBODIA
CAMRANH BA
COCHIN-CHINA
GULF OF SIAM
COCHIN
CEYLON
COLOMBO
MALAY
PATANE
PENINSULA
ACHIN
MALACCA
SINGAPORE
SUMATRA
BO
SUNDA
JAVA SEA
(JAVA)
80° EAST OF GREENWICH
100°



This work is an important contribution to the history of the Portuguese in Asia. Though primarily intended for those who are fascinated by the bypaths of Colonial History, it nevertheless contains much that will interest the wider public concerned with the clash of culturesand the conflict of races precipitated by European colonial expansion in the Far East. The names of Vasco da Gama and Affonso d'Albuquerque are familiar enough to anybody interested in the story of European activities in Asia; but here we meet a host of lesser lights, who, though now forgotten, were emphatically "sons of somebody" (*filhos d'algo* whence the word *fidalgos*) in their day and generation. Few people realise that their settlement of Macao on the China coast is virtually four centuries old, whilst its romantic history naturally provides a wealth of material for a study of the relations between East and West. The author has lived for twelve years in the Far East and is familiar with most of the places he writes about from the Moluccas to Japan.

Guilders 12.50