

A FIDALGO IN THE FAR EAST, 1708-1726:  
ANTONIO DE ALBUQUERQUE COELHO  
IN MACAO

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IF THE average foreign visitor to Macao were asked what historical figure he would associate with the little Portuguese colony, he would probably think only of the poet Luis de Camões, though if he were better informed than most, he might add the painter George Chinnery and the pioneer Protestant missionary, Robert Morrison. Yet there is no lack of interesting characters connected with the "City of the Name of God" during its three and a half centuries of existence, and the present article deals with the story of one of them. Its perusal may help to recall those picturesque days when Macao formed the sole breach in the Great Wall of China's political exclusiveness, save for the "Thirteen Factories" at Canton.

By way of introduction, we reproduce the following reference to our hero from *Historic Macao* by A. C. Montalto de Jesus, which, with all its faults, has remained the standard work on the place since its first publication at Hongkong in 1902:—

In view of the deplorable state of affairs, a carefully selected Captain-General was appointed for Macao in 1717, Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho. But while he was urgently needed there, the ship he was to sail in left him behind at Goa evidently on purpose, as the captain owed him a grudge. There was no other ship in port. Albuquerque however, was not to be outdone. He crossed India, and at Madras bought a ship and sailed. The voyage, unfortunately, was beset by hardships far greater than those undergone during the overland journey. After sailing for two months without a pilot, the ship put into Johore in distress. There Albuquerque helped the Sultan to quell a revolt, and concluded a treaty for the propagation of Christianity. Resuming the voyage, he met further troubles. In the absence of a pilot, it was Albuquerque himself who steered the ship as best he could. The vessel was disabled at Sanchuan. The crew, decimated by sickness, were all laid up. Albuquerque, himself suffering severely, at last reached Macao in a junk, a year after leaving Goa. By his wise and just procedure he endeared himself to the citizens of Macao as no Captain-General had done. After his first term of office he was again offered the post, but he declined it. He was then appointed Governor of Timor, whither he sailed from Goa via Macao in a ship of his own (*ibid.*, pp. 143-44).

Montalto's brief account contains several minor errors of fact as well as

of grammar, and tells only half the story of one of the most romantic characters in the history of the old city.

Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho was born in the province of Maranhão, in Brazil, about the year 1682, in the recently-founded town of Santa Cruz de Camutá. He was the bastard son of the local Governor or Captain-Major, a Portuguese nobleman named Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho and of his mulatto mistress, Angela de Bairros, who had both Indian and Negro as well as European blood in her veins. His father later served with distinction in the War of the Spanish Succession as Governor of Lower Beira and of the frontier city of Olivença before returning to Brazil, where he governed successively Rio de Janeiro and the province of Minas-Geraes in 1709–1720. Transferred to West Africa as Governor of Angola in 1722, he died there three years later.

Evidence of our hero's parentage was given at an Ecclesiastical juridical enquiry into his father's ancestry held in 1716, when the latter had applied to become a Familiar of the Inquisition. As is known, the Holy Office was usually very strict in its conditions regarding the purity of blood and religion in the applicants who were desirous of being admitted to its fold, and who were supposed to be free of all trace of Moslem, Jewish or heretic blood. The evidence given at the Commission of Inquiry clearly proved that Antonio de Albuquerque's mother and her family were of mixed ancestry, "as was obvious from their complexion," according to one witness who had been a lodger in their house. Another witness deposed that he had often seen the grandmother, Maria de Azevedo, "carrying the infant in her arms and very pleased therewith." Incidentally, Coelho de Carvalho's own ancestry was impugned at one stage, since one of his remote forebears had married an Indian girl on the first settlement of Brazil in the early sixteenth century. However the Commissary of the Inquisition showed himself unusually broad-minded on this point, as he declared that this technical taint could be disregarded, since "even we pure Christians are all descended from heathens in a remoter or nearer degree." The father was therefore duly received as a Familiar of the Holy Office in 1717.

Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho did not live long in his native town of Camutá, although we know from the evidence given by the parish priest at the above mentioned enquiry that he received his earliest lessons in the local school. Whilst still a child, he was sent to Portugal by his father where his education was completed—how or where we do not know, but he evidently received a better schooling than the average gentleman or *fidalgo* of his age, as may be gathered from his reports and dispatches in later life. As was

usual at that period with the illegitimate sons of noblemen, he was sent to India to carve out a career for himself, with no other assets than his father's name and the promise of admission to the Order of Christ—the leading order of chivalry in Portugal. This promise, owing to his illegitimacy, only became effective in 1719—when he was Governor of Macao—and then only after a clerical uncle of his had personally interceded with the King.

He accordingly embarked for Goa in the ship *São Pedro Gonçalves* which left Lisbon on the 25th March 1700, and reached its destination on the 12th of September, after a voyage which although relatively quick was marked by heavy mortality amongst the passengers and crew. He made the voyage as a soldier, but received a commission soon after his arrival, and served for eight years as an officer in the *Terço* or Regiment of Goa.

In the Spring of 1708, Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho embarked in the frigate *Nossa Senhora das Neves* (*Our Lady of the Snows*) which left Goa for Macao, in accordance with the annual routine sailing by which communication between the two Portuguese colonies was maintained. He was listed as captain of the infantry company on board, or, as we would say, captain of marines. Amongst his brother officers were two *fidalgos*, who were to become his personal rivals, Dom Henrique de Noronha and Francisco Xavier Doutel. The frigate had a narrow escape from foundering in a severe typhoon which struck her in the South China Sea, and had to be towed into Macao “completely dismantled, without rudder, or even the beakhead” as a result of the severe buffeting she had received.

It may easily be imagined with what relief Albuquerque and his companions saw the houses and forts of the little Portuguese settlement. From the direction of the Ladrões, which was the normal course for Indiamen approaching the roadstead, the small peninsula on which the town is situated looks as if it were part of the islands of Lappa and Heungshan (Hsiang Shan 香山), whose hills rise immediately behind it. The first identifiable building to come into view was undoubtedly the fortress and hermitage of *Nossa Senhora da Guia* (*Our Lady of Guidance*) which still stands today as it did in Albuquerque's time on the highest hill in the colony, save for the lighthouse within its walls which was erected in the last century. The tile-roofed and white-walled houses along the sweeping curve of the *Praya Grande* were probably the next things to attract the eyes of our voyager, and as the frigate came closer he could discern the forts of *São Francisco* and *Bom Parto* at either end of the neat crescent bay. Subsequently the citadel of *São Paulo do Monte*, the ornate façade of the Jesuit Collegial Church just below it, the fortified hermitage of *Penha* on the hill above *Bom Parto*,

and the towers of the three parish churches of São Lourenço, São Lazaro and Santo Antonio, besides the Cathedral and the Convent of Santa Clara, could be clearly distinguished.

As the frigate rounded the southern point into the inner harbour, they passed the massive fortress of Sãotiago da Barra, now a mere shell, but then a fine example of seventeenth century military architecture, which a contemporary Dutch historian (François Valentyn) assures us might have been mistaken for a little town in itself, so many subsidiary works and buildings did it contain. Immediately beyond this fortress was the Chinese Temple which has given its name to the place and which presents today very much the same appearance as it did then, or at the time of the original Portuguese occupation in 1557. Beyond this lay the main part of the town proper, which did not, however, extend so far as it does nowadays but ended at the city wall which ran down from the citadel of Monte to the sea. Right ahead lay Green Island, then a pleasant country retreat of the Jesuit Fathers, where they had a little chapel and orchards of lychees and other fruits. The hills crowned by the forts of Guia, Monte and Penha, were bare of trees in those days, but here and there in the town could be seen green patches where some of the monasteries and wealthy citizens had laid out gardens or orchards whose trees towered above the surrounding walls. The houses were of the usual Portuguese colonial type—large two-storeyed buildings, the upper one surrounded by broad verandahs being devoted to family use, whilst the ground floors were used for offices, godowns, slaves' quarters and so forth. They were mostly double-tiled as a protection against typhoons, and built of *chunam*, a peculiar mixture of earth, lime and straw, which was so strong as to resist cannon shot better than stone. The massive city wall was also built of this material, and its durability may be gauged from the fact that when it was destroyed by an act of pointless vandalism in the middle of the last century, 1,800 lbs of gunpowder were necessary to blow up a section of 130 metres.

At the fort of Lappa or Priests Island on the other side of the inner harbour, was a Chinese fishing hamlet and a number of *quintas* or country retreats belonging to the Jesuits, Augustinians and a few of the wealthier gentry, of which no traces now remain. Then as now, the inner harbour was crowded with Chinese junks and sampans, European vessels being comparatively rare, as only Portuguese ships were allowed past the Barra Fort and all ships of great burden had to lie in the Taipa anchorage between Taipa and Wongkam or even further out to sea. Between the city wall and the Bar-



rier Gate across the neck of the narrow "water lily peninsula" which joins Macao to the Heungshan mainland, the rocky terrain was mostly occupied by Chinese graves, a small Chinese garrison being stationed at the Barrier Gate itself. The gate was closed at night and opened in the daytime so that the countryfolk could carry provisions to the city market, but no Europeans were permitted to go beyond it.

In its general aspect the "City of the Name of God" (to give it the official title) underwent no striking changes from the middle of the seventeenth century, when its churches, monasteries and massive fortifications were completed, until sixty or seventy years ago when the vandalistic hand of modernity began to destroy the evidences of its ancient splendour. The old city walls, Senate House, Cathedral and Convents, all were pulled down or rebuilt, the bronze and iron cannon melted down or sold for scrap, and nowadays only the empty forts of Guia and Monte, the stately façade and granite steps of São Paulo, and the Chinese Temple of the Goddess *A-ma* 阿媽 remain to attest the former strength and opulence of the city that was formerly known (a trifle inaccurately no doubt) as the "Gibraltar of the Far East."<sup>1</sup>

Many Portuguese from Goa and other Lusitanian Asiatic colonies chose to make Macao their home from the time when it was founded in the spacious days of the sixteenth century. The earliest attraction was due to the immense profits derived from the triangular interport trade between Canton, Macao and Nagasaki, as the Portuguese monopolised the most profitable part of the Sino-Japanese commerce in those days. Although the city suffered a severe blow with the end of the fabulously lucrative Japan trade in 1640, Macaonese shipping and commercial enterprise turned to alternative if less profitable fields in Siam, Indo-China, Manila, and the Lesser Sunda Islands of Timor and Solor, whence came the odiferous sandalwood highly prized by the Chinese. The city received another blow with the loss of the monopoly of the Canton market at the end of the seventeenth century, when the English and French East India Companies established their agencies—*factories* as they were termed—there; but despite the perennial complaints of its inhabitants that their opulence was a thing of the past, it is evident that

<sup>1</sup> In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Macao was famous for its cannon, mostly cast in the years 1625-45 by the celebrated founder Manoel Tavares Bocarro. Alexander Hamilton, who visited the city in 1703, notes "The largest brass cannon that ever I saw are mounted in proper Batteries about the City. I measured one (amongst many) out of curiosity, and found it 23 foot from the Breech to the Muzzle Ring, nine inches and a quarter diameter in the Bore, and it was 12250 *Rotullas* or *lb.* Weight of Solid Metal." Alexander Hamilton, *A new account of the East Indies* (2 vols. Edinburgh, 1727; New ed. London: Argonaut Press, 1930).

the place still enjoyed a modest prosperity at the time of which we write.<sup>2</sup>

As a consequence of the great wealth accumulated in the palmy days of the Japan trade, there were established a number of rich families who could afford lavishly to endow their daughters, with the result that the place was a favourite resort for indigent suitors from all parts of the Portuguese empire. Another reason for its popularity, was the fact that the long arm of the Inquisition did not reach that far, or at all events had its activities seriously curtailed, owing to the disfavour with which it was quite naturally regarded by the neighbouring Chinese authorities. For fear of provoking a clash with the Chinese, no *auto da fé* was ever held at Macao, and the most that happened to crypto-Jews or other European refugees from the wrath of the Holy Office, was that they were sometimes imprisoned by the civil officials pending transportation to Goa. With the native Chinese population the local ecclesiastical officials did not dare to interfere, in contrast to the rigour with which the Goanese Hindus were sometimes treated in Portuguese India.

Another interesting feature of the place was the uniquely democratic form of government which it enjoyed, in comparison with the despotic rule which prevailed in the remaining Portuguese colonies—or in those of all other European powers for that matter. The titular head, since 1623, was the Governor and Captain-General who was a military man appointed by the Crown, but he was little more than *primus inter pares* and his direct control was virtually limited to the command of the forts and garrison. The real governing body was the Senate, composed of three aldermen (*Vereadores*) and three magistrates or legal officials, one of whom was the procurator. The aldermen were elected by a form of popular (though not universal) suffrage for a three year period, the presidency devolving upon each one alternately. The procurator acted as the Senate's and hence the Colony's representative in all routine dealings with the Chinese. On momentous occasions, general meetings were convoked, in which the Captain-General, the Ecclesiastical authorities and the leading citizens were summoned to deliberate with the Senators on the measures to be adopted.

It is true that most Portuguese cities, including colonial settlements, had their *Camara* or Senate (which institution is of feudal origin) but under the absolute monarchical regime these were shorn of all save purely administrative powers and it was the Viceroy, Governor, or Captain-General who was

<sup>2</sup> "All the income and revenue of the City and Inhabitants of *Macao* depends upon the uncertainty of the sea, for all persons whatsoever there, apply themselves to trade; and the gentry deal in their money, putting it out to use, or sending merchandise, or gold ingots to be changed into pieces of eight at Goa." Gemelli Careri, *A voyage round the world* (Churchill's edition of the *Giro dal mondo*. London, 1744), p. 274.

the real ruler. In Macao on the other hand, the Captain-General, when not a mere cipher, found it very difficult to contend with the Senate and in the event of a clash of opinion between the two, it was almost invariably the Senate which won. Curiously enough, this democratic form of government, which flourished so long as Portugal was an absolute monarchy, came to an end with the establishment of the liberal and constitutional regime in the mother country during the eighteen-thirties; when, although the form remained, the Senate's authority was reduced to that of an ordinary municipal council whilst the civil governor was invested with full power.

The population naturally fluctuated a good deal in accordance with local conditions. When the Italian traveller Gemelli Careri visited the place in 1695, he estimated that there were about 5,000 Portuguese and Macaonese, with three times that number of Chinese living in the city. According to another contemporary, the interloping "country" captain, Alexander Hamilton, this number was appreciably reduced by the men and money wasted in a vain effort to subdue a native rebellion in Timor at the turn of the century. At the time of his visit in 1703, he says "that out of a thousand creditable housekeepers that inhabited the city before that War, there are hardly fifty left; and out of forty Sail of trading vessels, they have not above five left, so that in the whole City and Forts, there are computed to be about two hundred Laity, and six hundred Priests, and about fifteen hundred women, and many of them are very prolifick, for they bring forth children without husbands to father them." The picture drawn by the shrewd but malicious Scots captain is hardly a flattering one, and he was evidently not so well entertained there as was his Italian predecessor who wrote "Tho' at Macao they have not ground to sow a handful of pease, yet God provides for them, in such manner that they live in plenty enough, all necessaries being brought them from the adjacent parts, and they make so much of themselves, that their tables are never without sweet-meats, excellently made by the women; and I may truly say, I never fed so well anywhere as at *Macao*, the women there knowing how to cover a table for a king, and to please any nice appetite." As Careri was one of the earliest round-the-world travellers, with a vast experience of European, Asiatic and American cooking, this is high praise indeed.<sup>3</sup>

The foregoing quotations will give the reader some idea of the state of affairs at Macao, when the battered frigate *Nossa Senhora das Neves*, with An-

<sup>3</sup> Careri, *op. cit.*, p. 274; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, London ed., vol. 2, p. 116; for the troubles in Timor and Macao's intervention cf. my essay, *Antonio Coelho Guerreiro e as relações entre Macao e Timor no começo do século XVIII* (Macao, 1940).

tonio de Albuquerque Coelho on board, was towed into the harbour on the 23rd August 1708. So severely had she been buffeted, that it was over two years before she could put to sea on her return voyage to Goa, and during that time Satan certainly found mischief for idle hands to do. The Senate's archives contain various references to the

troubles which have occurred in this city with the officers of the frigate *Nossa Senhora das Neves*, whose captain is Jeronimo de Mello Pereira, instigated by Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho, Captain of marines in the said frigate, to whom the first-named has always paid the greatest attention, heedless of the prejudicial consequences which ensued to the detriment of his Majesty's service and exchequer, oblivious of everything but the private interests of the said Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho, and forgetful of his bounden duty to His Majesty . . . to such a degree that for the purpose of shifting the frigate's berth (against the Senate's orders) he ordered the guns to be loaded with ball, whilst the crew made armed demonstrations, particularly in the house of the said Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho, declaring that he would take orders from nobody, as is set forth at length in the enquiry held into the matter.<sup>4</sup>

The *fons et origo* of this irregular behaviour on the part of the frigate's officers and crew, was their captain of marines' passion for one of the city's daughters, Maria de Moura, who was "very rich and very beautiful" according to a contemporary chronicler. Besides her wealth and beauty, she had the additional qualifications of being young (she was only 18) and an orphan, so it was understandable that there was a good deal of competition for her hand, Albuquerque's rivals including one of his brother officers, the frigate's First Lieutenant, Dom Henrique de Noronha. The lady herself returned Albuquerque's passion, but her grandmother, Maria de Vasconcelos, in whose house she lived, was staunchly opposed to the match and did her best to thwart it. The matter was several times brought before the harrassed City Fathers, and at one time it was proposed that she should be placed in the Nunnery of Santa Clara. On another occasion the irate grandmother complained to the Senate that the Vicar-General, Father Lourenço Gomes, had abducted her ward from the house and requested the Senate to procure her return. The answer to this petition is not recorded in the Archives, but on the 28th November 1709, the grandmother returned to the charge with a request that measures be taken against Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho who was trying to elope with her granddaughter to Goa—a request with which the Senators resolved to comply in so far as they could.

<sup>4</sup> Copy of the Resolution taken concerning the troubles caused in this City of the officers of His Majesty's frigate 27. xii. 1710 (*Arquivos de Macau*, vol. 2, pp. 191-92). This and all other relevant documents bearing on Antonio de Albuquerque's career are reproduced in my work on the subject, *Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho (1682-1745). Esboço-biografico* (Macao, 1939), to which the reader is referred for details in order to avoid burdening this article with references and footnotes. All the illustrations and reproductions in the text of this article are from the originals in the writer's collection.

Whilst this struggle for the hand of the fair Maria de Moura was proceeding, an incident occurred which gave the lovers an opportunity of proving the depth of their mutual attachment. On Friday, August 2, 1709, day of Our Lady of Purification, whilst Antonio de Albuquerque was riding to the Convent of São Francisco, he was fired at by a negro slave armed with a blunderbuss, the shots luckily going wide. Albuquerque, who was no coward, immediately rode at the would-be assassin but the negro escaped near the Rua Formosa. As Albuquerque was returning from his unsuccessful chase, another shot was fired at him from one of the nearby houses (just behind the present Hotel Riviera, well known to all visitors to Macao) by his bitterest rival, Dom Henrique de Noronha, who was undoubtedly the owner of the unskillful negro slave. This shot was better aimed and struck Albuquerque above the elbow of his right arm. Wounded as he was, he rode on towards the Convent of Saint Francis, on approaching which he was fired at by another negro armed with a blunderbuss, who likewise missed. Reaching the Convent Gate after this three-fold attempt, his wound was so painful that he could not dismount without assistance. The Franciscan monks charitably gave him refuge in the convent, where he was attended to by the municipal doctor and a negro surgeon from the frigate, both of whom stated that the wound was not mortal and would soon be healed.

Luckily for Albuquerque, after sixteen days of their clumsy ministrations, an English East Indiaman bound for Canton put into Macao.<sup>5</sup> When this ship's surgeon came to see the patient, he diagnosed that gangrene had set in and that the only chance of saving his life was to amputate the right arm forthwith. On hearing this, Albuquerque sent a message to Maria de Moura, asking whether she would be prepared to marry him if he had only one arm, to which the spirited girl replied "that as long as he was alive she would like to marry him, even if both his legs were cut off." As the old chronicler sagely comments, "This shows to what extremes the love of an intelligent woman will go, since she realised that Albuquerque had lost his arm for her sake, and therefore did not wish to jilt him." This romantic incident was the origin of a popular folk rhyme in Macao which persisted until well into the nineteenth century, one of the several versions of which ran as follows:

<i>Naõ he taõ formosa</i>	which may be rendered	<i>She is not so beautiful</i>
<i>Nem taõbem parecida</i>	literally if lamely as	<i>Nor yet so fair,</i>
<i>Que, por seu dinheiro,</i>		<i>That for her money</i>
<i>Maria arma tanta briga</i>		<i>Maria should cause such stir</i>

<sup>5</sup> The only English East India Company's ship recorded as having visited Canton this year was the *Loyal Cooke* (330 tons) but the vessel may have been one of the already numerous "country traders" or "interlopers."

After receiving Maria de Moura's classical answer, Albuquerque was operated on forthwith, and began to feel better within a few days, remaining in the Convent until he was completely recovered. On the day of the attempted assassination, the Governor of Macao, Diogo de Pinho Teixeira, ordered the arrest of Dom Henrique de Noronha, but the latter escaped owing to the dilatoriness of the Magistrate "who was diverting himself on the other side," that is to say in the island of Lappa where the Portuguese then had country villas. Dom Henrique took refuge in the Convent of São Domingos, which was at once surrounded by a squad of soldiers to prevent his escape. In this they were not successful, as when they finally broke into the Convent after waiting for some days, they found that he had fled by night to the house of the Papal Legate, Charles Maillard de Tournon, Patriarch of Antioch, "where he was visited by his friends and followers," and where the priest-ridden secular authorities did not dare to apprehend him.

*Amor vincit omnia*; in spite of the murderous attempt of the jealous Dom Henrique de Noronha, the opposition of grandmother Vasconcelos, and the contrary resolutions of the Senators, the lovers were married a year later, on the night of the 22nd August "in the house of the Field of Saint Francis" under the protection of a detachment of marines from the frigate *Our Lady of the Snows*. Even at the last moment the bridal was nearly the funeral night, as another of Albuquerque's rivals, Francisco Leite, lay in wait with a strong following to slay him; but luckily the intended murderer thought that the marriage would be celebrated in the Church of Saint Antonio, so went to the wrong place.

The married life of the Albuquerquees was as eventful as their courtship. Their first child, a girl, died a week after birth and was buried in the Church of Saint Francis. Their second, a boy, was born on the 20th June 1714, and the event was celebrated with great éclat by the proud father, who ordered a series of plays to be staged outside his house (an interesting example of Chinese influence in the social life of Macao) and organised horse races and tournaments. The infant's baptism was attended by the Governor in person with two companies of soldiers, whilst the Citadel of Monte fired an artillery salute at the beginning and conclusion of the ceremony. All this rejoicing came to an untimely end three weeks later, when Maria de Moura died suddenly of septecemia. "Whereby we see," remarks the eighteenth-century chronicler sententiously, "that after such celebrations and merriment everything ended in tears, showing how ephemeral are the pleasures of this life. What is joy in the morning turns to sorrow at night." The mother was buried with great pomp and ceremony in the grave of her first born child in



the Church of Saint Francis but the son survived for some twenty years.<sup>6</sup>

From the account of his wedding, it is clear that Antonio de Albuquerque was still serving as captain of marines in 1710, but he must have resigned his commission immediately after, since he did not return with his ship to Goa but remained as a private citizen in Macao. Probably on account of his wife's patrimony, he soon became one of the most influential figures in the public life of the place, and was the presiding *Vereador*, or Alderman, of the Senate in 1712. As such he played a prominent part in the government of the colony, negotiations with the mandarins of Heungshan and other Chinese authorities, and the reopening of relations with Cochin-China. He was, however, clearly of an imperious and ambitious nature, which the premature death of his beloved wife evidently did nothing to soften. The inhabitants of Macao had achieved an unenviable notoriety for the violence of their factional disputes, and the city was honeycombed with rival cliques,—which fact, though regrettable, was hardly a matter for surprise in view of the smallness of the place and the natural tendency to indulge in personal feuds.

Albuquerque, as one of the leading Senators during the year 1710-1714, acquired the bitter enmity of many people, though whether with reason or not, we are unable to judge. His chief rival appears to have been a certain Manoel Vicente Roza who (like himself) was a wealthy man, and was able to bribe or otherwise induce the Viceroy of India to appoint him as *Ouvidor* or chief magistrate. Armed with this judicial authority, Roza promptly arrested his enemy and had him imprisoned in the fortress of Guia, despite Albuquerque's indignant protests and a long-winded denunciation of his rival which he delivered to the Senate in September 1714. Although he does not seem to have been imprisoned for long, his arrest by Manoel Vicente Roza anticipated an order from the Viceroy of India, Vasco Fernandes Cezar de Menezes, who on January 10, 1715 wrote his royal master, King John V, as follows:

Sire. So continual and repeated have been the complaints made against the violent behaviour of Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho, that it seems that not only the citizens of Macao but the foreigners frequenting that port for commerce, experienced his tyranny. Since, in the last monsoon, these complaints have been further supported by documents which appear to be well grounded, I resolved to refer them to the

<sup>6</sup> Contrary to the exaggerated version of this sufficiently romantic courtship and marriage given by a French writer, Eugene Gibert, in the *Bulletin de la société academique Indo-Chinoise* (1881), pp. 337-38, where he asserts that Albuquerque, "surprised at the feet of the unfortunate Maria de Moura, received an arquebus wound and had to have his arm amputated; his mistress died of fright and the child, the fruit of their amours, likewise perished." This typically Gallic approach to the story reminds one of the anecdotal Frenchman's history of *L'Elephant et ses amours*.

Supreme Court, with orders to proceed in this matter according to the dictates of justice. The Judges decided that this man should be summoned to Goa, and judicial enquiry made into the accusations after his leaving Macao, further steps depending on the result thereof.

As a result of this order and of the intrigues against him in Macao, Albuquerque returned to Goa in the early months of 1716,—if not under arrest, at any rate in deep disgrace. Yet before a twelve-month had elapsed, he found himself appointed Governor and Captain-General of the very place from which he had been so roughly recalled. Whether he had succeeded in proving his innocence to the Viceroy Vasco Fernandes Cezar de Menezes, or whether the latter's successor, Dom Sebastião de Andrade Pessanha, Archbishop of Goa and *interim* Governor of India, automatically favoured those who were in the bad graces of his predecessor—as was often the case in those days—we do not know. But whatever the Archbishop-Primate's reasons for what must have seemed a singular choice, the worthy prelate was fully justified by the results.

Albuquerque's return journey to Macao was an unexpectedly eventful one. The ship in which he was due to sail was commanded by one of his numerous enemies, Francisco Xavier Doutel, who on the pretext of a storm, put out to sea a few hours before the new Governor was due to embark, and sailed off without him on the night of the 22nd May 1717. Balked of his passage in this manner, it seemed as if Albuquerque was likewise deprived of his governorship, as it was too late to prepare another ship for the voyage to Macao before the advent of the monsoon. But Albuquerque was not a man to be easily daunted, and he forthwith took the bold resolve of crossing India by land to Madras, where he stood a chance of getting passage on an English ship for China. Although individual Europeans had crossed the peninsula from the Malabar to the Coromandel coasts (and vice versa) before his time, it was still a little-known journey, and one quite unprecedented for a person of his rank and standing. The natural hazards were increased by the advent of the rains and by the fact that he had to pass through the territories of warring princes. Accompanied by a very small retinue he set out on his adventurous journey on May 30th.

This remarkable journey across India and the subsequent voyage via Malacca and Johore to the island of Shangchuen (Shang-ch'uan 上川, Saint John's Island) is related at length in a book written by Albuquerque's aide-de-camp and devoted companion, Captain João Tavares de Vellez Guerreiro,—of which more anon. Briefly, after an eventful trip across the Deccan in which Albuquerque “had repeated opportunities of showing his

courage and of reawakening in the natives their old respect for the Portuguese," the party reached Madras on July 19th, where, since there was no English vessel bound for China as expected, a ship was bought for the voyage. The fitting out of this vessel delayed their departure till the 5th August, and after sailing they had to struggle with contrary winds and lack of water. A somewhat foolish display of *amour propre* by Albuquerque off Malacca, resulted in the loss of his English pilot, and after two months of difficult navigation the ship put into Johore, where it was compelled to winter whilst awaiting the monsoon for Macao. At Johore, Albuquerque, despite the fact that he had only a dozen Portuguese and half-castes (with a couple of Capuchin Friars) amongst his scanty crew, took a prominent part in the revolution wherein the Sumatran adventurer, Raja Kechil, usurped the Sultanate from the Yamtuan Muda Mahmud, brother of the old Sultan Abdul-Jalil. By an adroit mixture of force and diplomacy, Albuquerque contrived not only to back both of the contestants in turn (and in the right order) but so impressed the Malay rulers that he concluded a formal treaty whereby the Portuguese were ceded a plot of land at Johore Lama on which to build a church and were given permission to send missionaries to preach the Roman Catholic faith.<sup>7</sup> Resuming his voyage in mid-April, he finally reached the island of Saint John after a difficult passage up the South China Sea in which he himself acted as pilot and navigator for want of a proper one. Passengers and crew were all too sick with scurvy to work the ship on its arrival at Saint John's island, so Albuquerque, though suffering like the rest, transhipped into a Chinese junk and reached Macao on the 30th May 1718,—a year to the day after leaving Goa.

As mentioned previously, the story of this Odyssey across India and through Malayan and Chinese waters is related at length in a contemporary 185-page work entitled (in translation) *Journey that the Senhor Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho, Governor and Captain-General of the City of the Name of God of Macao in China, Made from Goa until reaching the said City. Divided into two parts. This work is dedicated to His Excellency by his most humble servant Captain Joam Tavares de Velles Guerreyro*. Although no date or place of print-

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Trevor Hughes of the Malayan Civil Service has translated that portion of Albuquerque's journey which deals with Johore under the title of "A Portuguese account of Johore" in the *Journal of the Malayan branch of the royal Asiatic society*, vol. 13, pt. 2 (1935), 111-56 to which the reader is referred for details of this romantic episode. The translator would appear to be in error however when he alleges (p. 112) that this account supports the tradition that the Raja Kechil who usurped the Johore throne in 1717 was a son of Sultan Mahmud and a very young man at the time of his conquest. In point of fact the *Jornada* gives no indication of Raja Kechil's age, and expressly states that it was uncertain whether he was the real or supposed son of the pederastic Sultan Mahmud who was assassinated by his Prime Minister in 1699.

ing is mentioned, examination of the title-page (*vide* reproduction facing first page of this article) and text reveals that it must have been printed from wood-blocks in China, in the period between Albuquerque's arrival at Macao as Governor at the end of May 1718, and his departure for Goa in January 1720. The pages are numbered in European and Chinese numerals, at the top and foot of each page respectively, whilst the paper, binding, and *format* are all indubitably Chinese. All bibliographers who mention this little-known and excessively rare work, assume that it was printed at Macao; but in point of fact it is more likely that the engraving was done either at Canton, or at Heungshan, the modern Shekki; where a polemical tract in Spanish on the vexed question of the Portuguese Crown rights of mission patronage was printed xylographically in 1712.<sup>8</sup> The rarity of this *editio princeps* may be gauged from the fact that only six copies are recorded by bibliographers, of which the one owned by the present writer is the sole example in private hands, all the others being in public libraries in Portugal and Britain. The work is a curious example of early Sino-European printing and unique of its kind, for two reasons. Firstly, it deals with a purely secular theme, whereas all the productions of the contemporary Jesuit and Dominican missionaries in China were either purely religious or linguistic (i.e. Sino-European dictionaries) in character, or else translations from European books into Chinese or vice-versa. In the second place, it has no ecclesiastical or civil "licences to print" as is almost invariably the case with all other Portuguese books at the time, including those published at Goa or under the auspices of the Jesuits in China.<sup>9</sup>

This work was reprinted in Lisbon by a Catalan printer, Don Jayme de la Te y Sagau, in the year 1732 (octavo, xvi-427 pp.) with a flowery dedication to the Duke of Cadaval, remarkable for its fulsome obsequiousness even in that age of servile epistolary dedications. Although this edition can hardly be termed rare, it is certainly not common, and copies fetch a fair price in second-hand book shops. A third edition was published in 1905 by the Portuguese Orientalist J. F. Marques Pereira, which is chiefly valuable for the scholarly editor's lengthy introduction in which the main incidents of Albu-

<sup>8</sup> *Relacion sincera, y verdadera De la justa defension De las Regalias, y privilegios de la corona de Portugal En la Ciudad de Macao Escrita Por el Doctor D. Felix Leal de Castro En la misma Ciudad A 4 de Febrero de 1712 Impresa en Hiang Xan con las licencias necesarias.* Large octavo. *Hiang Xan* is of course the Portuguese rendering of Heungshan, the capital of the district in which the Macao peninsula is situated.

<sup>9</sup> For a good idea of these works cf. H. Cordier, — *L'Imprimerie Sino-Européenne en Chine. Bibliographie des ouvrages publiés en Chine par les Européens au XVII<sup>e</sup> et au XVIII<sup>e</sup>, siècle* (Paris, 1901), which however makes no mention of the *Jornada*. This omission in itself is sufficient testimony to the latter's rarity.

querque's career in Macao are set forth for the first time. A *verbatim* reprint of this edition was published at Lisbon in 1913.<sup>10</sup> It scarcely becomes a foreigner to eulogise or criticise Captain Guerreiro's literary style, and it will therefore suffice to note that the most competent Portuguese critics give it high praise.

After this somewhat lengthy excursion into the arid realms of bibliography, whose only excuse is to gratify a collector's pride, we can return to where we left Albuquerque on his assumption of the governorship of Macao at the end of May 1718. Vellez Guerreiro ends his book with the following flattering but none the less prophetic forecast of the new Governor's administration,—"And certainly the early stages of his government, founded on the Christian and benevolent precepts wherewith he strove to placate the disgruntled, frequently yielding disputed points, form a good augury for its future progress, both in the sound principles which inspired his conduct, as in the temporal prosperity of the city, which the Divine Goodness began to enrich with many and richly-laden ships, after a period of dire poverty and need."

Although it cannot be denied that the just and prudent administration of Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho was one of the reasons for the unwonted spell of prosperity enjoyed by the Colony under his rule, yet historical candour compels us to admit that it was not the principal cause, which was one outside his control. Early in the previous year, the *Tsung-ping* 總兵 or Commander of the Green Banner Troops at the city of Chak-shek 碣石 (Chieh-shih) in Kwangtung province, a Fukienese official named Chen Ngan 陳昂 (Ch'en Ang) submitted a memorial to the K'ang-hsi emperor, strongly criticising certain aspects of European commercial and religious relations with the Middle Kingdom. As a result of this memorial and of the discussion which it provoked at the Court of Peking, an edict was issued to the effect that English and French ships would not be allowed to trade at Canton as hitherto, but should anchor in the Taipa roadstead opposite Macao and trade from there. This order reached Macao at the end of May 1717,—the very day that Albuquerque left Goa on his adventurous journey. Although this decree proved to be of short duration, another result of Chen Ngan's memorial which had a greater effect on Macao, was the promulgation of a further imperial edict prohibiting the sailing of Chinese junks to all foreign countries save Japan. The effect of this draconic measure was to disrupt the flourishing Chinese commerce with Batavia, which port was then frequented by Cantonese and Fukienese junks, and to transfer the Chinese end of this inter-

<sup>10</sup> *Jornada de Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho por João Tavares de Vellez Guerreiro. Com uma Cartaprefacio de J. F. Marques Peireira* (Bibliotheca de Classicos Portuguezes, Lisbon, 1905 and 1913).

port trade from Canton to Macao. As a consequence of this decree, the number of Macao-owned or registered ships increased from 9 to 23 in the first year of Albuquerque's governorship; although in 1719 the Portuguese somewhat spoiled the market by indulging in internecine competition, all ship-owners trying to send their vessels to Batavia to the exclusion of other places like Timor and Indo-China. For the half-dozen years in which this edict remained in force, Macao prospered greatly.

The Viceroy of the "two Kwangs" (Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces) visited Macao in person in July 1717, in connection with the enforcement of these two edicts, and proposed that the foreign factories at Canton should be transferred to Macao, which would then become the sole harbour for overseas trade to places other than Japan. Strangely enough, the Senate rejected this unexpectedly generous offer, partly (it would seem) on account of representations by the Bishop and clergy who were afraid of the contamination of their flock by the heretic English, and partly for the parsimonious reason that its supervision would involve an increase in the garrison whose cost would have to be defrayed from the local exchequer. It is understandable that the Senate's rejection of this offer was severely censured by the new Viceroy of India, Dom Luis de Menezes, Count of Ericeira, who pointed out the obvious advantages which would ensue from the transference of the wealthy English "factory" from Canton to the Portuguese colony, and he advised the Senators to reopen the matter if they had the chance.

It will be recalled that Albuquerque had been appointed to his post by the acting Governor of Portuguese India, Dom Sebastião de Andrade Pesanha, Archbishop of Goa. When the Count of Ericeira assumed the Viceroyalty in October 1717, he confirmed his predecessor's nomination, though evidently not without considerable misgiving, on account of Albuquerque's turbulent record in Macao during the years 1708-1715. So much at least may be gathered from the following extract from a letter written to Albuquerque by the Viceroy on the 6th May 1718:

I confirmed the Archbishop-Governor's selection of you, in the belief that you will prove worthy of it, as is your bounden duty; and in the same way as I overlooked the fact that the Viceroy Vasco Fernandez Cesar recalled you from Macao on account of the disturbances you had caused there, so do I expect you likewise to bury the past even if you were in the right, and that your sole aim should be the prosperity of the citizens, amongst whom Francisco Xavier Doutel and Francisco Leite Pereira should be the first you ought to favour. Should you behave otherwise, please understand that hence-forward if I receive the slightest complaint against you, I will unhesitatingly send you a successor forthwith. Withal you may give me credit for the fact that whilst I give you this warning, I agree that it is unnecessary.



The sugar coating of the last sentence hardly gilds the unpleasant pill in the penultimate, but the Count was right when he admitted that this minatory tone was out of place.

By common consent, Albuquerque was one of the most popular Governors that Macao ever had, and even his former enemies, like Francisco Xavier Doutel (captain of the ship which had left him in the lurch in May 1717) combined to testify to the fact that he had forgotten the bitter memories of his earlier years and was genuinely resolved to let bygones be bygones. Such leading figures as the Bishop, the obstinate old Dom João do Casal, and the Jesuit Father João Mourão, who was a favourite of the K'ang-hsi emperor, wrote to the Viceroy asking that Albuquerque's term as Governor should be extended. These requests reached Goa too late to help him, since in the autumn of 1718 the Count of Ericeira had received orders from Lisbon to confer the post on Antonio de Silva Tello e Menezes, an influential nobleman whose letters-patent took precedent over those of Albuquerque, and to whom the latter handed over in September 1719. Acknowledging Father João Mourão's recommendation that Albuquerque's term of office should be extended, the Viceroy replied that if the Father's letter had arrived earlier, he could have arranged for Antonio de Silva Tello to take another governorship, but that it was now too late to effect any change. It is interesting to note from this correspondence, that Father Mourão had brought Albuquerque's exemplary conduct to the notice of the K'ang-hsi emperor himself.

During Albuquerque's terms of office, a deputation of Senators headed by Manoel Vicente Roza (one of his erstwhile bitterest enemies) proceeded to the provincial capital of Shiu-hing 肇慶 (Chao-ch'ing) to receive a gift of silks and enamel *objets d'art* sent to Macao by the K'ang-hsi emperor. These imperial gifts and the mandarins who had brought them from Peking were greeted with more than royal honours on their arrival at Macao; the Viceroy of India later severely censured the Senators for performing the *kowtow* in the reception ceremonies both here and at Shiu-hing.<sup>11</sup>

Shortly after Albuquerque's arrival in the colony, Francisco Xavier Doutel arrived in the ship which had deliberately left him in Goa in May 1717. Doutel evidently had a guilty conscience about this escapade, as he immediately took refuge in the Jesuit Seminary of Saint Paul from which he only

<sup>11</sup> The imperial present was in return for a thank-offering sent by the Senate to the Emperor on March 1, 1719, in gratitude for the exemption of Macao from the terms of the edict interdicting navigation to the South Seas. A translation of Manoel Vicente Roza's letter on this occasion is given in R. M. Martin's *China* (London, 1847), vol. 1, p. 372. Marques Pereira and later writers have erroneously ascribed this letter to Albuquerque, but it is clear that he was not involved in this correspondence.

emerged some weeks later, when it was quite clear that the Governor would not use his position to pay off old scores. Similarly Manoel Vicente Roza, Francisco Leite, and his other former enemies, appear to have buried the hatchet and co-operated satisfactorily with him. Amongst the administrative measures enforced by Albuquerque in compliance with instructions from the Viceroy, were the prevention of the sale of houses to Chinese by Portuguese, and the limitation of the number of girls entering the Convent of Santa Clara as nuns. This last measure was particularly necessary in the eyes of the Portuguese authorities, as one of the reasons for the decline of the European population of Macao, was that most wealthy girls sought to take the veil instead of bestowing themselves and their riches on amorous but impecunious bachelors. Trade with Cochin-China was also developed under Albuquerque's auspices, and he forced the Senate to give the local Chinese a share in this commerce which that monopolistically-inclined body was reluctant to grant.

After handing over the government of the Colony to his successor, Albuquerque stayed four months in the colony before leaving for Goa in the frigate *Nossa Senhora das Brotas* in January 1720, "to the universal regret of the citizens" as the eighteenth century chronicler assures us. Like all his voyages, this one proved slow and difficult, the frigate only reaching Goa on the 20th May. The day after its arrival, the Count of Ericeira wrote to Francisco Xavier Doutel that, ". . . Antonio de Albuquerque has arrived and although I have not yet spoken to him, I see from letters written by very trustworthy persons who were formerly bitterly opposed to him, that his government was a most successful one, and that he knew how to conquer his private feelings when the common weal demanded it. . . ."

The only discordant note in this chorus of praise was struck by his successor, Antonio de Silva Tello, who wrote to the Viceroy that Albuquerque, annoyed at being replaced before his triennial term expired, had reportedly threatened that he would soon return as Governor, boasting that his considerable private fortune would enable him to secure his ends. The Count of Ericeira replied that this story was probably founded on nothing better than malicious gossip, and elsewhere in the same letter he warned Silva Tello against trusting anybody too much, since the citizens of Macao "like all Asiatics are experts in the art of introducing the most deadly poison under the most harmless guise." From the context of this letter, it would appear that Francisco Xavier Doutel was the new Governor's closest *confidant* and thus the snake in the grass, despite his apparent reconciliation with Albuquerque.

It may be added that Dom Luis de Menezes, Count of Ericeira, was an interesting personality and typical of the best type of *Grand Seigneur* who flourished in the palmy days of the *Ancien Régime*. He was a member of an aristocratic family which had long been notable for both literary gifts and martial prowess. After serving with distinction in the War of the Spanish Succession, he was appointed Viceroy of India at the unusually early age of twenty-seven. Despite his youth, his three year administration was one of the most successful experienced by Portuguese India during the eighteenth century. Unlike the majority of his contemporaries, he took a deep and genuine interest in the civilization of the Asiatic powers, especially as regards India and China. He gathered an extensive collection of Oriental books and manuscripts during his stay at Goa, in addition to assembling a fine armoury of Asiatic weapons. He kept up a close correspondence with the Jesuit Fathers at the Court of Peking, and the following extract from a letter of his written to Father João Mourão on the 21st April 1720, shows the wide range of interests of his active mind.

I thank you most heartily for the historical notices which Your Paternity sent me regarding the Emperor, the Imperial Family, and description of the Palace interior; I read them with such keen enjoyment that I sent a copy to their Majesties the King and Queen. I hope that Your Paternity will send me similar materials by each monsoon, and that you will likewise inform me whether in Tartary or in any country bordering on the Great Mogul, or with China, there are any places which follow the Law of Moses, and whether this belief was transmitted from the tribes which Salmanzar transported to the Kingdom of Kashmir, now subject to the Mogul, and whether their Old Testament is corrupted or precisely the same as ours. Besides these matters I welcome all information you can procure about the boundaries, wars, interests, Religion, products, trade, riches, government, names, ages, virtues and vices of the monarchs ruling the nations bordering on China. Whether the caravans go annually in two months from the city of Kashgar, formerly Court of the Kings of Kashgar, to Cathay, and the true location of this still so little-known country. Also whether there are people who profess Judaism in any part of China; and similarly I desire a list (if possible) of Maps of the Kingdoms which border on the North of China and the great Mogul and Northern Tartary; and information as to whether there is still a Tartarian Monarchy since the Tartars have become naturalised after conquering China, and if so, to whom it is subject; also an account of the border regions of Muscovy and China. Besides the geographical accounts you may send me, I would also appreciate some concerning animals, birds, plants and trees.

The worthy Father must have been somewhat taken aback at these sweeping requests, but even if he tried to collect all this material, it could not have reached Goa before the Count of Ericeira sailed for home in January 1721, at the end of his viceroyalty. The voyage proved to be a disastrous one. With

his ship dismasted in a storm, the Count was forced to put into the newly founded French colony in the island of Bourbon (the modern Reunion). Whilst the battered vessel lay at anchor in the roadstead of Saint Denis undergoing repairs, she was unexpectedly attacked and captured by the pirate ships *Victory* and *Fancy* under the celebrated corsair Jasper Seager *alias* Captain England. Dom Luis de Menezes quixotically returned to the ship from the shore when the pirate vessels hove in sight, and narrowly escaped death in the hand-to-hand struggle which raged on the deck when the pirates boarded the vessel, his sword being broken in the fight.

When the pirates realized the importance of their prize, they treated their illustrious prisoner in a manner typical of the engagingly formal way in which warfare was conducted during the "Age of Reason." They did indeed demand a high ransom for the person of the ex-Viceroy, but once the amount was agreed on—and paid on his behalf by the French Governor Beauvillier—he was conducted ashore by a cortege of the pirate officers, whilst the *Victory* and *Fancy* fired a salute of twenty-one guns. Nor did their courtesy stop here. They informed the Count that if he would point out his baggage and personal property, they would return him all his goods intact. With true Iberian hauteur, Dom Luis de Menezes scornfully rejected this proposal to differentiate between him and his fellow passengers, and when the pirates persisted in their offer, he fiercely declared that if they gave him back any of his baggage he would throw it into the sea before their eyes. His biographer informs us, and we may well believe it to be true, that the thing he regretted most about this disaster, was the loss of his fine collection of Asiatic books and manuscripts, which was left to be used as cartridge paper by the ignorant corsairs. Our regret at the loss of these priceless manuscripts for posterity is somewhat lessened by the realization that even if the Count had accepted the pirates' offer, the collection would either have perished in the fire which a few weeks later devoured his remaining property in the island, or else in the conflagration which destroyed the magnificent library of the house of Ericeira in the great Lisbon earthquake of 1755.<sup>12</sup>

Whilst Dom Luis de Menezes was philosophically trying to find in Governor Beauvillier's well-stocked library some compensation for the loss of his own, Antonio de Albuquerque was back in Macao, not as Governor of this place, but on his way to the Lesser Sunda Islands of Timor and Solor. These

<sup>12</sup> After further misadventures the Count finally reached Portugal, *via* France, in June 1723. In Lisbon he devoted his leisure to his historical and literary studies, being one of the most active members of the Royal Academy of History. Created Marquis of Lourical in 1740, he was nominated Viceroy of India for the second time, and died at Goa two years later.

islands which had been under some sort of vague Portuguese suzerainty since the middle of the sixteenth century, were in an anarchical state of affairs at this time owing to the usurpation of the Governor's functions by the ambitious and intriguing Goanese friar Manoel de Santo Antonio, titular Bishop of Malacca. It was not surprising that the new Viceroy, Francisco José de Sampaio e Castro, anxious to find someone capable of coping with the bellicose Bishop (who had already expelled two previous Governors) should have selected Antonio de Albuquerque, fresh from his outstandingly successful time at Macao, for the ticklish post of Governor and Captain-General of these remote and unrestful islands. Writing to inform the King of his decision in January 1722, the Viceroy gave the reasons for his choice in the following terms.

With the object of pacifying these islands, I appointed Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho as their Governor, in recognition of the talent, skill and prudence which he displayed during his year's governorship of Macao, contrary to the expectation of many persons who thought that he was vindictive on account of what he had suffered during the time he was a married citizen there, and believed that his aim in accepting the governorship was to revenge himself and forcibly collect the debts owed him in that city; but he behaved himself so well and treated everyone so fairly, that they all wrote to the Viceroy Count of Ericeira expressing their regret at his leaving that city and government. The first to do this was the Bishop, who in previous years had given an unfavorable report on him, but who now wrote to the Count of Ericeira declaring that to ease his conscience he was compelled to retract what he had formerly written which was based on false information, and to testify to Albuquerque's good administration.

This was praise indeed, for the Bishop of Macao, Dom João do Casal, was a cantankerous old prelate who was not accustomed to revise his views, being famous for the obstinacy with which he defended what he conceived to be the right. Consecrated Bishop of Macao in 1690, he reached his diocese two years later and retained his post as its pastor for forty-five years, until his death at the ripe age of ninety-four in September 1735. During this half century he was the leading figure in the life of the colony, and took a prominent part in the stormy scenes which centered around the reception of the Papal Legate, Cardinal de Tournon, in 1705-1710, the revolt against the Governor Diogo de Pinho Teixeira, and the acrimonious quarrels over ecclesiastical jurisdiction between the Portuguese priests of the *Padroado* and the French and Italian clergy of the Propaganda. Of the type that would rather break than bend, he weathered these and many other storms that punctuated Macao's eventful history, nor would he resign his post although virtually

incapacitated for many years by ill-health.<sup>18</sup> Even when a Coadjutor, the Bishop of Uranopolis, was appointed to help him in 1724, the ailing Dom João do Casal refused to pay his assistant's stipend and generally showed himself so uncooperative, that the latter left in disgust for Portugal ten years later. Only after Casal's death in 1735, could the new Bishop claim his rightful inheritance and even then he had to prosecute his predecessor's nephew, Manoel Freire do Casal, the Dean of the Cathedral, who taking advantage of his uncle's decrepitude, had embezzled the greater part of the episcopal funds.

As was to be expected, Albuquerque's governorship of Timor was marked by sharp disputes with the Bishop of Malacca, culminating in an open clash which resulted in the arrest and expulsion of the ambitious prelate, who was forcibly deported by Albuquerque to Macao in July 1722. This did not mean the end of the trouble however, as a native rebellion, apparently instigated by the Bishop or his sympathisers, broke out in the western part of the island, which soon reduced the territory precariously held by the Portuguese to their solitary stronghold of Lifao. Albuquerque accused the Dutch authorities of the neighbouring settlement of Coupang and the Chinese smugglers they favoured, of secretly fanning the flames of this revolt, but the drastic punitive methods he adopted seem to have made the situation worse rather than better. Nevertheless he managed to hold out until the completion of his tenure of office and after handing over the reins of government to his successor, left for Goa by way of Macao.

The passage of time had evidently not dimmed the memory of his dead wife and child, as during his stay in the City of the Name of God in the winter of 1725, he had a solemn mass celebrated for the repose of his wife's soul, which function was featured by the firing of minute guns from the Citadel of Monte, and the tolling of all church bells throughout the city at the end of the ceremony. It was on this occasion that Albuquerque had a funerary urn made, in which he deposited the bones of his beloved wife and child together with those of his right arm which had been amputated in 1709. This urn was originally deposited in the Church of Saint Francis, where it was discovered during the demolition of the old convent in 1865, and whence it was transferred to the Church of Saint Augustin, where it may still be seen by the curious visitor.

The remainder of Albuquerque's career was not connected with Macao and need therefore only be summarized here. Two years after his return to

<sup>18</sup> In a letter to the Senators the Bishop complained that "the act of extending my hand to take p a pen causes me unbearable shooting pains in the head." Despite this constant suffering, he consistently turned a deaf ear to all suggestions that he should resign.



Goa in 1726, he was appointed Governor and Captain-General of the island of Patta (situated on the East African coast midway between Mombassa and Kismayu) which was included in the ephemeral recapture of Mombassa from the Arabs of Oman by a Portuguese expedition in 1727. Unfortunately Albuquerque was on bad terms with his colleague, Alvaro Caetano de Mello e Castro, the Governor of Mombassa; personal rivalry and the lack of co-operation between the two, led to the former abandoning Patta after a six months' occupation, whilst the latter was compelled to surrender Mombassa to the Arabs in December 1729. On his return to Goa Albuquerque was brought to trial for evacuating the island and failing to relieve Mombassa, but was honourably acquitted despite reports that his "cunning conduct and bribery of witnesses" had contributed to this result, according to the Viceroy João Saldanha da Gama. Reading between the lines of Albuquerque's defence, one is left with the impression that he was jealous of Alvaro Caetano, and that his principal motive in returning to Goa was the expectation that he would be appointed to command the expedition then being prepared for the relief of Mombassa.

Be this as it may, his conduct of operations at Patta does not seem to have done him any permanent harm, for the Viceroy, Count of Sandomil, reporting to the King on the qualifications of the leading personages in Portuguese India on 23rd January 1735, stated that he was "very capable, intelligent and had a very good manner in dealing with people. He served with distinction and credit in the governments of Macao and Timor, according to the information at my disposal, whilst I do not consider that he did badly in Patta, since Your Majesty acquitted him, through a dispatch of the Overseas Council, of the charges brought against him in this connection. I consider him fit for any post, and especially that of Macao, which today stands in greater need of ability and hard work than of other qualities, which for that matter he likewise possesses." Despite this recommendation, he was not again appointed Governor of Macao, and was still in Goa at the time of the Mahratta war and invasion of 1740, on which occasion he served as one of the district commandants.

Albuquerque appears to have been of a deeply religious nature, at any rate since the death of his dearly loved wife, and he always displayed a noticeable preference for Franciscan friars as his ghostly councillors. It was in the Franciscan Convent at Macao that he took refuge after his attempted assassination in 1709, and he stayed here until his recovery was complete. It was here that he was married and here that he buried his wife and child. His chaplain in the adventurous journey from Goa to Macao in 1717-1718 was a

Capuchin Friar, and he was accompanied by Franciscans on his expedition to Patta in 1729. Consequently it is not surprising to find that in the evening of his days he decided to enter the Franciscan Convent in Goa, where the last recorded mention of him is made in a vicergal report of 1745. This document states that he had renounced the world and was leading a saintly life in the retirement of the cloister. Here no doubt he died soon afterwards; but it is permissible to think that despite his exemplary piety, his thoughts must have strayed sometimes to those bygone days in Macao when he and Maria de Moura found to their cost that the course of true love never did run smooth.

*Autograph signature of Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho dated 1729; made with his left hand, twenty years after losing his right.*