

VIII. PETER MUNDY AND THE MANILA GALLEON

It is a far cry from Cornwall to Kwangtung and from Penryn to Macao; but the best account of the City of the Name of God in China during the palmy days of its prosperity, comes to us from the pen of that admirable Cornish traveller Peter Mundy. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he can be implicitly trusted accurately to record what he saw, and to distinguish it from what he heard, whether he is writing of the fauna of Portland Bill or of folk dancing in Macao. There is no need here to outline the story of his adventurous life, for it is fully recorded in the five volumes of the *Travels of Peter Mundy*, so capably edited for the Hakluyt Society by Sir R. C. Temple and Miss L. Anstey. Nor is it necessary to describe in detail the doings of Captain Weddell's fleet (in which he came to China) during its six months stay in the Pearl River estuary, since most readers will be familiar with this; and those who are not will find an entertaining account thereof in the pages of Maurice Collis' historical *pastiche* entitled *The Great Within* (London, 1941). It will be sufficient to recall here that Peter Mundy came out to China in the fleet of the interloper "Squire" Courteen, which left England in April 1636 and arrived in Macao roads on the 5th July 1637, after calling at Goa *en route*. Before sailing for India and home in January 1638, Mundy had many opportunities for going ashore. He was able to make the most of these by reason of his insatiable curiosity, tempered as it was by strong horse-sense and a balanced judgement founded on his already extensive travels in three continents. Add to these an open mind and a good working knowledge of both Spanish and Portuguese, and it will be readily appreciated that the glimpses which he affords us of the Golden Age of Old Macao are the most enchanting in its chequered history,

No dull dollar-grinder or religious bigot, he had an eye for everything novel and picturesque, from the Captain-Major's pretty Eurasian daughters to the colourful baroque interior decorations of Saint Paul's. No apology is needed for quoting from his *Journal* at length, nor for keeping comments and annotations to a bare minimum.

Mundy went ashore two days after Weddell's arrival, being one of a party entrusted with carrying letters from King Charles I and the Viceroy of Goa to the Captain-General, Domingos da Camara de Noronha, at Government House. After presenting their credentials, the Englishmen were shown over the Church and College of Saint Paul by the hospitable Jesuit Fathers. This was evidently the usual practice with distinguished visitors; for the Count of Linhares, instructing the Governor of Macao about the treatment to be given to Captain Wills of the *London* in 1635, wrote "You will ask him and three or four senior respectable people who accompany him to dine with you and show them the fort . . . and also the College of Saint Paul since it is so nearby". That it was worth seeing is evident from Mundy's description, which is all the more valuable as he gives us details of this apparently unique Sino-Baroque structure which are recorded by no other writer.

After describing the lichees, "the prettiest and pleasantest Fruitt that ever I saw or tasted", which he ate for the first time at the Jesuits' welcoming banquet, Mundy proceeds with his description of the Collegiate Church of Madre de Deus. "The rooffe of the Church aperteyning to the Collidge (called Saint Paules) is of the fairest Arche that yett I ever saw to my remembrance, of excellent worckemanshippe, Don by the Chinois, Carved in wood, curiously guilt and painted with exquisite collours, as vermillion, azure, etc. Devided into squares, and att the Joyning of each square greatt roses of Many Folds or leaves one under another, lessening till all end in a Knobbe; neare a yard Diameter the Broadest, and a yard perpendicular to the Knobbe standing from the rooffe Downeward. Above there is a New Faire Frontispiece to the said Church with a spacious ascent to it by many steppes: the 2 last things mentioned of hewen stone".

Like most of his countrymen who had spent a long time in the East, Mundy had lost much of his ingrained *odium theologicum* against the Church of Rome, and confessed to a reluctant admiration for the Jesuits. "As the Church is named Saint Paules, soe, Doe they stile themselves Paulists, as Paules Disciples in imitating or Following him in his Function, For as hee was Cheiffe in conversion of the gentiles in those Daies, Soe Doe they attribute thatt office more peculiar to themselves in converting the heathen off these tymes. And to speake truly, they Neither spare Cost nor labour, Dilligence Nor Daunger to attaine their purpose". This well-merited tribute to their labours as devoted missionaries, did not prevent Peter Mundy from overlooking their singular combination of God and Mammon in the mission-field, which subsequently led to so much bitter criticism in Europe and which is dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

In this connection he alludes to their local country estate as follows:- "On the inner side of the Citty lieth a little rocky Iland called Isla Verde or Green Iland, beeloning to the Padres of Saint Paule, or the Jesuits, and by them was caused to bee planted, soe that Now in a Manner it is covered with Fruit trees and yieldeth by report 2 or 300 Ryall of eightt yearly profit to them. I conceive that any off the rocky barren land hereabout mightt bee broughtt to the same passe by labour and Industry".

On the 5th December Mundy records a visit to a curious Jesuit Miracle Play acted by children, of the type which the Fathers also staged at Goa and in Brazil. "Our Admirall etts. Commanders were invited ashore by the Padres of San Pablo to see a play to bee acted in Saint Paules Church by the Children of the towne, there being above 100 thatt should representt; butt they came not. My selfe and others that were in towne went. It was part of the liffe of this Much renowned Saint Francis Xavier in the which were Divers pretty passages, viz. — A China dance by Children in China habitt; A bataille betweene the Portugalls and the Dutch in a daunce, where the Dutch were overcome, butt withoutt any reproachfull speeche or Disgracefull action to thatt Nation.

"Another Daunce of broad Crabbes, commonly called

Stoole Crabbes, being soe Many boies very prettily and wittily Disguised into the said Forme, who all sung and played on Instrumentts as though they had bin soe many Crabbes.

"Another Daunce off children soe smalle thatt it almost seemed impossible it could have bin performed by them (For it might bee doubted whither some off them were able to goe or Noe), Chosen off purpose to breed admiration.

"Last of all an Enticke, wherein one of them (the same that represented Francisco Xavier) shewed such dexterity on a Drumme, tossing it aloft, turning and whirling it about with such exceeding quicknesse, withall keeping touch and stroke with the Musicke, thatt it was admirable to the beholders.

"The Children were very Many, very pretty and very Ritcheley adorned both in apparell and pretious Jewells, It being the Parents care to sett them Forth For their owne Content and Credit, as it was the Jesuits to enstructe them who not only in this, butt in all other Manner of education are tutours and have the Care off the bringing uppe the youth and young children of this Towne, especially those of quality.

"The theatre was in the Church and the whole action was performed punctually, Not soe much as one among soe Many (all though Children and the play long) was much out of his part. For indeede there was a Jesuitt on the stage thatt was their Direct^r as occasion offred".

It was not only the clergy who showed themselves hospitable to the English, and once the latter had got ashore, they enjoyed the hospitality of some of the wealthy laity as well. Mundy thus describes an official Macaoese dinner party under the date of October 10th: "... at our landing on the strand we were received by the Councell and the Antients of the city, conducting us to a very faire house ritcheley furnished with Plate, Beumbos, Chaires, Cottes, hangings etc." "Beombos", proceeds Mundy referring to the Japanese *byōbu* or folding screens, "are certaine skreenes of 8 or 9 Foote deepe, made into sundry leaves which principally serve to Divide a roome or to sequester some part thereof,

as allsoe for ornament, placing them against the walles. They make a most Delightsome show, being painted with variety off curious colleurs intermingled with gold, containing stories, beasts, birds, fishes, forrests, flowers, fruites etc. They are commonly in two parts, each part containing 8 leaves or plaite, some of them worth 100 Ryall of eight the paire, some More, some lesse. Our dinner was served in plate, very good and savoury to my Mynde, only the Manner much differing from ours, for every Man had a like portion of each sort of Meat broughtt betweene 2 silver plates, and this often changed, For before a man had Don with the one, there was another service stood ready for him; Almost the same decorum in our Drinke, every Man his silver goblett by his trencher, which were no sooner empty butt there stood those ready thatt filld them againe with excellent good Portugall wyne. There was alsoe indifferent good Musick of the voice, harpe and guiterne."

Private hospitality was as lavish as the official variety Mundy found when he was entertained and lodged at the house of Antonio de Oliveira Aranha, erstwhile Captain Major of the Japan Voyage, and now "one of the 4 Governors off Macao, who are elected every year; and doe dispose of Most of the Citty Matters, the Captain Generall being for some Matters which particularly concerne the King. The house of the said Senor Antonio, with the Furniture, entertaynementt etts., was suteable to the Former, Differing in this thatt wee were here served with weomen maides, Chineses of his owne household, boughtt by him, whereoff every housekeeper here hath many who are accepted among their household stuffe or Meanes; and by report but one women in all this towne thatt was borne in Portugall; their wives either Chineses or of thatt Race heretoffore Married to Portugalls There were att thatt tyme in the house 3 or 4 very pretty Children, Daughters to the said Senor Antonio and his kindred, thatt except in England, I thincke not in the world to bee overmatched For their pretty Feature and complexion, their habitt or Dressing becomming them as well, adorned with pretious Jewells and Costly apparell, their uppermost garmentt being little Kimaones, or Japan coates (*Kimono*) which graced them allsoe".

Mention of the Captain's two beautiful Eurasian daughters, Escolastica and Catharina, brings us to Mundy's description of the clothing worn by the Macaoese women, a compromise of European and Asiatic modes with the latter naturally predominating. It is interesting to compare this dress with contemporary accounts of the Goanese women's costumes as described by Linschoten, Pyard de Laval and Manucci, or with the Indo-Portuguese dress affected by the Eurasian ladies of Malacca and Batavia down to the English occupation of Java in 1811-16. Writes Mundy, — "This place affords very Many ritche Men, cladde after the Portugall Manner. Their women like to those at Goa in Sherazees or lunghees, one over their head and the other aboutt their Middle downe to the Feete, on which they ware low chapines. This is the ordinary habitt of the women of Macao. Only the better sort are carried in hand chaires like the Sidens att London, all close covered, off which there are very Costly and ritche brought from Japan. Butt when they goe without itt, the Mistris is hardly knowne from the Maide or slave wenche by outward appearance, all close covered over, butt that their Sherazees are finer. The said women when they are within doores wear over all a Certaine large wide sleeved vest called Japan kamaones or kerimaones (i.e. *kimono*) because it is the ordinary garment worne by Japanes, there being Many Dainty ones brought From thence off Died silke and of others are Costly Made here by the Chinois off Ritche embroidery off colloured silke and golde. I say they wear one of the said kamaones for their upper garment and their haire all made uppe on the Crowne of their heads, adorned with Jewells according to their abillities. These kinde of Dressing, soe quickly to bee done, Doe become them soe well as others thatt bestow halffe a day aboutt themselves". How little the conservative Macaoese ladies changed their mode of dress during the centuries, may be seen from a comparison of the sketches in Mundy's *Journal* with the woodcuts printed in the Chinese chronicle *Ao-men chi-lueh* published in the second half of the 18th century.

Mundy also describes a *gymkhana* complete with tilting at the ring and other equestrian sports, including a pecu-

liar kind of mounted baseball. He further alludes to the picnic parties enjoyed by the Macaoese on the neighbouring islands, to which they rowed or sailed out in their *Manchuas*, "small vessels of recreation, pretty handsome things resembling little Frigatts, Many curiously carved, guided and painted, with little beake heads". He saw a Chinese play performed in the street, and although not nearly so enthusiastic about it as he was about the Jesuits' juvenile Miracle Play, yet "the outward action seemed pretty well unto us, and [the Actors] well Favoured boies". He was greatly intrigued by the local miniature goldfish, some of which he brought on board the flagship, but alas, "in few Daies all Died for want off good looking into, For they are very Nice and tender to bee kept". He noted that "all sorts off provisiones here, as bread, Flesh, Fish, Fruite, etc." were very cheap; particularly commending the "very good ripe grapes and ripe Figges such as wee have in Europe", thoughtfully sent off to the heretic ships by the "Friers, Churchmen etc." of the City of the Name of God.

His description of the place as seen from the seaward was still valid up to within recent years. "Macao standeth at one end of a greatt Iland built on rising hills, some gardeins and trees among their houses making a pretty prospecte somewhat resembling Goa, although not soe bigge; their houses double tyled, and thatt plaistred over againe, for prevention of hurracanes or violent wyndes that happen some yeares, called by the Chinois Tuffaones, which is also the reason (as they say) they build no high towers nor steeples to their Churches". Mundy was surely mistaken in this last point, for some of the Churches at any rate had towers if not steeples. "Before Macao" continues our traveller "are many islands, some greater some lesse, some inhabited, most part nott; high uneven land, no trees, much grasse and plenty of water springs; very stony, many great ones such as wee have in some parts of the West Country, called Moorestones"; an interesting comparison, as the island-studded scenery on the passage between Hong Kong and Macao is more usually compared nowadays with the Kyles of Bute. It was to these islands that the Macaoese families came in their *manchuas* for extended picnics,

remaining "8 or 10 daies, more or less according to their pleasures, under the tentts they carry with them, in some fine little vally by a Running water off which here is store. These are the Delights of the Portugalls in these parts", wrote Peter Mundy in 1637. These delights were anticipatory of the launch-picnics so favoured by his countrymen three centuries later in the beautiful waters around Hong Kong.

With the exception of their equestrian and aquatic activities the Macaonese were limited to themselves for their amusements, owing to the restrictions imposed on their crossing to the mainland by the Chinese. "All the recreations of this Cityly within themselves, As their faire large strong Ritche and well furnished houses, their wives and Children as Riche in Jewells and apparell, their Number off slaves (for the most part the Men slaves curled-head Capfers [Kaffirs] and the females Chinesas), their meetings, Feasting and rejoycings att their weddings, Christnings and holidiaies (which are often); having neither Fields nor gardeins abroad, the Chinois not allowing them".

It is indeed a pleasure to read the account of this intelligent and sympathetic traveller, especially if we contrast it with the carping criticism so monotonously voiced by the majority of his fellow countrymen who "went to Portugal", as readers of Rose Macaulay's entertaining work of that name will allow. Not that Mundy was not critical on occasion. Like all his colleagues, he at first assumed that the Portuguese authorities were acting in bad faith, when they told Captain Weddell that it was quite impossible for them to secure leave for the English to trade at Canton. The latter did not believe this, ascribing the non-cooperative attitude of the Captain-General to mere jealousy of potentially dangerous competitors. This was no doubt partly true; but irrespective of the Portuguese attitude, there is no reason to suppose that the Ming Court would ever have considered the English request for the opening of commercial relations. Weddell ruined whatever chance he had, by his piratical proceedings off the Bocca Tigris forts, reminiscent of those of Simão de Andrade at Castle Peak in 1519, and (on a smaller scale) of the Hollanders' outrages in the China Sea

Putá (son of a priest, son of a whore) as an appropriate proverb for the occasion.

In other respects Domingos da Camara de Noronha, Knight of the Order of Christ, seems to have made a good enough Captain-General during his two years tenure of office in 1636-38. The Dutch, who took him prisoner on his belated homeward voyage in 1644, found him a much pleasanter fidalgo than had the English; considering him indeed to be the only gentleman amongst a mixed bag of Spaniards and Portuguese they had captured.

The captive Spaniards also put in a good word for him, and this brings us to a consideration of the commercial and political relations between Manila and Macao at this time.

Mention has already been made of the strict prohibition of all trade and communication between the colonial dominions of the Crowns of Spain and Portugal which was ratified by King Philip at the Cortes of Thomar in 1581. This royal decree was no more effective than others of a like tenour promulgated by the Viceroy of Portuguese India and Spanish America from time to time. Thus a Viceregal Edict of 1586 prohibiting Spaniards from Mexico and the Philippines from going to China, Japan, "or to any other ports and places where the Portuguese are wont to trade and traffic", did not prevent Don Rodrigo de Cordova from coming to Macao in a ship from Peru, nor Dom João da Gama from crossing the Pacific in the reverse direction three years later. An official loophole for the evasion of these colonial navigation laws was made in 1608, when a royal decree was promulgated at Madrid, permitting the Captain-Major of Macao to send munitions and war material to Manila when asked to do so by the Governor of the Philippines for defence reasons. The converse of this procedure was also permitted, and even encouraged by royal command. We have already seen that Manila bought shipping from Macao in 1619, whilst Macao received cannon and soldiery from Manila in 1621 and again in 1623. Generally speaking however it was not in mutual defence that the two cities cooperated (as witness Dom Diogo de Vasconcellos' churlish refusal to join Don Juan de Silva in 1610)

from 1622 onwards. Only belatedly and reluctantly did the English realise that the Chinese authorities wished to have no further truck with the Red-haired Barbarians; and they only secured the release of their merchants imprisoned at Canton through the help of the Macaonese whom they had so grossly maligned. This misunderstanding naturally embittered their otherwise cordial relations, as Mundy found when he went to pay a farewell call on the Captain General, Domingos da Camara de Noronha. No sooner had he entered Government House, than "before I could gett uppe staires hee mett mee, and before I could beegin to speake, hee fell a Rayling in Most violent manner with uncivill and Discourteous language, asking if wee knew where wee were, if wee Did not thincke ourselves in the King of Spaine's Dominion, or Did know him to bee generall; whither wee thoughtt our selves in London, Miscalling us by the Name of Picaros, Borachos, Traidores, etc.; and that wee should Forthwith Depart to our shippes, and thatt whomsoever hee Found ashoare in the Morning, hee would cause him to bee hanged and confiscate all the goodes found in the towne; and soe hee left mee without suffering mee to speake one word".

This unexpected outburst was inspired by the fact that the English had agreed to take to Goa the persons and property of a number of the leading residents, including the veteran Dom Goncalo de Silveira, in defiance of the standing orders which forbade their transport in any but Portuguese ships. It is not surprising therefore to find that the indignant English looked on Domingos da Camara with no friendly eye, terming him "a mulatto of a most perverse and peevish condition, reported to have been a Tinker". Local gossip in this instance was not altogether wide of the mark, for the Captain-General had indubitably been born on the wrong side of the blanket. His father, Dom Manoel da Camara, albeit of noble blood, was also a dignitary of the Church, being Canon of the Cathedral of Braga, whilst his mother, Catherina Pires, was a humble peasant woman, — possibly even a tinker's daughter. So Mundy would have been justified in muttering to himself on leaving Government House, *Filho de Padre, Filho de*

but in trading Chinese silks and textiles for South American silver in the shape of pieces-of-eight.

Although Macao profited greatly by this illicit commerce, the authorities at Lisbon and Goa somewhat short sightedly took a very poor view of it; principally on the grounds that since the silks were exported to Manila and Mexico, the Indo-Portuguese Exchequer was defrauded of the dues it would have collected had they been sent to Malacca and Goa for sale in India. Another, and one would think more forceful objection, was that the Spanish demand for Chinese silks in the Philippines forced up the price for the Macaonese when buying their silks at Canton for the Japan market. This was the point of view stressed by one of the early Portuguese economists, the "New Christian" or crypto-Jew, Duarte Gomes de Solis, who deals with the matter at considerable length in his commercial treatise *Discursos sobre los comercios de las dos Indias donde se tratan materias importantes de Estado, y Guerra*, (Discourses concerning the trade of the two Indies, wherein are discussed important matters of State and War) privately printed in 1622, and now excessively rare. Gomes claims that he possessed letters of the governing authorities of the Philippines, and of the Bishops of China and Japan, proving that the demand for Chinese silks in Manila and Mexico reached such proportions that the Spaniards could no longer do profitable business in Japan; whilst the Macaonese who had formerly gained between fifty and hundred percent on the sales of silk at Nagasaki now had to be content with substantially less, — and anything less than a fifty per cent profit out of heathen Asiatics, Gomes apparently considered as an insult to his countrymen. Turning from the economic to the political side of the problem, he claims that the partial diversion of the Sino-Japanese silk trade to Manila not only unduly raised the price, but "induced the Castilians to fight the Portuguese, and brought about peace between the Chinese and the Japanese, hitherto irreconcilable enemies, and the triumph over all of the Hollanders, who aimed not only at the mastery of those seas, but also over the Chinese and Japanese, who served aboard their ships for pay, and with a little further encouragement

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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