

IV. Black Ships and Red-Haired Barbarians

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

This last-named fidalgo was prevented from making his oft postponed voyage in 1601, by a series of events succinctly described by the Jesuit chronicler Padre Fernão Guerreiro in the second volume of his Annual Relation. Three carracks had left Goa for China, one of which was wrecked in a typhoon on the Kwangtung coast, fourteen leagues from Macao, whilst the other two staggered into port badly battered from the storm on the 26th September. The day after their arrival three strange sail hove in sight. These were assumed by the populace to be hostile, as no further shipping was expected from India; and the gentry hastened to put [49] their families and silver-plate in the Jesuit College, which, standing on a small hill, had been selected as a place for the last stand should the enemy succeed in disembarking. These vessels were the Dutch ships Amsterdam, Gouda, and a pinnace, commanded by Jacob Van Neck who had made an unsuccessful attack on the Portuguese fortress of Tidore in the Moluccas the previous June.

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

A Royal Letter of 22 February informs us that there were then over 600 Indo-Portuguese families established at Macao, apart from the numerous merchants who frequented the place. In 1602, Dom Paulo de Portugal at last made the Japan Voyage in person. After his return to India, he took part in [50] the expedition of Dom Martinho Afonso de Castro which relieved Malacca from the siege by the Dutch Admiral Maateliëff and the Raja of Johore in 1606. He subsequently died of dysentery at this

place, without having been called to account for the judicial murder of the seventeen Dutch prisoners of 1601, despite the promises of Fernão de Albuquerque, the then Governor of Malacca (later Governor of India in 1619-22) that the person responsible for this atrocity would be brought to justice.

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

The lading of the Santa Catarina when sold at Amsterdam yielded three and a half million guilders; and from the [51] large amount of Ming porcelain captured in this ship, Chinese pottery was subsequently known for many years in Holland as Kraakporcelain or "Carrack-porcelain".

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

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

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

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

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

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

the Spice islands, 1601–03. In the defence of Malacca from May to August 1606, he was captain of a bulwark and was wounded in the right arm. This injury did not prevent him from serving as captain of the galleon *São Simão* in the disastrous naval battle against Admiral Maatleiff on the 22nd October, when he was taken prisoner, after having been again wounded. Ransomed in the following December, he still had enough hard cash left to enable him to buy a China-Japan voyage from the Viceroy Martin Affonso de Castro for the princely sum of 41,000 *xerafines*. He left Malacca for Macao in February 1607 in a carrack variously called *Nossa Senhora da Graça* and *Madre de Deus*, escorted by five galleons. Ten days after his arrival, three Dutch ships and a pinnace under Maatleiff appeared off the Kwangtung coast with the object of opening trade with China. Pessoa prepared his squadron for action and sailed out to give battle on the 9th September. The Dutch admiral declined to be brought to action as his ships were so richly laden; and he sailed away to Java after transferring the crew of the pinnace and turning her adrift. This bloodless victory came too late for the Portuguese to make the Japan Voyage this year, and fear of the Dutch evidently deterred them from making it the next.

On the 30th November 1608, a serious waterfront *fracas* occurred between the Macaonese and the crew of a Japanese junk belonging to the Christian Daimyo, Arima Harunobu which had put into Macao in the course of a voyage to fetch a cargo of aromatic eaglewood from Indo-China. Two of Arima's retainers, allegedly "men of low degree but quarrelsome and presumptuous" had incited their compatriots to walk insolently through the town, in armed bands of thirty or forty, after being reinforced by the crew of another Japanese vessel shipwrecked nearby. The local Chinese naturally took alarm at these proceedings, and asked the Senate to curb or to expel the Japanese. The City Solons advised the latter to moderate their truculent behaviour, but they flatly refused to do so. During the first armed clash, in which the *Ouidor* was wounded, the general alarm was sounded by ringing all the church bells. Pessoa hastened to the spot with reinforcements, and on his approach the Japanese took refuge in a

house which was immediately surrounded by the angry soldiery and citizens. The Captain-Major offered quarter to those who surrendered, which some of them did; but about forty desperados fought to the last before they were all killed with handgrenades and fire-balls. Meanwhile another group of fifty, who had not been directly involved in the original fracas, barricaded themselves in another house when the general alarm was given, and where they prepared to fight to the last man. The Bishop and his fellow Jesuits now intervened, and eventually persuaded the defenders to surrender on promise of life and liberty. This promise was later violated, at any rate in part; as although the majority were freed, one or two of the ringleaders were secretly strangled in the jail, whilst the survivors were forced to sign a confession absolving the Portuguese authorities from all blame for the outbreak.

The Macao imbroglio was not known to the authorities at Nagasaki when André Pessoa finally reached that port next year, after narrowly escaping two Dutch vessels cruising to intercept him in the Formosa straits. But the Portuguese ran into trouble from the hour of their arrival on the 29th June 1609, for even before the carrack had dropped anchor, the *Bugyo*, Hasegawa Sahioye Fujihiro sent off some boats manned by armed guards to board her, and prevent any persons or goods from being landed without his express authorization. Pessoa refused to tolerate this unwelcome innovation in a port where the Portuguese had hitherto enjoyed extraterritorial rights, and after some argument the Japanese returned ashore. Hasegawa's next demand was the right of stationing two officials on board to check and inventory all the cargo, allegedly on the Shogun's behalf. This demand was also flatly rejected by Pessoa, who replied that the Governor "could do as he liked on land, but not aboard his ship of which he was master and captain". Finally after much acrimonious dispute, Hasegawa dropped his demand for ship-board control and agreed to limit his inspection of the cargo to a superficial examination and inventory of the goods as they were landed. His amenability proved to be a case of *reculer pour mieux sauter* however; for no sooner were all the Macao merchants ashore and safely

lodged in their billets with their merchandise, than Hasegawa and his minions made a round of all their lodgings, inspected all their wares, and bought up the best thereof at low fixed prices, on the pretext that they were destined for Tokugawa Ieyasu, then living in dignified if nominal retirement at Shidzuoka. The *Bugyo* also treated Pessoa with scant courtesy, in which attitude he was imitated by his compatriots. Consequently the Portuguese complained of "daily and hourly fresh vexations, which exasperated them greatly;" particularly as it was in such marked contrast to the courtesy and consideration which they had hitherto enjoyed in Japan, "by virtue of their being foreigners and speaking and dealing honourably and truthfully". So at least Father João Rodrigues Girão would have us believe, although Jan Huighen van Linschoten would not have agreed with him, as witness his denunciations of Lusitanian pride and licentiousness.

"But the good things of life last little, and covetousness is the root of all evil", observes our Jesuit chronicler with greater truth than originality; and he goes on to accuse Hasegawa Sahioye of plotting the ruin of the Portuguese, in conjunction with his colleague Murayama Toan, a versatile character who was one of the leading men of Nagasaki, a noted *bon viveur*, a Christian convert, and an advocate of the colonization of Formosa. These worthies (or so the Jesuit would have us believe) jealous of the privileged position of the Portuguese at Nagasaki, and anxious for a larger share of "squeeze", complained to Ieyasu that the Portuguese were "haughty and contemptuous of the Japanese", ignoring local laws, to which they were not subjected; unlike the Japanese at Manila and Macao who were rigorously punished by the Iberian authorities for any infringement of their laws. Hasegawa and Murayama further accused the Europeans of disobeying a Shogunal standing order, whereby all the best varieties of weave and pattern in the carrack's annual cargo of silks were reserved for Ieyasu at a fixed price (*pancada*), whereas the Portuguese concealed them for sale to local merchants at higher prices. They also stated that even if Ieyasu took a stronger line with the Portuguese, they would not (as he feared) break off their imports of silk, since

Macao could not exist without the flow of silver from Japan, and in any case the *Goshuinsen* or licensed ships could bring silk on better terms than the carrack. This last allegation was quite untrue, as the Ming ban on Japanese shipping trading to Japan was still rigorously enforced, and the Japanese could only obtain silk via Indochina or Malaya whereas the Macaonese had direct access to the Canton market.

Portuguese complaints of Hasegawa's attitude at this stage, are rather discounted by the fact that (as they admit) he took their side when news of the Macao imbroglio of November 1608 finally reached Japan nearly a twelvemonth later. Both he and his crony at the Shogunal Court, Goto Mitsusugu Shozaburo, who was also Master of the Mint at Kyoto, advised Pessoa against submitting an official account of the affair to the Shogun. They pointed out that the Tokugawa had no illusions about the unruly behaviour of many of their compatriots overseas or of the fatal results thereof at Manila, Patani and elsewhere; but they added that if the matter was brought up officially, the authorities would have to take the side of their own countrymen, and any official investigation might have awkward results for the Portuguese. Pessoa, after some hesitation, accepted this advice, but he drew up an unofficial memorandum of the Portuguese case for the information of Honda, Kozuke-no suke Masazumi one of the principal Shogunal confidants, who handled most of the diplomatic and administrative business connected with foreigners. Unfortunately Hasegawa and Murayama wrongly suspected that Pessoa had not confined his *aide mémoire* to the Macao imbroglio, but had secretly complained of their behaviour, which considerably annoyed them, although an open break with the Portuguese was avoided.

Meanwhile the situation was complicated by the appearance of the Hollanders, who although they had failed to intercept the richly-laden Macao Carrack, through a providential mist and storm in the Formosan straits, had reached Kyushu a couple of days after her arrival at Nagasaki. They founded a trading agency in the nearby fisher-town of Hirado, where they were warmly welcomed by the local

Hasegawa's favourable position in Ieyasu's household, where his sister, O Natsu, was the old man's favourite concubine, "so much so, that if she said black was white, *Daifu* [Ieyasu] would believe it". The Jesuits also realised that Hasegawa's economic measures were inspired if not ordered by Ieyasu himself, and any formal representations against their enforcement would only be considered as *lésé majesté*. Pessoa eventually saw the strength of these arguments, and agreed to leave things as they were.

By this time news had reached Ieyasu of the Macao affair of 1608. He reprimanded Hasegawa for not telling him of it before, and ordered him to make a full report on the matter. The Bugyo accordingly forwarded a lengthy statement based on the evidence of the survivors (who had reached Nagasaki in September 1609) together with a covering report by himself and Arima Harunobu. This document was naturally very unfavourable to the Portuguese, and Arima as the suzerain of the injured parties warmly pressed for revenge. Hasegawa, who had sworn to get Pessoa's head, also advocated the forcible seizure of the carrack and her cargo, pointing out that the newly-arrived Hollanders and some shipwrecked Spaniards from Manila, both professed equal readiness and ability to take the place of the Portuguese as importers of the coveted Chinese silks. The modern Spanish historian J. L. Alvarez, denies that the ex-Governor of the Philippines, Don Rodrigo Vivero y Velasco (who had been shipwrecked off the Kwanto coast in September 1609 and remained in Japan till August 1610) said anything of the kind. But Padre João Rodrigues Girão, writing at Nagasaki in 1610, is equally emphatic that he did; adding that Don Rodrigo stated that the Spaniards would send not merely one, but two or three silk ships yearly. Whatever the truth of this allegation, Tokugawa Ieyasu, after some preliminary hesitation, ordered Arima and Hasegawa to get the Captain-Major André Pessoa dead or alive.

Pessoa fully expected the worst after his final breach with Hasegawa, and kept aboard his ship which he made ready for sail or action at a moment's notice, "not even going ashore to mass". The majority of the Macao merchants did not share his pessimism, and remained on land so late that

Daimyo Matsuura. Tokugawa Ieyasu was no less pleased with the news of their arrival, as he saw in them potential importers of the coveted Chinese silks, who would break the Macaonese monopoly and thus lower prices. Pessoa seeing the folly of further flouting Hasegawa and Murayama, resolved to effect a reconciliation with them, which was accomplished with the customary mixture of God and Mammon, through the mediation of the Jesuits and a heavy monetary bribe. Hasegawa, who had likewise been approached by the Hollanders for his help at court on their behalf, now played a double game, ostensibly forwarding the Hollanders' plans, but secretly communicating them to the Portuguese. The Dutch naturally lost no opportunity of vilifying the latter (which was returned with interest), and commented on Pessoa's arrogant behaviour ashore "acting as if he was lord of the soil, since he went abroad with drum, tucket and trumpets, escorted by soldiery and suchlike display". Hasegawa, evidently with his tongue in his cheek, also reported to Pessoa that the Spanish Friars from the Philippines were equally anti-Portuguese, since they had told him that "King Philip regarded them as his children, but the Portuguese as his servants, not holding the latter of any worth". Armed with letters from Hasegawa to friends at Shidzuoka, Pessoa's envoy, the ship's purser Matteo Leitão was well received by Honda Kozuke-no suke, from whom he obtained (August 19th) an order prohibiting Japanese traders from visiting Macao, and authorising their punishment by the local authorities if they did so. This concession was largely offset by the fact that Leitão was not received until after the Dutch envoys had been received in a very friendly audience by Ieyasu himself.

Meanwhile Pessoa, prompted by a number of Macaonese merchants and against the advice of the Jesuits, had resolved to proceed to Shidzuoka and complain direct to Ieyasu of Hasegawa's earlier behaviour. Bishop Luis de Cerqueira and his fellow missionaries were aghast at the prospect of so foolish a move, and used all the entreaties and threats (including that of excommunication) they could think of, in order to dissuade him from this gratuitous piece of folly. Their worry was chiefly inspired by their knowledge of

only seven or eight could board the carrack when the final crisis came. Hasegawa and Arima tried to entice Pessoa ashore on one specious pretext or another, but he evaded compliance in the same manner, nor were the Japanese authorities more successful in trying to use the Jesuits as intermediaries. Whilst these futile and insincere negotiations were in progress, Arima assembled a force of 1,200 samurai which he launched to the attack in the darkness of the small hours on Sunday morning 3rd January 1610. The Japanese embarked in their oared craft with great noise and by torchlight, but Pessoa forbore to fire on the crowded beaches or to answer the first discharge of musketry, as he did not wish the Portuguese to be accused of starting a fight on Japanese soil. In contrast to the lights and noise ashore, the carrack remained in utter darkness, not a light or a man being visible on her decks, even the work of weighing anchor being performed in unwonted silence. When the crowded Japanese craft came within close range however, Pessoa opened fire with telling effect, adding insult to injury by a derisive burst of music on flutes and pipes after the discharge of each cannon. This infuriated the Japanese beyond measure, but their efforts to board failed, and the carrack dropped down harbour with the tide as far as the entrance to Fukabori bay, where she anchored at daybreak, being unable to get to her intended anchorage at Fukuda for lack of wind.

This battle went on with slight variations for three nights; the days being mostly occupied in futile *pourparlers*. Arima and Hasegawa renewed their efforts to entice Pessoa ashore on the pretext of negotiating a peaceful settlement, but the wary Captain-Major refused to leave the ship unless Hasegawa's nephew, Murayama Toan's son, and Arima Harunobu himself first came aboard the *Nossa Senhora da Graça* as hostages. The Japanese also tried to cut the carrack's anchor cable by means of skilled divers armed with knives. They were no more successful in this than in a preliminary attempt by two samurai to board the ship in disguise and murder Pessoa on deck. Fireships were sent down on the tide during the third night, but they all drifted wide save one, which was easily cleared when it swung athwart the

carrack's bow cable. On the 6th of January Pessoa succeeded in warping the carrack with the ship's boat as far as Fukuda, where he was compelled to anchor for the night. Arima Harunobu, who realised that his prey would escape him in another few hours, now resolved to stake all on a final night-attack. His flotilla was led by a large junk on which a high wooden castellated structure had been erected, covered with wet hides to protect it from the inflammable powder-pots and handgrenades used by the Portuguese with great effect. This structure was manned by 500 archers and musketeers from Arima's force, (now swollen to a total of two thousand fighting men) whilst the remaining craft endeavoured to lay the carrack aboard under cover of the fire from the tower-junk. Pessoa's casualties had hitherto been light, only four or five Portuguese, apart from a few slaves and lascars, having been killed. The Japanese had suffered heavily, and their casualties included the few samurai who on one occasion had succeeded in boarding the carrack by her stern gallery, only to be killed or forced to jump into the sea.

The final Japanese effort was made about 9 p.m., and even then the small *funé* were driven off with showers of fire-pots and handgrenades. The junk however could not be shifted from near the carrack's stern, since Pessoa only could bring one gun to bear against her, the other stern-chaser having been moved to the prow to protect the cable against Japanese attempts to cut it. Nevertheless the excited Portuguese had already begun to shout *Victory, Victory*, when a chance shot from the large junk fell into a fire-pot which a Portuguese soldier was about to throw, and smashed it alight on some more gunpowder at his feet. This started a blaze on deck which speedily spread to the mizzen sail, and thence to the rigging and upper-works, forcing the crew to leave the poop and take refuge on the forecastle. Pessoa's fighting crew only amounted to some thirty men, who were too few to cope with the rapidly spreading flames on the one hand and to repel the Japanese boarders on the other. Seeing that the end was come, Pessoa carried out his previous resolve that the Japanese should never take him alive nor enjoy the spoils of victory. He called out resignedly

a certain Captain Antonio de Andrada de Gamboa, instituted a lengthy legal process in 1626-29 for the claiming of his rights, but needless to say he never saw the colour of his money. Japanese divers at Nagasaki made several efforts to recover the bulk of the silver cargo at intervals during the next two centuries, but with little success. Further attempts were made in 1928-33, when divers brought up a number of interesting objects including the carrack's navigational astrolabe, a bronze cannon, and some of those oyster-shell panes which were then used in cabin windows instead of glass. The silver bullion still remains where André Pessoa intended that it should, on the bottom of Nagasaki harbour.

Ignorant of this disaster, but fully alive to the menace of the heretic Hollanders in the China Sea, the Viceroy Rui Lourenço de Tavora sent an armada of nine sail to Macao in April, under the command of Dom Diogo de Vasconcelos de Menezes. This fidalgo was a quarrelsome and vain individual, who not only got into trouble with the Chinese authorities over the payment of harbour dues for his squadron, but fell foul both of the local inhabitants and of the Governor of Manila, Don Juan de Silva, who had sent to ask for his participation in a projected Hispano-Portuguese expedition against the Dutch in the Moluccas. Dom Diogo rejected the Castilian proposal, to the great annoyance of both Macaonese and Manilans, and crowned his achievements by losing four of his richly-laden fleet off the coast of Malabar on his return voyage to India in 1611-12. Despite his mishandling of his opportunities, no action was taken against him, and he returned to Portugal in 1615, in the carrack *Nossa Senhora da Luz*, being one of the few survivors when this vessel was wrecked with great loss of life off Fayal in the Azores. He ended his chequered career as Captain-General of the chimerical conquest of Monomatapa in East Africa where he died in 1640.

On hearing of the loss of the *Nossa Senhora da Graça* the authorities at Macao next year sent an emissary to Japan, to ask for the reopening of the trade on the old footing, as punitive measures were out of the question. The Portuguese envoy was Dom Nuno Souto-Maior, who was completely successful in his mission, since Tokugawa Ieyasu had been

"Blessed be thou, oh Lord, since thou willest that all this should end;" and throwing down his sword and shield, picked up a crucifix or image, and jumped into the carrack's waist, ordering the powder magazine to be fired. The order was immediately obeyed and the vessel blew up "with such a noise that it was heard in places far distant from Nagasaki, and splitting in two by the poop, she heeled over and sank in thirty-two fathoms of water. The cargo thus lost was valued at over a million in gold, for in addition to many chests of silver, she had on board about 3,000 *piculs* of silk, of which only 200 have been recovered hitherto, apart from three boxes of silver which they brought up with grappling hooks".

Thus far Father João Rodrigues writing a few weeks after the disaster at Nagasaki in 1610. He also tells us that there were about fifty Portuguese killed or drowned, apart from slaves and lascars, but although the Japanese killed all they could see swimming in the water (including the Spanish Augustinian Friar Juan Damorin, the only priest aboard) a few survivors managed to reach the shore and safety. Pessoa's body was never found, later traditions to this effect notwithstanding; but the memory of his heroic end, so in keeping with Japanese ideals, deeply impressed the local populace, and was still green at the time of the English frigate *Phaeton's* unwelcome incursion into Nagasaki Bay two centuries later. Padre Rodrigues also has a curious story that the Japanese flotilla's final onslaught was led by a Christian captain, who animated his men to conquer or die on the grounds that if the carrack was not taken or burnt, the Shogun's wrath would be turned on the local Jesuits whose churches would be destroyed! As it was, the Macao merchants who had remained ashore were threatened with death and the Jesuit missionaries with expulsion; but the former were eventually allowed to leave for Macao in a hired junk with their confiscated property restored, whilst Ieyasu decided "to leave the Padres alone, since he was told that if they left Japan, all foreign trade would cease." The *Bakufu* and the Macao Senate in due course tacitly agreed to regard the unfortunate incident as closed with the death of Pessoa on whom the blame was laid. His beneficiary heir,

disillusioned in his hopes that the Hollanders and Spaniards could replace the Macaonese as suppliers of Chinese silks. Dom Nuno landed at Kagoshima with a large suite, and the chronicler Antonio Bocarro assures us in his *Decada XIII* that "albeit the Japanese are a very large-minded people, this fidalgo impressed them deeply with his ostentatious behaviour". In April the Viceroy fitted out another strong armada under the command of Miguel de Souza Pimentel, with orders to convoy the Japan Carrack of João Serrão de Cunha to Macao. Pimentel wintered at Malacca and left for China next year with five sail. In 1612, Pedro Martins (or Moniz) Gaio reopened the Japan voyage by sailing to Nagasaki in the great galleon *São Felipe e Santiago*, carrying Horatio Neretti (the Captain-Major of the 1600 voyage) as Envoy with the mission of obtaining from Ieyasu the confirmation of the concessions obtained by Sotomaioir. Ieyasu proved to be in a receptive mood, and thanks to the mediation of Honda, Kodzuke-no-suke Masazumi, President of the *Roju* or Council of State, an Edict was obtained restoring the trade of the "Black ships" to the *status quo ante* the affair of the *Nossa Senhora da Graça*. Both Gaio and Neretti were citizens of Macao and were buried in the Jesuit Collegiate Church of Madre de Deos. In April the indefatigable Rui Lourenço de Tavora sent another galleon to join the China squadron of Miguel de Souza Pimentel. This vessel was commanded by a veteran captain named Pero Roiz Botelho, who acted as Admiral on the return voyage two years later.

João Serrão da Cunha was supposed to make the next voyage to Nagasaki in June 1613, but his carrack grounded when outward bound near the bar; and although it was towed off by Pimentel's galleons (which had been in the port since the previous year) the monsoon passed before the necessary repairs were effected. Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, the new Viceroy at Goa, sent another three galleons to China in May. Leaving so late in the season and touching at Malacca as they did, they were badly battered by a typhoon on reaching the gulf of Hainan. The galleon commanded by Joao Roiz Camelo — a veteran of the Molucca and Malacca campaigns of 1600-1606 — was driven ashore at

Sanchuan with considerable loss of life, including the captain. The survivors were well treated by the local officials and inhabitants, with whose assistance they made their way overland to Macao; where the other two galleons had arrived safely with their commander, João Caidao de Gamboa, who was no stranger to these parts.

The crews of the two squadrons commanded by Pimentel and Gamboa caused great trouble in Macao by their rowdy behaviour until November, when these two captains "after having committed many insults, broils, brawls and murders, finally left for Goa convoying the carracks and other ships which had wintered there". In spite of the loss of Camelo's galleon which was laden with specie for the China market, this combined fleet returned to Goa "astoundingly richly laden, by virtue of the great wealth of Macao and the thriving state of its commerce" as Bocarro put it. Their safe arrival was all the more welcome, as the riches brought by this China fleet more than atoned for the fact that no ships had come from Portugal this year.

Miguel de Souza Pimentel, who may have acted as Captain-Major of Macao for a time in 1612-13, is described by Bocarro as being a "very good-natured fidalgo, friendly to all and sundry, and most zealous in His Majesty's service". He subsequently served in the unsuccessful expedition against the English fleet at Surat in 1614-15, and in the Persian Gulf. He had been *Provedor* of the Misericórdia of Goa in 1610-11. After quarrelling with the Captain of Ormuz, he retired in disgust to Muscat where he died in 1617, before his appointment as *Vedor da Fazenda* at Cochin could take effect.

In addition to the waterfront disorders caused by the unruly sailors and soldiers of this armada, Macao was torn by an ecclesiastical broil between the Jesuits and Dominicans, and their respective partisans. Both parties resorted to the use of lethal as well as of spiritual weapons, "to the great scandal of the neophytes", — and to the cynical amusement of the Chinese bystanders, it may be presumed. To cap everything, the Cantonese authorities, disturbed by the unruly state of the city, presented the Senate with a kind of ultimatum, accusing the colony of harbouring sinister

designs against the Middle Kingdom, and of plotting with Japanese &c. The Senate replied to these accusations in a lengthy memorial drawn up by one Lourenco Carvalho, which apparently convinced the Chinese as the charges were dropped.

In 1614 João Serrão da Cunha made his overdue voyage as Captain-Major in the carrack *Nossa Senhora de Vida*. He had soldiered in Ceylon in 1598, and was Surveyor of Works in the fortress of São Sebastião of Mozambique during the two Dutch sieges of 1606-7. He came out to India again in 1623, acting as Captain of the carrack *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* after the death of Francisco Correa. Official obstruction had prevented him from making a second voyage in 1615 and this led him to sue the Crown for damages. A lengthy lawsuit ended in his being awarded the governorship of the Cape Verde islands in 1638-44, by way of compensation. Richard Cocks, the English Factor at Hirado, referring to Cunha's arrival in a letter to the Duke of Salisbury writes, "... A great Portugal ship arrived this year, richly laden, and with a present to the Emperor [i.e. Shogun] but he would not receive the present, or speak to them who bought it, neither loving Spaniards nor Portugals for the great hatred he beareth towards the Churchmen lately banished". The Edict of Banishment referred to is that of the 27th January 1614, by which the Tokugawa government ordered the expulsion of all Christian priests from Japan, thus inaugurating the persecution of Christianity which lasted down to its virtual extirpation in 1639. Despite this decree, Serrão did very good business in Japan, and when he left for Macao on the 7th November took with him a number of exiled priests and converts, others leaving at the same time for Manila.

The Captain-Major in 1615 was Martin da Cunha. On this occasion the Macaonese Envoys "attended 40 days at the Emperor's Court to deliver their present, which was at last received, but none of them admitted to his presence", according to a letter of Richard Cocks dated 5th December.

Meanwhile the Viceroy sent Estevão Teixeira de Macedo to China in the galleon *Todos os Santos* which had been the flagship in the unsuccessful attack on the English at Swally

Boxer, Fidalgos in the Far East

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Hole near Surat "as it was a very strong and handy ship, which sailed well and was well provided with soldiers and cannon". This galleon was to convoy the Japan carrack and some trading galliots to Macao. Teixeira himself did not complete the voyage, as he was murdered at Malacca by a soldier who cut him down with a Japanese sword on the deck of his ship and then swam ashore unmolested. This crime was believed to have been inspired by João Caiado de Gamboa, then Governor of Malacca, who was however never called to account for it. The *Todos os Santos* was such a fine ship that the Governor of the Philippines sent to buy her when she lay in Macao harbour, but the Portuguese declined to sell, and she met an ignominious end in the Anglo-Persian siege of Ormuz in 1622.

In March of this year, the King dispatched a fidalgo named Francisco Lopes Carrasco to govern Macao as its Captain and *Ouvidor* "alike in the absence or presence of the Captain-Major of the Japan Voyage and totally apart from his jurisdiction". Carrasco was a Goanese, son of Mem Lopes Carrasco and Catharina Preta, Eurasians of humble origin, and was the first non-European to be given the control of the colony.

There was no Japan Voyage from Macao in 1616. Richard Cocks wrote from Hirado on the 11th September that "The Amacon shipp will not come to Nagasaki this year, she being arrested per a merchant of Goa for money the Amacon merchants owe him. This news is come per a gallie and a galliot which are arrived at Nagasaki and came from the Manillas". An anonymous contemporary Jesuit author adds that the embargo was made at the request of João Serrão da Cunha, and that the Voyage was later sold at auction to Lopo Sarmiento de Carvalho who could not make it "for lack of wind".

In December of the previous year, Ralph Coppindale, one of the English factors in Japan, wrote from Hirado to his colleagues at Patani that "they will come no more with any great shipp from Amacon" but his news was slightly premature; for although the 1616 carrack was prevented from leaving Macao, Sarmiento made the voyage next year. Meanwhile the Portuguese had complained to the *Bakufu*

(lit 'Curtain-Rule' as the Shogunal Government was termed) of the piratical proclivities of their heretic foes, and these complaints did not fall on deaf ears. Thus in February 1616, the *Bugyo* or Governor of Nagasaki, Hasegawa Genroku, warned the Dutch and English that "they should take heed they did not meddell with the greates shipp of Amacon, for that the Emperor [i.e. the Shogun] had much adventure in her". This entry in Cocks' diary is confirmed by contemporary Japanese state papers, which show clearly that not only Tokugawa Ieyasu, but leading daimyo like Hosokawa Tadaoki were also financially involved in the security of the carracks' cargo.

Francisco Lopes Carrasco took possession of the captaincy of Macao on the 31st August in conformity with the royal instructions. His tenure of office proved a short one, as the complaints against him by the citizens were so numerous and vociferous that he was hurriedly removed next year and recalled to Goa in disgrace. He had not constructed any fortifications (which was the principal item in his instructions) and had quarrelled with the Captain-Majors of the Japan Voyage over questions of seniority and jurisdiction.

Lopo Sarmiento de Carvalho, who now succeeded to the Captaincy, came of an old family from Braganza in the highland province of *Tras-os-Montes*, his parents being Lopo Roiz de Carvalho and Maria Luis Sarmiento. He came out to the East in 1607, and served there with great distinction until his death at Macao nearly forty years later. Up to the time of his first Japan Voyage, he had fought in numerous campaigns on the west coast of India, and had commanded a fleet of six sail for Malacca and China in 1614. Next year he came to Macao, where he married and settled down. We shall meet him again frequently in the course of this work. In 1617 he led an embassy to the Court of the new Shogun Tokugawa Hidetada, with the dual object of interceding for the banished missionaries and asking for the expulsion of the heretic Hollanders from Japan. Needless to say, neither of these requests was even considered by the *Bakufu*.

Shortly before he set sail on his return voyage in February 1618, there was a brawl on shore between a foraging party

from the carrack and some Japanese, in which two or three of the latter were slain. The Daimyo of Omura demanded the surrender of the culprits, and after some delay four negro slaves were handed over for execution, "which it was thought better men deserved", as Richard Cocks insinuated. The Portuguese still held a strong position in Nagasaki, as can be seen from the difficulty Cocks had in securing the release of two Iberian employees of the English Factory at Hirado, who had been "shanghaied" aboard the 1615 carrack for deportation to Macao. The Governor of Nagasaki, Hasegawa Genroku, backed up the Captain-Major in his refusal to deliver the pair; and it was not until Will Adams had obtained a direct order for their release from the *Rojū* that the Portuguese were compelled to surrender them. Despite Hasegawa's warning of 1616, the Hollanders lay in wait for Sarmento's carrack on the return trip off the coast of Kyushu, but she managed to give them the slip. They describe her as having been armoured with wood.

The forecast that the "Portugales" would come no more with any great ship from Amacon was verified in 1618. The Macao-Nagasaki voyage was henceforth made in galliots and pinnaces to reduce the risk of capture by Dutch and English cruisers. No fewer than six galliots inaugurated the new system, four of which under the Captain Major-Antonio de Oliveira de Moraes reached Nagasaki in safety, whilst another was lost in a typhoon which forced the sixth back to Macao. The four which were in company fell in with the Dutch yacht *Jacatra*, bound from Cochín-China to Japan, and a fierce fight ensued. Two of the galliots finally boarded the Dutch ship, whose commander seeing that the day was lost, fired the magazine and blew up his vessel with all on board rather than surrender. The galliots fortunately managed to clear themselves from the burning wreck, and reached Nagasaki with the loss of twenty killed and many burnt and wounded, including a Japanese who was the sole survivor from the *Jacatra*. Cocks was told by a renegade Goanese that "the cheefe Hollander in the Indies" was lost in this ship, but this proved to be erroneous as the statement that "ther was above 20000 pezos or R[ials] of 8 sunck in her, which were sent to buy tymbre in Xaxma [Satsuma] to make

5 or 6 gallis or frigatts to set out against the Portingalles and Spaniardes, espially them which com from Amacon". The Portuguese did good business in Japan this year, and returned to Macao on All Saints' Day (1st Nov.).

Captain-Major in 1619 was Jeronimo de Macedo de Carvalho. This wealthy fidalgo, a native of Alemquer, had come out to the East in 1615 in the flagship of the India Fleet *Nossa Senhora das Boas Novas*. He made a well-deserved name for himself by maintaining the majority of the numerous sick at his own expense during the deadly voyage to Goa. He came to Macao for the first time in 1616, as Captain of a couple of galliots, and returned to Goa next year in charge of a convoy of over twenty sail from Macao, Manila and Malacca. Immediately after his arrival with this richly-laden fleet, he left again for China to make three Japan Voyages in rotation, which he had bought at auction for the sum of 16,000 *xerafines* each. He made the Macao-Nagasaki voyage with 8 ships, — the largest number ever brought by the Portuguese to Japan at one time.

Despite the perennial menace of the Anglo-Dutch cruisers (next year united in a mis-named "Fleet of Defence") Macao was thriving exceedingly. No fewer than ten richly-laden galliots reached Manila, whose Governor bought a fine Portuguese galleon of 600 tons at a cost of 11,000 *pesos* from the Macaonese. This ship was sent with a rich cargo to Manila in 1620. It is interesting to note that the Spaniards also had a ship (intended for the Mexico run) being built for them in Satsuma.

By no means all Spaniards looked on this flourishing inter-Iberian commerce with a favourable eye. The Dominican Padre Fray Diego Aduarte again officially advocated the abandonment of Macao and the deportation of its inhabitants to Portuguese India; whilst Hernando de Los Rios Coronel opposed the less drastic proposal that it should be exchanged for Brazil with the Crown of Portugal.

In 1620 Jeronimo de Macedo de Carvalho made his second Japan Voyage with six ships. He never made a third, for he was arrested by the Japanese authorities at the end of the year on a charge (no doubt true) of smuggling in and sheltering Jesuit Fathers. He was imprisoned at Omura,

[70] where he died twelve years later, having shown great courage and constancy during his imprisonment.

One of his vessels, the *São Bartolomeu*, Captain Jorge da Silva, had a narrow escape from capture by a Dutch ship in the straits of Formosa on her voyage from Macao to Nagasaki in July. When the loss of the ship appeared inevitable, the frantic passengers and crew made a vow to build a chapel in honour of Our Lady if she would save them from their heretic pursuers. Either their prayers or the long arm of coincidence intervened with effect; and after their safe return to Macao the grateful mariners made a pilgrimage to the rocky hill on whose summit they founded a hermitage of *Nossa Senhora da Penha*. This picturesque building is a prominent feature of the landscape in the pictures of Chinnery, Elliot and other artists; but it was unfortunately replaced a few years ago by a modern manuline monstrosity in the Portuguese architectural equivalent of Stockbrokers's Tudor.

The next Captain-Major of the Japan Voyage (and last of the City of Macao) was our old friend Lopo Sarmento de Carvalho who had bought the monopoly of the three Voyages of 1621-3 at Goa for the record price of 68,000 *xerafines*. His safe arrival at Nagasaki in the summer of 1621, is noted enviously by Richard Cocks in his Diary, "Six Portugal galliots have arrived this year at Nagasaki from Amacon, and have brought store of silk stuff which has made the price fall".