

*With many thanks for your two Anglo-Cambodians!*

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that Ārmaiti-, to judge from the meanings of other entities, Vohu Manah 'Good Mind', Aša 'Justice', Xšaθra 'Kingdom, Kingship', Haurvatāt 'Wholeness' and Amərətātāt 'Immortality', does and can not imply such a meaning 'Siedlung, Acker'<sup>44)</sup> but connotes religio-ethical, abstract conception.

The affiliation of Ārmaiti- with Vedic Arámati- has been based on the assumption that they go back to \**aram-mati-*, but such a derivation of Ārmaiti- is now untenable. And moreover comes the striking semantic contradiction of *spənta-* or *ānuš.hak-* to *vasūyú-*<sup>45)</sup> 'desiring wealth', characteristic attributive of Ved. Arámati-. Ārmaiti- is Ārmaiti- and not Arámati-.

44) Cf. n. 26.

45) Ṛgveda VII 1, 34



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Macao as a Religious and Commercial Entrepôt  
in the 16th and 17th Centuries\*

C. R. BOXER

The close connection between God and Mammon, between the Cross and the Crown, between things spiritual and things mercantile, in the history of the City of the Name of God of Macao in China, is obvious to anyone at all familiar with its past. On this occasion, I intend to discuss some aspects of this theme within the following periodization:

- (a) The Japan Trade Cycle, 1557-1640.
- (b) The years of crises, 1640-1670.
- (c) Macao Preserved, 1670-1700, and the "dream of Japan."

Obviously, any periodization is artificial and open to criticism, nor are the chronological limits more than approximate, give or take a year or two either way; but a case can be made for this approach, as I hope to show. Certain factors also remained constant throughout this period of about a century and a half. This will also be self-evident, I trust.

(a) **The Japan Trade Cycle, 1557-1640.**

This is the most obviously clear-cut of our three periods. The Portuguese were already active in the China-Japan trade when Macao was founded in or about the year 1557, some fourteen or fifteen years after they had first reached the island-empire. Even more obvious is the end of the cycle in 1639-40, when the Portuguese were sent back to Macao without being allowed to trade (1639), and when an embassy sent to ask for a renewal of the trade was executed (1640). During this period we have the phenomenon of the rise of Macao and Nagasaki from obscure fishing-villages to entrepôts with a world-wide reputation. At this point we may ask what kind of people were the inhabitants of Macao in the late 16th and the early 17th centuries; and how

\*This is the full text of a lecture which Professor C.R. Boxer delivered for the Tōhō Gakkai on October 6th, 1972, at the International House of Japan. The Japanese translation of this text is in the *Tōhōgaku* No. 46 published July, 1973.





did they regard their position as intermediaries in the China-Japan trade and as the spearhead of militant Roman Catholic Christianity in East Asia?

The only piece of evidence by a participant in the founding of the colony is a passing reference by Gregorio Gonçalves, a secular priest (*presbitero secular*) in an undated document in the Archivo de las Indias at Seville. So far as I know, it is only printed in a Spanish version,<sup>1</sup> but the original was evidently written in Portuguese, probably about 1570. Padre Gonçalves implies that the first settlers were unauthorised squatters, who spent some months ashore on the "Water-Lily peninsula"—to give it one of its Chinese names<sup>2</sup>—in the year 1555, between one trading season and the next. He goes on to state that within twelve years the Portuguese had built "a very large settlement on the point of the mainland, which is called Macao, with three churches and a hospital for the poor, and a house of the Santa Misericórdia, which nowadays forms a settlement of over 5,000 Christian souls." In 1578 a Jesuit visitor reported that the population already comprised about 10,000 souls of various races and creeds.

We have no exact population statistics for Macao at this period, but the total population, including transients, probably fluctuated at around 15,000–25,000 at the height of the Japan trade. The number of *casados* or *vezinhos*, Portuguese married men who were heads of households, was given as 400 in 1601, 850 in 1635, and 600 in 1640. If we adopt the coefficient of five persons per household, this gives an equivalent of 2,000–4,250. The well-informed António Bocarro, writing in 1635 and with access at Goa to such statistics as existed, states that each of these Portuguese households had an average of six slaves, "capable of bearing arms, amongst whom the majority and the best are negroes and such like." When we allow for the wives and children of the *vezinhos* and for the female slaves and their children, this might well bring the total up to between 4,000 and 8,500. Bocarro also tells us that there were as many more married Chinese and other Asian Christian householders, termed *jurubaças* (*lit.* interpreters) as there were Portuguese *casados* or married men. They naturally had wives, children and servants as well. When we add to these the large number of transient merchants and sailors from Goa, Malacca, Japan, Manila and elsewhere, and a larger but uncertain number of "heathen" Chinese, then the total population could easily have fluctuated around 20,000 in the palmy days of the Japan and Manila trades

1) Published in Spanish translation by Pablo Pastells, S.J., *Catálogo de los documentos relativos a las islas Filipinas existentes en el archivo de Indias de Sevilla*, Vol. I (Barcelona, 1925), pp. cclii–ccliii. We need a good annotated reproduction of the Portuguese original.

2) Cf. Søren Egerod, "A note on the origin of the name of Macao" (*T'oung Pao*, Vol. XLVII, Leiden, 1959, pp. 63–66) for documented discussion.



during the 1630's.<sup>3)</sup>

Although a majority of the *vezinhos* were probably European-born Portuguese, this certainly did not apply to their wives and children, virtually all of whom had a greater or lesser mixture of Asian blood. The very first settlers of Macao probably consorted mainly with Malayan, Indonesian and Japanese women; but with the growth of a Chinese population in Macao, an accomplished fact by 1564, there must obviously have been an increasing rate of intermarriage, and still more concubinage, with Chinese women and girls who were converted to Christianity. Padre Alonso Sánchez S.J., who paid two extended visits to Macao in 1582-85, wrote that the Portuguese there preferred to marry Chinese women rather than with any others "owing to the many virtues which adorn them." More than this, in his detailed project for the conquest of China by a Spanish expeditionary-force, assisted by Portuguese, Japanese and Filipino auxiliaries, which he submitted to Philip II in 1588, he argued that the intermarriage of Iberian *conquistadores* with Chinese women would be one of the greatest benefits to be derived therefrom. Chinese women, he wrote, were "extraordinarily chaste, serious, modest, and most faithful, humble and submissive to their husbands. They have as much or more grace, beauty, and discretion as do the rich and noble ladies of Spain." Intermarriage with these paragons, he claimed, would produce an offspring equal or superior to any in the world, and certainly vastly superior to the *mestizos* and mixed bloods of Spanish America. Unlike these latter, the sons of intermarriages between Spaniards and Chinese would possess all the necessary aptitudes to become priests, soldiers, and government officials, right up to the highest ranks, as well as excellent artisans and craftsmen.<sup>4)</sup>

The Franciscan friar, Juan Pobre de Zamora (c. 1540-1615), who wrote a lengthy eyewitness account of the loss of the Manila galleon *San Felipe* off Urado (Tosa) in 1596 and the martyrs of Nagasaki (February 1597), was deported to Macao by the Jesuits. He became friendly with one of the oldest inhabitants during his eight months' stay there. Explaining why the Portuguese did not want enterprising Spanish friars and bellicose *conquistadores* from the Philippines coming to Macao, this old gentleman told him on one occasion: "We have settled down in this place and married here; we have children

3) C.R. Boxer, *Macao 300 years ago, Macau na época da Restauração* (Macao, 1942), pp. 21-47, for António Bocarro's description of Macao in 1635; Manuel Teixeira, *Os Macaenses* (Macao 1965), and the sources there quoted, of which the most important is the special number of the *Boletim Eclesiástico da Diocese de Macau* (Oct.-Dec. 1964), containing some unpublished accounts of the early years of the city.

4) Sánchez's memorial in F. Colin—P. Pastells, *Labor Evangelica*, Vol. I (Barcelona, 1904), pp. 438-444, "De la Entrada de la China en particular."



and property; and it seems to me that if the Castilians come here, since they are a restless race, they will try to enter the mainland. And if their Religious come to try to convert this kingdom, the Chinese will kill them and kick us out. And this is why we stand on our guard and don't allow any Spaniards to come here."<sup>5)</sup>

A Jesuit report on conditions at Macao in 1625, stated that the wives of the local Portuguese were mostly Chinese in whole or in part ("as mais dellas são chinas ou tem parte disso"). The same observation was made by Peter Mundy in his perceptive and sympathetic account of Macao in 1637: "By report, but one woman in all this town that was born in Portugal; their wives either Chinese or of that race heretofore married to Portugals" (i.e. *mestiças*).<sup>6)</sup> Peter Mundy, it may be recalled, was also very much impressed with the beauty of some of the *mestizinhas* whom he saw in Macao, particularly the daughters of António de Oliveira Aranha, Captain-Major of the Japan voyage in 1629: "... three or four very pretty children, daughters to the said senhor Antonio and his kindred, that except in England, I think not in the world to be overmatched for their pretty features and complexions; their habit of dressing becoming them as well, adorned with precious jewels and costly apparel, their uppermost garments being little *kimonos* or Japan coats, which graced them also."<sup>7)</sup>

Although by this time most of the local *mestiças* were of mainly Chinese origin, there must have been a fair number who had more Japanese blood in their veins. Portuguese men had cohabited with Japanese women from the days when the first shipwrecked Portuguese reached Tanegashima (in or about the year 1543). There was a thriving Luso-Japanese community at Nagasaki between 1570 and 1636, when all the Eurasians still living there were expelled to Macao, together with their Japanese mothers or wives. An interesting light on the social and economic relations between Macao and Nagasaki at this period is provided by some 16th-17th century documents preserved (in 18th-century transcripts) in the Macao archives of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia, the Holy House of Mercy, the most famous and prestigious of the Portuguese charitable orders, which, incidentally, had branches at Nagasaki (until 1614) and at Manila (from 1606) as well as at Macao.<sup>8)</sup>

5) C.R. Boxer, "Fr. Juan Pobre of Zamora and his lost and found *Ystoria* of 1598-1603 (Lilly MS. BM617)," in *The Indiana University Bookman*, Nr. 10, November 1969, pp. 25-46.

6) Jesuit report of 21 Dec. 1625, *apud* Caetano Soares, *Macao e a Assistencia: Panorama médico-social* (Lisboa, 1950), pp. 28-32.

7) *Apud* C.R. Boxer, *Macao 300 years ago* (Macao, 1942), p. 64.

8) Arquivo da Santa Casa da Misericórdia, Macao, Codice 15; Transcript dated and signed by Thome Vaz Ribeiro, Macao, 1 June 1750. I am much indebted to Senhor Luis Gonzaga Gomes for permission to consult this codex in March 1971, and for kindly sending me xerox copies of the first 50 leaves.



It is clear from the last wills and testaments that are recorded here, mostly covering the years 1590-1630, that it was a common practice for charitable householders, including widowers and widows, to free their slaves or indentured servant (*mui-tsai*) children on their deathbeds; and to endow them with a sum of money which they would receive on reaching a marriageable age (often specified as being twenty-five). Some of these children had been brought up as if they were the testator's own legitimate offspring, as is explicitly stated. They were of the most varied origins, including Chinese, Japanese and Eurasians, orphan girls being in the majority. The legacies left them, usually either in silver taels, *pardaos de reales*, or in bales of silk, ranging from ten taels to several hundred in value, were entrusted to an executor, or to the Board of Guardians of the Misericórdia, to invest in the *carreira de Japão*, the Macao-Nagasaki trade, on a yearly basis until the child concerned should come of age or get married. She or he would then receive the original capital, plus the profits accrued over the intervening years; sometimes with the proviso that the executor or the Misericórdia could deduct a specified sum for expenses. If the child died, or married an unsuitable partner, then the whole sum would revert to the Misericórdia. There were minor variations on this pattern, which has striking parallels with those of pious and charitable testators elsewhere in the Portuguese world.<sup>9)</sup> But the point I wish to make here is that the Macao-Nagasaki trade not only brought profits to the rich and powerful, the *poderosos*, and to the Jesuit mission which invested in it, but to the poor and lowly as well.

Of course, the Japanese Christian community in Macao, especially when swollen by the exiles and deportees of 1614, 1626 and 1636, did not consist only of women, whether wives, concubines or servants of Portuguese, but it also included merchants and priests. One of the most curious figures among the latter, was the Japanese secular priest, Paulo dos Santos. This controversial character, who was one of the original four Japanese parish priests of Nagasaki, has left distinct traces in the archives, since he had plenty of admirers and detractors. He helped to found a seminary in Macao, where twelve exiled Japanese youths could be trained for the priesthood and sent clandestinely into Japan, after the prohibition of Christianity there and the mass expulsion of the missionaries in 1613-14. To this end, he continued to correspond with friends in Japan and to embark cargoes of Chinese silk in the galliots for Nagasaki under an assumed name. Unfortunately, some of these letters were

9) Cf. J. Russell-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists. The Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Bahia, 1550-1755* (London, 1968), especially pp. 173-200. I have come across many similar bequests in the archives of Goa, Ponta Delgada and Angra (Azores).



intercepted by the Japanese authorities. The innocent Portuguese bearer of them (who did not know the risk he was running, as they were written in Japanese), was burnt at the stake and the Macao trade was almost ended on this account in 1635-36, instead of three years later. The *bugyō* and *daikwan* of Nagasaki demanded that Paulo dos Santos should be exiled to Goa, but in fact he was only sent as far as Faifo in Indochina, and then over strong protests by himself and by some of his ecclesiastical colleagues in Macao. On his death (c. 1662) he left a substantial sum of money for this seminary for training Japanese (and later Indochinese) missionaries, which was apparently still functioning in 1672.<sup>10)</sup>

The Japanese community at Macao also contained some artists and artisans, although we have only occasional references to their works.<sup>11)</sup> In this connection, and in connection with the discussions over the origin of the recently discovered murals at Cuernavaca in Mexico, depicting the martyrdom of February 1597, I may add that contemporary paintings of this event, either on silk or on other textiles (*lienzos*) were made at Nagasaki, at Macao, and, in all probability at Manila. When news of this martyrdom reached Manila on the 16th May 1598, the Governor ordered a ceremonial procession to be made two days later. On this occasion there was carried in procession "a picture of the saints brought from Japan," also described as a "*lienzo* representing the scene of the glorious martyrdom."<sup>12)</sup>

Fr. Marcelo de Ribadeneyra O.F.M., one of the Franciscans who escaped martyrdom, on his arrival at Macao publicised the fate of his bretheren by having some "*lienzos* made of everything that happened in the martyrdom, of which many copies were taken and sent to New Spain and to Spain, and I subsequently had them printed at Rome."<sup>13)</sup> Another friar had other copies made at Malacca, some of which presumably found their way to Goa and Europe.

10) For Paulo dos Santos cf. C.R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon* (Lisboa, 1959), pp. 135, 185, 325-29; Manuel Teixeira, *Padres da Diocese de Macau* (Macau, 1967), pp. 305-310; Josef Schütte, S.J., *El "Archivo del Japon." Vicisitudes del Archivo Jesuítico del Extremo Oriente* (Madrid, 1964), pp. 378-80.

It is to be hoped that Fr. Schütte will soon publish this voluminous *processo* of 1632-36.

11) John E. McCall, "Early Jesuit Art in The Far East," published serially in *Artibus Asiae*, Vols. X-XVII, Ascona, Switzerland, 1947-1954; T. Nishimura, *Namban Art* (Tokyo, 1958), and R. Okamoto, *Namban Bijutsu* (Tokyo, 1966). The recent death of my old friend, Okamoto Ryōchi, is a great loss to all students of the history of Japan's early contacts with the West. Cf. also Michael Cooper S.J. et al, *Southern Barbarians in Japan* (Tokyo, 1970).

12) Lorenzo Pérez, O.F.M., *Cartas y Relaciones del Japon*, III, *Persecución y martirio de los misioneros Franciscanos* (Madrid, 1923), p. 198 bis.

13) Marcelo de Ribadeneira, O.M.F., *Historia de las islas del Archipiélago Filipine y Reinos de la Gran China . . . y Japon* (ed. Madrid, 1947) p. 506.



Turning from Macao's role as a religious and cultural entrepôt in the Far East to its commercial and economic aspects, Chinese historians such as Ping-ti Ho and Han-sheng Chuan have recently stressed the part played by the Portuguese in boosting the Ming economy by their importation of Japanese and of Spanish-American silver. The former writer claimed that the vast amount of silver imported into China by the Portuguese and Japanese had a tonic effect on the Ming economy by 1562.<sup>14)</sup> This date is only a few years after the foundation of Macao and before the foundation of Nagasaki. From 1570 onwards, the stream of Japanese silver into China flowed mainly along this channel, since the Ming government prohibited its own nationals and shipping from trading directly with Japan, although this ban was, admittedly, never effectively enforced for more than a few years at a time. More effective, undoubtedly, was the Ming ban on any Japanese ships visiting China for any purpose, although it was, of course, ignored by the *wako* before their suppression by Hideyoshi. The Portuguese at Macao also received supplies of Spanish-American silver and of Persian silver larvae from Goa, which likewise found their way into China for the purchase of silks, gold and other Chinese commodities for re-export to Japan, Goa and Europe.<sup>15)</sup> After the foundation of Manila in 1571, some Spanish-American silver came to Macao from this terminal of the Acapulco-Manila galleon trade, although the bulk of it went direct to Fukien ports in the junks of the so-called "Sangley" traders.<sup>16)</sup>

The Macao-Manila trade was in some ways competitive with, and in other ways complementary to, the trade of Macao with China, Japan, and India. Consequently there was a good deal of both cooperation and competition between the two Iberian entrepôts in the South China Sea. The position was complicated by the fact that after Philip II's acquisition of the Portuguese crown in 1580, trade between the two entrepôts was strictly forbidden, in accordance with the agreement reached at the Cortes of Tomar (1581). This Cortes legalised Philip's seizure of the Portuguese crown, but enacted that the two colonial empires should retain their national identity, and should not be allowed to trade or to communicate with each other. This ban was relaxed

14) Ping-ti Ho, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China: Aspects of social mobility, 1368-1911* (Columbia UP, 1967), pp. 57, 220.

15) C.R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon* (Lisboa, 1959), *passim*; V. Magalhães Godinho, *L'Économie de l'Empire Portugais aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1969), pp. 499-531; Seiichi Iwao, "Ouro e Prata Japonese na Historia Mundial," reprinted from *Colóquio Brasil-Japão* (São Paulo, 1967), pp. 85-94. A. Kobata, "The production and uses of gold and silver in 16th and 17th century Japan," in *The Economic History Review*, 2d series, Vol. 18 (1965), pp. 245-66; Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. I (London 1972), pp. 568-669.

16) Han-sheng Chuan, article in Chinese, unfortunately mislaid.



to some extent when the Dutch became a major menace to both seaborne empires in the first quarter of the 17th century. But even then, inter-Iberian colonial trade was still forbidden, save only for the purchase of munitions of war and everything which directly involved military and naval cooperation against the common and heretical foe. Another difficulty was that while the Portuguese of Macao were anxious to trade with Manila, in order to get some of the Spanish-American silver brought by the galleons from Acapulco, they did not want the Spaniards to come in their own ships to China, Japan, or Macao. Conversely, the Spaniards of Manila naturally preferred to trade directly with the Chinese and the Japanese, rather than to do so through the intermediary of the Macao traders, and thus pay higher prices. Still, the fact remains that despite mutual complaints and paper prohibitions, the two Iberian entrepôts continued to trade with each other, officially or unofficially, down to the recovery of Portugal's independence from Spain, news of which did not reach the Far East until 1642.<sup>17</sup>

It is well-known that the Jesuits of Macao had a substantial share in the "silk for silver" trade with Nagasaki; and that they continued to send consignments to Japan after their expulsion from the island-empire in 1614. This was done, of course, through third parties, a trustworthy layman among the merchants sailing in the galliots to Nagasaki being appointed as the Jesuits' *procurador* or authorized agent. Some notes compiled about the *procurador* and his responsibilities in 1629 make interesting reading, and they show that the job cannot have been an easy one. The man selected should have "a natural talent for the post" and should devote himself to it, "leaving aside all other occupations." He should have few business associates and should be a "reliable man, and a rich merchant of good credit." He should not be encouraged to borrow silver from Japanese on *respondencia* (bottomry), and he should not forward silk and other goods from Nagasaki to be sold by Japanese agents "in the *kami*" (i.e. the Kwansai). He should take great care with his book-keeping; not entrust the keys to anyone else; and be very careful in signing papers. He should not lend silver nor other valuables, and he should not receive goods on deposit. He should not employ anyone "who offers to serve out of friendship or free of charge." He should use the double-entry method of book-keeping, and should review the accounts of his subordinates monthly. Great care should be taken in assaying the fineness of the silver when buying bullion; and commodities should be bought in bulk rather than

17) C.R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon* (Lisboa, 1959) *passim*; W. Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York, 1939), pp. 129-134; P. Chaunu, *Les Philippines et le Pacifique des Ibériques* (2 vols., Paris, 1960-66).



in small quantities. He should not open a shop, nor sell retail. He should be strictly a man of his word and take great care to retain his credit. "He should try to abrogate the silk-contract made with the City of Macao."<sup>18)</sup> He should not be one of the Macao merchants responsible for dealings with the daimyō and with the officials of the *Bakufu*. He should not give banquets, nor keep a special kitchen and a country-house (*quinta*). His companion should not be a Japanese brother of the Society. The difficulty of his position is summarised in a significant requirement: "It is not convenient that the Procurator should have much latitude, but neither should his hands be closely tied."<sup>19)</sup> It would be interesting to have a list of those individuals who filled this responsible and exacting position. Needless to say, this post of *procurador* for the Jesuit Japan mission at Nagasaki was also a very considerable risk. If the Japanese authorities had discovered who he was really representing, he would in all probability have ended up as a martyr.

Another job which entailed a good deal of risk in a different capacity, was that of the official *lingua* (lit. "tongue") or interpreter to the City of Macao in its daily dealings with the Chinese officials of Heung-shan hsien 香山縣, and with visiting mandarins from Canton and Peking. Mr. J. M. Braga has published in English translation an interesting *Regimento* (standing instructions) for the *lingua*, or principal interpreter and for his two assistant interpreters (*jurubacas*) and scribes. These men were Chinese Christians, fluent in both Portuguese and in Chinese (whether in Mandarin or in Cantonese is not stated, but possibly in both, since Chinese high officials would very likely not understand Cantonese). They were appointed and paid by the Municipal Council (*Senado da Camara*) and worked under the direction of the *Procurador do Senado*, who was the official representative of the Senate in all important negotiations with the Chinese. The document is undated, but from the context must have been compiled about the year 1630. The *Lingua da Cidade* was responsible for translating all oral and written communications from and into Chinese.<sup>20)</sup> He explained to the *Procurador do Senado* the meaning and import of all the Chinese communications, and the two of them jointly attended the municipal council meetings to explain what the Chinese wanted and to discuss how they should be answered. Since few if any of the

18) Cf. J.L. Alvarez-Taladriz, *Un documento de 1610 sobre el contrato de armazão de la Nao de Trato entre Macao y Nagasaki*, 20-page reprint from the *Tenri Daigaku Gakuhō*, Vol. XI, Tenri, 1959 pp. 1-20. Michael Cooper, S.J., "The Mechanics of the Macao-Nagasaki silk trade," in *Monumenta Nipponica*, XXVII (1972), pp. 423-33.

19) "Couzas que podem servir para os procuradores, Anno de 1629," in *Jesuitas na Asia*, 49-V-8 (Biblioteca de Ajuda, Lisboa).

20) J.M. Braga, "Interpreters and translators in Old Macao," in *Proceedings of the Congress of East Asian historians at Hong Kong* (Hongkong, 1964).



Senators could read Chinese characters (although some may have spoken colloquial Cantonese), it is obvious that the municipal council depended heavily on the loyalty and skill of these *linguas* and *jurubaças*. The only check on them was that some of the Jesuits at Macao were capable of reading Chinese official documents; but they could not compose them unaided, and Macao depended primarily on the loyalty and efficiency of its *linguas* and *jurubaças*. There is no doubt that on the whole they fulfilled the trust placed in them, and several of them died at the hands of suspicious or ultra-xenophobic mandarins who imprisoned or tortured them at Canton.

I cannot say whether the Senate also employed official interpreters in Japanese at this period, but I have found no reference to them. Down to 1614, reliance was usually placed on some of the Jesuit missionaries in Japan, who were remarkably fluent in Japanese, particularly the famous Padre João Rodrigues *Tçuzzu*.<sup>21</sup> After the expulsion of the Jesuits, there still remained a number of Portuguese in Nagasaki who were married to Japanese women and spoke the language fluently. When they were expelled in 1636, recourse was presumably had to the official Nagasaki interpreters in the service of the *dai-kwan* and *bugyō*. Some of these were renegade Christians and were fluent in Portuguese, which they could both read and write. They appear in the Portuguese documents under their former Christian names, and were likewise termed *jurubaças*. Perhaps the best known was António Carvalho, who was still acting as chief interpreter at the time of Captain Gonçalo de Siqueira de Sousa's abortive embassy to Japan in 1647.<sup>22</sup>

#### (b) The years of crises, 1640-1670.

The title of this subsection is not so distinctive as that of the former. Macao's history has been punctuated with frequent crises at all periods, the last of which, the riots in December 1966, made headline-news the world over. But a case can be made for considering this period of 1640-1670 particularly critical, since major crises not only succeeded each other with alarming rapidity, but they overlapped. The loss of the Japan trade in 1639-40, was compounded by the break with Manila in 1642-44, when Macao renounced its allegiance to Philip IV of Spain and lost the profitable Manila trade for a time. The

21) Michael Cooper. S.J., *They came to Japan* (California UP, 1965), has many extracts from the writings of João Rodrigues Tçuzzu S.J., and a fuller version in *This Island of Japan, João Rodrigue's Account of 16th century Japan* (Tokyo, Kodansha, 1973).

22) C.R. Boxer, *The Embassy of Captain Gonçalo de Siqueira de Souza to Japan in 1644-47* (Macao, 1938); Panduronga Pissurlencar (ed.), *Assentos do Conselho do Estado da India, III, 1644-1658* (Goa-Bastorá, 1955), pp. 110-111; Historical Archives, Goa, "Livros dos Segredos," Vol. I (1635-1648), pp. 77-78, 87-88.



Dutch continued to harass Macao's seaborne trade. Worse still, the Manchu conquest of China, and the resistance put up by the adherents of the Ming in some of the southern provinces, severely dislocated Macao's trade with Canton, apart from the savage sack of this City in 1646 and again in 1651. Most severe of all, perhaps, was the evacuation of the coastal regions, decreed by the Manchu government in 1662 as a defensive measure against Koxinga (Cheng Ch'eng-kung) and his followers in Formosa and Fukien, which lasted for five years. During this time, seaborne trade was paralysed. Many thousands of Chinese perished after being forcibly removed from their homes in the coastal provinces, and the inhabitants of Macao came within a hair's breadth of sharing the same fate.<sup>23)</sup> Last, not least, the Jesuits at the Court of Peking, *os Padres da Corte*, fell into disfavour in the years 1664-1666; and Macao was thereby deprived of its most influential defenders at one of the most critical periods of its history. Small wonder that many people regarded the survival of Macao itself as nothing short of miraculous under the circumstances.

These external crises were aggravated by a series of internal disputes and broils which frequently involved armed clashes between the partisans of rival factions. Turbulence was endemic in the 17th-century Macao and during the critical 1640's it reached unprecedented heights between both the ecclesiastical and the secular authorities. The former were riven by jurisdictional disputes, which culminated in the actual or threatened bombardment of the local Dominican convent by artillery encouraged by the Jesuits. Fatal casualties seem to have been avoided on this occasion; but quarrels between the municipal council and the Captain-General, Dom Diogo Cofinho, ended with the murder of this latter in his own house by an infuriated mob of rebellious citizens and unpaid soldiery in the year 1646.<sup>24)</sup>

A peaceful and joyous interlude in these recurrent alarms and excursions was provided when news of the accession to the Portuguese throne of the Duke of Braganza as King John IV reached Macao in May 1642. Despite the loss of the Japan and the Manila trades, and the destitution suffered by the poorer classes, the citizens of Macao contrived to stage some weeks of luxurious and gay celebrations in honour of their new king. Both the Chinese and the Japanese Christian communities took a prominent part in these festivities. The latter participated in a torchlight procession on the night of the

23) Hsieh Kuo Ching, "Removal of the coastal population in the early Tsing period," in *Chinese Social and Political Review*, Vol. XV (1932), pp. 559-96.

24) C.R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550-1770* (The Hague, 1948), pp. 142-155; J.S. Cummins (ed. & trans.), *Travels and Controversies of Fr. Domingo Navarrete, O.P. 1618-1686* (2 vols., Hakluyt Society, 1962), pp. 261-63, 270; R. Streit-I. Dindinger. *Bibliotheca Missionum*, VI, pp. 682-83.



7/8 July, wearing their national costumes, playing *samisen* and other musical instruments, "posturing and dancing with open fans in their hands, and with their *katana* at their sides, with a very graceful mien." Some days earlier, the local Christian Chinese community from one of the parishes called The Field (*Campo*), "who are born there without any mixture of Portuguese blood in them," put on a military parade with their own officers and sergeants. "It was a pleasure to see the dexterity and skill with which they handled their firearms, which is such that not even a swallow can escape their bullets, however small it be." It is interesting to note that it was the local Chinese and not the exiled Japanese community which put on the most martial display.<sup>25)</sup> Unfortunately, the unity and euphoria engendered by the news of the Portuguese Restoration did not last long, and within a few months the old rivalries and jealousies had reappeared. It must have been in this year or the next that the local Christian Chinese citizens (*moradores Chinas Cristãos de Macao*), who had just given such spectacular proof of their loyalty, sent a strongly worded protest to the new king, which was considered by that monarch and his advisers of the Overseas Council at Lisbon in February 1644.<sup>26)</sup>

"The Christian Chinese citizens in the City of Macao state that they profess and always have professed themselves to be true vassals of your Majesty, having totally abandoned Chinese laws and government, and obeying only the legal system and laws of Portugal, as is well known. And this they have done from the very beginning of this city, when they formed the principal part of it, so that they were responsible for the functioning of the Holy House of Mercy [*Santa Casa da Misericórdia*], and they maintained both it and the hospitals and they fulfilled their responsibilities thereto. Subsequently, as the Portuguese began to increase in numbers, they not only excluded them [i.e. the *jurubaças* or Christian Chinese] entirely therefrom, but they began to harass them in many things, and reduced them to their present low condition, in which they have no freedom nor opportunity to earn their living to support their wives and children; forbidding them to invest their modest means in voyages to other regions; from going to Canton to attend the trade fairs there; compelling them to mount guard at a time when there is no war nor the fear of one;<sup>27)</sup> and as they live by their daily work, they have no time to do so;

25) Cf. especially the account of Marques Moreira in C.R. Boxer, *Macao 300 years ago* (1942), pp. 161-187.

26) Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisboa, Macao, Caixa I.

27) An exaggeration, as the Luso-Dutch truce belatedly arranged in Europe in June 1641 was not fully implemented in the East until after the agreement between the viceroy Count of Aveiras and Johan Maetsuycker signed at Goa in November 1644. Cf. C.R. Boxer, "Reflexos do guerra Pernambucana na India Oriental, 1645-1655," in the *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, Nr. 74 (Goa-Bastorá, 1957) pp. 1-36; G.D. Winius, *The Fatal History of Portuguese Ceylon* (Harvard UP, 1971) pp. 49-83.



compelling them to go about without a cloak, with which they often used to hide their poverty; defaulting on the debts which are due to them, and as the Europeans are powerful people, the law does not dare to interfere and stop this abuse. They use the capital of our deceased persons on trading-voyages of their own, contrary to the last wills and testaments of those concerned; they insult us with words and at times with deeds, to the scandal of our relations among the heathen Chinese, who, although heathen, are better treated in word and deed than we who are already Christians. This forms a great hindrance to the work of conversion; and in fact those who are heathen stay that way, since they see that they enjoy more liberty and favour when they remain in that state.<sup>28)</sup> And forasmuch as we know that all this is against what your Majesty orders and recommends to his viceroys and high officials, because the first thing that your Majesty orders them in their standing-instructions (*regimentos*) is that they should favour and protect those who are converts to Christianity,—prostrate at your Majesty's feet we ask for the following . . .”

They then proceeded to enumerate the concessions which they wanted and which can be resumed as follows:

1. They should be allowed to become Brothers of the Confraternity of Jesus, as they had been originally.
2. They should be allowed to trade at the same places as did the Portuguese and Eurasians (*Mestiços*).
3. Their liability to guard and garrison duty should be restricted to time of war.
4. They should be allowed to wear cloaks.
5. They should be given legal redress and full property rights; and their orphans' money should not be used by others.
6. They should enjoy the same privileges as the indigenous Christians of the Fishery Coast in India, in Ceylon, etc.

The Overseas Council at Lisbon and the Crown reacted favourably to this petition and instructed the Viceroy of Portuguese Asia to see that the Christian Chinese of Macao were given redress accordingly. I am not sure how far this was done; but it is significant to note that exactly a century later almost identical complaints were made by the Christian Chinese of Macao concerning the social, economic, and legal discrimination which was practised against

<sup>28)</sup> Similar allegations were made by Christian converts at Goa and at Manila. Cf. C. R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese colonial Empire, 1415-1825* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 125-26; J. S. Cummins, *Travels of Fr. Navarrete*, 175-76.



them by the *Reinões* or European-born Portuguese.<sup>29)</sup>

With the Japan trade definitely and with the Manila trade temporarily closed to them, the enterprising citizens of Macao strove to develop their alternative markets in Timor, Macassar, Indochina and Siam. They were even able to send some silks to Japan on a few occasions through the good offices of Iquan (Cheng Chi-lung) the Sino-Japanese corsair who alternated between being pirate and coastguard and between Ming and Manchu. Their exclusion from the Japan trade coincided with the establishment of a balance in the relative values of gold and silver in the Far East, and loss of the relative advantage of gold over silver in Japan.<sup>30)</sup> They were able to trade with Manila indirectly through Macassar; and they could, of course, buy Japanese silver and other goods from the Chinese traders who were still allowed, like the Dutch, to trade under strict control at Nagasaki. The vicissitudes of the struggle between Ming and Manchu in China, naturally made the Chinese market more difficult than ever, and led at times to a great influx of refugees into Macao. The Senate, writing to King John IV in November 1644, urged him to make peace at any price with the Dutch, since otherwise Macao with its population swollen to over 40,000 souls would either collapse completely or fall to the Dutch within a couple of years.<sup>31)</sup> In the upshot, both these disasters were avoided, but only by narrow margins. In the long run, it proved to be the trade with Timor for sandalwood which was the salvation of Macao, since there was a steady demand for this commodity in China, and good prices could be obtained. At this period, the Portuguese had no settlement of Timor itself, and they had been driven from their 16th-century fort at Solor by the Dutch. Their base for the sandalwood trade was at Larantuka, on the eastern tip of Flores, and the ships from Macao usually called at Macassar on the voyage. We have no reliable sets of figures to illustrate the vicissitudes of this trade, but from occasional references, such as António Bocarro's report of 1635, and a lengthy notice of a voyage from Goa to Macao via Larantuka and Macassar by the Jesuit André Ferrão in 1658, we can see that the profits were often considerable. Ferrão states that an elderly Dominican missionary boasted that he had made a profit of over 40,000 *pardaos* in this way. "Which is not

29) Caetano Soares, *Macao e a Assistencia* (1950), pp. 230-31; C.R. Boxer, *Portuguese Society in the Tropics. The municipal councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia and Luanda* (Wisconsin UP, 1965), pp. 68-69.

30) A. Kobata, article cited in note (15) above. Cf. also Seiichi Iwao, "Ouro e Prata Japonesa na Historia Mundial" (*Colóquio Brasil-Japão*, São Paulo, 1967, pp. 85-94).

31) Dispatch d. Macao, 7 November 1644, signed by the *Alferes* (Ensign) and secretary of the *Camara*, Rafael Arias de Morales, and by the *Vereador* (Alderman), Lourenço Mendes Cordeiro, in the writer's collection. Reproduced in transcript and facsimile in C.R. Boxer, *Macao 300 years ago* (1942), p. 153.



astonishing," commented the Jesuit, "since the sandalwood trade is so profitable that with a little capital one can easily acquire a great deal more," especially as alluvial gold could also be obtained in Timor.<sup>32)</sup>

The Portuguese of Macao were also able to trade with Vietnam, which was then as now divided into two rival states, with the Trinh family controlling Tongking and the North, and the Nguyen family controlling Annam (Quinam) in the South, while encroaching on an enfeebled Cambodia. A wearisome indecisive struggle went on between North and South Vietnam from 1620 to 1672, and this naturally had its repercussions on Vietnamese overseas trade. Neither side liked the foreign traders, whether Portuguese, Chinese, Dutch or English, trading with its opponents; but both the Trinh and the Nguyen were anxious to get foreign guns and they derived some benefit from taxing the foreigners. The Portuguese had visited Indochinese ports in the 16th-century, but the upsurge of Macao's trade with this region dates from the establishment of Jesuit missions there in 1615-27, and after the loss of the Japan trade in 1640.

Professor S. Iwao has given us an admirable book on Japanese trade with this region, in which there are many references to the cooperation (and, at times, competition) between the Japanese Christian communities there and the Portuguese traders and missionaries from Macao.<sup>33)</sup> As you may recall, the mission-field of Indochina formed part of the Jesuit province of Japan from 1611 onwards, and it retained this title down to the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773. The port most frequented by the Macao traders was Faifo near the modern Tourane, south of the southern capital of Hue. There was a flourishing community of Japanese Christian traders there who maintained contact with Macao, Manila, and Batavia; and who could consequently act as neutral middlemen in the seaborne trade of those three rival entrepôts. The Lilly Library at Indiana University contains some original documents with the signatures in *rōmaji* and in Japanese characters of Japanese Christians domiciled at Faifo. They gave evidence in 1651 concerning the authenticity of some relics of Fr. Pedro de Zúñiga, O. E. S. A., martyred at Nagasaki on the 19th August 1622.<sup>34)</sup> Professor Iwao has also dealt with the Japanese communities

32) Bocarro's account of Macao in 1635 *apud* C.R. Boxer, *Macao 300 years ago* (1942), pp. 45-46; C. R. Boxer, *Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo: A Portuguese merchant-adventurer in South East Asia, 1624-1667* (The Hague, 1967), *passim*; A.G. Ferreira da Cruz, *Notícias do Oriente Português em 1658 segundo uma relação inédita* (Porto, 1958) p. 37; António Pinto da França, *Portuguese Influence in Indonesia* (Djakarta 1970).

33) S. Iwao, *Nanyō Nihon-machi no kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1944 and 1967).

34) "Recaudos autenticos tocantes a la certessa de la Reliquia que vino del Reyno de Cochinchina a esta ciudad de Manila, Año de 1651" in C.R. Boxer, *Catalogue of Philippine Manuscripts in the Lilly Library* (Indiana University, Asian Studies Research Institute, 1968), pp. 45-46.



in Tongking, Cambodia and Siam, so I will only cite here a tribute to them by Quarles Browne, an English merchant writing in 1664 who had had personal experience of them since 1651. "The Japanese are the noblest merchants in those parts, free from baffling, constant in their bargains and punctual in their times for payments; a firm friend, but on the contrary [to the Chinese] they are irreconcilably just in their weights and measures."<sup>35)</sup>

I mentioned previously that one of the things which both the Trinh and the Nguyen wanted for their interminable civil wars was European cannon. This brings me to a brief consideration of two famous Portuguese families of gun-founders, the Bocarro in Goa and Macao, and the Da Cruz in Vietnam and Cambodia. The Bocarros operated a gun-foundry at Macao, which cast both bronze and iron (*ferro coado*) cannon, made by Chinese workmen under their supervision from c. 1627 to c. 1680. These guns were in great demand over the East, as attested by the Dutch traveller Johan Nieuhof, who visited China in 1655-57, and by many other contemporary sources. Less is known about the Da Cruz family who worked in Indochina and were of Macaonese origin; but it is clear that it was the superiority of the Nguyen in artillery, which enabled them to resist the vastly numerically superior forces of the Trinh for so long. Though fundamentally hostile to the propagation of the Christian faith in South Vietnam, the Nguyen more or less connived at the presence of Roman Catholic missionaries, largely with the object of obtaining guns and gunners from Macao. When the latter were slow in coming, the Nguyen brought pressure on the missionaries and threatened to expel them, relaxing the persecution when the coveted cannon arrived. The Bocarros' foundries at Macao and Goa also cast church bells for the Portuguese settlements in Asia and some of these are still surviving in the Indonesian archipelago.<sup>36)</sup>

Many, perhaps most, of these famous Macao cannon were cast from Japanese copper. When the Portuguese first arrived in India they found that there was a great demand for copper there, mainly for purposes of coinage in

35) Quarles Browne's "Relation of the situation and trade of Cambodia, Siam, Tongking, China and the Empire of Japan" in 1661/64, *apud* D.K. Bassett, "The Trade of the English East India Company in Cambodia, 1651-1656" (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April 1962), pp. 55-61. I have modernised the spelling and syntax for clarity's sake.

36) C.R. Boxer, "Asian Potentates and European artillery in the 16th-18th centuries," in *Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXXVIII, Part 2 (Singapore, 1965), pp. 156-172, and the sources there quoted, to which should be added (for the Bocarros), Manuel Teixeira, *Os Bocarros* (28-page reprint from the *Actas do Congresso Internacional de História dos descobrimentos*, Vol. V, Lisboa, 1961), and *Ibidem*, *Macao e a Sua Diocese, IX, O Culto da Maria em Macau*, (Macau, 1969), pp. 235-420; and for the Da Cruz in Indochina, Cadière's articles in the *Bulletin des Amis du Vieux Hué*, No. 4 (1919), pp. 528-32, and *op cit.*, No. 4 (1924), pp. 307-332. Also J.S. Cummins (ed. & trans.), *Travels of Friar Domingo Navarrete, o.p., 1618-1686* (Hakluyt Society ed.), p. 381.



Gujarat and the Delhi sultanate. European copper, chiefly Hungarian and Swedish, was one of the few Western goods which they could import at a profit into India, and which they themselves used in striking *bazarucos* and other coins of small denominations at Goa. China was also a producer of copper; but most of it was used in the Ming empire or exported to S.E. Asia in the form of copper "cash" (*caixas*). Chinese production was insufficient to satisfy the demand, and from about 1550 onwards Japan became a major producer and exporter, owing to the improvement in mining techniques and to the exploitation of new mines. The demand for copper increased not only on account of currency needs, but because of the gun-foundries at Goa, Macao, and in Indian Kingdoms which needed copper for casting bronze cannon. Between 1545 and 1611 the price of copper at Goa more than tripled; but the Portuguese found it cheaper to obtain copper from Japan (via Macao) than to export it from Lisbon, where it had become so rare that no copper coinage was struck in Portugal between 1580 and 1645. It even became profitable for the Portuguese (and after them, the Dutch) to ship Japanese copper to Europe, where it could compete with not only Hungarian and Swedish, but with Spanish-American copper. The situation in the early part of the 17th century was thus a complete reversal of what it had been a hundred years earlier. Even after the end of the Nagasaki-Macao trade, the Portuguese continued to obtain Japanese copper for their gun-foundries from the Chinese, who re-exported it in the same way as did the Dutch.<sup>37)</sup>

During the period of the union of the two Iberian Crowns, there was an active trade between Macao and Manila in cannon, firearms, and other war-material. This was mostly a case of the Spaniards at Manila sending to Macao for "great guns"; but occasionally it went the other way, as when the senate of Macao bought some cannon at Manila in 1622. We noted previously (p. 71) that the Macao-Manila trade continued to flourish, even when it was legally banned in the whole or in part (excepting war materials and ships' stores) during the years 1580-1640. Direct trade ceased in 1642, when news of the Portuguese revolt reached the Far East, but it continued to operate via

37) V. Magalhães-Godinho, *L'Economie de l'Empire Portugais aux XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris, 1969), pp. 403-418; John Hall, "Notes on the early Ch'ing copper trade with Japan," in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 1949, pp. 446-461; K. Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade, 1620-1740* (Copenhagen & The Hague, 1958), pp. 167-176; C.R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon* (1959), pp. 8, 118-20, 132, 139-40, 246-73, 294, 300, 304-5; *Ibidem*, *Dois Documentos inéditos acerca do comercio entre Macao e o Japão durante os anos de 1630-1635* (Coimbra, 1955). There are also numerous unpublished references to the export of copper and *ferro coado* (cast iron) cannon from Macao to Goa, and to Chinese gun founders being brought to Goa, in the series of "Livros dos Monções" both at Goa (Historical Archives) and at Lisbon (Torre do Tombo) for the period 1580-1670, and especially the years 1621-1650.



Macassar, as has likewise been mentioned previously. The trade was actually more advantageous to Macao, which secured the coveted Spanish-American silver in this way, than it was to Manila, which could get most of what it needed from Canton, Amoy, or Ch'uan-chou. This fact explains why the viceroy of Goa in 1646 authorised the Captain-General of Macao to reopen the trade with Manila "in a secret way," if the Spaniards would agree to this.<sup>38)</sup> Official trade was resumed after the Treaty of Lisbon in 1668, by which Spain reluctantly recognised Portuguese independence; but the Macao-Manila trade never again reached the volume and importance which it had intermittently achieved in the "eighty years' captivity" of 1580-1640.

Macao's most serious crisis came with the forcible evacuation of the Chinese S.E. coastal regions. The Manchu government at Peking, feeling helpless at sea against the Ming partisan, Cheng Ch'eng-kung (*alias* Koxinga), after he had conquered Formosa from the Dutch in February 1662, determined on an unprecedentedly drastic measure to prevent his receiving aid and comfort from the inhabitants of the coastal provinces. At the suggestion of Huang Wu, one of Koxinga's former generals who had deserted to the Manchus, the Peking government promulgated an edict in May 1662, ordering the coastal inhabitants of Shantung, Kiangnan, Chekiang, Fukien and Kwangtung, to remove inland to a distance of between 20 and 50 *li* from the shore. The object of this mass migration was to prevent Koxinga's raiding parties from obtaining food supplies and military intelligence. As might easily have been foreseen, the social and economic results were far more damaging to the people of the mainland littoral, where numerous towns and villages were evacuated, than to the Ming partisans in Amoy and Formosa who followed Koxinga's son and successor after his father's death in June 1662.<sup>39)</sup>

The terms of the decree had originally granted Macao partial exemption on the grounds that the inhabitants were mostly foreigners who had been settled there for several generations. But the simultaneous prohibition of engaging in any form of overseas trade (or even fishing) was likewise extended to include the citizens, whether native or foreign born. Most of the non-Christian Chinese left the place forthwith. This edict, if enforced to the letter, meant the end of the City of the Name of God in China, as the Portuguese could not pay for the provisions and daily necessities which they were allowed to receive from the Chinese of Heung-shan at the Barrier Gate (*Porta do Cerco*)

38) Successive *Regimentos* given to the governors in (or intended for) Macao in the years 1646-1650 (Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, "Livros das Monções, Liuro 36, Nr. 38 *et seq.*")

39) Hsieh Kuo Ching's article quoted in note (23) above; C.R. Boxer, *Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo* (1967), pp. 45-46, 83-86, and the sources there quoted, of which the most important is the Macao diary of Luís da Gama S.J., 1665-1671.



without the resources which they derived from their seaborne trade with Goa, Indochina and Indonesia. By repeatedly bribing the Kwangtung authorities, and by sending some armed ships to help them repress a rebel force in the Pearl River delta which had refused to submit to the edict, the Senate of Macao contrived to evade strict compliance. But a Chinese coastguard flotilla closely blockaded the port for nearly three and a half years. Ships from Goa and Macassar which tried to run the blockade were mostly intercepted. Only a few ships could be loaded or unloaded by night in the shelter of the neighbouring (and now uninhabited) islands, whence their cargoes were smuggled piecemeal into (or out of) the city. The blockade was officially relaxed in August 1667, although the crisis was not fully surmounted until the Jesuits were received back into favour when the young K'ang-hsi Emperor assumed personal control of state affairs in 1669. He then allowed a Portuguese envoy from Goa, who had been held up at Canton since 1667, to proceed to Peking for an audience in 1670. Macao, like Talleyrand during the French Revolution, had survived.<sup>40</sup>

(c) **Macao Preserved and the "Dream of Japan," 1671-1700.**

The last three decades of the 17th-century, although by no means free of problems for Macao and its inhabitants, were distinctly easier than the preceding fifty years for three main reasons.

Firstly, the Jesuits at Peking, the *Padres da Corte*, ("The Fathers of the Court") as the Portuguese called them, were in high favour with the Kang-hsi emperor during this period, which was ushered in by an imperial edict of toleration for Christianity, promulgated in 1669 and publicised by the Jesuits in the *Innocentia Victrix*, printed in Latin and Chinese at Canton in 1671.<sup>41</sup>

Secondly, the long drawn-out Dutch war being finally over, the Macao merchants were able not only to trade more freely with Timor, but regularly to visit Batavia and Japara as well.

Thirdly, the Portuguese were able officially to re-activate their trade with Manila after peace had been made with Spain in 1668, and to consolidate their existing trade with Vietnam and Siam. Under these circumstances, both

40) For Manuel de Saldanha's embassy to Peking, Cf. C.R. Boxer & H.M. Braga (eds.) *Breve Relação da jornada que fez à Corte de Pekim o Senhor Manuel de Saldanha 1667-1670* (Macao, 1942); articles by Lo-Shu Fu and L. Petech in *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 43 (1955), pp. 77-87, and *op. cit.*, Vol. 44 (1956), pp. 227-41; J.S. Cummins, *Travels of Domingo Navarrete*, O.P. (ed. 1962), pp. 234-36, 245, 252, 254, 256, 264, 272, 277.

41) For the *Innocentia Victorix* see *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, December 1947, pp. 202-203; Lilly Library, Indiana University, *Exotic Printing and the Expansion of Europe, 1492-1840: An Exhibit* (Indiana University Press, 1972), item nr. 86.



missionaries and merchants at Macao were hopeful of being re-admitted to the "closed country" of Tokugawa Japan, and they actually made a short-lived attempt to open up a new field for religious evangelism and commercial enterprise at Bandjermassin in Borneo.

The embassy of Manuel de Saldanha to Canton and Peking in 1667-1669, although ultimately received by the young Kang-hsi emperor, as we have just seen, did not achieve any results commensurate with the delays and expenses involved. More successful was a more modest embassy sent by Macao (but purporting to come from the King of Portugal) headed by the Macaonese, Bento Pereira de Faria. He had accompanied Manuel de Saldanha's embassy as secretary and substituted the envoy when the latter died on the return journey.<sup>42)</sup> He brought an East African lion and a lioness as a tribute-present. The lion died at sea, but the lioness gave birth to two cubs and made a great sensation at the Court, where it was as warmly welcomed as the "auspicious giraffes" had been in the days of the eunuch-admiral Cheng Ho.<sup>43)</sup>

Bento Pereira de Faria was given an imperial audience at the T'ai-ho palace on the 20 September 1678, and received rich presents for himself and his king. The status of Macao was much improved by this embassy, and it may have contributed to the imperial order for the suicide of the Prince Shang Chih-hsin in 1680, who had been accused, among other things, of extorting much treasure from Macao.

The death of Shang Chih-hsin is a somewhat mysterious affair, since we have rather different versions of it in the Chinese records and in the correspondence of the missionaries who were in Canton at the time. Yet a third version is supplied by the Macao archives, as summarised in the Franciscan friar Joseph de Jesus Maria's *Asia Sinica e Japonica*, compiled in 1745, although he admits that the Senate's records which he consulted were in bad condition and unreadable in many places. He claims that Prince Shang Chih-hsin, whom he erroneously terms the *regulo* ("ruler" or governor-general) of Canton, had extorted vast sums of money from Macao and embargoed all

42) Saldanha's widow claimed that he had been poisoned by his own Macaonese entourage on the return journey, but this absurd allegation was disproved by an official enquiry. The ambassador was already very ill (apparently from dysentery) when he left Canton after his long detention there.

43) For Bento de Faria's successful embassy and the sensation caused at Peking by the lioness and her cubs, see the previously quoted articles by Lo-shu Fu and L. Petech in *T'oung Pao*, 1955-56. Fr. Joseph de Jesus Maria, O.F.M., *Asia Sinica e Japonica*, Vol. II (1950) pp. 81-86, 95-98. Bento de Faria's original letter-book of his service with the Saldanha embassy is still preserved in the Historical Archive at Goa. For the "auspicious giraffes" and Cheng-Ho's voyages see J.J.L. Duyvendak, *China's Discovery of Africa* (London, 1949), and J.V.G. Mills (ed. and trans.) *Ma Huan, Ying-Yai Sheng-Lan, The Overall Survey of the Ocean's shores* 1433 (Cambridge UP, 1970).



the silver of the churches in order to satisfy the balance of his demands. The emperor, on being informed of this, ordered him to return everything which he had taken, as was accordingly done before he was either executed or committed suicide. The missionaries in Canton state that Prince Shang-Chih-hsin was killed with his three brothers and some 225 of his relatives and adherents by the Manchu garrison on an order from the Dragon Throne.<sup>44)</sup>

Whatever the truth of this *ténébreuse affaire*, the Portuguese of Macao now enjoyed one of their precarious periods of prosperity. From 1678 until the conquest of Formosa in 1683, the Coast of China was still under martial law and overseas navigation was forbidden, but Macao was explicitly exempted from this blockade. It is true that the Macaonese had to compete with competition from the Dutch, who sent some ships every year to drive a smuggling trade at Lampacao and other off-shore islands, just as the Portuguese had done in the decades before they established themselves at Macao. In 1683 the prohibition on Chinese trade and navigation was lifted and four maritime customhouses were set up to handle foreign trade, one being established at Macao itself shortly afterwards. This spelt the end of Macao's short period of virtual official monopoly; and with the establishment of the English and French traders at Canton by 1700, another chapter in the city's eventful history was closed.<sup>45)</sup>

Both the missionaries and the merchants of Macao had not given up hope of re-entering Japan, and in 1685 it seemed that there was a good chance of their being able to do so. A Japanese fishing-vessel which was caught in a typhoon drifted down to the islands near Macao, whence the famished survivors were brought to the city. Only one old woman was left alive out of Macao's once flourishing community of Japanese Christian exiles, and she had forgotten most of her native language. The crew were taken under the protection of the senate and the Jesuits, being sent back to Japan in a small ship chartered

44) Lo-Shu Fu in *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 43, p. 88; A. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, 1644-1912* (Washington D.C., 1944), pp. 634-35. Further, if at times somewhat conflicting, details will be found in contemporary Iberian sources, such as Fr. Joseph de Jesus Maria, O.F.M., *Azia Sinica e Japonica* (ed. C.R. Boxer, 2 vols., Macao, 1941-50), Vol. II, pp. 98-99; Maggs Bros, *Catalogue* Nr. 455 (1924), p. 23, "Relacion de la muerte del Regulo de Canton," original unsigned narrative of 1680, probably by Francisco Xavier Filippucci S.J.; A. van der Wyngaert, O.F.M. (ed.), *Sinica Franciscana*, Vol. III (1936), pp. 231-232.

45) Joseph de Jesus Maria, O.F.M., *Azia Sinica e Japonica*, Vol. II (1950), pp. 100-106; J.C.M. Warnsinck (ed.) *Reisen van Nicolaus Graaff, 1639-1687* (The Hague, 1930), pp. 172-182; J. Vixseboxse, *Een Hollandsch Gezantschap naar China in de 17e eeuw, 1685-1687* (Leiden, 1946), pp. 13-23. Some of the Italian Jesuits at Macao were accused by their ultra-patriotic Portuguese colleagues of being far too friendly with the Dutch smugglers when they visited Macao, as they sometimes did ("Sobre os meyoos que se apontão para a conservação de Macao," anonymous memorial of 1689, in Historical Archives, Goa, "Livros des Monções do Reino," Vol. 54, fls. 171 ff.)



for the purpose, with a letter addressed to the *bugyō* and *daikwan* of Nagasaki, explaining what had happened. The ship was allowed to return unmolested after the fishermen had been handed over, but with the express injunction that under no pretext whatsoever should any Portuguese vessel venture to come to Japan again.<sup>46)</sup>

This rebuff was naturally a bitter disappointment to the missionaries and merchants of Macao, who had regarded the fortuitous arrival of the Japanese castaways as a literally Heaven-sent opportunity for breaching the "closed country" (*sakoku*). But even so, the dream of re-entering Japan persisted among the Jesuits, or some of them, down to the dissolution of the Society in 1773. Nor is this surprising. The Japan mission had been the apple of the Society's eye even since the days of its founder, St. Francis Xavier, with whom it was so closely associated. The cream of the Company of Jesus in the mission-field had always been anxious to serve in Japan, where both the challenge and the results were so exhilarating and outstanding. This fact was universally acknowledged, even by friars who criticised the Jesuits for trying to keep them out of the mission, such as the Portuguese Franciscan, Jeronimo de Jesus, who wrote from Japan to a colleague at Manila in 1595: "The Fathers of the Company have here the flower of their Order, and their most learned and saintly men, because they regard this mission as their most beloved and prized possession."<sup>47)</sup>

They did indeed, and this goes far to explain why so many of them were so reluctant to abandon all hope of ever re-entering their promised land, clutching at every real or alleged prospect which presented itself. Just before the final closure of the country in 1639-40, a newly arrived Spanish Jesuit at Macao caused a great sensation by claiming that he had died and been resurrected from the dead through the intercession of St. Francis Xavier, "for the express purpose of converting the king of Japan and dying as a martyr." After reaching Macao in August 1638, he demanded that he should be provided with a ship to take him to Nagasaki; failing which he would go there himself on a cloak which had formerly belonged to the Jesuit Marcello Mastrelli (recently martyred at Nagasaki on the 17 October 1637) and which would carry him over the waves like a magic carpet. The Senators were naturally

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46) This episode is fully documented in the *Arquivos de Macau*, 1st Serie, Vol. I (Macao 1930), pp. 177-234. C.J. also the documents calendared in Maggs Bros. *Catalogue* 455 (1924), pp. 40-47, letters of François Noel S.J., to the Duchess of Aveiro written from Macao in 1685-86; and one from "Chinam" on the 29 September 1687, in the author's collection.

47) Letter of Fr. Jerónimo de Jesús, O.F.M., from Japan to Fr. Luís de Maldonado, O.F.M. at Manila, in Lorenzo Pérez, O.F.M. *Fr. Jerónimo de Jesús O.F.M., Restaurador de las misiones del Japón, sus cartas y relaciones, 1595-1604* (Firenze, 1929), pp. 48-52.



aghast at such extravagant folly, but he told them that he would carry out his intention "even if they pulled his intestines out by his mouth" ("*Aunque me saquem las tripas por la boca tengo de hir a Jappam*"). Although some of his colleagues regarded him as demented, others took him very seriously, including the elderly Jesuit visitor, Manuel Dias senior, "a man over eighty years old and formerly of exemplary procedure and prudence." He also obtained a wide following among the ignorant populace, who regarded him as a saint, and his hysterical sermons provoked riots on occasion. The Senate finally succeeded in shipping him off to Goa in February 1639, but the vessel carrying him was diverted to Bengal, and after a series of adventures and misadventures in Malacca, Cambodia and Laos, he was finally expelled from the Society after he had formally recanted his miraculous claims (31 March 1642). Even this was not the end of his remarkable story; for he subsequently withdrew his recantation, refused to recognise his expulsion from the Company (by this time a triple one), and turned up as a trader in Macassar and Bengal, still wearing Jesuit dress, before being finally arrested by the Goa Inquisition's emissaries in 1647.<sup>48)</sup>

Padre Cypriano may be an extreme case, but there was at least one parallel with it on the other side of the world. This was the celebrated "La China Poblana," a young girl from Bengal who had been brought (via Manila) to Mexico as a slave in 1619, and who died in the (local) odour of sanctity at Puebla de los Angeles in 1688. She was famous for her celestial visions and prophecies, many of which were published shortly after her death by one of her confessors, Padre Alonso Ramos S.J. Prominent among these flights of fancy were visits which she had made to China and Japan, where she claimed to have seen a European missionary preaching Christianity to interested and enthusiastic crowds. She prophesied the imminent conversion of Japan, "through an alliance with the greatest monarch of the world, the king of the Spains." Not surprisingly, this book was banned by the Mexican Inquisition, "on account of it containing futile and improbable revelations, visions and apparations," which helps to explain its excessive rarity today. What is surprising is that (as with Padre Cypriano) this illiterate woman gained a wide and enthusiastic following not only among the credulous lower classes, but among some of the best educated people in Mexico, including the celebrated Archbishop Don Juan Palafox, the Viceroy Conde de Galve, the Bishop of

48) "Historia do Padre Cypriano na China" (November 1647), in Biblioteca de Ajuda, Lisboa, Codice 49-V-12 à fls. 539 *et seq.* Mateos Francisco Cypriano was a native of Gandia, Valencia. Cf. J.S. Cummins, *Travels of Domingo Navarrete O.P.* (ed. 1962), p. 277; "Información" of 1644 calendared in Carlos Quirino & Abraham Laygs, *Regêsto Guiôn Catálogo de los documentos existentes en Mexico sobre Filipinas* (Manila, 1965), p. 135.



Puebla and prominent theologians in this city.<sup>49)</sup>

On a more serious level, the hope of re-entering Japan inspired many of the Jesuit missionaries who went to China, which they regarded merely as a stepping-stone to the neighbouring island-empire. Several of them were assisted, financially and otherwise, by a devout Portuguese lady, the Duchess of Aveiro, Arcos, and Maqueda (1630-1715). Married to the Spanish Duke of Arcos, from whom she judicially separated in 1678, she was known as the "mother of the missions," from the generous way in which she helped missionaries round the world, including Kino in California and Verbiest in Peking.<sup>50)</sup> Being an ardent devotee of those martyred at Nagasaki in 1597, she was particularly interested in helping missionaries who were anxious to get into Japan, including the Belgian Jesuit mathematician, Fr. Anthony Thomas, who likewise secured the support of the Viceroy of Portuguese India in 1681-86, the Count of Alvor. Another protégé was the Aragonese Jesuit, Raimundo Arxo, who determined to land in Japan disguised as a deaf and dumb beggar, which would help to conceal his total ignorance of the language.<sup>51)</sup>

In the upshot, none of these schemes matured; but it is clear from the Duchess's vast correspondence that they were seriously meant and that they served as an inspiration to the missionaries involved for many years. Incidentally, they also go to show that the fear of the *Bakufu* that the Portuguese and the missionaries were constantly scheming to re-enter Japan was by no

49) Alonso Ramos S.J., *Primera [y Segunda Parte] de los prodigios de la Omnipotencia y milagros de la gracia en la vida de la venerable sierva de Dios Catharina de San Juan, natural del Gran Mogor, difunta en esta imperial ciudad de la Puebla de los Angeles* (2 vols., Puebla and Mexico, 1689-1690). I have used the set in the Lilly Library, Indiana University, which is one of the very few surviving copies; Joseph de El Castillo Graxeda, *Compendio de la vida y virtudes de la Venerable Cathalina de San Juan* (Puebla de los Angeles, 1692) another exceedingly rare work in the Lilly Library, Indiana University. Kazuo Enoki, "Mekishiko ryūgū no Ajia Fujin China Poblana no koto," in *Historical Essays in honour of Dr. Noboru Orui's 77th birthday*, Tokyo, 1962 (in Japanese).

50) Maggs Bros., *Catalogue 455, Biblioteca Asiatica, Part II, The Catholic Missions in India, China, Japan, Siam and the Far East, in a series of Autograph letters of the 17th century [addressed to the Duchess of Aveiro]*, London, 1924. Cf. also E. Burrus S.J., *Kino escribe a la Duquesa. Correspondencia del P. Eusebio Francisco Kino con la Duquesa de Aveiro y otros documentos* (Madrid, 1964) *Ibidem*, *Kino writes to the Duchess; Letters of Eusebio Kino S.J., to the Duchess of Aveiro* (Rome, 1965), two immensely learned works, which must, nevertheless, be used with caution, owing to the author's 200% Jesuit standpoint and his cavalier dismissal of all criticism of the Society, however justified (*Kino writes to the Dutchess*, p. 45 note, provides a case in point, where J.S. Cummins is accused of having an "anti-Jesuit animus," solely because he argues here and elsewhere that there may be something to be said for the friars). On the superiority complex of some Jesuits cf. C.R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (California UP, 1952), *Passim*, which it would be essay to reinforce with numerous examples from the 16th century to the present day, literally from China to Peru. A good starting point would be Julio Cesare Cordara S.J., *De suis ac suorum rebus* (in *Mill. distona Italiana*, Tom. liii, Torino 1933), 427-37.

51) Raimundo Arxo S.J., to the Duchess of Aveiro, Lisboa, 28 March 1684 (author's collection).



means so absurd or groundless as it has often been represented. These dreams persisted until the dissolution of the Society, and they were shared at one time or another by such illustrious missionaries as François Noël (1651-1729), Antoine Gaubil S.J. (1689-1759), and Bishop Gottfried Xavier Laimbeckhoven (1707-1787).<sup>52)</sup>

In default of breaking the barrier of *sakoku*, the merchants and missionaries of Macao had to look around for other potential markets and mission-fields. One of the places that seemed to offer a good prospect at this period was Bandjermassin in southern Borneo. The Macaonese drove a trade there for pepper for some time, as others, including the Chinese and the Dutch, had done before them. Their trading-agency (*feitoria*, factory) was wiped out in 1692 by the local raja, allegedly acting in concert with "a ship belonging to the Castilians of Manila which went to that port." The Macao merchants lost "forty-seven persons between white and coloured," besides the goods which they had disembarked ashore.<sup>53)</sup> The Macaonese were more fortunate in their dealings with the King of Siam, who made them a substantial loan at the most critical period of the Manchu blockade of 1662-1667, and which they repaid in small annual instalments over the next sixty years. They also escaped being involved in the Ayuthia palace-revolution of 1688, which resulted in the death of Constantine Phaulkon and the expulsion of the French from Siam, partly because their importance at Ayuthia was much less than that of either the French or the Dutch.

The final decade of the 17th century witnessed a further intensification of the struggle between the upholders of the Portuguese *Padroado*, or Crown patronage of the Roman Catholic Church in Asia, and the French, Spanish and Italian missionaries who were not prepared to acknowledge its validity outside of territory which was directly controlled by the Portuguese. Macao was in a somewhat ambiguous situation in this respect, since the Chinese could—and did—exercise jurisdiction there when they chose. However, the disputes about the *Padroado* are another and much more complicated story,

52) Renée Simon, *Le Père Antoine Gaubil S.J., Correspondance de Pékin, 1722-1759* (Geneva, 1970), pp. 705-16; Joseph Krahl, S.J., *China Mission in Crisis: Bishop Laimbeckhoven and his times, 1738-1787* (Rome, 1964), p. 63.

53) Report of Pedro Cabral da Costa, *procurador* of Macao at Goa, d. 22 January 1693 (Historical Archives, Goa, "Livros das Monções," Vol. 59, 1694-1699, ffs. 116-121). The writer had been in Portuguese Asia since 1669. Many documents on the Macao trade with Bandjermassin at this period are reproduced in the *Arquivos de Macau*, to which I do not have access at the time of writing. Cf. also Francesco Gemelli Careri, *A Voyage round the World, 1693-1698* (ed. London, 1744), pp. 260-267, and Robert Nicholl, "The Mission of Father Antonio Ventimiglia to Borneo," in *The Brunei Museum Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 183-205 (Brunei, 1972), for Macao and the Bandjermassin imbroglio of 1689-93.



which I will not touch on here. I will conclude by reiterating that the most impressive factor about the history of Macao in the period covered, was the remarkable resilience of its inhabitants and the way in which they managed to survive successive crises and disasters, such as the loss of the Japan trade in 1639-40, and the Manchu blockade of 1662-67. A principal reason for their resilience was, of course, their unbreakable religious faith. This conviction is well reflected in a letter of encouragement and exhortation written from Peking by the Jesuit Padre Gabriel de Magalhães, to the Captain-General and Senate of Macao in 1656, during some of the Colony's most difficult days:

"Can God forget the piety of such a city, which maintains so many Religious of all sorts and both 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 hundredfold for the sufferings of His saints, and an hundredfold will He pay."<sup>54</sup>

Nor was this mere rhetoric. Missionaries destined for Japan, China, Indochina and Indonesia, usually came first to Macao and stayed there until their entry into one of those countries could be arranged. During times of persecution, they could take refuge in Macao for shorter or longer periods. Intended primarily as a staging-post, an entrepôt and a headquarters for the Portuguese *Padroado* missionaries in the Far East, restrictions on the admission of personnel from other sources, such as the Castilian *Patronato* and the Sacred College of the Propaganda, were gradually relaxed in the late 17th and for most of the 18th centuries. Prior to Pombal's suppression of the Society of Jesus in the Portuguese Empire (1759-60), Macao was of exceptional importance as the base for the Jesuit Province of Japan and the Vice-Province of China. Jesuits of all nationalities met there, and the Residence of São Joseph became a Seminary where Chinese were trained for the priesthood.

If God was well served at Macao, Mammon was not neglected. The City was an entrepôt for the trade in Chinese silks, gold, and porcelain; in Japanese silver, copper, and lacquer-ware; in Indochinese eagle-wood and piece-goods; in Siamese hides and sappan-wood, to mention only a few of the many Oriental commodities which could be obtained there at different times. The religious and commercial aspects were inevitably and inextricably connected, for the

<sup>54</sup> J. Nieuhof, *A Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces to the Grand Tartar Cham, Emperor of China* (London, 1669), II, 18. This letter was not published under its author's name, but internal evidence shows conclusively that Magalhães wrote it. This assumption is further strengthened by A. Vâth, *Johann Adam Schall von Bell S.J.* (Köln, 1933), p. 226, n (42).



reason given by Padre António Vieira S.J., in his *História do Futuro*: "If there were not merchants who go to seek for earthly treasures in the East and West Indies, who would transport thither the preachers who take the heavenly treasures? The preachers take the Gospel and the merchants take the preachers." True enough; and of no place was this more true than of the City of the Name of God of Macao in China.





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Macy, Jr. Foundation, New York, 1974) p. 22-37.

