

## VI. THE FIRST CAPTAIN-GENERAL

The tumult and the shouting having died, the Captains also took their departure. Lopo Sarmento de Carvalho had paid 68,000 silver *xerafines* for the purchase of three Japan Voyages at Goa in February 1620; but neither these "silver bullets" nor his heroic leadership on the memorable Midsummer Day prevented his numerous enemies from deposing him from the Captaincy soon after the battle. With the connivance of the new Viceroy of India, Dom Francisco de Gama, Conde da Vidigueira, the Senate of Macao suspended the contract after only one voyage had been made, and deprived him simultaneously of all his prerogatives as Captain-Major. The excuse advanced for this arbitrary decision was that the overriding need for the fortification of Macao necessitated the profits from the next Japan Voyage being devoted to this purpose. Lopo Sarmento protested bitterly but vainly against this injustice, proceeding to Goa at the end of 1622, to plead his claim for restitution in person.

In this he was unsuccessful. The Senate had forestalled him with a request that the Viceroy should appoint a Captain and garrison for the City, independent of the Captain-Major of Japan. They pointed out that this latter was usually away just at the time of year when the Dutch might reasonably be expected to attack or blockade the City. The Viceroy evidently felt the force of this argument and resolved to appoint a Governor and Captain-General with full powers, limiting those of the Captain-Major of the Japan Voyage to this last sphere of action alone. In view of the chronic penuriousness of the Viceregal Treasury, the Count of Vidigueira forced the Macaonese representatives at Goa to advance the pay of the new Captain-General besides that of the garrison of one hundred men detached for service in Macao. He instructed the Senators that they could reimburse

themselves later from the expected profits of the Japan Voyage, which he had awarded to them in breach of the 1620 contract with Lopo Sarmento.

Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, the first Captain-General and Governor of Macao, was the son of Dom Nuno Mascarenhas, and a fidalgo of some note. Two of his brothers had been killed in the naval actions with the Dutch off Malacca in 1606, but he himself did not come out to India until 1622. He then made the voyage as Captain of the carrack *São Joseph*, in the Viceroy's fleet which was disastrously defeated by a combined Anglo-Dutch squadron near Mozambique in July. Dom Francisco had only a passive share in the action, as he was lying at death's door in his cabin with a fever. He was carried ashore unconscious during the battle, but recovered sufficiently to enable him to sail with the Count to Goa soon afterwards.

His appointment as Captain-General of Macao was signed by the Viceroy on 6th May, and this commission together with all his other official papers relating to his tenure of office in 1623-26 are still preserved in the Archives at Evora. He was empowered to fill all existing and future vacancies in official posts at Macao, with the exception of legal offices which were the responsibility of the Magistrate. Military posts were to be filled after consultation with the Senate, since this body was paying for them. All nominations, both civil and military, were subject to confirmation by the Viceroy. Another paragraph of his Instructions stated that henceforth, "the Captain of the Japan Voyage would have no jurisdiction in the City, nor special rank, nor Captain's chair in the Church, nor any other prerogative whatsoever; nor would he have control over anything save his ship." Dom Francisco was further authorised to form a Defence Council consisting of the Bishop of Japan, the interim incumbent of the Bishoprick of China, the Sergeant-Major (as Senior Military Officer) of the Garrison, and the oldest Alderman of the Municipal Council, with himself as President. By the same token he could pay for the upkeep of the garrison and fortifications, and the salaries of military intelligence agents, from the funds allotted for defence out of the profits of the Japan Voyage. Finally he was empo-

wered to arrest and send to Goa or elsewhere, "any citizens or individuals who should show themselves riotous, mutinous, or disturbers of the peace."

The new Captain-General took office with due pomp and ceremony on the 17th July 1623, but it is not clear from whom he received the keys of the City. It was certainly not from the last Captain-Major, Lopo Sarmento de Carvalho; for the galliot in which he was returning to Macao, was captured by a Dutch ship in the straits of Singapore in June 1623 and he was carried off as a prisoner to Batavia. Meanwhile it seems that by virtue of a viceregal decree dated 22 April 1622 (thus over a year before Dom Francisco's appointment) a commission consisting of the Dominican Prelate, Frei Antonio do Rosario and two leading citizens had taken charge of the local government on the 30th July of that year. Other sources associate Diogo Cardoso de Melo, Captain-Major of the Japan Voyage for 1623, as a member of this governing commission.

Although Dom Francisco Mascarenhas had been appointed as Governor of Macao at the request of its inhabitants, the citizens were anything but pleased to find him invested with such ample powers, and entered a formal disclaimer of his claims soon afterwards. Nor was it only the laity who showed themselves uncooperative to the new Captain-General, for the Jesuits also looked askance at a potential rival to their great and growing influence. We shall probably simplify matters at this point by quoting from the account of a contemporary Italian traveller, Marco D'Avallo, who visited Macao in 1638, and who describes the hornet's nest stirred up by Dom Francisco as follows:

"On his arrival he was lodged by the citizens not honourably in the citadel, but in an ordinary house. Not only so, but if he gave any orders in the King's name, they refused to obey him. For this reason he lived on such bad terms with them that eventually they forced him to move into the convent of St. Augustine, where the Portuguese at St. Paulo fired at him with three cannon shot which went through the convent wall. Mascarenhas collected these cannon balls and had them gilded, after which he sent one to the King, the second to the Viceroy, and kept the third for himself. The

said Dom Francisco seeing that he had not sufficient strength to enforce his authority according to his desire, had recourse to dissimulation, and followed the citizens' inclination until such time as he could make himself master of the fort of St. Paulo by a stratagem, which happened on this wise.

"One day Dom Francisco paid a visit to the Jesuits in their College, and after a lot of talk about various things said 'I would like to pay a visit to St. Paulo one day, with your Reverences' permission, in order to get a general view of the city and its situation therefrom.' The fathers replied that he could do so whenever he wished, since they themselves had built the fort at their own expense, to serve as a place of rest and recreation, — or so they alleged.

"Some days later the said Dom Mascarenhas sent to let the Fathers know that he would come and visit them the next day, so that they could make ready to entertain him there. Meanwhile Dom Francisco assembled about fifty of his soldiers, telling some of them to accompany him as members of his retinue, whilst the remainder were to stroll after, in small groups of three and four, as if they were likewise bent on diverting themselves, which was carried out accordingly.

"After Dom Francisco had spent a good while there, and the shades of evening were falling, the Fathers approached him unsuspectingly (what time the gate had already been secured) and said 'Dom Francisco Sir, it is getting late, and time that the gate was closed', whereon he replied 'Fathers, you may certainly go, the gate is already shut, and will be opened early tomorrow in the King's name'. He then sent them out after some protests, by a passage-way which led from their convent to the hill, and which he blocked up that self-same night. The next morning he secured the fort with a strong garrison, and henceforth had his dwelling-place there, as likewise have his successors up to the present time. Dom Francisco built here a fine house with a large water cistern and barracks for his soldiers, as also a flight of stone steps from the foot to the top of the hill, whereupon even a horse may be ridden, and arranged other things according to his good liking".

*Se non e vero ben e trovato* and as a matter of cold hard

that another Captain-General, Dom Sebastião Lobo da Silveira, was murdered by the mob for wishing to betray the colony to Spain in 1643.

It is remarkable that these stories should have had such a long lease of life when they are so easily disproved. In the present instance, it can be shown beyond a peradventure that Dom Francisco speedily crushed the outbreak of 10 October 1624. The original documents recording his handing-over of the government to his successor, Dom Felipe Lobo, in July 1626, are still extant at Evora; and there are numerous references in contemporary printed works to his subsequent career at Lisbon and Madrid.

What actually happened was that Dom Francisco returned peaceably to Goa, and thence to Europe in 1627, being appointed Governor of India during his homeward voyage by the authorities at Madrid who were still ignorant of his impending return. On his arrival home the appointment was confirmed — a sure sign that the Government approved of his actions at Macao — and he set sail again for the East in April 1628, in the flagship *Nossa Senhora do Bom Despacho* accompanied by two other carracks. Contrary winds and tides off the Guinea coast forced him to put back to Lisbon. On the homeward voyage, he "ordered a gentleman of quality to be burnt to death, after finding him guilty of indulging in the unspeakable sin of sodomy". This surely must be the only instance of an *auto-da-fe* at sea! Although the stake was the recognised penalty for this crime, the victim's social standing (he was a fidalgo named Francisco Pereira Pinto) got Dom Francisco into trouble, and he was imprisoned for a short time whilst the affair was investigated. The result was evidently satisfactory so far as the ex-Viceroy was concerned; for although he was not again nominated to rule India, he was given the highly honourable post of Councillor of State at Madrid, where he was still actively employed in 1639. So much for the fable of his having died or disappeared at Macao fifteen years earlier. This unusual form of *Auto-da-Fe* prevented his returning to Goa and reorganising the administration of Macao, but was not the end of his connection with the colony. The Senate wrote him on occasion to use his influence at

fact there does appear to be more than a little truth in this story. Modern repairs to the venerable citadel of Saint Paul have disclosed the blocked-up postern-gate. A perusal of Dom Francisco's papers at Evora, shows that the Jesuits retained possession of the citadel after the revolt, and that he evicted them three months later by a ruse at an opportune moment. Nor was this the only bone of contention between them. For reasons best known to themselves, the Jesuits declined to recognise the Dominican Friar, Antonio do Rosario, as acting Governor of the Bishoprick of China in July 1623. They appointed as temporary incumbent one of their own Order, Dom Diogo Valente, Bishop of Japan, who was residing in Macao because of the fierce anti-Christian persecution raging in his nominal diocese. In this attitude they had the backing of the Senate, possibly because Frei Antonio was a staunch supporter of Lopo Sarmiento de Carvalho whom they disliked. Dom Francisco on the other hand stood staunchly by the Dominican Prelate, and in this he was supported by the friars of the three mendicant orders. Not for the first nor for the last time, the rival religious factions resorted to temporal weapons, and artillery was used against the convent of Saint Dominick. The unifying dispute dragged on for about a year, until the ecclesiastical authorities at Goa to whom the matter had been referred for a decision, pronounced in favour of the Dominican candidate.

Having thus fallen foul of both the Senators and the Jesuits, the Captain-General was probably not surprised by the rebellion against his authority which broke out on October 10th, 1624. Local tradition and modern historians ascribe the origin of this mutiny to the misgovernment of Dom Francisco, and above all to his having lusted after the honest citizens' wives. The most widely accepted version alleges that the Captain-General was murdered by the infuriated populace; whilst a less sensational, but equally inaccurate account, asserts that he secretly took refuge on board a ship bound for India and was never seen again. In point of fact, this is another historical legend on a par with those hoary local traditions claiming that Macao never recognised the Spanish Dual Monarchy in 1580-1640, and

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Madrid in their favour; whilst some orange trees which he brought back from China and planted in his *quinta* or country house at Xabregas near Lisbon, were successfully acclimatised and crossed with the existing variety.

The governorship of Dom Francisco Mascarenhas was admittedly nothing if not eventful. Besides having to cope with the mutinous Senate and the hostile Jesuits, the Captain-General also had a first-class row with the Chinese authorities of Heungshan-hsien. The dispute was due to his endeavouring to carry out his orders regarding the fortification of Macao. This involved strengthening the existing bulwarks of São Francisco, Sãotiago and São Paulo, besides building a wall to defend the City from a repetition of the Dutch attack on the landward side in June 1622. Good progress had evidently been made in all of these works, when the Chinese took alarm, and the *Haitao* and other Kwangtung provincial authorities interfered and ordered the stoppage of the work. The Senate were all for immediate compliance, in view of the fact that the Chinese could cut off the food-supply at a moment's notice, but the Captain-General was made of sterner stuff. His vigorous protests notwithstanding, the civil authorities and elected representatives eventually bowed to the Chinese threats, and a formal pretence at tearing down part of the wall was made on the last day of March 1624. "Face" having been thus saved, the Chinese authorities now connived at the resumption of the work of fortification after the payment of a suitable amount of "squeeze", — which was probably the sole motive for this interference in the first place. The work when completed in 1629 was well and truly done, the walls being made of *chunam*, a peculiar mixture of earth, straw and lime, well pounded together with oyster-shells. The strength of these walls is strikingly attested by the fact that when they were destroyed about 70 years ago, it was found necessary to use 1,800 lbs of gunpowder to demolish a section of 130 metres (nearly 14 lbs for each metre).

From one of Dom Francisco's official papers at Evora, we learn that the population of Macao at this period consisted of 437 Portuguese and Eurasians, and 403 native Christians, exclusive of women, children and Chinese. The Chinese

population at this time seems to have been about 10,000; and if to these we add the large numbers of slaves, the total figure would be probably between fifteen and twenty thousand. This would make Macao the most populous city in the Portuguese colonial empire after Goa, as it was certainly the wealthiest. It is interesting to note however that there had been little or no increase in the number of pure Portuguese in the colony since it was first settled in 1557, for the original settlers apparently numbered about five hundred. This is of course accounted for by the fact that very few white women ever came out to India and of those that did fewer still got as far as Macao. Some years later Peter Mundy was told that there was only one white woman born in Portugal at Macao, and this may well have been the case in 1625. Curiously enough, two English women were amongst the first recorded European women to live here. These were Mrs. Frobisher, wife of the carpenter of the *Unicorn*, wrecked off the Kwangtung coast in 1620, and her West-Country maid, Judith. Peter Mundy met the latter in 1637 at Malacca, where he found her happily married to a Eurasian, and the proud mother of "one pretty boy".

Before concluding our account of Dom Francisco's stewardship, we may mention that he organised a gun-foundry in Macao, where metal cannon were cast under the supervision of two local engineers, "Quinquo and Haizon, long-haired heathen Chinese." On the 14th October 1624, he issued an amnesty to the mutineers of the *emute* started four days earlier, but the fires of discontent continued to smoulder during the rest of his rule. They were in fact only extinguished by the Viceroy's unconditional pardon publicly proclaimed at Macao by the town-crier to the sound of drum and trumpet in 1626.

The Japan Voyages had been resumed after the interruption caused by the Dutch blockade and attack in the summer of 1622. Next year a fleet of eight galliots under Captain-Major Diogo Cardoso de Melo, evaded the Dutch ships cruising in the Formosa straits by setting their course to Nagasaki round the eastern coast of Taiwan. The voluntary dissolution of the English Factory at Hirado in this year, and the consequent withdrawal of Richard Cocks and his

countrymen from Japan, left the Macaonese with only one European competitor in this market, albeit the Hollanders were the most formidable of the two erstwhile partners. With the abdication of the Shogun Hidetada, and the accession of Tokugawa Iyemitsu in 1623, the already severe laws against the "Romish Christians" were redoubled, and the Iberian traders were increasingly harshly treated. Japanese trade with Manila was forbidden altogether by the *Bakufu* (this at least caused no regret in Macao) whilst a stately Spanish ambassador who lay waiting in Satsuma for permission to proceed to Yedo, "with his costly gifts of a service of golden plate, 150 piculs of silk, and a coach and four with several mules", was unceremoniously bundled out of the country and thought himself lucky to have escaped alive.

As for the Portuguese, they were forbidden to reside permanently in Japan and only allowed to come to Nagasaki for purposes of trade. During their stay in the port, they had henceforth to lodge with the non-Christian inhabitants of the town, and could no longer reside with their coreligionists, who were still numerous in Kyushu despite the increasing severity of their persecutors.

Not only so, but those who were married to Japanese women were compelled to leave their wives and girl children behind them, taking only their sons, "which rigorous edict of the Emperor caused a great and pitiful outcry between those husbands and wives or fathers and children who were thus forced to separate one from another", as a sympathetic Hollander wrote in 1624. At the same time Japanese trading junks were forbidden to employ Portuguese pilots, thus ending a practice which had been not only common but obligatory for native shipping bound for Indo-China and the Philippines some twenty years before. In consequence of this draconic edict, the Portuguese now usually left Nagasaki in November or December, instead of staying over the New Year as had formerly been the custom. The stipulation that no Portuguese could remain in Nagasaki after the departure of the galliots for Macao obviously was not enforced, as we meet with mention of some from time to time in the Dutch records. Furthermore, it was the custom for one of the chief Captains to remain behind in order

to proceed as envoy from the Senate of Macao to the Shogun's court at Yedo in January or February each year. This personage had perforce to be accompanied by a retinue of eight or ten Europeans, besides their Indian or negro slaves, who naturally stayed at Nagasaki on their return from court until the arrival of the galliots next summer. Thus in practice there were always some Portuguese left at Nagasaki the whole year round, although their movements were closely watched and they were often treated little better than prisoners.

We have an account of the Macaonese mission led by Paulo da Veiga in 1626, in the *Journal* of Coenraedt Cramer who headed a rival embassy on behalf of the Hollander's factory at Hirado. The occasion was a special one, for the foreigners did not proceed to Yedo as was normally the case, but to Kyoto, whither both the *inkyō* or retired Shogun Hidetada, and the reigning Shogun Iyemitsu had gone to pay a visit to their nominal suzerain, the Emperor Go-Mino-o. To Cramer's graphic pen we owe a colourful account of the picturesque pomp and ceremony on this occasion, which sometimes reminds us of court pageants described by Lady Murasaki in the *Genji-Monogatari*. The Portuguese, who reached Kyoto on the 20th October, brought a large quantity of silk goods and ten bottles of red wine as presents for the Shogun, but their reception was none of the best. When the minister Doi Toshikatsu, Oi-no-kami, reported the arrival of the Lusitanian envoy to his august master, the latter growled churlishly, "What does that rascal want here", and kept the unfortunate Veiga waiting an unconscionable time for his audience. Nor was the Macaonese envoy more fortunate in his diplomatic relations with the Dutch, for although he wrote a note politely asking Cramer to come and call, the latter excused himself on the grounds that he had no orders from his superiors to do so.

Despite the increasing disfavour with which the Japanese government regarded the merchants of Macao from a political and religious standpoint, the City of the Name of God still continued to drive a thriving trade with Nagasaki. The 1625 Voyage, for example, netted Dom Francisco Mascarenhas a personal profit of 26,000 *patacas* (silver dollars) from

the cargo of one ship alone; but his successor, Dom Felipe Lobo, complained that his predecessor had squandered the royal exchequer's share of the proceeds in the construction of unnecessary fortifications, financed by money borrowed locally at the outrageous rate of forty-five percent.

Dom Felipe Lobo, who had taken over the governorship of Macao on the 19th July 1626, was a fidalgo who held the Court post of Carver to King Philip, and had come out to India as Captain of the flagship *Santa Teresa de Jesus* in the unlucky fleet of 1622. He served for a short time in Ceylon and at Malacca before leaving Goa for Macao in April 1626. He was no more popular as governor than Dom Francisco had been; and the Senate wrote to the King complaining that the post was unnecessary and harmful, urging its abolition and reversion to the former regime of Captain-Majors. This *volte-face* came too late, and the request was flatly rejected by the Iberian monarch after due consideration. In announcing his decision to the Viceroy, the King expressed the pious hope that the latter would take particular care in his selections for the post; but the Senate took the refusal hard and seem on principle to have quarrelled with all the fidalgos selected henceforth.

The most noteworthy event during Dom Felipe's tenure of office was the appearance of a Dutch squadron of four sail which cruised off Macao roads in the summer of 1627, thus preventing the dispatch of the annual fleet to Nagasaki. They were eventually driven off by five Portuguese galliots which boarded and burnt the Dutch flagship *Ouwerkerk* after a sharp action on the 18th August, in which Captain João Soares Vivas (of 1622 fame) bore the principal share. The Dutch captain, Marcus Hendricxoon, and 33 of his men were made prisoners. They had to wait for five weary years until their exchange was finally arranged at Macassar.

On the appearance of the Dutch squadron off the bar, the Governor and Senate wrote to their colleagues at Manila to ask for help, as they had done in 1621-2, nor were the Spaniards backward in responding. The Governor of the Philippines, Don Juan Niño de Tabora, sent a relieving force of three sail including the galleons *San Ildefonso* and

*Nuestra Señora de Peña de Franca* under the command of Don Juan de Alcaraso. Finding on his arrival that the Portuguese had already driven off their assailants, this officer set sail for the gulf of Siam to take revenge for the loss of Don Hernando de Silva's ship in the Mekong River some three years previously. The Spaniards did not limit themselves to attacking Siamese shipping, but remembering that Japanese piratical traders had taken a large share in the defeat and death of Don Hernando, they captured a Japanese junk and seized the Shogun's Trading Pass or *Goshuin* which they found on board, after killing many of the crew. This untoward event occurred in May 1628, and when news of the outrage reached Japan, great was the indignation of the *Bakufu* thereat.

Relations between Japan and the Philippines had been formally severed in 1624, but the Japanese were fully aware that Spain and Portugal formed a dual monarchy. They therefore placed an embargo on the five Portuguese galliots of Antonio Monteiro Pinto which reached Nagasaki in the summer of 1628, informing the Macanese that their lives and goods would be forfeited unless speedy satisfaction was forthcoming. In vain the latter pleaded that they were in no way responsible for the misdeeds of the Spaniards in Siam. The Nagasaki authorities retorted that both Spaniards and Portuguese were subjects of the same Crown and as such jointly responsible.

Faced with the loss of the profitable Japan trade, the Senate of Macao begged the Governor of Manila to save the lives and property of their compatriots at Nagasaki by yielding to the Japanese demands. A Government council convened at Manila in January 1629 to consider this problem, decided that the capture of the Japanese junk was illegal, since the Spanish commander had only been empowered to seize Siamese craft. They added that the Japanese had given the Spaniards great provocation through the execution of Franciscan missionaries and the piratical seizure of the *San Felipe* in 1596, but nevertheless recommended a conciliatory policy in view of the peril to the Macao trade and the Japan mission field. Forty-two prisoners from the captured junk were therefore sent back to Nagasaki, and two Japanese

embassies which arrived at Manila in 1630 were hospitably but watchfully entertained.

Meanwhile the 1629 fleet of Macaonese galliots under the command of Captain-Major Antonio de Oliveira de Aranha had likewise been detained on its arrival at Nagasaki, which induced the Senate to send a special envoy in order to try and assuage the wrath of the Japanese authorities. The newly arrived Captain-General, Dom Jeronimo de Silveira was first selected for this mission, as he was a fidalgo with a distinguished military record. It was felt that such an officer would be more impressive than an ordinary Macaonese merchant, — the Japanese view of a trader's social standing being epitomised in a letter written by Hidetada to the King of Siam stating *inter alia*, "Merchants are fond of gain and given up to greed, and abominable fellows of this kind ought not to escape punishment". Dom Jeronimo first accepted the nomination, but subsequently thought better of it, and excused himself on the plea of new orders from Goa and the peril of a Dutch attack. In this predicament his brother, Dom Goncalo de Silveira, offered to take his place, and this public-spirited offer was gratefully accepted by the Senate in July 1630. This selection was a happy one, for Dom Goncalo was a battle-scarred veteran of ten years service in the Persian-Gulf, and had further distinguished himself in the expedition of Nuno Alvarez Botelho to Malacca and Sumatra in 1629-30.

Unfortunately the Portuguese records are almost silent about Dom Goncalo's mission, but we get an interesting glimpse of it from Coenrad Cramer's journal of his visit to Nagasaki in the early autumn of 1630. On September 8th he records a visit by a renegade Japanese Jesuit whom he calls Brother Thomas (Frei Thomas), who in spite of his fall from grace was on good terms with Catholic Portuguese and heretic Hollanders alike, and who had been (so Cramer says) one of the four envoys sent by the Christian daimyo of Kyushu to the Pope in 1582, but in this the Dutchman was mistaken. Father G. Schurhammer S. J. identifies this man as Thomas Araki, who had indeed been ordained priest at Rome, but in 1612. After his return to Japan, he had been expelled from the Society for repeated-

ly transgressing the Sixth Commandment. Following his recantation, he "told the Hirado Christians that he had studied in Rome and knew very well that salvation was not to be found in the Christian Religion. The Fathers were using Christianity for the subjugation of Japan to the King of Spain, since this was not possible by means of armed force".

Brother Thomas was full of the news of the arrival of the Portuguese envoy, who, he said, had been Vice-Admiral of the armada which had relieved Malacca and annihilated the besieging force of 20,000 Achinese. Dom Goncalo de Silveira is further described in Cramer's Journal as being "a great gentleman, accompanied by a most splendid retinue of pages, halberdiers and soldiers, all of them fine, fresh and lusty lads who daily parade up and down with great pomp and pageantry, decked out in costly garments . . . They are very cock-a-hoop over their great victory in the relief of Malacca, and are convinced that the whole world must needs bow down before them, though they are all griffins who have never been in Japan before. The Ambassador is very proud and haughty, but is not allowed to go up to Court, nor may he return home, so that he will come to understand the Japanese better in due time. His retainers are mostly musicians and players, expert in musical instruments; whilst his pages sport gilded rapiers, gold chains, and grey hats with white feathers. They give out that this Ambassador has offered to remain in Japan until all questions and differences between them and the Japanese are completely settled, even if this should take eight or ten years, for he will spare no pains in the service of his country and for the honour of his King, in order to obtain a personal interview with the Emperor [Shogun] of Japan, and to give His Majesty full satisfaction and good contentment".

Although Dom Goncalo de Silveira was destined to remain four long years in Japan before he secured the desired audience, he was soon successful in expediting the raising of the embargo on Portuguese trade; this had already been relaxed due to the amends made by the Governor of Manila and to the efforts of an earlier Macaonese envoy, Simão Vaz de Paiva, who was a favourite of the Nagasaki *Buygo*

(Governor) Takenaka Uneme-no-sho. This success was the more galling to the Hollanders, as their own trade with Japan was still lying under a strict embargo in consequence of the Pieter Nuyts incident of 1628, when this Dutch Governor of Formosa was kidnapped in his castle by a band of Japanese buccaneers.

During the rest of September the Portuguese completed the lading of their cargoes and busied themselves buying up "all kinds of lacquer work, Japanese *beobies* or screens (*byobu*), porcelain dishes, small boxes, and all sorts of similar curiosities". However the main part of their cargo consisted of silver bullion taken up on *respondencia* from Japanese merchants, and for which Dom Goncalo de Silveira together with the Captain-Major of the 1629 voyage, Antonio de Oliveira de Aranha, were to remain at Nagasaki as sureties. But we have anticipated matters somewhat and will conclude this chapter with a brief account of Dom Felipe Lobo's further career after his departure from Macao in 1630.

The Senate's criticism of this Captain-General was obviously ignored at Goa, since Dom Felipe was dispatched again to China two years later as commander of a fleet of galliots. The voyage to Macao was uneventful, but his squadron was intercepted by Dutch cruisers in the straits of Singapore during the return trip in March 1633. Four of his galliots were burnt by their crews to avoid capture by the Hollanders, and the loss in gold and copper bars was estimated at over half a million silver *xerafines*. Dom Felipe made good his own escape, but died of "malignant fever" at Goa on the 3rd June 1634.

His successor, Dom Jeronimo de Silveira, was equally unfortunate. After governing Macao for about a year, he left for India at the end of 1631, with a richly-laden fleet of six sail. Five of these were taken by a Dutch fleet in the straits of Singapore, and although he escaped in the sixth, this vessel was wrecked shortly afterwards and he was never heard of again. The loss in gold bullion and other commodities on this occasion was reckoned at nearly a million *xerafines*. The fact that Macao's prosperity was able to survive such heavy and repeated blows speaks volumes for the commercial resilience of the colony.