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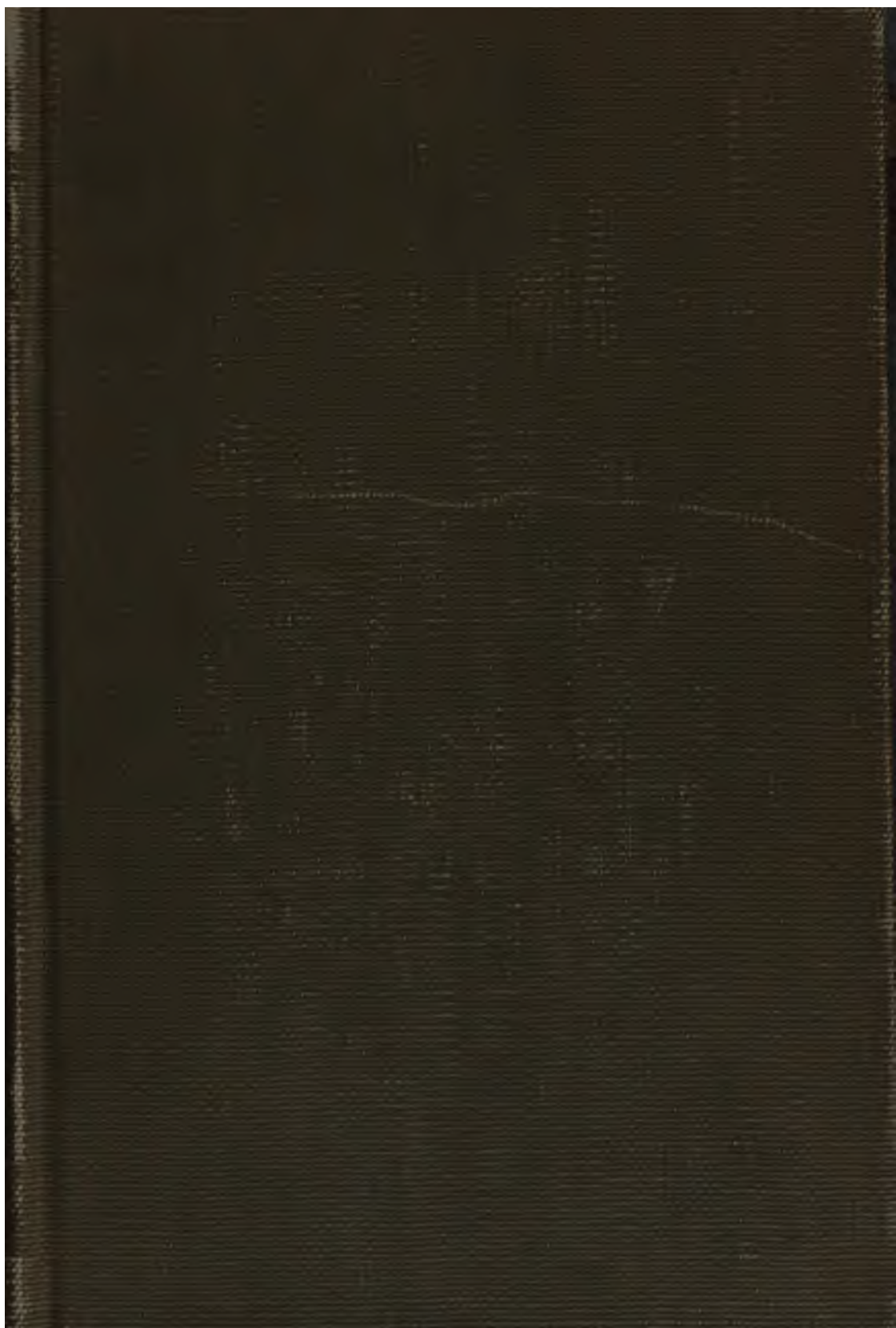
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C. A. MONTALTO DE JESUS.

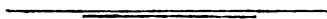








# HISTORIC MACAO



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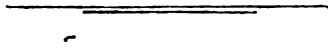








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MACAO



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## PREFACE

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THE historic interest centred at Macao should have already led to more light being thrown on the records of that important landmark of Western intercourse with the Far East, particularly as to China's foreign policy in her halcyon days. But though indispensable for a thorough appreciation of causes and effects still felt, the history of Macao, uncommonly rich and significant as it is, has been allowed to remain buried in obscurity, belittled by superficial writers whose prejudices and inaccuracies are almost perpetuated.

For three centuries, it should be borne in mind, Macao stood as a unique breach in the Chinese exclusivism which so effectually withstood the pressure of successive rulers of the deep. To uphold that exceptional position, to tide over an ever precarious situation, hard indeed was the struggle of the Portuguese against a rampant mandarindom as well as against the ambitious designs of several maritime powers: whilst far-reaching were the penalties of a martyrlike espousal of Rome's cause in the Far East, and of an unswerving though ill-requited loyalty towards Portugal, under circumstances which verily constitute the reverse of Montesquieu's saying, *Heureux le peuple dont l'histoire est ennuyeuse.*

In the dawn of a promising new era for foreigners in China, Macao found, alas, that it ushered in her darkest days. And fallen from her pride of place, spoliated, blighted, well might she in her desolation utter that awful plaint of Zion: All ye that pass by, listen and see if there be any woe like unto my woe.

Child of that sorrow, the writer has dedicated himself heart and soul to this labour of love, and for long beguiled by it, may perhaps be excused if its last page evokes these apposite lines of Byron:

If I do blot thy final page with tears,  
 Know that my sorrows have wrung from me none.  
 But thou, my young creation! my soul's child!  
 That ever playing round me came and smiled,  
 And would not leave me from myself with thy sweet sight,  
 Thou too art gone—and so is my delight.

There remains the hope that the work may not be looked upon as an *enfant terrible* because it aims to be in strict accordance with the law of history.

C. A. MONTALTO DE JESUS.

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# HISTORIC MACAO

## I.

The narratives of Marco Polo's journey to China are known to have had no inconsiderable influence on the nautical enterprises which culminated in the epoch-making exploit of Vasco da Gama—an influence which, it may naturally be expected, should early have led the Portuguese to the marvellous Cathay so glowingly depicted by the Venetian traveller. Yet, it was twenty years since the discovery of the sea route to India when the Portuguese sent their first China expedition, such must have been the strair on their inadequate resources at that epoch of exploration and conquest. The first expedition to Malacca, however, brought royal orders to ascertain various matters concerning China, particularly as to whether foreigners were then settled there. Under the auspices of Albuquerque shortly after, on the eve of the storming of Malacca, intercourse between the Portuguese and Chinese began there with an *entente cordiale* which singularly contrasted with the treacherous hostility of the Malays. The masters of some Chinese junks at that port, while smarting under the sultan's tyranny and rapacity, met with kindness and protection at the hands of Albuquerque, to whom they proffered their assistance. In courteously declining it, he had in view not only the proud prestige of Portuguese arms, but also the safeguard of the Chinese community that might otherwise have been victimised in reprisal. The great warrior-statesman bade his would-be auxiliaries

witness the valour with which the almost impregnable city would be conquered; and on their return to China impress upon their countrymen the advisability of having the Portuguese for friends. That Albuquerque entertained a high opinion of Chinese civilisation may be gauged from the fact that in his Commentaries it is remarked that he noticed more politeness and humanity in the masters of Chinese junks than in the pink of European aristocracy—an opinion which, howsoever staggering nowadays, was then justified by the grossness and brutality which characterised the Middle Ages. Albuquerque's policy, on the other hand, had the desired effect of creating a favourable impression among the Chinese: when the sultan—a vassal of China—appealed to Peking for succour, it was denied him, evidently because unlike him the Portuguese had treated the Chinese well. But the conquest of a tributary state of China anticipated dissensions. If tribute was any longer expected from Malacca, it could only be what Albuquerque once significantly gave at Ormuz—a cannon-ball. Albuquerque sent envoys to Siam and other neighbouring states, but none to China; possibly he reserved for himself the task of shaping the destinies of the Portuguese in that empire. But ere long, alas, his recall, followed by death, deprived the Portuguese of a matchless leader, honoured and feared wherever he went, saw, and conquered.

It was under one of Albuquerque's most distinguished officers that the first China expedition was sent, heralded by two notable voyages in junks from Malacca: Jorge Alvares in 1515 posted a stone pillar with the arms of Portugal at Tamou<sup>1</sup>; and in the following year went Raphael Perestrello, the rich outcome of whose ventures in China dazzled the Portuguese at Malacca. The trade between Canton and Malacca was then centred at the port of Tamou (Namo Harbour) in Hau Chuen Island, adjacent

to Chang Chuen, or Sanchuan, commonly known as St. John's Island. In 1517 a Portuguese fleet appeared there, five ships and four junks, under the command of Fernão Peres de Andrade, who had signalised himself at the gallant storming of Malacca. The imposing European ships—the first to plough the China Sea—were viewed upon with characteristic Chinese misgivings. An imperial squadron, stationed there in consequence of rampant piracy, bore down upon the strange newcomers, firing a few small shots. With a flourish of trumpets, however, Andrade's gaily bedecked vessels peacefully made for the port; and upon enquiry the *hai-tao* was reassured as to the friendly nature of the mission. The fleet brought an embassy with a letter and presents from the King of Portugal to the Emperor of China. According to Barros,<sup>2</sup> the envoy Thomé Pires was but an apothecary employed in selecting drugs sent home from India, and yet deemed well suited for the mission, being not only prepossessing and learned, liberal-minded and pleasant to deal with, but also an inquisitive, smart observer,—qualities to which, it is said, he owed the appointment at the hands of the governor of Goa, whom the king had instructed to send an embassy to China. It was proposed to land the envoy and establish commercial relations at Canton; and as the mandarins evaded repeated requests to this effect, Andrade forced his way thither with two ships and all boats available. This gave rise to difficulties on arrival, aggravated by the unprecedented display of a foreign flag, and firing of a salute which was evidently mistaken for hostilities.<sup>3</sup> After due explanations, however, the embassy was accorded

Dec. III, Book II, Chap. VIII.

<sup>2</sup> According to a Chinese account "foreigners from the West called Fa-lan-ki, who said they had tribute, abruptly entered the Bogue and by their tremendously loud guns shook the place far and near. This was reported at court, and an order returned to drive them away immediately and stop the trade." *Chinese Repository*, I, 369.



a cordial reception ; while the commercial transactions, which began under most favourable auspices, were marred by the death of the factor. Sickness prevailed among the Portuguese ; and at the news of a piratical onset upon the rest of the fleet, they returned to Tamou. Before leaving, Andrade proclaimed that he would redress any grievance against his men—a procedure which the Chinese admired and extolled. At the sight of large quantities of gold brought by Japanese traders to Tamou, Andrade despatched an exploring party in a ship commanded by Jorge Mascarenhas, who had proceeded as far as Chincheo, in the province of Fokien, when he was recalled in consequence of the fleet being urgently needed for the relief of Malacca. That diplomatic and commercial relations were not the only object in view may be gathered from the order brought by the expedition to procure famous Chinese books and have them translated, and also to bring home some Chinese men and women. Several chroniclers of that epoch, notably Castanheda and Couto, affirm that Fernão Peres de Andrade was himself the ambassador to China. There is, indeed, plausible ground for supposing that such might originally have been the case ; and in view of the derogatory exigencies of the Chinese court, Andrade might have waived his precedence, and disdainfully appointed the druggist as envoy. Anyhow, the protracted stay of Pires at Canton points to some serious hitch.

The annexation of Tamou, apparently projected when Jorge Alvares erected the *padrao* there, was boldly attempted by Simão de Andrade, another hero of Malacca, who in 1518 reached Tamou with a ship and three junks. For the purpose of defending the place against piratical attacks, he constructed a fort ; and as a deterrent, he raised gallows on an adjacent islet, where a delinquent was eventually put to death with all the impressive formalities of an execution in Portugal—assumptions of

sovereignty which gave great umbrage to the Chinese government. While several towns were sacked by native marauders in the name of foreigners, the Portuguese were rendered still more hated through sensational outcries to the effect that many Cantonese boys and girls of good families had been kidnapped and sold to Simão de Andrade for the purpose of being eaten roasted. The anti-foreign prejudices thus maliciously stirred were accentuated by further high-handed measures: Simão de Andrade controlled the trade and shipping of Tamou, refused to pay duties, and ill-used a customs official severely.<sup>4</sup> It was obviously this Andrade who thrashed a mandarin and thereby roused such animosity that, according to Gaspar da Cruz,<sup>5</sup> it ended in his desperate retreat with the loss of some vessels; whilst as related by Couto,<sup>6</sup> an imperial edict in big gilt characters was posted over the gate of Canton forbidding admittance to "long-bearded and large-eyed men." In almost every account of early Portuguese intercourse with China, Simão de Andrade is held up to execration as an inhuman, wanton marplot. For his assumption of authority at Tamou, no justification is found in the exasperating intolerance of mandarindom, the rife piracy, and the necessity of founding a Portuguese stronghold on such perilous and inhospitable shores; and while credence is readily given to every aspersion, the alleged iniquities are not even confronted with noteworthy antecedents: that Simão de Andrade, like Fernão Peres de Andrade, was one of those distinguished officers whose sense of justice and humanity prompted them to protest against the outrageous execution of Ruy Dias; that for this reason they were put in chains; and Albuquerque himself

<sup>4</sup> Barros: Dec. III, Book VI, Chap. II.

<sup>5</sup> *Tractado da China*, Chap. XXII.

<sup>6</sup> Dec. V, Book VIII, Chap. XII.

reinstated both the Andrades in view of their eminent qualities.

In 1521 another fleet mustered at Tamou,—first a privileged nobleman's trading ship, and several junks, including that of the pioneer, who died there soon after and was buried close to the *padrão* he had posted—the furthest landmark yet raised by a Portuguese navigator. On arrival, the vessels were ordered off the coast, as on the death of a Chinese emperor, it was alleged, all foreigners must quit the empire. Refusing to leave, the Portuguese stood on the defensive. An imperial fleet of fifty sail now besieged the port; while several Portuguese, on going to Canton for trading purposes, were arrested and imprisoned. Others coming from Siam and Patane were attacked and either slain or captured with their vessels. Two more junks now reached Tamou, one well equipped and owned by Duarte Coelho, who, assailed while trying to accommodate matters, wrought havoc with his artillery. The Chinese made occasional onsets during the siege, but dared not come to close quarters, and after a bloody encounter, they were burying their dead at a bay three leagues off, when another ship and junk slipped into Tamou. The situation there was precarious. The junks were all undermanned, none having more than eight Portuguese on board. A consultation was held among the captains. Duarte Coelho, who led the party, eventually rallied the men in the two ships and his own junk, and, under cover of night sallied forth after a siege of forty days. On the following morning, the 8th September 1521, the three vessels met the imperial fleet. A desperate struggle ensued. With the romantic devotion to the Virgin so characteristic of Portuguese navigators, Duarte Coelho at that critical moment ordered a general appeal to the celestial protectrix, that being the day of her nativity; and a storm which opportunely arose was naively regarded as due to her aid.

inasmuch as the gale greatly helped the Virgin's devotees to effect their miraculous escape, in commemoration of which Duarte Coelho, on arrival at Malacca, founded an asylum in her honour.

Meanwhile an emissary reached Nanking claiming the emperor's protection for the rajah of Bintam, a vassal of the ex-sultan of Malacca; and as a sequence to the intrigues of this emissary, the viceroy of Nanking reported to the emperor that, under pretext of trading, the Franks—so were the Portuguese then called in China—had come to spy the empire's most vulnerable point with the view of settling there as merchants and then taking the place by force of arms, as they had done in India and Malacca.

It was under such inauspicious circumstances that the envoy Thomé Pires, who all the while tarried at Canton, was, in 1520, invited to Peking, whither he proceeded by the Grand Canal route with three galleys flying the Portuguese standard, although contrary to the usage of the land. Accustomed as the court of Peking was to tributary embassies only, the lofty tenour of Dom Manoel's letter was deemed derogatory to the Son of Heaven. Another letter from Fernão Peres de Andrade the interpreters at Canton perverted into a vassal's petition, while a memorial from the viceroy of Canton reported that Andrade had petitioned for establishing a factory at Canton, and that, hard to please, the conquerors of Malacca were most presumptuous as to honours. The imperial council, noticing the disparity in the terms of these letters, declared Pires an impostor and a spy. As if to seal the fate of the embassy, tidings now came of Simão de Andrade's high-handed proceedings, which unfortunately lent colour to malicious aspersions representing the Portuguese in the blackest hue. At this juncture the emperor died. His successor, overruling the court's intention to execute Pires, ordered the

ill-starred embassy to be conveyed back with the royal presents to Canton, and there to be released if the Portuguese surrendered Malacca, failing which the hostages would suffer. In any case, all intercourse between the Portuguese and Chinese was to be stopped. Instead of restoring Malacca to the sultan, the Portuguese, after repelling an onset there, fell upon Bintam. From Canton, letters which reached the Portuguese years after, revealed the cruel sufferings of the embassy in prison, where Pires was robbed of the rejected royal presents as well as of a quantity of musk, rhubarb, damask, satin, gold and silver he had with him for trading purposes. It was generally believed that ultimately the hapless embassy perished in prison.<sup>7</sup> But Mendez Pinto, in the course of his wanderings in China some twenty years later, appears to have come across a daughter of Pires, from whose accounts it transpired that, surviving atrocious tortures, her father and part of his suite had been banished to various provinces, and that he had spent the rest of his life in propagating the Christian faith, with which she happened to be conversant, praying in Portuguese with a pathos which moved the forlorn wanderer to tears.

Ignoring the sad fate of the embassy and desirous of concluding a treaty of peace and amity with China, Dom Manoel despatched a fleet with another envoy in command, Martim Affonso de Mello Coutinho, who brought orders to construct at Tamou, or wherever better adapted to protect the Portuguese in China, a fortress of which he was afterwards to assume the command, garrisoning it with part of

<sup>7</sup> The *Ming Shi*, or History of the Mings, relates that "the envoy and his suite behaved with great violence and rapacity, and a foreign cook named A-San, through the influence of the minister Kiang Pin, managed to get a position in attendance on the emperor, whom he amused with his buffoonery. This went on for two years when it transpired that A-San was only a Chinese servant to the foreigner; he was executed, and the tribute was refused." From Parker's *China's Intercourse with Europe*, p. 3.

the crew—the negotiations for all of which, it was expected, Pires had facilitated. The fleet, of six ships, reached Tamou in August 1522, together with Duarte Coelho, who prudently remained in the offing. The ships entered the port with perfect unconcern, but ere long, in view of hostile indications, they attempted to sail away, when a powerful imperial fleet set upon them. Outnumbered as they already were, a ship caught fire and blew up. A party led by Pedro Homem went forward in a boat to rescue the survivors in the water, and amidst prodigies of valour fell victims to their noble effort; while the rest of the fleet, finding the situation hopeless, cleaved a way with their artillery and made for Malacca. Many of the crew, captured by the Chinese, were either starved or tortured to death, some being cut to pieces alive as robbers.

Atrocities upon atrocities passed unavenged, what with the endless wars, revolts, and dilemmas which rendered the conquests of Portugal too burdensome for the shoulders of the second Atlas. Whilst from Ormuz to Malacca Portuguese arms triumphed over many a warlike race, Portugal's honour and dignity were repeatedly outraged by the less hardy Chinese with perfect impunity, for the naval and military forces necessary to vindicate the nation's prestige in China could not, without serious consequences, be detached from an ever-threatened dominion which the romantic bravery of a handful of heroes furthered until it assumed dimensions quite out of keeping with the scanty resources for its maintenance. And in the midst of constant predicaments, the Portuguese Government not only abandoned the project of constructing a stronghold in China, but, after the reverse of Tamou, treated prospective interests in that empire with fatal nonchalance. On the other hand, though divested of state support, undaunted Portuguese adventurers still braved the exclusivism and barbarities of a people in need of another

Great Wall to guard their seclusion, now assailed from the sea.

According to the *Tractado da China* of Gaspar da Cruz, the Chinese who emigrated in contravention of their laws, relied upon the Portuguese to keep up their communication with China, furnished them with guides and auxiliaries, and, after Andrade's imbroglio, led them to Liampo (Ningpo), where the mandarins, heavily bribed, winked at an interdicted commerce, which in course of time extended to Chincheo, and even re-established itself at the very gateways of Canton. Eventually the Portuguese, who had reached as far as Nanking, settled at Liampo. There "they had all but pillory and gallows." Through lawless proceedings, some of them came under the notice of the emperor, at whose command a powerful fleet was equipped in Fokien to drive away the marauders, specially those of Liampo. A protracted struggle ensued at Chincheo. No distinction being made between outlaws and honest people, the Portuguese traders, constantly harassed, were about to abandon the coast, when, at a private hint, they gladly accommodated matters with the Chinese commanders by means of rich presents. In course of time, however, the fleet resumed a strict surveillance. A clever ruse resulted in the capture of two Portuguese trading junks, whose men, goaded by people on shore, unwittingly landed to fight; and while they were thus lured away, their vessels were pounced upon by a squadron which rushed in from behind a headland close by. The mandarin who devised the plan went into raptures, and by a division of the spoils he secured the connivance of others for an expedient calculated to procure official promotion. He paraded the Portuguese who had been taken prisoners. Most went in cages; and four, gowned and bonneted, were conveyed in chairs, heralded by banners and trumpets, and proclaimed as kings of Malacca captured in a great battle.

Amidst much popular exultation the show went from town to town, spreading the mandarin's fame far and wide. That the royal imposture might not be divulged, the Chinese auxiliaries of the junks were nearly all executed. The hue and cry raised by their relatives at last brought about an official enquiry by a high functionary from Peking, who punished the mandarin concerned, and released most of the prisoners in spite of determined efforts to thwart the ends of justice and incriminate the Portuguese as robbers.

From another contemporaneous account, the famous *Peregrinação* of Mendez Pinto, it appears that Liampo was generally deemed the finest, wealthiest, and best provided settlement the Portuguese had in Asia,—a municipality with the officialdom of a Portuguese city, and styled by notaries and scriveners in wills and writs as "This most noble and ever loyal city of Liampo, for the King our lord," as if it were in Portugal itself. The colony reached the zenith of its prosperity after the discovery of Japan. The trade, estimated at over three millions in gold (crusados, evidently), yielded three or four times the capital invested. The community numbered twelve hundred Portuguese and eighteen hundred orientals, who thrived there unmolested by pirates. In the south, however, the Portuguese were often victimised, and trade between Malacca and Liampo suffered heavily. At last, Antonio de Faria, ruined, determined to revenge himself. With the support of his comrades, he equipped an expedition against his plunderer, the redoubtable Guzerat corsair Coja Acem, the terror of the China coast. Starting from Siam, Faria crushed many a mighty pirate; and one of his victories so impressed the Chinese, that they sent him a deputation proffering a tribute of twenty thousand taels, and soliciting his protection as king of the sea. He gladly assented, and issued passes on



condition of the Portuguese being treated by the Chinese in a brotherly manner wherever they met. Such was the rush for the passes that, by charging five taels on every junk and two on smaller craft, a clerk in thirteen days amassed four thousand taels besides valuable presents from merchants in a hurry for their papers. Enlivened by the capture of a Chinese sailor's bride and her suite, the expedition next came to grief, being shipwrecked on a desert island ; and the chase would have ended there, but for the seizure of a boat that casually called for water. Then, with the fleet of a Chinese pirate, Faria eventually succeeded in overtaking, routing, and killing Coja Acem and his horde, giving no quarter even to the wounded and sick found on shore. The victorious fleet, laden with rich spoils, was partly lost in a typhoon ; and the detention of a shipwrecked party on shore ended in a stirring episode. For the men's release, Faria, following the usage of the land, sent the mandarin a petition and presents. This failed to satisfy the mandarin, who promised to attend only with the petitioner prostrate at his feet. Faria, much piqued, now demanded the release on terms of equality, alluding to the king of Portugal and the emperor of China as friends and brothers. Highly incensed at this comparison, the conceited minion of the Son of Heaven declared that, addressed to in the petition as a *grand seigneur*, he had been moved to compassion, in spite of the presents being insignificant ; but now he ordered Faria to be off at once and without further parley, since he dared to meddle with things celestial. A substantial ransom was rejected and the messenger barbarously treated. The Portuguese thereupon landed, marched upon the town of Nou-day (Nan-tae ?), and to the flourish of banners, gong-beating, and bellicose antics of an opposing mob, they replied with a fusillade which sent the crowd flying away panic-stricken. They followed,

giving no quarter ; and “ in four or five credos ”—it was then customary to gauge the duration of a fight or any remarkable incident by the time it took to say so many credos—they routed the troops stationed at the gate of the town, shooting dead the mandarin in question, who wore an old-fashioned cuirass of purple velvet studded with gold nails, which, it was subsequently ascertained, belonged to the hapless Pires. The release having been effected, the town was sacked, and set on fire. On arrival at Liampo, Faria proposed to winter elsewhere if it was feared that, in consequence of the Nou-day affair, his presence might endanger the colony. He was reassured with the remark that he might even have burnt Canton safely, such was the turbulence which then distracted China. In celebration of the victory over Coja Acem, Faria was accorded a triumphal reception and fêted like a prince at Liampo. There, a Chinese corsair allured the intrepid adventurer with glowing accounts of riches treasured in an imperial mausoleum beyond Nanking, which Faria forthwith proceeded to rob and desecrate. That very year, the viceroy of Che-kiang ordered the destruction of Liampo.<sup>8</sup> From land and river, overwhelming forces fell upon the doomed city, massacring the foreigners, burning the ships in port, and reducing the colony to a heap of ruins, vestiges of which still remain—the arms of Portugal engraved upon a gate, and the ruins of a fort, at Chin-hae, of decidedly European design, with salient and re-entering angles, breastworks, and bastions. The disaster was ascribed to a raid ending in bloodshed which a pack of desperadoes perpetrated upon a village at the instigation of a leading citizen of Liampo, Lançarote Pereira, as a reprisal for losses occasioned by some Chinese traders who had decamped with his goods.

<sup>8</sup> In 1542, according to Mendez Pinto. Gaspar da Cruz, however, states that in 1548 the fleet was equipped in Fokien to oust the Portuguese from Liampo.

In assigning this cause, Mendez Pinto quite overlooked the probable consequences of the destruction of Nou-day, and above all of denunciations on the part of the bonzes at the mausoleum, whose indignation he himself depicts as an eye-witness. To a people so deeply imbued with dynastic and ancestral veneration, and with such anti-foreign prejudices as the Chinese, the profanation of imperial tombs by foreigners could not but have been a gross national outrage which in all likelihood was the primary cause of the catastrophe which followed in its wake—the direst which befell the Portuguese in their colonial enterprise.<sup>9</sup>

Three years after the destruction of Liampo, the Portuguese secured a footing at Chincheo by means of heavy bribes. There, too, the same horrible fate overtook them two years later, in consequence of a squabble over a dead Armenian's estate: an official administrator, Ayres Botelho de Sousa, stigmatised by Mendez Pinto as unprincipled and ravenous, seized as part of the estate some merchandise which two Chinese traders claimed as theirs; and on its not being given them, they complained to the mandarins, who thereupon forbade native intercourse with the Portuguese, cutting short their supply of provisions. Driven by hunger, they scoured the country in search of food. This ended in scuffles which roused the whole district against them. Whilst an army made short work of them, a fleet burned their ships; and out of five hundred Portuguese, only some thirty escaped a barbarous death.

Such was the cruel fate of the first European settlements in China—swept off the face of the earth, all for the lawless doings of a few, and involving a heart-rending

<sup>9</sup> It was not the first massacre of foreigners in China. According to the narratives of the Arab traveller Abuzaïd no less than 120,000 Arab, Jewish, Parsee, and Christian traders were butchered in the ninth century at Can-foo, probably Si-ngan-foo, where was unearthed the famous Nestorian tablet.

expiation by hundreds of honest men and their families. By these awful hecatombs China evidently meant to deter the Portuguese from resorting to her inhospitable shores. Nothing, however, daunted these hardy navigators.

The proscripts now resorted to Sanchuan. But, conscious of instability, they contented themselves with flying visits only. Some made tents with their sails and oars; others raised matsheds, which were pulled down when—their interdicted trade settled—they left the island. It was all that the purchased tolerance of the mandarins permitted. To venture into Canton meant lifelong imprisonment, if not tortures, death.

Precarious and discouraging as the situation was, the intrepid missionary so deservedly called the Apostle of the Orient prevailed upon Dom Affonso de Noronha, viceroy of Goa, to send an embassy to China for the purpose of fostering the cause of Christianity and obtaining the release of many Portuguese prisoners there. A warm admirer and friend of the zealous missionary was chosen for envoy, Diogo Pereira, a wealthy merchant, at whose expense presents were brought for the court of Peking. But on the way to China, in 1552, the mission came to grief: at Malacca, the Governor, Dom Alvaro da Gama, who, it was said, owed Diogo Pereira a grudge, detained him on the pretext that as Dom Vasco da Gama's son he was the competent personage for the important post of envoy to China, and not one who had but lately been a nobleman's servant. To enforce the embargo, the rudder was taken off Diogo Pereira's ship, on the ground that the vessel was needed for the defence of the place. St. Francis excommunicated Dom Alvaro and actually shook the dust of Malacca off his shoes as he embarked without the envoy and presents. Ill, distressed, the romantic and self-sacrificing Spanish aristocrat reached Sanchuan only to

end his extraordinary career in that solitude while waiting to join a tributary embassy from Siam. Possibly the Governor of Malacca knew better than the viceroy of Goa how another embassy to China would then fare : another ambassadorial sacrifice at the shrine of the Son of Heaven would be not only futile and impolitic, but most derogatory ; while the evangelical project was deemed so rash that no native at Sanchuan would, for love or money, even conduct St. Francis Xavier to Canton.

Thenceforth, when calling at Sanchuan, the Portuguese invariably went and prayed at the holy man's grave. This observance, which continued after the removal of the honoured remains to Goa, would seem to have roused certain misgivings : the mandarins, it is surmised, apprehended that the Portuguese meant to appropriate the place on the Chinese principle that the kith and kin of the dead have a sacred right over their burial ground. In 1554 the Portuguese were forbidden to frequent Sanchuan.

At the same time an adjacent island, Lampacao, (Lang-peh Kau) was assigned as the centre of the foreign trade. By agreeing to pay duties, it is said, the Portuguese obtained leave to settle there as well as to trade at Canton. At bottom, however, this rapprochement might perhaps be due to the fact that a formidable piratical incursion at this epoch rendered it advisable for the Chinese to centre their foreign trade at Canton instead of in the offing. Soon the community at Lampacao rose to over five hundred Portuguese carrying on a flourishing trade, mostly in pepper bartered for silk and musk. Thenceforward they lived in peace and without the casualties which in former times befell their vessels, for, hunted down by the imperial fleet, they resorted to the offing, exposing themselves to typhoons which few survived. The compromise was effected by Lionel de Sousa, the commodore of a fleet bound for Japan, who in

a letter dated 1554 to the Infante Dom Luiz, remarked that the Portuguese, it would seem, were then only for the first time known as such to the Chinese, having been up to this period denominated Franks—a term among orientals for Europeans in general. According to Gaspar da Cruz, the Portuguese were now also styled “foreign people,” instead of “foreign devils” as they had been yclept since the days of Andrade’s escapades.

Conflicting Chinese accounts variously date the origin of the colony of Macao before the Portuguese settled at Lampacao. Such accounts, to say the least, are unreliable. To gauge the sway exercised by the national vanity of the Chinese over their accounts of foreign intercourse, the following is an instance at once typical and amusing: “About the middle of the Ming dynasty the Portuguese borrowed the use of Haou-king-gao (Macao), which is situated in the midst of dashing waves, where immense fish rise up and plunge again into the deep; the clouds hover over it, and the prospect is really beautiful. They passed over the ocean myriads of miles in a wonderful manner, and small and great ranged themselves under the renovating influence of the glorious sun of the Celestial Empire.”<sup>10</sup>

The dark days of vicissitudes had ended. A better era was about to dawn, when by returning a great good for crying wrongs, by crushing the pirates who infested the China coast, the Portuguese at last won the good graces of the most exclusive and prejudiced of peoples, securing among them at Macao an exceptional position which, however unsatisfactory in some respects, was for long envied by many an ambitious maritime power.

<sup>10</sup> *Intercourse of the Chinese with Foreign Nations, in the Chinese Repository, Vol. I, 369.*

## II.

Towards the middle of the sixteenth century, China's anti-foreign policy, fraught as it was with galling abuses, so roused the Japanese who traded along the China coast, that, in concert with native desperadoes, they retaliated by frequent descents upon the maritime provinces, spreading horror and devastation from Che-kiang to Kwang-tung. While the imperial forces stood disorganised and demoralised, the combined piratical fleets assumed such proportions that, according to a Chinese chronicle, it was, in 1551, no longer possible to crush them. In vain the Chinese government sought to win over their redoubtable chieftain by every possible means. After ravaging several towns in Fokien, the brigands in 1557 moved southward, causing great consternation at Canton.<sup>1</sup>

According to the records of Macao, the Portuguese at this conjuncture attacked and destroyed a great number of the pirates, dislodging them from their fastness at Macao, whence the survivors of the horde took refuge at an island, since then denominated Ilha de Ladrões.<sup>2</sup> By this feat of arms the Portuguese acquired possession of Macao. The signal services rendered by them were reported to the emperor, who expressed his acknowledgment, sending their commander a *chapa de ouro*.<sup>3</sup> In the same year—1557—

<sup>1</sup> From the *Ming Shi*. Vide Wade's *Japan: A Chapter from the Hsi Kwoh Tu Chi*.

<sup>2</sup> Hence the Ladrões.

<sup>3</sup> Generally believed to have been an honorific document in golden characters, *chapa* being a colloquial term at Macao for an official Chinese document. But according to Gaspar da Cruz, *chapa de ouro* means the device in gold embroidered on the robe of a high-graded functionary, a *quin chao*, who himself was known to the Portuguese of that epoch as a *chapa de ouro*. (Vide *Tractado da China*, chap. XVI and XXV). On the other hand, when in modern times Portuguese lorchas suppressed piracy, their captains were sometimes presented by the mandarins with *chapas de prata*, or silver plates with laudatory inscriptions.

the mandarins and merchants of Canton obtained imperial sanction for the Portuguese to establish themselves at Macao. This the emperor confirmed in documents which were subsequently recorded in stone and woodwork at the senate-house of Macao. <sup>4</sup>

What became of these documents is a riddle : even in stone they are no longer recorded in the colony. Such documents, however, are perfectly immaterial inasmuch as, according to an official version emanating from the Colonial Office of Lisbon, the Portuguese sovereignty over Macao is not based upon any grace or concession on the part of the emperor of China :

The China Sea was infested by pirates and insurgents who wrought havoc on the trade and shipping, when, after due preparation, the Portuguese assailed the marauders, and soon cleared the sea of the scourge, much to the relief and joy of the Chinese. The Portuguese then bore down upon Heang-shan, where large tracts were held by a powerful chieftain. After staunch resistance, he was vanquished, and the island taken, by vassals of the crown of Portugal ; whence it results that the sovereignty in question is founded on the right of conquest, acquired by the arms of Portugal, and at the cost of Portuguese blood. The island occupied, and Macao being best adapted for trading purposes, the city was built on that peninsula. This the Chinese would certainly not have permitted unless they fully recognised the Portuguese rights over that territory. Nor would the Portuguese have incurred the heavy outlay they did in building the city, had they not been quite sure of their rights to do so independently of the

<sup>4</sup>This is corroborated by an English sinologue. "In the senate-house, which is built of granite and two stories high, are several columns of the same material, with Chinese characters cut into them signifying a solemn cession of the place from the emperor of China." Sir George Staunton's Accounts of Lord Macartney's Embassy to China, Vol. II, 588.



laws and government of China. It is traditionally recorded, however, that, for better safeguard, the founders of Macao insisted upon their possession being confirmed by the Chinese emperor, who, in return for the deliverance of his subjects from piratical depredations and atrocities, not only acquiesced in the request, but accorded the Portuguese many privileges and immunities. Such is the version given in an exhaustive memorandum of Martinho de Mello e Castro, the celebrated minister for the Colonies.<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, Chinese chroniclers ascribe quite a different origin to the colony :

According to the *Ming Shi*, the Franks availed themselves of China's preoccupation with the pirates to take possession of Macao. Then the foreign trade,—which although interdicted since 1522 had been tolerated at Tien-pak for the sake of official perquisites,—was, through bribery, removed in 1534 to Macao, where the Franks and various oriental traders secured a footing, setting up “a sort of state of their own.”<sup>6</sup>

The *Ao-men Ki-lioh*, or History of Macao, alleges that the Portuguese first reached Macao in 1550, when the trade had been centred there. “In order to get special facilities for themselves, the Portuguese bribed the Macao authorities with a rental of Taels 500 a year.” The policy originally adopted there towards the Portuguese is thus set forth: “As the Chinese were then fully employed in repelling the Japanese pirates, it was thought better not to drive the Portuguese from Macao, but to keep on good

<sup>5</sup> *Apontamento e Noticias enviadas pela Secretaria do Estado de Ultramar para a Instrucção que se deve formar em Goa ao Bispo de Peking sobre os negocios relativos ao dominio de Macao*—addressed to Bernardo Aleixo de Lemos Faria, appointed in 1784 governor and captain-general of Macao.

<sup>6</sup> Vide Parker's *China's Intercourse with Europe*, 2-4.

terms with, and watch them, with an eye to future emergencies.”

The Chronicle of Heang-shan pretends that in 1553 there arrived at Macao some foreign vessels whose captains alleged that, during a typhoon, articles which they brought as tribute had been wetted by sea-water, and permission was desired to dry them on shore, which the *hai-tao* granted. Matsheds only were raised then. But merchants, allured by the hope of gain, came imperceptibly, and constructed houses; and in this way the Franks obtained an illicit admittance into the empire, and foreigners began to settle at Macao.<sup>8</sup>

Regardless or unaware of discrepancies such as those revealed in this discordant Chinese trio, Ljungstedt, in his *Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China*, impugns Martinho de Mello e Castro's version on the strength of the assertions of Chinese chronologists, and, divesting the Chronicle of Heang-shan's highly prejudiced account of its pronounced Chinese characteristics, he rationalises it into the simple fact that, for temporary shelter and to dry sea-damaged goods, merchants asked and got permission to land and build huts at Macao. Upon this garbled, specious account alone, Ljungstedt bases his arguments against the Portuguese version; and, to lend colour to his prejudiced views, resorts to systematic prevarication and unscrupulous conclusions deduced from facts relative to an epoch, happily bygone, when the precarious colony, swayed by mandarins, presented a deplorable aspect which quite dissembled its originally autonomous status. In the first edition of the *Historical Sketch*—published at Macao in 1832—Ljungstedt ventures to

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 4, 5.

<sup>8</sup> From Abel Remusat's translation in the *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, vol. I., 328.

surmise that the suppression of piracy was legendary, and the redoubtable chieftain of the pirates, Chang Si Lao, no other than the famous Ching Chi Lung who, on the downfall of the Mings, fought the Tartars as a pretender to the throne. Alluding to a lost "golden chop," whereby, it is supposed, Macao was ceded to the Portuguese, Ljungstedt argues that if such a document ever existed, an authenticated transcript might have been had from the imperial archives of China; and because an alleged enquiry at Canton, as might be expected, proved futile, he jumps to the conclusion that, like the rout of Chang Si Lao, the "golden chop" is a mere fabrication characteristic of a warlike race that prized only such possessions as were conquered at the point of the sword. But in the revised and enlarged edition of the *Historical Sketch*,<sup>9</sup> there is not the slightest reference to the "golden chop"; while the surmise as to the pirate's identity appears reduced to the bare query whether the name of the one may not be a corrupt foreign pronunciation for that of the other.

*Et voilà justement comme on écrit l'histoire.*

An entire suppression in this instance too would have been less awkward than this sorry attempt to bolster up a harebrained conjecture in the face of convincing historical evidence against it—evidence which Ljungstedt evades or perverts with consummate subtlety. And his prevarications are the more odious since to a great extent the *Historical Sketch* is the outcome of painstaking researches on the part of two Portuguese scholars: from Professor Miranda e Lima, who once projected writing a history of Macao himself, Ljungstedt obtained valuable papers; and from Bishop Saraiva, access to a mass of documents of great historic-

<sup>9</sup> Published at Boston in 1836. In this edition the author is styled Sir Andrew Ljungstedt, though his claim to this English title rests only on his being a chevalier of the Swedish order of Wasa.

interest. How such papers must have fared at his hands may be gauged from the way he deals with the accounts of various authors :

According to Mendez Pinto, in 1557 the mandarins of Canton, at the request of native merchants, gave Macao to the Portuguese, who, transforming the wilderness into a fine European settlement, lived there as confidently and securely as if it were situated in the surest part of Portugal.<sup>10</sup> But Ljungstedt makes the much-maligned Mendez Pinto say that the Chinese and Portuguese concurred at Macao because the mandarins permitted strangers to fix themselves there,<sup>11</sup> and abstains from the least allusion to the confidence, the security inherent to the righteous possession of the colony.

Ljungstedt likewise evades the version of a Spanish historian whose work appears in the list of authorities mostly consulted by him—Fr. Juan de la Concepcion, who, in chronicling the feat of arms by which the Portuguese won Macao, remarks that the daring piratical invader of the Philippines, Li Ma Hong, was a survivor of Chang Si Lao's hordes.<sup>12</sup>

Faria e Sousa and Semedo, according to Ljungstedt, allege that the Portuguese obtained permission to inhabit Macao because they had cleared the island of pirates.<sup>13</sup> Thus the insidious detractor of Macao, always harping on permission from the mandarins, vitiates the accounts of two eminent historians to the effect that the Portuguese were proffered the possession of Macao, and, wresting the place from the pirates at the point of the sword, founded the colony unconditionally.

<sup>10</sup> *Peregrinação* de F. M. Pinto, chap. CCXXI.

<sup>11</sup> *Historical Sketch*, 11, Boston ed.

<sup>12</sup> *Historia general de Philipinas*, vol. I, 427, Manila ed. 1786.

<sup>13</sup> *Historical Sketch*, 12.

Faria e Sousa's version is briefly thus : An arid waste abounding in rocks which rendered the place easily tenable and well adapted for a brigand's retreat, Macao was then a dreaded haunt of bandits. The Chinese wanted to dislodge them from the caverns there, but evidently lacked the courage to do so, for no sooner had they sighted the Portuguese off Sanchuan when they hastened to offer them the perilous spot for habitation if they drove the pirates away. Eagerly the Portuguese accepted the rôle of Hercules against Cacus. They coveted the prize, and hoped to secure it by their valour. The marauders had the advantage of being well acquainted with the labyrinthine recesses of the place. Nevertheless they were easily routed. Then the victors, with arms in one hand and pickaxe in the other, founded the city, settling wherever they pleased, as there was no one to dispose of the land. <sup>14</sup>

Semedo likewise relates that from Macao a large horde of pirates harassed the adjacent districts, that the Chinese sought to root out the evil, and either through timidity or to effect this at less risk and at the expense of others, they, aware of the bravery of the Portuguese, requested them to undertake the task, promising them Macao for residence if they ousted the pirates therefrom. This the Portuguese undertook with alacrity. They were greatly outnumbered ; but better versed in the art of war, they invested the enemy in such wise that, without incurring, while inflicting heavy losses, they soon found themselves masters of the situation. Forthwith they took to building, each choosing for himself the locality best liked. <sup>15</sup>

If Macao had been acquired by conquest, argues Ljungstedt, the fact could not have escaped the notice of

<sup>14</sup> *Asia Portuguesa*, vol III, part III, chap. XXI.

<sup>15</sup> *Relazione della Cina*, part II, chap. I.

the early Jesuit writers on China. It did not: Semedo, who came to Macao early in the seventeenth century, was one of those writers. Du Halde's famous *Description de la Chine* is a repository of authentic information gathered by the Jesuits at an epoch when they enjoyed exceptional opportunities in China. But Ljungstedt evades Du Halde's version, which is as follows :

In the reign of Kia Tsing, a pirate named Tchang Si Lao, who roved in the Canton waters, seized Macao and beleaguered the provincial capital. The mandarins appealed to the Europeans for succour. These, who were on board their trading vessels, raised the siege and chased the pirate down to Macao, where they slew him. The viceroy having apprised the emperor of the victory, this prince issued an edict whereby he gave Macao to these merchants from Europe, so that they might settle there.<sup>16</sup>

In conclusion, Ljungstedt opines that it would be safer for the Portuguese to attribute their possession of Macao to imperial bounty than to conquest, since the conquerors would have to surrender the place if the Chinese government were to interdict the supply of provisions to the colony, and order the exodus of Chinese tradesmen, mechanics, and servants therefrom:<sup>17</sup> in other words, on the eve of the establishment of the rival colony of Hong-kong, "Sir" Andrew Ljungstedt insinuates that, being in a precarious situation, the Portuguese might be cowardly forced into the alternative of sacrificing Macao or hushing up her noble traditions, which honour the annals of Europe's intercourse with China.

But even when oppressed like Galileo before the inquisitors, even when traduced by Chinese chroniclers and by circumstances which seemed to substantiate their

<sup>16</sup> *Description de la Chine*, vol. I, 234, Paris ed. 1735.  
*Historical Sketch*, 13.

rendered them an homage which could not but have been highly prized, specially by the navigators, who, in return, linked the name of the goddess with that of the colony.

Nay, to a Portuguese sailor was rendered an even greater homage : in the Temple of the Five Hundred Genii at Canton, an idol with decidedly European features (evidently the one now said to be the effigy of Marco Polo) was once known as that of a Portuguese seaman shipwrecked on the coast centuries ago, and for long a resident whose virtues led to his being eventually canonised as a Buddhistic saint. But, like the rout of Chang Si Lao, this is held by some to be "probably a pure myth."<sup>21</sup>

To the Portuguese, and to the world of letters, too, Macao is of great renown : in the far-famed grotto, it is well-known, Camões composed his immortal epic. Banished by the viceroy of India in consequence of a slashing satire on the social state of Goa, the soldier-poet sailed for China in the fleet sent in 1556 under the command of Francisco Martins. In a lucid biographical sketch of the great poet, Viscount de Juromenha conjectures that from the fact of that fleet of six ships being stationed at Lampacao in 1557, it is to be inferred that the gallant Camões himself must have shared the glory of the Portuguese arms in crushing the piratical forces.<sup>22</sup> The exploit, however, like many a worthier one, is not recorded in the *Lusiads*, being evidently deemed much beneath the proud deeds which ennoble that grand epic.

Another plausible conjecture of Viscount de Juromenha is that in sonnet CLXXXI., of which the following is but

<sup>21</sup> Mayers and Dennys : *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan*, 162-3.

<sup>22</sup> Juromenha's edition of Camões, vol. I., 75.

a poor rendering, Camões refers to the romantic grotto which bears his name—his favourite resort at Macao :

Where shall I find a more secluded spot,  
 Of all delightful traits so sadly bare,  
 That need I say no man betakes him there,  
 When e'en by beast it rests uncared, unsought ?  
 Some frowning woods with awful darkness fraught,  
 Or sylvan solitude of dismal air,  
 Without a sprightly brook or meadow fair,  
 In fine a place adapted to my lot.  
 For there, embosomed in the rocky cleft,  
 In life entombed, there freely may I mourn  
 O'er plaintive, death-like life of all bereft,  
 Save tears and woes to which there is no bourn.  
 In cheerful days there shall I feel less sad,  
 Contented too when all in gloom is clad.

It might have been the sepulchral aspect of the grotto that suggested to the lovesick, exiled bard the idea of his being entombed there, so touchingly expressed. In fact, the trilithon which forms that grotto is eminently suggestive of a rustic mausoleum, or rather of those megalithic monuments that mysteriously reveal the hero-worship of ancient barbaric tribes : possibly it might have been a dolmen of the Arabs who in bygone ages frequented the China coast ; and from the slanting lintel, antiquarians may perhaps infer that, like many a dolmen, the grotto once served as an altar for sacrificial offerings. But although geologists may dispel the archæological glamour and attribute the formation of the trilithon to a mere freak of nature during some mighty upheaval, still the grotto is none the less monumental,—the refuge of a great and persecuted genius, the sanctuary of a living patriotism, of the idolised poet and patriot heroic lay, there composed, is the pride, the imperishable glory of the fatherland he so intensely loved.



### III.

That Macao was ceded to the Portuguese unconditionally is attested by the fact that originally the colony paid no ground-rent to the emperor of China ; and its government, in strict accordance with the laws of Portugal, was not in the least dependent upon, subordinate to, or intermixed with the laws of China or those of the mandarins. The colony's jurisdiction even extended over the conquered tracts of Heangshan, where the Portuguese owned various farms, upon the products of which the colony subsisted quite independently of the Chinese. In the document which relates all this, even the island's name is nationalised from Heangshan into Anção.<sup>1</sup> Prejudiced as Ljungstedt is, he admits the original autonomy of Macao, but on the ground that the higher mandarins took little or no notice of the colony for twenty-five years.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, to obtain imperial sanction for propagating Christianity in China as projected by St. Francis Xavier, Dom Sebastião, the king of Portugal, instructed Count do Redondo, viceroy of India, to re-appoint Diogo Pereira as envoy. But having been elected by the colonists as *capitão de terra* of Macao, Diogo Pereira, on his being left the option, preferred to retain that post—equal to that of a lieutenant-governor. A relative of his was thereupon chosen for the mission, Gil de Goys, who in 1562 started from Goa with two Jesuits. At Canton, the envoy failed to comply with the exigencies of Chinese usages, and the mandarins declined to recognise the embassy on the ground of its being singularly divested of ostentatious magnificence and the necessary accompaniment in the shape of tribute

<sup>1</sup> Martinho de Mello e Castro's Memorandum, para. 38, 9 and 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Historical Sketch*, 78.



STATE HOUSE



to the Son of Heaven. The court of Lisbon was evidently displeased not only at Diogo Pereira's refusal of the envoyship, but also at his unofficial election to the post of *capitão de terra*: in 1563 a royal decree provided for the abolition of that post, which Diogo Pereira nevertheless retained until 1587, such was the popularity and confidence he enjoyed as the devoted friend of St. Francis Xavier, and as one of the principal founders of the colony.<sup>3</sup>

The government of the colony was vested in the *capitão mór*, or commodore, of the royal fleet that periodically called at Macao on the way to and from Japan, and in a council composed of the *capitão de terra*, the judge, and four leading merchants nominated by the community. The fact of the majority in this council being represented by merchants is in itself suggestive of a paramount commercial influence, before which political considerations paled into insignificance.

On the other hand, a copious flow of gold drew upon the colony the cupidity of the district mandarins, who, conscious of their power to harass the foreign trade, soon learnt by experience that the more intolerance displayed

<sup>3</sup> Another notable founder of Macao was Pedro Velho, a leading merchant, whose extraordinary death there created a great sensation. It is related that at an entertainment he mysteriously bade his friends farewell, invited them to his funeral, and after settling his worldly concerns he repaired to church, prepared for death, and impersonating the dead, lay on a bier amidst lighted tapers, while priests officiating at a requiem mass chanted for the repose of his soul. When after the ceremony his servants lifted the pall with which he had enshrouded himself, they found him actually dead. It transpired that at the entertainment he received what he deemed a death-warning predicted by St. Francis Xavier at Sanchuan. Among the villagers of that island, there was a pretty girl. To save her from the temptations to which she was exposed, St. Francis appealed to the generosity of Pedro Velho, who, though unbelieving in matters of faith, never denied pecuniary assistance to the holy man in his charitable doings. In return for a marriage portion to the sweet flower of Sanchuan, St. Francis blessed the donor, and that death might not overtake him unprepared, foretold that his last moment would be at hand when he found good wine tasting sour: it was what happened at the entertainment. This prediction was chosen to attest the saint's gift of prophecy at his canonisation.

meant the more and the richer douceurs from the complacent foreigners, upon whom the bitter past impressed the necessity of a conciliatory policy, if the infant colony and its flourishing trade were to be spared. Hence the passiveness, the subserviency which culminated in the Chinese domination of the colony.

When the Portuguese took to farming at Heangshan, they provided against any such predicament as that which had led to the catastrophe at Chincheo. In course of time, however, this prudent measure was neglected, the rural district abandoned, and the colony placed on a most impolitic dependence upon the Chinese for provisions—a fatal reliance which now left the colony completely at the mercy of the mandarins: at a mere beck of theirs, the colonists could now be reduced, alas, to submission or starvation.

As recorded in Martinho de Mello e Castro's memorandum,<sup>4</sup> the Chinese, attracted by the fertility of the soil, encroached upon the conquered tracts of Heangshan without the least hindrance, and imperceptibly peopled the locality, over which the mandarins at last exercised their jurisdiction. At the isthmus between the peninsula of Macao and the mainland, the Chinese then constructed a barrier-wall with a gate, where a mandarin with a squad of soldiers debarred foreigners from the mainland except such as the mandarin furnished with a passport.

This barrier was raised in 1573 evidently as a delimitation of frontier, as well as to control the provisioning of the colony, although the alleged object in view was only to prevent the incursion of negro fugitives from Macao. The gate, known to the Portuguese as *Porta do Cerco*, was opened periodically for supplying the colony with provisions at a fair held within a fenced space beyond the

<sup>4</sup> Para. 37.

barrier, after which the gate was closed and sealed with six stamped papers. Upon the gate was a Chinese inscription: "Dread our greatness, and respect our virtue." In the vicinity, Chinese troops were stationed—a disgraceful set of mean, spiritless, and badly-armed rogues, who harassed the carriers of provisions for the fair, at whose complaint the *capitão de terra* once caused forty of the troops to be arrested and flogged at Macao, whence they were sent away crying like children, as related by a contemporary missionary.<sup>6</sup> The fair was held every five days at first, then fortnightly. The result of this unforeseen change was a scarcity of food, in consequence of which the poor died of hunger at Macao.<sup>7</sup>

In other ways, too, the colony already experienced the accursed yoke of mandarindom. First, anchorage dues were exacted from Portuguese ships at Macao. Then, an annuity for the imperial treasury was created out of what had originally been nothing else than the bribe alluded to in one of the Chinese narratives quoted in the preceding chapter. How this sop for Cerberus came to be legalised into the annuity, is thus accounted for:—

From a plea or citation which early in the seventeenth century the Jesuits made to show the Portuguese rights over Macao, it appears that after having been given the port and peninsula of Macao, the Portuguese paid, besides anchorage dues, a certain sum as rent, which, however, was not accounted for at the imperial treasury, being spent by the *hai-tao* to whom it was usually remitted, and who was on this account called by the Portuguese "the bribed *hai-tao*." This lasted for ten or twelve years. In 1572 or 1573, as the Portuguese went to a fair, the mandarins,

<sup>5</sup> Milne's *Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, vol. I, part II, 198.

<sup>6</sup> Mendoza's *China*, vol. I, p. LXXXI, Hakluyt ed.

<sup>7</sup> Navarette's *Tratados de la monarchia de China*, 366.

attired in red, issued from a gate to receive the dues usually brought, presenting the Portuguese with cakes and a jar of wine as was their wont ; after which the interpreter, Pedro Gonçalves, a *mestiço*, whilst talking with the *hai-tao* remarked that the Portuguese also brought the 500 taels payable as the colony's rent. As this was said in the presence of other mandarins, the *hai-tao*, finding himself compromised, hastily replied that the money should be remitted to the *te-guei*, as it was for the imperial treasury. Since then it was paid and received as such. <sup>8</sup>

Thus, from a mere bribe, originated the ground-rent, paid, not by virtue of any formal pact, but simply through undue condescension calculated to exempt the colony from vexatious measures on the part of the mandarins. This ground-rent Ljungstedt and others term tribute, evidently the more to derogate the colony's status. In this instance, however, the payment of ground-rent is none the less if not more derogatory than that of tribute, for while the ground-rent implies at least a tacit surrender of the right of conquest, a tribute in this case comes under the category of such as in the olden days the foremost maritime powers of Europe paid to the Barbary States for the protection of the lives and commerce of their subjects, without in any way affecting the sovereignty of such powers, although the tribute was sometimes levied even by virtue of treaties to that effect.

In course of time the exactions from Macao ceased to be confined to the district mandarins. An old and greedy Fokien magnate had scarcely assumed the viceroyalty of Canton, in 1582, when he summoned the principal civil, legal, and ecclesiastical authorities of Macao to appear before him with explanations as to the rights whereby they

<sup>8</sup> From the MSS. of the library at the Palace of Ajuda: *Livro das Contendas da Ilha Verde*, fol. 9: *Mémoire sur la souveraineté territoriale du Portugal à Macao*, 59.

governed the colony, for he pretended that the emperor, in giving Macao to the Portuguese, did not invest them with any jurisdiction over the place. The functionaries in question indignantly refused to comply with such a barefaced imposition. Yet, it was evident that, for the safety of the colony, someone should accommodate matters at Shao-king-foo, then the viceregal seat. As Du Halde remarks, the viceroy's language gave the Portuguese to understand that, prompted by the characteristic cupidity of Chinese viceroys, this one assumed the aggressive attitude in the hope of being appeased by complacency together with some rich presents. And Macao, relates a Portuguese historian, well knew that the best justification was in the shape of two thousand dollars' worth of silk camlets, velvets, and crystals, then highly prized in China. A legal functionary named Penella, who happened to be on excellent terms with the mandarins, was deputed by the community to proceed to Shao-king-foo with these presents, and he went accompanied by two Italian Jesuits, who eagerly availed themselves of the opportunity to establish their mission in China. The pseudo-embassy was received with great pomp; and conducted into the gilt hall of the viceregal palace, the meek strangers laid the presents before the old magnate, who, beaming with satisfaction, accepted the finery and crystals on condition of paying for them on the spot, but only to hint privately afterwards that the money was for more presents. As expected, there was no use for any other justification. "Let the Portuguese remain at Macao, good and loyal friends," said the viceroy. "let them govern themselves as hitherto, and obey the mandarins."

Why the Portuguese did not vindicate their rights is explained in the *Oriente Conquistado a Jesu-Christo*: so dependent was Macao upon the mandarins that if they



only stopped the provisions, the Portuguese could not retain the place.

The expedient, however, resulted satisfactorily both to the colony and to the Jesuits; and zealous as Macao was for the work of evangelisation, it was amidst great joy that the accomplished Ricci started to establish the mission which, scientifically as well as religiously, proved so glorious to Western prestige in China. To the precarious colony the success of the Jesuits was a godsend, as much depended on their tact and the influence they soon acquired over the mandarins.

Meanwhile the sad tidings reached Macao, in 1582, that consequent on the death of Dom Sebastião at the disastrous battle of Alcacer Kibir, the crown of Portugal had eventually been usurped in 1580 by Philip II of Spain. At the same time, Don Gonzalo Ronquillo, the governor of Manila, despatched an emissary, the Jesuit Alonso Sanchez, to promote the new monarch's acclamation at Macao, where he reached after shipwreck and detention in China. In view of a warm, unswerving patriotism, the emissary used great circumspection in unfolding the harrowing disaster under the sweet guise of the union of the crowns of Portugal and Spain. First he secured the assent of the clergy and officials. Then he brought his eloquent sermons to bear upon the staunch patriots. At last, the colony, following in the wake of the hapless fatherland and all the other colonies, cheerlessly swore allegiance to the Castilian sovereign.

But while our Jesuit softly administered the yoke, another patriotically strove to place the colony beyond the reach of Spanish governors. At the instance of Bishop Belchior Carneiro, the colonists in 1583 assembled to deliberate upon the form of government best adapted to the altered circumstances. The assembly, presided by the

worthy prelate, decided in favour of a senatorial administration based upon the municipal franchises conferred by royal bounty on several cities of Portugal in the days of old. Hence the senate of Macao, established with the sanction of Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, the viceroy of India.

The senatorial election was triennial. Every Portuguese resident was entitled to vote. Convened by the *ouvidor* or chief-justice, who presided, the *moradores*, or residents, assembled and by ballot appointed six electors. These being duly sworn, formed themselves into three parties, between whom there must be no relationship even. Secluded in the senate-house, each party drew a list of twenty-one citizens eligible for senatorial honours. From these lists the *ouvidor* compiled another one, which was forwarded to the viceroy of Goa, by whom three separate lists were finally made and sent to Macao under sealed covers, one to be opened in council at the close of each year during the triennial period. The list contained the appointment of two judges, three aldermen, and a procurator—the senators.

The presidency devolved upon the aldermen alternately. The judges exercised their jurisdiction in summary cases, subject to appeal before the *ouvidor* or to the supreme court of Goa presided by the viceroy, whose decision was invariably final. The procurator was originally at the same time colonial treasurer, superintendent of customs, and director of public works, as well as the senate's representative in all dealings with the Chinese.

In momentous questions, the *homens bons*, as the ex-senators were styled, the *capitão de terra*, the bishop, the clergy, and citizens in general were convened to deliberate with the senators upon the measures to be adopted, such assembly being called *conselho geral*, or general council.

To the annual appointments was appended a list of succession. In the event of the demise of a senator, the vacancy was filled at an impressive ceremony in the cathedral. The senators assembled round the coffin, the presiding alderman pronounced the name of the deceased thrice, a physician formally attested his death, the list of succession was opened, and a substitute appointed by the alderman, who solemnly handed him a rod taken out of the hand of the deceased, each senator being provided with a slender wooden rod as a badge of authority.

Two *almoçaceis*, or justices of the peace, served monthly out of a roll of twenty-four, including the aldermen of the previous year, and the sons of senators.

The senate maintained a municipal guard which on emergencies was assisted by all citizens capable of bearing arms, besides a contingent of negro slaves employed at the customs, greatly feared by the Chinese for the terrible efficacy with which they quelled riots with their long hardwood carrying-poles.

The colony's revenue was solely derived from customs duties levied in kind on merchandise imported in Portuguese bottoms, the goods thus levied being disposed of by public auction less five per cent. allowed to the superintendent. Out of the revenue, half per cent. was annually assigned as a dowry for the most deserving girl at an asylum for orphans, and another half to the Santa Casa de Misericordia, a charitable institution established at Macao by Bishop Belchior Carneiro, a conspicuous establishment in every Portuguese city, instituted in 1498 by Dona Leonor, Queen of Portugal. Originally, if the colony's revenue exceeded the expenditure, the senators were entitled to the surplus; and on the other hand, should there be a deficit, it was borne by them except under extraordinary circumstances, when it was covered by

loans, by voluntary contributions, or by poll or house tax assessed by valuator. In palmy days, when the surplus revenue assumed important proportions, it was invested in respondentia and marine insurance. The respondentia funds, being within the reach of every respectable citizen, howsoever poor, proved a great boon to the seafaring folks, who were thus enabled to share in a highly profitable commerce.

The senate's charter was bestowed in 1586 by Dom Duarte de Menezes, viceroy of India, who, at the senate's request, and in consideration of the colony having cost the royal exchequer nothing, also conferred on Macao the rank and prerogatives of Cochin in India, equal to those of Evora in Portugal, the settlement being thenceforth ranked as a city, and styled—*Cidade do Nome de Deus do Porto de Macao na China*.

At the instance of Dom Duarte de Menezes, no governor was appointed for Macao: in a despatch to that viceroy, in 1587, the king concurred with his views that no such appointment was necessary, but desired that the *capitão mór* should govern Macao as formerly; and in consequence of the great distance separating that colony from the metropolis, it was deemed advisable to re-appoint an *ouvidor* for Macao.<sup>9</sup> The king appointed Alexandre Rebello, who, it was pointed out, had rendered the crown invaluable services in Spanish colonies. It is not on record, however, that this official ever assumed the post at Macao. Adverting to the subject in 1589, the king referred the viceroy to the appointment, in 1588, of another *ouvidor*, Rodrigo Barbosa, who, it was hoped, would succeed in restoring tranquillity at Macao, factions being the order of the day there. The *ouvidor*, on the contrary, added fuel to the flame by instituting cumbersome

<sup>9</sup> The first *ouvidor* of Macao, Ruy Machado, was appointed in 1580.

ordinances which gave rise to great discontent, and which the citizens honoured more in the breach than in the observance. A deputy, Gil de Matta, was sent with a representation to Dom Duarte de Menezes, who failed to obtain royal sanction for the desired repeal. The colony on the other hand, openly defied the *ouvidor*, with the result that the next viceroy, Mathias Albuquerque, sent another *ouvidor* to Macao, Francisco de Campos, with orders to deport to Goa, together with their families and properties, such among the citizens who defied the law—a procedure which, in a letter to the viceroy dated 1595, the king commended as tending to ensure tranquillity and good government in the colony.

Besides chief-justice, the *ouvidor* was administrator, and, as such, vested with discretionary powers which were often abused. In a memorial to the throne the senate complained that the *ouvidor* was the cause of constant uneasiness and commotion, for invariably he scrupled not to trample upon justice and prey upon the estates of which he was the trustee. Eventually the *ouvidoria* was abolished, the office being assigned to the senior alderman, as desired by the senate.

The fact that the senate enjoyed the confidence of both the Portuguese and Chinese governments shows the *savoir faire* which conciliated the prejudices of two diametrically opposed civilisations, erring only on the safe side, and constituting what was nothing short of the tutelary genius of Macao.

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#### IV.

The procreation of a mixed but legitimate and Christian race being a characteristic feature of Portuguese colonisation initiated by Albuquerque and fostered by an influential clergy, the early Portuguese settlers of Macao married Japanese and Malaccan women, mostly the latter.<sup>1</sup> Although the intercourse between Macao and Malacca ceased centuries ago, vestiges of these foremothers of the Macaenses may still be traced in certain ethnographical traits which are gradually giving way under the influences of social evolution.<sup>2</sup> The Macaense patois, moreover, attests

<sup>1</sup> Their popularity evidently dated from the romantic episode shortly after the arrival of the first Portuguese expedition at Malacca, when a plot to massacre the officers at a banquet on shore, and destroy the fleet simultaneously, was foiled by a native girl who, being in love with a Portuguese sailor, swam to his ship and revealed the meditated treachery.

<sup>2</sup> At wedding and christening parties, amidst the sweets tendered to guests are the *betles*—betel leaves folded up with small slices of *arcca* daintily tied to artistic sprays of artificial flowers, the *arcca* being a favourite morceau to many a Macaense lady. Several Malaccan dainties are still prized by the Macaenses, notably the *balachang*, *sambal*, *dodol*, the last-named, when baked, being stirred with a *daiiong*—a small oar. Household utensils made in China are still known at Macao by Malaccan names, such as *bugang*, *chilicaty*, *dacking*, *gargul*, *parang*, etc. Formerly the *saraca*, made of gaudy *sareng*, was used as a veil by Macaense ladies. It is now quite discarded in favour of the black silk veil, the *dó*, originally worn in mourning only. It resembles the *fuldetta* of Maltese ladies, and came into daily use since the public mourning on the death of Dona Maria II, queen of Portugal. Well may the demure daughters of Macao wear constant mourning: their sombre *dó* is quite in keeping with the dark days, the fallen fortunes of the Macaenses.

a predominant Malaccan element, while the Japanese element left scarcely any vestige, except perhaps in many a Macaense's stature and features.<sup>3</sup>

The colony's population, believed to have been originally five hundred, in 1563 numbered nine hundred Portuguese, exclusive of children—an increase mainly due, in all probability, to the settlers at Lampacao coming over and settling with the founders of Macao. There were besides, several thousands of Malaccans, Indians, and Africans, mostly domestic slaves. Up to the construction of the barrier, there were no Chinese in the colony.<sup>4</sup> Eventually

<sup>3</sup>Of the Malaccan words in the Macaense patois the following are only a few in frequent use: *saiang, murung, liching, kopo kopo, kankang, gusaô, chubi, chuckô, chê, chingchang, champurâ, endung, bongkô, bantv*. To a Macaense, however, the Malaccan patois is not only unintelligible, but strangely ridiculous in its quaint idioms. The Japanese language, on the other hand, contains several words of Macaense origin, such as *biba, castella* (from *bolo castelhana* still made at Macao), and others of Portuguese derivation: *banco, bidro* (from *vidro*), *botan (botão), capo, caia, confeto (confeitos), nino, kirishitan (christão), patera (padre), tombo*, etc. Strange enough, there are very few Chinese words in the Macaense patois: *chá* (tea) is nationalised as a Portuguese word, while *tufão* (typhoon) is derived from *tai-fong*, and *mandarin*, from the Portuguese verb *mandar* (to order), has been coined by most of the European languages, though characteristic of Portuguese subjection and Chinese ascendancy.

<sup>4</sup>This is corroborated in a curious Chinese document: "In the district of Heang-shan-hien, and at the distance of about one hundred *li* from the city of that name, there is a promontory which runs out into the sea, and is connected with the mainland by a narrow isthmus only, as the leaf of the water-lily is supported by its stalk. The town is built upon this promontory, and is wholly inhabited by strangers, without any Chinese at all among them; but at the barrier a custom-house is established for the examination of all persons and goods that pass to and fro. The soil produces neither rice, salt, nor vegetables, all of which are sent to them from the interior. Within the town a European officer presides with a rank similar to that of our governor of provinces. All the government edicts and communications are explained to them through the medium of an interpreter. One of their peculiar customs is to salute by taking off the hat. We receive from them in trade the articles of ivory, amber, coarse and fine woollen cloths, redwood, sandalwood, pepper, and glass. Staunton's *Miscellaneous Notices relating to China*, vol. I, 87.

Chinese labourers found admittance at Macao but on condition that none should settle, much less own any landed property there, unless so permitted by the procurator, who issued passes for those whom the mandarins recommended. Such as surreptitiously found their way into the settlement were lamboed as rogues and vagabonds. Those admitted were generally artisans, who, after their daily work, retired beyond the barrier for the night,—a circumstance which ultimately led to the barrier-gate being opened daily from sunrise to sunset.

In 1584 the emperor of China vested the procurator of Macao with a mandariate of the second grade, and with summary jurisdiction over the Chinese at Macao. In official correspondence with the Chinese, the procurator designated himself as “the mandarin intendant of the district of Hao-King,” while the mandarins styled him “eye of the barbarians.” In important cases, the prefect of Heang-shan claimed the right to judge Chinese culprits. By a royal decree of 1587, the *ouvidor* was instructed not to interfere with such jurisdiction.

Not infrequently the mandarins sent vicious agents for the express purpose of picking quarrels at Macao; and in the event of such agents being ill-used, the wire-pullers theatrically vented their indignation by ordering the stoppage of provisions, when the senate would accommodate matters with a *donceur*. There was scarcely a sitting in which the senators were not called upon to settle differences and quarrels purposely raised by the mandarins. By bitter experience the senators learned that the only efficacious remedy was money: without it, as one of them used to say, there would be no end to wrangling in this China. All arguments based upon reason and justice were reduced to nothing by the terrible dilemma: yield, or die of hunger. The senate not only bribed intolerant mandarins,



but sometimes came to the rescue of others compromised by their very uprightness. Once a mandarin of Heang-shan found himself in debt for three thousand taels—the outcome of his integrity and his unwillingness to harass the people. The senate resolved to present him with that amount, for, being in distress, he would likely be replaced by another who might prove troublesome to the colony. On the other hand, an honest viceroy would sometimes refuse to sanction vexatious measures proposed by the district mandarins. When the viceroy happened to be upright and well-informed, he baffled such intrigues and represented to the emperor that the Portuguese colony of Macao should not be harassed, as it was “the right hand of Canton.”<sup>5</sup>

In a representation to the king dated 1593 the senate remarked that, to retain the colony, a good deal of money had to be spent on the Chinese. In view of the colony's increasing importance and prosperity, the rank and prerogatives of Oporto were petitioned for, but the king merely confirmed, in 1595, those of Evora, conferred by the viceroy of India. The royal chronicler of India, Diogo de Couto,<sup>6</sup> in casually alluding to Macao at this epoch, termed it the best and most prosperous colony in the Orient.

Macao was then the fulcrum of Christianity in the Far East. The cause of the Cross, patronised by the king of Portugal, was warmly supported by the flourishing colony. In 1575 Pope Gregory XIII, by the bull *super specula militantis ecclesiae*, founded the episcopal see of Macao at the instance of Dom Sebastião, whom the pope nominated

<sup>5</sup> *Mémoire sur la souveraineté territoriale du Portugal à Macao*, 28-32.

<sup>6</sup> This historian seems to have considered Macao beyond the sphere of his researches, scarcely anything being chronicled of the place unless the burnt and missing portions of his *Decadas* formed an exception to the rule.

its patron with the right to propose the candidate for that see, in consideration of that diocese being maintained at royal cost. The jurisdiction of that see originally extended over China, Japan, and Corea. In 1588 Sixtus V created a separate diocese for Japan, where the church had achieved a brilliant success.

From Manila, Spanish missionaries flocked to Macao—Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustines. By order of the viceroy of India, they ultimately quitted the colony and handed the monasteries over to their Portuguese brethren, the reason for the exodus being evidently sectarian as well as political intrigues.

The governor of Manila, desirous of establishing commercial relations with China, projected sending an embassy to Peking. For this purpose he availed himself of the Jesuits, who, after the famous mission to Shao-king-foo, had befriended the viceroy and settled there. The Dominicans were prevailed upon to induce the Jesuits at Macao and Shao-king-foo to pave the way for the intended embassy. The Macao authorities, apprised of this, officially adjured the Jesuits to prevent the establishment of a direct trade between the Spaniards and Chinese, since it would prove highly prejudicial to the interests of Macao. It was argued that if the Spaniards came to compete in the trade with all the gold of Peru at their disposal, they would raise the price of Chinese commodities, ruining Portuguese merchants. The Jesuits, grateful for the support rendered them at Macao, constituted themselves the guardians of Portuguese interests. An edict was consequently obtained from the viceroy of Canton interdicting the proposed embassy as well as the admittance of Spaniards into China.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinae*, lib. II, cap. VII; Huc's *Le Christianisme en Chine*, vol. II, chap. II.

It was not the commercial interests of Macao only that moved the Jesuits in this matter : they, no doubt, also deprecated any measure tending to the introduction of Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians into China as leading to sectarian strifes, then rife in Japan. On the other hand, the Portuguese only defended their rights : Philip II, when assuming the crown of Portugal, swore that he would uphold the privileges of the Portuguese people ; that their oriental commerce was to remain as of yore exclusively in their hands. In conformity with this covenant, the supply of China produce to the Spanish dominions was reserved for Macao, being sent thence to Manila in Portuguese vessels. This monopoly—one of the mainstays of Macao's prosperity—was rigorously enforced : in a despatch to the viceroy of India dated 1595 the king referred to a decree of the previous year whereby the trade of the Philippines and Mexico with China was embargoed, in view of its being, as pointed out by the viceroy, highly detrimental to Portuguese interests. The king expressed his displeasure at the news of a Spanish ship having been at Macao with a considerable sum of money to purchase Chinese commodities for Spanish merchants. The viceroy was enjoined to seek, by every possible means, to debar Spaniards from the trade in question, which, the king declared, was reserved only for his Portuguese vassals at Macao. It was decreed at the same time that there should be only two religious orders at Macao—the Jesuits and the Capuchins, or Franciscans.<sup>8</sup>

Notwithstanding the royal injunctions, in 1598 Don Juan de Zamudio, an envoy from the governor of Manila, negotiated with the viceroy of Canton for the establishment of an entrepôt at a point which the Spaniards named Pinal, twelve leagues from Canton. This was highly resented at Macao. The commodore, Dom Paulo de Portugal, addressed

<sup>8</sup> *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, fasc. III, part I.

a protest to the envoy. Representations were made to the mandarins, with the view of ousting the Spaniards from Pinal, the commodore volunteering to do so if desired. The proposal was declined, and hostility deprecated as tending to imperil Macao, then unfortified. According to a Spanish account, the Portuguese not only intrigued with the mandarins and prevented communication between Macao and Pinal under temporal as well as spiritual ban, but even made an unsuccessful attempt to set the envoy's ship on fire. Meanwhile a Spanish expedition to Cambodia, driven by a storm, was shipwrecked in the offing of Macao, the flagship stranding while chasing a junk, and another ship dashing to pieces along the coast. The survivors, a hundred and twenty Spaniards, managed to save their arms and part of the ships' artillery. Don Luiz Dasmariñas, the commander, despatched two soldiers to Macao, and two to Canton, for assistance. Those sent to Macao were imprisoned by order of the commodore. To oppose the others, senatorial emissaries were sent to Canton representing the Spaniards as corsairs and evil-doers. At Pinal Don Luiz Dasmariñas purchased and armed a junk, in which he cruised near Macao after Don Juan de Zamudio's departure from Pinal for Manila. From Macao Don Luiz Dasmariñas received intimations to leave the coast if he would avoid being arrested and conveyed to India for punishment. He disavowed any evil design, asked for the release of the two soldiers, and disclaimed all responsibility for the consequences of hostile measures. Dom Paulo de Portugal thereupon sallied forth with several armed pinnaces. A hot engagement followed, ending in the retreat of both parties, the Spaniards returning to Pinal, whence a ship sent from Manila brought them back after effecting some commercial transactions at Macao.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup>From Dr. Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, annotated by Dr. Rizal, 115-33, Paris ed. 1890.

In spite of the royal decree, too, the Dominicans and Augustines managed to remain at Macao, then well deserving its appellation of Holy City. There was scarcely a street without a church: besides the cathedral, the church of St. Lazarus (the oldest), and the parish churches of St. Anthony and St. Lawrence, there were four other churches owned by the Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustines; another attached to the Santa Casa de Misericordia; and still another at Santa Clara. Along the streets, several shrines were built for the procession on the first Sunday in Lent, when, before their lighted tapers and burning incense, the woful effigy of Christ bearing the cross halts, while in sad, dulcet tones a young lady representing Veronica pleads for mercy before the reverently prostrate processionists. Even the senate-house had a chapel for divine service before every session—a practice tending to instil that truly Christian meekness and patience with which the senators bore the abuses of mandarindom. There was another church with a seminary where the Jesuits trained their Chinese proselytes, the Amparo, whose demolition is associated with one of the most humiliating ordeals suffered by the colony. Strange enough, there is no church at Macao consecrated to that paragon of missionaries who breathed his last so close by, St. Francis Xavier.

The sumptuous establishments of the Jesuits deserve some notice. The seminary of St. Paul was a historical institution, the centre whence issued forth most of the missionaries of China, Japan, Corea, Tonquin and Cochin China—known as the academy where the martyrs of Japan were trained. There, the Japanese nobles who went on an embassy to Pope Gregory XIII wrote and published, in 1590, an account of their mission and travels in Japanese, with a Latin translation by a Jesuit—the first work printed at Macao.<sup>10</sup> Hakluyt relates that, among the treasures of the

<sup>10</sup> *De Missione Legatorum Japonensium ad Romanam Curiam rebusque in Europa ac toto in itinere animadversis, Dialogus, &c.*

carrack *Madre de Deos*, captured by English privateers at the Azores, a copy of this remarkable work was found "enclosed in a case of sweet cedar-wood, and lapped up almost a hundred fold in fine Calicut cloth, as though it had been some incomparable jewel."

As such, too, may the Macaenses cherish that fit monument of Macao's golden age—the beautiful façade of St. Paul's. It is all that remains of the magnificence, the munificence of the affluent city that Macao was when she reared that majestic temple. Ruined are the Macaenses: in ruins and desolation, too, stands the noble structure, the relic of a grand past, and a perfect contrast to the unpretentious style of other churches and public buildings in the colony. It is the earliest work of European art in which is revealed the artistic genius of Japan—the artisans were Japanese Christians. The impressive symbology of the alto-relievos which adorn it from base to pediment is typical of the masterly tact with which the Jesuits knew how to impress pagan minds and rouse a curiosity which generally resulted in conversion. The *Ming Shi* owned that the like of St. Paul's had never been seen in China. Stately flights of granite steps lead to the ruins. The inscription on the foundation stone is: *Virgini Magnæ Matri Civitas Macaensis Lubens. Posuit An. 1602.* As befits a church named after St. Paul, the style of architecture is Grecian. The columns at the base are Ionic; those of the upper tiers are Corinthian. Along the lower of these three tiers, interspersed by arches and by alto-relievo of palms, are niched, with pardonable vanity, four statues of Jesuit saints, some of whom were then only beatified—notably St. Francis Xavier—as inscribed on the pedestals. From this tier the structure tapers gracefully, flanked by termini up to the apex. The central tier is the most ornamented: the Virgin's statue adorns the centre, in an elaborate niche, amidst alto-relievos of angels in prayer, of the fountain and tree

of life, of a ship and gorgon evidently symbolising hope and fear, of an Apocalyptic monster and a dormant skeleton possibly signifying death to the Antichrist. In the upper tier, surrounded by emblems of Christ's sufferings, is niched the statue of St. Paul, surmounted by the Dove, in the pediment, with the sun, moon, and stars represented in the background, topped by a cross of Jerusalem. The alto-relievos are of excellent workmanship; but the statues and dove, of bronze, look somewhat clumsy, being probably cast at Bocarro's gunfoundry, then thriving at Macao. A superb clock—the gift of Louis XIV—adorned St. Paul's. The interior was quite in keeping with the exterior, in all respects this being the most imposing and richly ornamented church of Macao, containing many a precious relic, notably a part of the arm of St. Francis Xavier brought to Rome, and the remains of several martyrs from Japan and Cochin China. Built upon the ashes of a former church, St. Paul's was, on the 26th January 1835, destroyed by fire, which originated in the adjacent seminary then serving as military quarters; for, consequent on Pombal's anti-Jesuitic campaign, the Jesuits had been evicted from Macao, and, like the Templars, divested of all their properties.

The profusion of churches at Macao seems the more extraordinary when the population at the epoch of their construction is taken into consideration. According to Semedo, early in the seventeenth century the Portuguese numbered about a thousand; and there were many Europeanised Chinese Christians; but of a population estimated at five or six thousand souls, the main portion was classed as gentiles. The Portuguese, all well-to-do, lived in sumptuous style, and were related to the best families in India, many persons of quality resorting thence to Macao for marriage, in view of substantial dowries. The city was then noted for its munificence; Macao dispensed alms to

needy Christians abroad, wherever her missionaries preached. Faria e Sousa alludes to the Portuguese of Macao at this epoch as great, not in number, but in qualities—a noble, influential and wealthy people, of the best of India.

While the Portuguese possessions in India decayed, Macao rose to the zenith of her prosperity, reaping a golden harvest from the Japan trade as well as from that with Manila, the Spaniards having abandoned the project of direct trade with China. From Liampo Macao inherited the highly lucrative trade with Japan. Mendez Pinto's estimate of the Liampo merchants' fabulous profits is confirmed by accounts of the trade between Macao and Japan. According to Kæmpfer, the profit amounted to at least a hundred per cent., besides what the return voyage yielded, and that was even more.

Rivalry prevailed among the feudal princes of Japan as to whose state should trade with foreigners. This led to a stirring episode. In 1567 the *daimio* of Firando insisted that the trade should be confined within his dominion, where Christians fared badly. Although intimated to call at Firando, João Pereira, mentioned as the governor of Macao, made for the bay of Facunda, in Omura, with a valuable shipment from Macao. The *daimio* thereupon beset the ship with a fleet of forty sail under Admiral Catadono Kami. Pereira dexterously tacked the ship so as to leave the Japanese in the bay while he sailed out, and then he turned upon them with such effect that after a desperate struggle they beached the remnant of the fleet and took to flight. In this encounter perished several relatives of the *daimio* and admiral, as well as two famous warriors from the imperial court. The Christians of Omura accorded Pereira an enthusiastic reception. Thenceforth the Japanese regarded the Portuguese as a brave people.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> P. G. Mesnier: *O Japão*, 68-70, Macao ed. 1874.



Since 1569, Nagasaki, ceded to the Portuguese by the *daimio* of Omura, became the centre of the foreign trade. The staples consisted of curiosities from Europe and India, works of art, firearms and pictures of battles being a speciality; aromatics, drugs, wines, cotton and woollen goods, and to a large extent raw silk from China, bartered for bullion.

From its relative abundance in Japan, gold was estimated as bearing less proportionate value to silver in that country than anywhere else.<sup>12</sup> In the halcyon days of Portuguese commerce with Japan, the annual export of Japanese gold to Macao is said to have exceeded three hundred tons, that is to say over £3,000,000.<sup>13</sup> A few years before the final rupture between the Portuguese and Japanese, a small ship was known to have brought away over a hundred tons of gold. The historian who relates this<sup>14</sup> adds that if the Portuguese had enjoyed the Japan trade on its original footing for twenty-five years more, they would have borne away from that Ophir, and Macao would have had, as much gold and silver as Jerusalem is said to have possessed in the days of Solomon.

In China the Portuguese trade was vested with privileges and immunities which no other foreign trade subsequently enjoyed. A Portuguese vessel, say of 200 tons, on being measured for the first time, paid 1,800 taels as tonnage dues; and on every subsequent arrival, only one third of that amount—a favour, owns Ljungstedt,<sup>15</sup> which only the ships of Macao could claim from China. Under any other foreign flag, a ship of the same tonnage paid 5,400 taels, and every time she returned the same sum was

<sup>12</sup> McCulloch's *Dictionary of Commerce*, old ed., *Nagasaki*.

<sup>13</sup> A tun of gold was valued at £10,000.

<sup>14</sup> Kämpfer: *History of Japan*, vol. I, book IV, chap. V.

<sup>15</sup> *Historical Sketch*, 87.

levied. All merchandise bought by the Portuguese at Canton was subject to duties two-thirds less than other foreigners paid. Portuguese warships paid no tonnage dues : those of other nations were measured and paid them. In case of a Portuguese vessel being shipwrecked, the crew, if saved by the Chinese, was conveyed to Macao at imperial cost. Such was not the case with other foreigners, who had to compensate liberally for the troubles and expenses incurred on their account.<sup>16</sup>

A fair lasting for months was held at Canton at first once, and afterwards twice a year. In January the merchants of Macao began their purchases for Manila, India, and Europe ; in June for Japan, so as to have the goods in time for vessels leaving during the south-west and north-east monsoons respectively.

The trade with Europe was a royal monopoly. Annually a royal fleet of galleons, and carracks sailed from Lisbon, laden mostly with woollens, scarlet cloth, crystal and glass-ware, clocks of English and Flemish manufacture, and wines of Portugal. These were exchanged at the ports of call for other products. From Goa the fleet went to Cochin for spices and precious stones ; thence to Malacca for other spices and sandalwood from Sunda. These were in turn disposed of at Macao for silk, which, together with the remnant of the cargo, was bartered at Japan for bullion—speculations which doubled or trebled the capital invested. From Macao, after a stay of several months, the fleet brought home gold, silk, musk, pearls, ivory and wood carvings, lacquered ware, porcelain, &c. The crown of Portugal reserving for itself the oriental trade, one of the greatest favours which the king conferred on deserving vassals was to license them to load a galleon or two with

<sup>16</sup> Martinho de Mello e Castro's *Memorandum*, para. 41-44.

oriental produce, which, disposed of to Lisbon merchants, yielded immense profits.<sup>17</sup>

Macao then flourished as the emporium whence alone the riches of the neighbouring empire found their way to foreign countries; while Lisbon, flooded with the luxuries and splendours of the Orient, prided herself in dispensing them to the gay capitals of Europe in lieu of Venice.

<sup>17</sup> Rebello da Silva : *Historia de Portugal*, Vol IV, chap. IV.





RUINS OF ST. PAUL'S.

## V.

As a reprisal for the revolt against Spanish domination in the Netherlands, Philip II embargoed the trade of the Dutch in Portugal, whence they drew their supply of oriental commodities. This led them to project a direct trade with the Orient. An expedition unsuccessfully sought to reach China and India by way of the Arctic Ocean. On the other hand Houtman at Lisbon, and Linschoten, who sailed among the retinue of the archbishop of Goa, gathered all the particulars they could get concerning the eastern trade route. Soon after, the Portuguese found their Scourge of God, and China saw the first batch of Dutchmen—described by a Chinese historian as red-haired and even dressed in red, tall, their blue eyes sunk deep, and their feet over a cubit long,—strange-looking tribute-bearers who frightened the people.<sup>1</sup>

After attacking the Portuguese at Ternate, part of Admiral van Neck's fleet appeared off Macao in 1601. On one of the colony's heights, then unfortified, the people mustered. Two emissaries sent on shore returned not; and a party sent to sound the harbour, after a stubborn fight, fell prisoners, of whom, it is said, eighteen were hanged, and two officers conveyed to Goa. In 1603 two Dutch ships opened fire on Macao, and retreated after plundering and burning a carrack. The failure of a Dutch envoy to establish trade with China in 1604 was ascribed to Portuguese influence, and Admiral van Waerwijk forthwith set sail to take Macao, but was driven by a typhoon to the Pescadores, whence he left for India on being menaced by fifty war-junks from Fokien. Admiral Matelief, sent to spy Macao, was having a

<sup>1</sup> *Chinese Repository*, Vol. I, p. 370,

pourparler with some mandarins off Lantao, in 1607, when six Portuguese vessels bore down and chased him away.

A ship belonging to the *daimio* of Arima was wintering at Macao, in 1608, when, consequent upon a riot, over twenty of the crew, as well as several natives, were killed. André Pessoa, who was then commandant at Macao, next year proceeded to Japan to explain matters as desired. His carrack, conveying many priests, and shipments worth a million in gold, was fortunate enough to escape a typhoon and Dutch pirates on the look out. On her arrival at Nagasaki, the Dutch, who had just then obtained a footing in Japan, proposed to seize her. The Spaniards, sounded as to whether they could supply raw silk on the same terms as the Portuguese, replied in the affirmative. Ijejas, though he had accepted the explanations given by Pessoa, now bade the *daimio* of Arima capture him alive or dead. The *daimio's* forces having been repulsed, a three-storied wooden tower, built upon a raft, was brought to Nagasaki by a fleet of heavily armed junks. The carrack, beset in a calm, stood at great disadvantage. The Japanese rowed forward and strove to board her at all points, but were repelled with great loss. The floating tower approached, displaying the flags and escutcheons of several *daimios* by whose *samurais* it was garrisoned. The junks and wreckage hampered the ship's artillery; and as a breeze set in, Pessoa was about to sail out and take the offensive, when a grenade, thrown from the floating tower, set a sail ablaze. The flames spread. In overwhelming numbers, the Japanese boarded the carrack, whereupon Captain Pessoa, cleaving a way with his sword, rushed to the magazine and blew up the doomed vessel.

Dutch intrigues undermined Portuguese interests, Dutch pirates preyed upon Portuguese trade and shipping,

whilst an armistice with Spain put off a meditated descent on Portuguese colonies.

In face of such a scourge, it became an imperative necessity to fortify Macao,—whose commanding heights then served as a retreat for anchorites. Where now stands the picturesque fort of Guia, stood the hermitage of Nossa Senhora da Guia; and on a flanking sylvan height the Augustine monks had their hermitage, dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Penha de França,<sup>2</sup> the protectress of navigators, in whose honour Portuguese ships fired a salute when approaching Macao; while in response the hermitage bell rang a merry welcome; and to the chapel of Penha the crew, on landing, repaired with their families for a thanksgiving, dropping there pecuniary offerings which sometimes took the shape of liberal endowments promised in the hour of great peril and distress on the high seas—an usage which found a parallel in that of Chinese sailors, who, when passing by the Ma-Ko Pagoda, offered sacrifices to the goddess Tien How to propitiate the voyage. Macao then owned many galliots and patachos trading with Japan, Manila, Siam, Malacca and India.

That there had been a fort at Macao is beyond doubt. In an old French manuscript, Macao is described as *un petit lieu qui est au bord de la mer au pied d'une montagne où autrefois les Portugais ont eu une forteresse mesmes qu'il y en a beaucoup qui y habitent.*<sup>3</sup> According to De Guignes, the hermitage of Penha was originally a fort. The *Ao-men Kilioh* relates that for protection against the Dutch the Portuguese constructed a fort much on the lines of an old one which had been pulled down. Its demolition was

<sup>2</sup> *Notre Dame de France.*

<sup>3</sup> *Voyage qui a été fait par terre de Paris à la Chine: par le Sieur de Monferran—Ms. du XVIIe. siècle.* Bibl. Nat., Fr. 22982. Quoted in Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica*, tom. II, fasc. I, 1888.



evidently due to the same cause which now stood in the way of the colony being walled and fortified: misgivings on the part of the Chinese. Extremely mistrustful and ever ready to be duped by anti-foreign alarmists, the Chinese were now even led to mistaking churches for forts—misapprehensions which might have originated from the unusual circumstances attending the construction of St. Paul's. Up to the day when the matsheds dropped all of a sudden, the bells rang merrily, and the community rushed to gaze at the beauteous structure, care was taken to conceal the massive building from public view; and the fact of the labourers being Japanese might have lent colour to the Chinese conjecture that a huge fortress was being secretly constructed. At the Ilha Verde, moreover, the Jesuits raised a chapel which the Chinese declared to be a fort; and as the outcome of a religious controversy, in which the rector of the Jesuits carried the point, it was spitefully hinted to the Chinese that the Jesuits were about to revolutionise and conquer China.

The construction of a wall for defensive purposes substantiated the suspicion. It was rumoured that the Portuguese harboured aggressive designs upon China and that after raising several citadels—so were the churches called—they were now, in 1606, fortifying the sea-shore. It was even whispered that Cataneo, a Jesuit, had been selected for emperor. The mere fact of his wearing Chinese dress was viewed upon as a preparation for the campaign; while the missionaries and their converts in China were held as military leaders with numerous partisans already in possession of most important strategical points. A mob armed with pikes and poles attacked a church which was persistently taken for a fort, pillaging and setting it on fire. A picture of the Virgin was being torn to pieces, when a Portuguese wrested it from the

profaner's hands and turned it into a standard with which he rushed about the streets of Macao clamouring for revenge. At the sight of the image, the Portuguese, and above all, the negroes, arrayed themselves into battalions, and, inflamed by religious enthusiasm, they resolutely set upon the infidels and put them to flight, ransacking a mandarin's house as a reprisal. The chief abettor was captured, soundly thrashed, and imprisoned at the seminary. In concert with the senate, the mandarin of Heangshan eventually restored tranquillity. But soon the smouldering fire was kindled again; in an essay on foreign invasion, a Chinese scholar, with a pen dipped in gall, denounced Cataneo as a pretender to the throne, who had designedly visited the principal cities of China from Macao to Peking, thoroughly acquainted himself with the land and sea routes as well as with the language, manners and customs of the empire, and secured a great number of followers, who only awaited a powerful fleet, long since despatched from Portugal, and auxiliaries from Japan and Malacca—formidable forces that were hourly expected—to reduce the Celestials to slavery, and place the Flowery Kingdom in the hands of barbarians. This essay, widely circulated and eagerly read at Macao, created a panic among the Chinese, who fled to Canton. The prayas were blocked with their chattels, and a swarm of junks brought them away amidst great bustle and alarm, as if the famous Portuguese fleet had already hove in sight. Within a few days, there remained at Macao only the Portuguese and their negro slaves. On arrival at Canton, the refugees spread the alarm far and wide. The magistrates, the mandarins ashore and afloat, the whole people from the viceroys down to the vilest coolie all grew convinced that soon they were to become the prey of Western devils. The troops were called out, and war junks equipped; day and night the city walls were strongly guarded; along the

riverside, the city gates were walled up, and, for better safeguard, extramural habitations, said to number over a thousand, were pulled down, while an edict enjoined the people to harbour no inhabitant of Macao, lest he might happen to be Ko-ti-niou (Cataneo), whose aim was to seize the empire. The viceroy, not content with these tremendous precautions, despatched a courier to warn the emperor of the danger which beset him. At Peking the missionaries had much to suffer in consequence of this sensational canard, which well-nigh swept away every mission-house in China. At Macao the trade was stopped, starvation imminent. The senate sent a most humble deputation to show the viceroy how absurd it was to credit a handful of merchants with such ambitious, undreamt of projects. Upon a few Chinese being permitted to return to Macao on trial and to investigate matters there, an agitation was raised at Canton; it was bitterly complained that, on a vain pretext, the *hai-tao* had wantonly caused so many houses to be pulled down, and there was an outcry for indemnity as well as for sending him in chains to Peking for trial and condemnation. On the other hand, to extricate himself from the dilemma, he maintained that, far from being groundless, the terror was justified, for the foreigners really had in view the overthrow of both the empire and the dynasty; and to vindicate himself before the people, he eagerly availed himself of a charge laid before him, against a young missionary of Macao, Martinez, who had scarcely reached Canton from the interior, when, in the midst of a great commotion, a renegade neophyte, rabidly hostile to the Christians, denounced him as a spy and lieutenant of the pretender, on the way to serve as a guide to the foreign armies expected at Macao, after paving the way for an insurrection in the country. Martinez was laid up with fever, when one night, by the glare of torches and amidst fearful vociferations, he was dragged in chains, with several other Christians, to

the *hai-tao's* tribunal. Enduring the rack like a hero, he repeatedly protested his innocence. The magistrate was on the point of acquitting him, when the renegade neophyte accused him of being a dangerous conspirator, and of having, immediately on arrival, provided himself with gunpowder, as could be attested by a child living in the same premises. This highly incensed the magistrate. The child was sent for. By a slight intonation, the word *yo* in Chinese might mean either powdered medicine or gunpowder. The child, interrogated as to what Martinez had bought, naïvely replied *yo*. This, the accuser pointed out, confirmed the charge. But Martinez explained that what he had procured was medicine to allay the fever. The child, again questioned, corroborated the statement. On being tortured—his fingers were pressed between two bamboos—and menaced with severer pain, however, he declared that the *yo* in question was in truth gunpowder. Thereupon Martinez was barbarously lashed and condemned to death, subject to further tortures and interrogation by the viceroy; but, horribly lacerated, he expired on the way to the viceregal tribunal. The viceroy then ordered the provincial commander-in-chief to proceed with the army to besiege Macao. This prudent mandarin thought it well, beforehand, to ascertain matters officially. An officer of his, on arrival at Macao, repaired to the seminary and desired to be shown the redoubtable Ko-ti-niou who aspired to the throne of the Celestial Empire. The good-natured priest showed him over the establishment, to convince him that it was no arsenal full of munitions and engines of war. Pointing to the books in the library, Cataneo remarked that those were the arms with which he projected subduing the empire. The mandarin smiled and no longer seemed frightened. Conducting him next into the hall where the seminarists were quietly studying, Cataneo said they were the army that would fight under his command and help

him to ascend the throne. The mandarin, now quite reassured, next visited the churches, monasteries and other establishments. His report having disillusioned the Canton authorities, the disarmament was gradually effected, peace restored, and the trade resumed as usual.<sup>4</sup>

It was nevertheless impossible to efface thoroughly the impression left by the widespread alarm on the timorous and mistrustful Chinese mind. A redoubled intolerance characterised the subsequent attitude of the mandarins towards Macao. Hitherto only trading vessels were submitted to the process of measurement for levying tonnage dues. This was now enforced on warships as well, probably as a means of espionage. The mandarins pretended, in 1612, that royal galleons should be measured, as they were merchantmen rather than war-vessels. The commodore objected, declaring that if necessary he would resist by force of arms. But the mandarins resorted to their terrible expedient—starvation. The distress to which they subjected Macao was such that, driven to despair, the people seized the commanders of the galleons and forced them into compliance.<sup>5</sup> To palliate this desperate deed, the senate alleged, in a despatch to the viceroy of India, that, unable to act otherwise, and to spare further calamities, they, on the spur of the moment, and in conformity with the council's advice, consented to the mandarins having their own way. But the commanders stood inflexible, in spite of every appeal, declaration, and persuasive argument; whereupon the people, assembled at the senate-house, to relieve themselves of the ordeal and of the pressure brought to bear on them, bethought themselves of seizing the commanders in order to accommodate matters.

<sup>4</sup> *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas*, lib. V, cap. IX-X; Huc's *Le Christianisme en Chine*, vol. II, chap. IV.

<sup>5</sup> *Mémoire sur la souveraineté territoriale du Portugal à Macao*, p. 28.

An inch having been given, an ell was demanded. In 1613 the mandarins threatened to expel the Portuguese from Macao unless they complied with the following impositions : not to introduce Japanese servants, on pain of death ; not to purchase Chinese subjects, as when bought they were shorn of their hair and dressed like the Portuguese ; not to erect any new house without permission ; and to forbid the landing of any unmarried merchant, who must remain on board his ship ; to all of which the people of Macao agreed, being, as they declared, desirous of living in peace.<sup>6</sup> These impositions, however, underwent some modifications in the imperial decree of 1614, which was engraved on a stone tablet and affixed at the senate-house : besides interdicting the admission of Japanese and the purchase of Chinese subjects as originally determined upon, it enacted that no ship was to enter the port of Macao without being first measured for the payment of dues imposed by law ; that smugglers were to be severely punished, besides losing the goods captured ; and that no new house was to be built, under penalty of its being demolished ; but old ones might be rebuilt.<sup>7</sup> In connection with the last clause, it was required that, before undertaking any building operations, Chinese artisans should obtain a license from the mandarin of Heangshan. But in spite of all, not only new houses but fortresses were constructed : in consideration of a fee the mandarin would cause his underlings to unearth supposed foundations of former houses ; and magnificent presents secured non-interference with the fortifications.<sup>8</sup>

Instructions were given by the king in 1615 to fortify Macao, the officer in charge to keep the plans secret and

<sup>6</sup> Danvers : *The Portuguese in India*, vol. II, p. 213.

<sup>7</sup> Andrade's *Cartas da India e da China*, vol. I., p. 123, 2nd ed., Castro Sampaio's *Os Chins de Macau*, p. 57.

<sup>8</sup> Ljungstedt's *Historical Sketch*, pp. 80 and 23.

point out to the mandarins, in case of enquiry, that it was for their own good to protect the place against pirates.<sup>9</sup> That officer was evidently Francisco Lopes Carrasco, who, in 1616, established his headquarters at Monte de São Paulo, the commanding central height on which stands the citadel, commonly called Monte.

Monte was occupied by the Jesuits, who, it is said, not only defrayed the cost of fortifying that height, overlooking St. Paul's, but had a hand in the works. In fact, mysterious subterranean passages leading up to a granite shaft in the citadel once connected at least St. Paul's with Monte. It is related of the first captain-general of Macao, Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, appointed in 1623, that, after a banquet given by the Jesuits in his honour at Monte, he tarried there with his retinue until reminded that it was past the time for closing the gate, whereupon he showed the Jesuits the way out and announced that he had come to stay in the king's name, receiving a protest which they, astounded and wrathful, forthwith made.<sup>10</sup>

Three shore batteries were also raised, of São Francisco and Bomporto (subsequently known as Bomparto) commanding the outer harbour, and of São Thiago de Barra at the entrance to the inner harbour.

The artillery was mainly supplied by Manoel Bocarro, whose bronze guns, cast at Macao, were, as Nieuhoff remarks, in great demand all over the East Indies.

In the name of Macao, a Jesuit, Gonçalo Teixeira, in 1621, presented the Emperor of China with three large

<sup>9</sup> Danvers: *The Portuguese in India*, vol. I, p. 213.

<sup>10</sup> Marco d'Avalo's account of Macao in the *Recueil des voyages qui ont servi à l'établissement et au progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, formée dans les Provinces Unies de Pays-Bas*. See *Ta-ssi-yung-kuo*, of Lisbon, vol. I, p. 375-6.

guns. Artillerymen, too, were sent with them.<sup>11</sup> These guns, brought to the frontier, proved of great service against the Tartars, who, advancing in compact masses, suffered so heavily from the fire that they took to flight and ever after grew more cautious in their onsets. Thenceforth the Chinese government ordered many guns and muskets from Macao. In the name of that city, Gonçalo Teixeira also proffered the services of a military contingent against the Tartars. A memorial to this effect was submitted to the emperor, who accepted the offer. The council of war despatched a Jesuit, João Rodrigues, to negotiate with the Macao authorities and levy the contingent, while the Canton mandarins were ordered to afford every facility and treat the matter with liberality. Four hundred musketeers were enrolled at Macao, two hundred being Europeans and Macaenses, and the rest Chinese, who, trained by the Portuguese, were all good soldiers and marksmen. Besides being amply remunerated, they were each attended by a page, paid for by the imperial treasury. Setting out for Canton, the expedition, commanded by Pedro Cordeiro and Antonio Rodriguez del Campo, proceeded by the inland route, all on horseback and provided with boats for crossing the rivers. The people treated these strangers with the utmost consideration and kindness, their fine bearing, musket-fire, as well as their uniform being much wondered at. Welcomed and fêted by the magistrates of all the villages and towns they passed by, the troops had crossed the provinces of Kwang-tung and Kiang-si, and at Nang-chang-foo they halted on receipt of news that their services were no longer needed. The Canton merchants, in view of the expedition's popularity, apprehended that the Portuguese might eventually secure

<sup>11</sup> By imperial command a monument was raised at Peking in memory of a Portuguese officer and several gunners killed at an accident there. See *China Review*, vol. VI, p. 340.



the privilege of trading in the interior and thus amass the profits of the foreign trade carried on through Canton. From the outset the merchants had done their utmost to raise obstacles. But the authorities maintained that, as the troops had been liberally remunerated, they should proceed to the scene of action. The merchants then proposed to refund the expenses incurred by the imperial treasury. This was declined. By bribing the court mandarins, however, the merchants carried their point. The very officials who had recommended the contingent now approached the emperor with another memorial to the effect that there was no further need for Portuguese succour. The imperial rescript pointed out that it was not long since the memorialists proposed that the troops should be admitted to assist the country against the Tartars ; and now this was said to be unnecessary : when proposing anything it were well to consider it better. Anyhow, if the troops were not required, let them return.<sup>12</sup> Not only was the emperor thus trifled with, but the Portuguese were fooled to the top of the bent : on the ground that the contingent had not reached its destination, the Canton government reclaimed from Macao the cost of the expedition, amounting to thirty-four thousand taels. After considerable difficulties, the senate disbursed the whole amount, to spare further chagrin. The emperor, on the other hand, duly appreciated the succour rendered by Macao. Twice he invited the Portuguese to Peking, treated them magnificently, and by a special privilege lodged them close to the imperial palace, of which some of them were once the guests, as recorded by Semedo. The *Ming Shi* likewise chronicles that during the reign of Tien Ki and Chung Cheng auxiliaries from Macao went to Peking, and, proving to be experts in warfare, were employed at the frontier against the Tartars.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Semedo : *Relazione della Cina*, part I, chap. 20-21.

<sup>13</sup> *China Review*, vol. VI, p. 342.

Strange enough, these contingents were furnished at an epoch when they should rather have stood in defence of the colony itself. While menaced by the Dutch, Macao was invested by Chinese pirates, who evidently meant to take advantage of the absence of the four hundred musketeers. As related by Fr. Juan de la Concepcion,<sup>14</sup> in the first year of Tien-ki, 1621, China was in the throes of a civil strife, and pirates, who formed a powerful party, attempted to lay siege to Macao and turn it into their base of operation. The Portuguese sallied forth, and a close encounter ensued, in which over fifteen hundred pirates were killed and many taken prisoners. The *tsun-to* and *foo-yuen* reported this signal victory to the emperor, who replied in a message full of encomium for the honourable services rendered by the Portuguese to China.

The military prestige of the Portuguese in the Far East at this epoch led the king of Siam, after concluding a treaty with them in 1616, to engage Portuguese soldiery for the royal establishments at Ayuthia, where the soldiers married native wives and founded a Portuguese settlement, which' missionaries and merchants from Macao tended to develop.

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<sup>14</sup> *Historia General de Philipinas*, vol. I, p. 427, ed. 1788

## VI.

A truce between Spain and the Netherlands for twelve years retarded a projected Dutch descent on Macao. How precious that colony would have been to the Dutch, and how seriously the lack of a commercial footing in China stood in the way of furthering their Japan trade, may be gleaned from the following: In 1609 two Dutch ships, cordially received at Firando, disappointed the Japanese, who expected raw silk from China. The Dutch, though strictly excluded from the China trade, urged the Japanese to grant them a monopoly for the supply of the desired commodity. Next year, however, they again failed to bring it as promised. This led the Japanese to suspect, like the Chinese, that Dutch cargoes depended on plunder.<sup>1</sup> To protect Portuguese trade in China against the Dutch, the viceroy of India had to despatch, in 1613, three galleons to co-operate with four ships already sent. One of the galleons was wrecked near Sanchuan in a typhoon, and of her crew two hundred perished, sixty of whom were Portuguese; and the survivors, eighty in all, rejoined the fleet at Macao.<sup>2</sup>

The truce having lapsed, an allied squadron of two Dutch and two English vessels on the 29th May 1622 appeared at Macao. In consequence of some misunderstanding the English left for Japan. The Dutch attempted to take the colony by surprise. As they opened fire, the people, called to arms by Lopo Sarmiento de Carvalho, formed themselves into companies, guarded weak points, and in view of the beach at Cacilhas affording an easy landing, raised a sandbank there. To prevent a surprise at night, eleven small vessels patrolled the harbour. Next

<sup>1</sup> Martin's *China*, vol. I, p. 308.

<sup>2</sup> Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, vol. II, p. 162.

morning the Dutch left for the offing to intercept vessels arriving from India, whereupon a well-armed flotilla was sent to convoy them, and they were safely brought in.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile a powerful Dutch expedition was on the way for the capture of either Macao or the Pescadores. From Batavia, Governor-General Koen sent eight ships under Kornelis Reyersz van Derzton, and orders were sent to Willem Jansz, who blockaded Manila, to detach some of his vessels for the expedition, which was also reinforced by a ship bound for Batavia with two Portuguese patachos captured off Malacca. On the way the crew of every ship was drilled daily. The fleet reached the roadstead of Macao on the 22nd June 1622, in all seventeen sail, including two English ships.<sup>4</sup>

According to the records of Macao, two Dutch and two English ships were already in when the main fleet arrived, consisting of thirteen ships, galliots, and patachos; but the English kept aloof, as the Dutch, sanguine of success, refused to share the spoils, which would have exceeded their expectations. Macao stood then almost defenceless. Most of the Portuguese were abroad, on their usual voyages at that time of the year; and there happened to be only eighty Europeans in the colony capable of bearing arms: evidently the contingent of four hundred musketeers had not yet returned from China. On the other hand, there were among the Dutch forces three companies of fine soldiers trained in Flanders, men who, in recognition of services, were chosen for the conquest of Macao as an enterprise of great profit and little risk.

<sup>3</sup> Danvers: *The Portuguese in India*, vol. II, p. 214.

<sup>4</sup> From the accounts of Willem Bontekoe, in the *Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'établissement et aux progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, formée dans les Provinces Unies de Pays-Bas*. An English version is given in the *China Magazine*, March 1869. Bontekoe commanded one of the ships, the "Groningen."

On the arrival of the fleet, two boats approached the shore within musket-shot to survey the place, or, as alleged, to challenge the fort of São Francisco; upon which, on the afternoon of the 23rd, two ships bore down and opened fire. A hot engagement ensued, lasting from two to six o'clock. One of the ships fared so badly that she was abandoned, and eventually she foundered.

At daybreak on the memorable 24th, the fleet closed in upon the city with a heavy fire, while two patachos cleared the beach at Cacilhas "with our own shots"—apparently the patachos captured near Malacca were recognised. To the beach a flotilla armed with swivels and falconets brought a party of eight hundred men. A barrel of damp gunpowder was burnt, and under cover of the dark smoke drifting landward the landing was effected with great impetuosity and amidst furious volleys. Antonio Rodriguez Cavalinho, who happened to be at his country-seat near by, rushed forward to oppose the landing with but five Portuguese and their negro slaves. In face of the tremendous odds against them, they retreated and lay in ambush among the rocks of Guia, overlooking the plain where the invaders had to pass before reaching the city. Likewise, sixty Europeans and ninety Macaenses, finding a sand-trench at Cacilhas untenable, fell back upon the city, turning round now and then and firing as they retreated. The tocsin tolled. Amidst great consternation, the ladies took refuge at St. Paul's, and treasures were stowed in the seminary, in view of the place being protected by the artillery of Monte. To that fortress the Jesuits resorted, lodging at their seminary the nuns of Santa Clara.<sup>5</sup> The people, without a standard, without any military aid, rushed

<sup>5</sup> These ladies—romantic followers of a nun of Toledo inspired with the devout wish of saving the souls of heathens in China—must have reached Macao only recently, as they arrived at Manila in 1621. It was not before 1633, however, that their monastery was formally established at Macao.

to the front pell-mell. Fortunately the enemy ignored how unprepared the colony was, how lamentable the plight. Preparatory to advancing upon the city, the Dutch took every precaution to cover their retreat in case of repulse. The patachos were brought as close to the beach as possible. Two companies of a hundred men were stationed at the landing-place. The rest, led by Reyersz van Derzton, and elated at the retreat of the Portuguese, now advanced, firing with admirable dexterity as they marched towards the plain at the foot of Guia. They were already abreast of the fountain, when, from the citadel of Monte, a heavy gun began to thunder upon them—a great bombard hastily planted in that direction. Thanks to the precision of a Jesuit artilleryist—in those days the Jesuits were versed in the art of war—one shot blew up a waggon-load of gunpowder. That shot greatly disconcerted the invaders. To the lack of gunpowder, indeed, the Dutch narrative previously quoted ascribes the rout which ensued. It adds that a Japanese deserter—there was a Japanese contingent among the Dutch forces—went over and revealed the sorry plight in which the invaders now stood, of which the Portuguese at once took advantage by foiling a strategical retreat to the landing place. In the Portuguese accounts, however, no such desertion nor disclosure is mentioned, circumstantial as they are.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, as related by Bontekoe himself in the above-mentioned Dutch account, dissensions prevailed among the Dutch commanders; and the original plan of attack, organised with great assurance,

<sup>6</sup> One of these narratives is reproduced in the *Boletim do Governo de Macau* of 28th June 1862. Of another account there is a transcript at the senate's archives: *Relação da Victoria que a cidade de Macao na China teve dos holandezes no 24 de Junho. Traslada da em 1754. Registo das Cartas, 1710-1768, fol. 338.* According to Ljungstedt, who gives a brief extract from the last-mentioned document, it agrees with the Dutch admiral's report in the most essential points. Circumstantial accounts are also given by Semedo, Fr. Juan de la Concepcion, Danvers and others.

was altered at the eleventh hour. Something else, besides the gunpowder burnt on landing, must have been damped. The invaders lacked that confidence, that élan so essential to success; and the precaution adopted on landing was quite in keeping with the subsequent faintheartedness, the panic, the flight, which Bontekoe glosses over as the outcome of sheer lack of gunpowder. From the commanding citadel, other guns also played upon the invaders. They halted. It was alleged that they apprehended an ambush behind a bamboo thicket which fenced the city in that direction. Anyhow, to advance or retreat along the plain was likewise to expose themselves to the Monte's telling fire; while on the rugged hills close by, they might find a strong and sheltered position. Wheeling to the left, therefore, they rushed for the height on the crest of which stood the hermitage of Guia. There, concealed amidst the rocks, Rodrigo Ferreira with eight Europeans, twenty Macaenses, and several negroes, checked their advance with a brisk fusillade. The Dutch, after a brief consultation among the commanders, marched towards another tenable height. Meanwhile the officers in charge of the batteries of São Francisco and Bomporto, finding the attack confined to Cacilhas, despatched fifty musketeers under João Soares Vivas to oppose the enemy's advance. At Porta do Campo, near the scene of action, they were reinforced by Lopo Sarmiento de Carvalho and the handful of men who guarded that gate. Perceiving the Dutch manœuvre, they all dashed forward, determined to secure the height themselves. Then, animated by stirring calls upon São Thiago—the Portuguese war-cry,—they charged. At the first onset, Reyersz van Derzton, who held out, fell shot in the chest and was evidently brought away, as the Dutch narrative says he recovered. The whole force, panic-stricken, thereupon dispersed and fled, flinging away bandoleers, arms, and standards. Many of the Portuguese also eased them-

selves of their muskets, and with their swords fell upon the flying Dutchmen as they hurried along the hillside down to the beach. The populace also turned up, giving no quarter. In honour of St. John the Baptist, says one narrative, the negroes stripped and beheaded every Dutch heretic they came across that day ; and a negress, attired as a man, is said to have herself killed two Dutchmen with a prong according to some, with a halberd according to the version in the senate's archives. At Cacilhas the two companies did their utmost to rally their comrades, and resolutely stood their ground. But after a desperate sword and musket encounter, they also gave way before the impetus of the Portuguese charge, plunging into the sea with the rest. Many were drowned as they attempted to regain the boats, one of which, being overladen, sunk. The others retreated with the patachos under a constant fire.

The loss is variously estimated. The Dutch account simply mentions a hundred and thirty men lost, and about as many wounded. According to Portuguese records, the Dutch lost, in slain and drowned, from three to five hundred men, including four officers. One officer and several men were taken prisoners, of whom only seven survived. The trophy consisted of eight standards, five drums, one field-piece, and over a thousand halberds, broadswords and muskets. On the Portuguese side, out of about three hundred men in all, four Portuguese, two Spaniards, and several negroes were killed, and some twenty wounded—a comparatively trivial loss, considering that the engagement lasted over two hours. The Dutch fleet, after watering at an island in the offing, returned on the following day with a flag of truce to ransom the prisoners. This failing, the fleet left, the main part proceeding to the Pescadores, and three ships remaining behind to intercept Portuguese vessels coming from Malacca.



On the very scene of action, the victors emancipated their negro slaves in recognition of their loyalty and bravery. Then, all repaired to the cathedral for a solemn thanksgiving for the victory achieved by the grace of God, the senate and *moradores* vowing to commemorate it in like manner ever after on the eve of St. John's day,—a vow scrupulously observed up to the present time.

The deliverance was unanimously attributed to Providence. In course of time, however, it was assigned to a saint. The spirit of the times was too superstitious and visionary to stop short of adorning the battlefield with the mystic halo of a celestial apparition which dimmed the brilliant deed of arms. "Angels and ministers of grace, defend us!" was in those days no vain appeal among Spaniards and Portuguese: saints came down in person to defend them, and were in recognition chosen for patrons of the cities they saved. At Manila, St. Andrew was credited with the rout of Li Ma Hon, and St. Francis d'Assis with the butchery of twenty thousand Chinese in 1602; and at Macao the Dutch rout was traced to the apparition of St. John the Baptist with a mantle into which the enemy's shots were deviated, the saint being visible to the astonished Dutchmen themselves. Tradition assigns this allegation to a Dutch source, but the legend is pre-eminently Portuguese, and quite in keeping with the national legend of Ourique. In none of the Portuguese accounts, however, is the legend alluded to. In no illusory light it was foreseen in the senate's narrative that much good might be expected from the victory inasmuch as the Chinese, perceiving the warlike mettle of the Portuguese, would prefer them for friends rather than foes and treat them with consideration. In fact, the viceroy of Canton, congratulating the senate, now proffered whatever might be desired; the *hai-tao* presented the negro citizens with several hundred piculs of rice; and

thenceforth the Chinese no longer opposed the defensive measures adopted by the colony.

While Macao so narrowly escaped becoming a Dutch possession, the military command of the place was being strangely trifled with: a letter-patent from Goa appointed thereto a Dominican friar in charge of the bishopric, Fr. Antonio do Rozario, and two citizens, Pedro Fernandes de Carvalho and Agostinho Gomes, who assumed the command five weeks after the invasion. The colony lost no time in impressing upon the government of Goa the necessity for a duly qualified military commander and an efficient garrison. Accordingly, Dom Francisco Mascarenhas was in the king's name appointed captain-general of Macao, arriving there in July 1623 with a company of soldiers; while from Manila came a colonel with two hundred musketeers and several bombards.

The letter-patent of Dom Francisco Mascarenhas<sup>7</sup> vested him not only with jurisdiction over the military both as to person and property; but with power, in criminal cases, to sentence any delinquent to death except officers and nobles, who in such cases should be degraded and conveyed to Goa for trial before the viceroy; and in civil cases, to impose fines not exceeding one hundred milreis subject to no appeal, and five hundred crusados, or in default thereof deportation for five years, on non-compliance with his commands and requests. The *ouvidor*, the *sargento mór*, an alderman, and a judge were to assist him in the exercise of his jurisdiction; and his stipend of four thousand xerafins per annum was to be defrayed out of the colony's revenue.

Troubles soon arose, on one hand attributed to the citizens studiously disobeying orders given by Dom

<sup>7</sup> Reproduced *verbatim* in the *Gazeta de Macao* of 15th September 1824.

Francisco Mascarenhas in the king's name, such being their attitude towards him that from Monte three shots were fired at the Augustinian monastery whither he had to retreat—shots which he caused to be gilt and sent one to the king and another to the viceroy at Goa, retaining the other for himself.<sup>8</sup> It is recorded, on the other hand, that by repeated extortions, and particularly by suing the citizens' wives and daughters, who got so scared that they would not go out even to attend mass, Dom Francisco Mascarenhas provoked a revolt, in 1623, which, according to several accounts, ended in his assassination. An old manuscript, however, affirms that he took refuge on board a ship and was never after seen in India.<sup>9</sup> Twenty-four citizens of Macao were, as ringleaders of the revolt, condemned to death by the viceroy of India; but after two years' imprisonment they were released by royal command; whilst Dom Francisco da Gama, viceroy of India, annulled Mascarenhas' arbitrary measures in a decree which was proclaimed at Macao with a flourish of fifes and drums. Nevertheless, three years after, the governors of Goa disqualified "the criminals, the proscribed, and the guilty" from serving in any governmental capacity at Macao. Finally, in the king's name an amnesty was granted in 1632 for offences connected with the revolt, in consideration of the citizens' loyalty to the throne and their gift of a thousand piculs of copper to the royal treasury.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Marco d'Avale's account of Macao in the *Recueil des Voyages* previously quoted. It forms part of the narratives of Rechteren's voyage to the East Indies, 1628-32. See *Tu-sui-yang-kuo* of Lisbon, vol. I, p. 375.

<sup>9</sup> This is evidently the truth, as in 1627 Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, then in Spain, was appointed viceroy of India, but did not assume the post. The ship he went in put back to Lisbon, where he remained, being nominated councillor of state.—Danvers: *The Portuguese in India*, vol. II, pp. 234-5.

<sup>10</sup> Marques Pereira's *Ephemerides Commemorativa da Historia de Macao*, pp. 64, 36, 79, 39. *Tu-sui-yang-kuo*, of Lisbon, vol. I, p. 377.

Meanwhile a Dutch fleet, intended for another descent on Macao, was reported to have been lost in a typhoon; and in 1627 four Dutch ships blockaded Macao with the view of capturing the vessels then about to sail for Japan. In the absence of any warship, five galliots were equipped by five wealthy citizens, Marcos Botelho, Antonio Cortez, Antonio Rodriguez Cavalinho, João Teixeira, and Thomas Vieira, the last named, then acting as captain-general, being given the command of the expedition. On the 18th of August they sallied forth bearing down at once upon the Dutch flagship, and after a stubborn fight, boarded her, slew her commander and twenty-seven of the crew, taking thirty-three prisoners, twenty-four guns, two thousand shots, and some money. The ship, the most powerful of the lot, was then set on fire. The others fled with all sails set when the flagship was taken. To the honour of Macao, the hero of the day, Thomas Vieira, was a Macaense. A decree of 1627 from Goa retained him at the post of captain-general;<sup>11</sup> and in a letter dated 1643,<sup>12</sup> one of his successors extolled him for his dedication to the king's service, and for the patrol which, as captain of the line, and without pay he kept up with a hundred and fifty soldiers at the fort of São Francisco, the most exposed of the colony's fortifications. In his honour a street of Macao was named after him in recent times.

At length the fortification of Macao was completed, the citadel in 1626. The hermitage of Guia was turned into a fort, in view of the height commanding the harbour, the city, and the citadel itself. The Monte mounted fifteen guns, Guia ten, São Francisco and Bomporto eight each, and Barra fourteen, six of which were 50-pounders.

<sup>11</sup> From a manuscript reproduced in the *Boletim do Governo de Macau* of 28th June 1862. Faria e Sousa, Danvers and others also mention the brilliant naval victory.

<sup>12</sup> The *Ephemerides*, p. 118.

On a platform at São Francisco was mounted a 48-pounder culverin whose range covered the outlying Ka-kiang harbour. Midway along the Praia Grande a redoubt was built, of São Pedro, with five guns. Along the wall extending from São Francisco to Monte, there were two redoubts, of São Jeronymo and São João, the latter overlooking the historical plain at the foot of Guia, named Campo da Victoria. From Bomporto a wall reached beyond the Penha height. Most of these works were constructed by the Spanish contingents as well as the Dutch prisoners, who built the fort upon the height which some of them had attempted to take—Guia.

Twice routed at Macao, the Dutch elsewhere scored success after success, and thus far deprived the colony of its whole southern trade. In 1637 several citizens of Macao resolved to send an expedition to Malacca at their own expense. The senate approved the project in the king's name, and promised to bring the promoters under the favourable notice of the viceroy of India. In the senate's minutes to this effect, the short-sighted policy of the government of India is deplored as nothing short of a visitation of providence, it being evident on mature reflection that those who robbed and oppressed Macao were under Dutch and English influence. It adds that, to such as faced them resolutely, the Dutch and English were no match; that experience had shown that they were not so to the men of Macao if these would only stand shoulder to shoulder, and at a time when no succour could be expected from the king. The projected expedition was to consist of six well-armed patachos to convoy vessels to Malacca, the flagship to carry ten or twelve guns and forty men. It is not on record whether the expedition actually went, and if so, with what result. Four years later, Malacca surrendered to the Dutch.

One noteworthy feature in Macao's history at this epoch is that during the Castilian domination, the Spanish flag flew in Portugal and every other Portuguese possession but Macao : there alone waved the Portuguese flag. This, it is said, was due to the fact that the Chinese government would recognise no other. The conservatism of the Chinese and the unusual tolerance of the Spaniards helped to secure for Macao this honourable exemption, which, *au fond*, was no doubt due to the tact, the patriotism of the Macaenses, who all along distinguished themselves by their unswerving loyalty to the fatherland, and staunchly withstood the foe while the oriental empire of Portugal crumbled away.

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## VII.

In the course of their maritime discoveries the Portuguese were nowhere so heartily welcomed as in the Ultima Thule of their adventures, Japan. There the cordial reception accorded them constituted their sweetest solace after the toils, the perils of their long voyages: the elysian isle so charmingly depicted by Camões as reared by Love to reward the hardy navigators, is not unreasonably supposed to be an allegorised Japan. With the navigators and merchants came the priests, pioneered by St. Francis Xavier. Commerce and conversion flourished apace. While the priests' revelation of a horrible, fiery hell for eternal punishment created a profound sensation, the good and pretty things brought by the merchants charmed a people so susceptible and fond of novelties, firearms in particular at once amazing and delighting the sons of Dai Nippon. Many a Portuguese wedded the daughters of wealthy Japanese magnates, whose fortunes they invested in a highly profitable trade. The feudal princes of Kiu-siu vied one another in their hospitality, and almost quarrelled for the friendship of an estimable gentleman, Luiz de Almeyda, who spent his fortune in philanthropic institutions and ultimately became a Jesuit father. To his tact and prestige both priests and merchants owed much. On one hand he conciliated the bonzes; on the other he converted the princes, who used the Portuguese title of Dom before their Christian names. At the instance of Sumitanda, the *daimio* of Omura, Almeyda settled in that state; and it was he who obtained for the Portuguese the cession of Vocotsura and Nagasaki. From an obscure village, Nagasaki rose to a flourishing city, with forts and



*From a Manila Print*

CHRISTIAN MARTYRS AT NAGASAKI





churches, its harbour thronged with shipping.<sup>1</sup> Not only Samitanda, but the princes of Bungo and Arima also embraced the faith preached by Almeyda, and they sent some of their nearest relations on an embassy to Rome via Lisbon.

The rise of Christianity dealt a heavy blow on the bonzes ; and at the sight of deserted pagodas it was moralised that imperial prestige would likewise suffer. The emperor Taikosama moreover, resented the fact that Christian virgins refused to join his seraglio. Interdicting the faith, he decreed that all the priests were to leave Japan. In vain the viceroy of Goa sent a Jesuit envoy with a friendly appeal and such significant presents as swords, arquebuses of new design, pistol-dirk, suits of armour, tent, and Arab steed. The emperor replied that he desired the Portuguese and Japanese were so closely allied as to be one and the same nation ; that he had no complaint against the priests, who behaved like men of honour ; but their doctrine militated against the cult of the Kamis.

From Manila, the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians flocked to Japan ; and the rivalry which sprang up between them and the Jesuits led to deplorable strifes. To prevent monastic conflicts, a papal bull enacted, in favour of the Jesuits, that from Macao alone should missionaries proceed to Japan. Spanish merchants, dazzled by the golden harvest reaped by the Portuguese, came and sowed further dissensions. The Portuguese were accused of maintaining Jesuits in contravention of imperial commands. In turn the Spaniards were denounced as achieving their conquests first by the cross, then by the sword.

<sup>1</sup> At the senate-house of Macao there was a picture of Nagasaki at this epoch, the houses being of European style, and the forts flying the Portuguese flag. The picture was accidentally destroyed some thirty years ago.

But what appears to be of still more serious consequence is the following incident. A councillor of state while on his way to the imperial court came across the bishop in a stately chair: according to the usage of the land, the prelate was expected to alight and exchange compliments; the bearers laid down the chair, but the haughty dignitary deeming it beneath his rank to comply with the etiquette, sulkily bade the men carry him on. The councillor, who thenceforth conceived a mortal hatred for the Portuguese, in high dudgeon laid the studied discourtesy before the emperor, depicting the pride, the insolence, and vanity of the Portuguese in a manner well calculated to raise the monarch's wrath.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly after, in 1597, the first martyrs shed their blood. By imperial command, several Franciscans who had come from Manila as ambassadors were crucified at Nagasaki, together with many neophytes of theirs as well as others of the Jesuits.<sup>3</sup>

Notwithstanding the interdict Christianity flourished. The people harboured the priests, and openly professed the forbidden faith. A terrible persecution ensued, not less cruel than those which ensanguined the Roman empire. Twenty thousand Christians were martyred. In two years, there were twelve thousand secret converts more, though all the churches were closed. The evident joy with which the martyrs bore the most excruciating tortures deeply impressed

<sup>2</sup> Kämpfer's *History of Japan*, vol. I, book IV, chap. V.

<sup>3</sup> In the chapel of Santa Clara at Macao, there is a picture of these martyrs on their crosses, arrayed in a semicircle, and some in the act of being speared and shedding blood, which falls on towels devoutly held up by Christians. Amongst a crowd of spectators are *samurais* armed with arquebuses, while near by is a ship from whose portholes peep several guns. Forty days' indulgence was granted by a bishop of Macao for a *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* said before this picture and applied to the necessities of the church, as inscribed at the foot the picture.

the pagans, who wondered what could afford pleasure in such agonies. No sooner was the faith expounded than it was embraced ; while pagodas were razed, idols smashed, and infidels warned of damnation. The Christians eventually numbered a million. The persecution, far from suppressing the faith, promoted its growth amongst a people whose very children evinced an admirable fortitude as martyrs.

It was evidently to curtail the rising power of the Christians that, for the expedition to Corea, Taikosama chose Christian *daimios* and their *samurais*, whose loyalty and bravery, however, could not but have impressed him favourably.

In a conspiracy to dethrone Sumitanda, several councillors of state supported an illegitimate son of the former prince of Omura, who led the rebels, ravaging Omura and Vocotsura. In a pitched battle the partisans of Sumitanda routed the insurgents and captured their leader, who was beheaded. Then Taikosama, censuring Sumitanda for ceding Nagasaki to the Portuguese, invested that city, usurped it, demolished the forts, sequestered the churches, and eventually restored the place to Sumitanda for a large ransom.

Amidst the political and religious convulsions, complaints were made against the haughty bearing and exorbitant demands of Portuguese merchants, who, however, remained unmolested. The greatest possible tolerance was shown them, although it was impossible to discard the faith they helped to spread.

Even the imperial court and army were suspected of secretly professing the proscribed faith, as was also the very successor of Taikosama, Fide Jori, who was consequently put to death by order of Ijejas, his tutor and

usurper. The princes were enjoined to exert their utmost to bring their vassals back to the old faith of the land. That the surveillance adopted might be the more effective, a Japanese agent was stationed at Macao to examine the passengers and crew of every vessel leaving for Japan. Of them he rendered a strict account; and if the vessel on arrival roused any suspicion, it augured ill for the crew, death being the penalty for bringing priests. Churches were demolished, Christian nobles exiled to Macao. Nothing, however, so far succeeded in uprooting the cross planted by St. Francis Xavier. But Ijejas on his deathbed bade Fide Tada, his successor, continue the anti-Christian campaign. Thenceforth few priests escaped detection, such was the persecution that followed.

The Dutch appeared on the scene. The Spaniards, who openly sought their expulsion, were the first to be proscribed. Bent solely on commerce, the Dutch left no stone unturned to prejudice their Portuguese rivals, and eager to please the emperor at any price, not only abetted the persecution of Christians but actually co-operated in hunting down and extirpating them.

The tortures inflicted outvied those of the Inquisition in refinement of cruelty. The most horrible were decidedly those inflicted at the sulphurous hot spring then known as Singok—in Mount Unzen, near Simabara—amidst Dantesque scenes worthy of a Doré. To Singok,—which in Japanese means Hell,—were brought the Christians of Arima, and over their naked bodies was poured the scalding water, so corrosive as to eat through skin and flesh to the bone; and those who still refused to renounce their faith were then hurled down a steep into the seething torrent which gushed forth roaring and sending up noxious, stifling vapours. At Singok several Christians apostatised, such was the excruciating

torture, and such the terror inspired by the very aspect of the place.

The secret profession of Christianity received its death-blow when the emperor Yeye Mitsou in 1635 ordered a cross to be brought to every house to be trampled upon. Thousand upon thousand preferred death. A rebellion broke forth. Forty thousand Christians took the stronghold of Simabara, and there stood at bay. The Japanese government, unable to reduce them, resorted to the Dutch. Several Dutch ships left, so as not to be implicated in the shocking carnage. But Kockebecker, the superintendent of Dutch trade, undertook the atrocious work of extermination. For a fortnight a Dutch ship, aided by a Dutch battery, mercilessly battered the stronghold. This secured the emperor's good graces, but rendered the Dutch odious to many a generous and noble breast all over the land, and even at the imperial court.<sup>4</sup>

The Dutch, who falsely accused the Portuguese of stirring the rebellion, then solicited their expulsion from Japan, and proposed a combined assault upon Macao. It was resolved to exclude the Portuguese from the mainland. By imperial command the islet of Desima was drained, fenced, and assigned as the only place where the Portuguese might remain to carry on their trade. Two hundred and eighty-seven Portuguese merchants with their families thereupon left Nagasaki, in 1636, in four galleons with 2,350 chests of treasure, worth over six and a half million florins, for Macao. There, mandarins came to investigate matters and were soundly thrashed and put to flight, in consequence of which the colony's supply of provisions was stopped for several days.

Several Portuguese vessels were, in 1636, detained at Nagasaki and the owners compelled to refund Japanese merchants for debts due by Portuguese bankrupts. This involved the senate of Macao in financial complications. The shipowners on their return laid their grievance before the senate in the hope that according to conventional usages their loss would be made good. In concert with the *ouvidor*, however, the senators decided that no refund was to be had from other merchants for losses sustained by irresponsible parties through Japanese violence. This decision created considerable indignation. The people rose, and, dragging the senators to the council hall, compelled them to respect the conventional usage.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile the Dutch raised an alarm in Japan, not unlike that caused by the Ko-ti-niou canard in China. They pretended to have unearthed a Portuguese conspiracy in Japan. It was alleged that on board a Portuguese ship captured near the Cape of Good Hope, they found a treasonable letter, purported to be written by Captain Moro, a Japanese Christian in charge of Portuguese affairs at Nagasaki. It disclosed the whole plot said to be hatched by the Portuguese, in concert with Japanese converts, to subvert the empire; expatiated upon the want of naval and military assistance alleged to have been promised from Portugal, and upon the co-operation to be expected from several Japanese princes; and finally it invoked the pope's blessing for the crusade that was to liberate Japan from the thralldom of idolatry. This letter the Dutch handed over to an influential partisan of theirs—the *daimio* of Firando, by whom it was at once transmitted to the governor of Nagasaki. By way of confirmation a Japanese vessel also presumed to have intercepted another letter from Captain Moro to the Macao authorities on the same subject. Both

<sup>5</sup> Ljungstedt's *Historical Sketch*, p. 62.

missives were laid before the emperor. Moro roundly denied the imputation. He was burnt alive on a pale, notwithstanding the governor's intercession, and the protestations of Portuguese merchants. These letters, supposed to have been forged by the Dutch to substantiate their intrigues, sealed the doom of the Portuguese in Japan.

By the imperial decree of 1637 Japan was secluded from intercourse with foreigners : Japanese vessels were, under penalty of confiscation, forbidden to go abroad ; Japanese subjects who emigrated, or who returned from abroad, incurred the pain of death ; substantial rewards were offered for the detection of priests and converts, the common gaol being assigned for their detention ; the Portuguese and their families were banished to Macao, and those who returned or even conveyed any letter from abroad were to suffer death together with their families and intercessors ; the nobles and soldiery were forbidden to buy anything from foreigners.

For two years more a few Portuguese remained at the prison-like factory of Desima, but their wives and children were exiled to Macao. When any ship arrived, the rudder and armament were removed by the authorities. In 1639 the last Portuguese quitted Desima, which was then assigned to the Dutch, who submitted themselves to a most humiliating treatment.

The senate of Macao sent, in 1640, four leading citizens on a conciliatory mission to Japan—Luiz Paes Pacheco, Rodrigo Sanches de Paredes, Simão Vaz de Paiva, and Gonçalo Monteiro de Carvalho. The ship was embargoed on arrival at Nagasaki, and four hundred thousand taels due to Japanese merchants rejected. The ship's artillery having been brought on shore, the embassy landed only to



be imprisoned pending the *shogun's* reply to a memorial sent through the governor of Nagasaki. Two imperial high commissioners soon brought the reply, and at an audience asked how the ambassadors dared violate the interdict. They pointed out that it related to commerce, not to embassy, sanctioned by the law of nations. The *shogun's* sentence having been read, Pacheco, on being pinioned, asked by what right was violence being done to ambassadors, whose calling was among all nations held as sacred; and Paredes declared that they suffered for no other reason but their religion. Repeatedly the commissioners offered to spare the lives of those who renounced their faith. Not one yielded. By imperial command the ambassadors were put to death with their retinue, twelve of the crew being spared, that tidings of the embassy's fate might be conveyed to Macao, with the emperor's outrageous message that should the king of Portugal or even the God of the Christians venture to land in Japan, the same would be the penalty.<sup>6</sup>

In the senate-house at Macao there is an old oil painting representing the tragic fate of the above-mentioned citizens with an inscription that they were sent by the senate as ambassadors to the emperor of Japan for the purpose of re-establishing amicable relations. But out of hatred for the Christian faith, the emperor caused them and fifty-seven of their equipage to be imprisoned and barbarously treated. In spite of every promise and threat, they persisted in professing their faith, whereupon the emperor ordered them to be decapitated; and at Nagasaki, on the 3rd August 1640, they deservingly won the palm and crown of martyrdom.

<sup>6</sup> A detailed account of the embassy is given by Léon Pagés: *Histoire de la Religion Chrétienne au Japon*, chap. VIII.

As was wont on receipt of tidings of martyrdom, a solemn thanksgiving was celebrated at Macao amidst the ringing of church bells and firing of salutes, it being rejoiced that a temporal mission should have ended in a message to heaven.

The viceroy of India in 1644 despatched Gonçalo de Sequeira on an embassy to Japan. On his arrival at Macao the citizens protested so strongly against the mission, that he returned to Goa ; whence he sailed again, in 1646, with two heavily armed ships. After a long detention at Macao, the embassy at last reached Nagasaki. The authorities, as usual, sought to disarm the ships. The envoy peremptorily refused to comply. The negotiations for an imperial audience were delayed under various pretexts, while the ships were closely guarded by a large flotilla of armed boats stationed across the strait. Eventually a letter from the emperor reminded the envoy of the interdict, and called upon him to leave the empire. A reconciliation was quite out of the question, even upon a solemn promise to bring no more priests. Further stress was laid upon the interdict ; the flotilla cleared a way ; and the embassy accordingly left.

Such was the anti-Portuguese feeling, that when the English sought to establish a factory at Nagasaki, in 1673, they were denied the necessary sanction simply because, as the Dutch pointed out, the queen of England was a Portuguese princess.

The shipwreck of a Japanese vessel near Macao in 1685 afforded the colony an auspicious opportunity for another effort to resume the intercourse with Japan. The crew having been saved, the senate took them under its protection ; and a ship in ballast conveyed them back to Nagasaki, whence, it was alleged, they had drifted away in a storm. The ship was allowed to return unmolested, but with the

express injunction that under no pretence whatsoever should any Portuguese vessel call again.

Thus did the anti-Christian crusade for ever ruin Portuguese interests in Japan, transforming the hearty friendship of yore into an inveterate hatred, past all hopes of mitigation. In championing the cause of Christianity in Japan, Macao staked her most vital interests ; her sons incurred an implacable persecution, endured many a bitter ordeal, and shed their blood in heartrending martyrdom. Had that cause triumphed in the end, such sacrifices would have ennobled the Macaenses in the eyes of the Japanese in general ; and proudly would Macao have figured as the beacon that, at an awful cost, led Japan into the path of Western civilisation ; while the Dutch would have paid dearly indeed for their infamous machinations. But if the triumph promised much, the overthrow meant no less : the prosperity of Macao received a deathblow ; the Macaenses, plunged in misery and despair, found their sacrifices useless, their dignity outraged with impunity.

The deplorable condition of Portugal precluded any vindication by an appeal to arms : she laboured still under the Castilian yoke ; her colonial possessions stood in dire distress, and one after another fell into the hands of the Dutch. It seemed as if it were the policy of the Spanish tyrants to divest Portugal of all her hard-won laurels. No wonder that the Portuguese cherished the bitterest resentment against them, and pointed them out as the main factors in the downfall of Portugal.

At length the wronged and oppressed nation, revolting, shook off the accursed yoke. When tidings of this liberation reached Manila, several Portuguese residents, mad with joy, rushed out into the streets and amidst frantic cheers proclaimed the independence of their fatherland. This

outburst gave great umbrage. While saving the patriots from the wrath of the populace, Don Sebastian Corcuera, the governor of Manila, attempted to secure Macao for Spain : he compelled three procurators in charge of Macao's commercial affairs, to swear allegiance to the king of Spain in the name of the city they represented. They complied, to save the lives of the patriots as well as their own ; but not without chuckling over the invalidity of their oath, extorted as it was from them regardlessly of their being unauthorised to act in a matter of such serious moment. The allegiance secured, the governor despatched an envoy to Macao, Don Juan Claudio, with fifty Spanish soldiers. The procurators also went. To Dom Sebastião Lobo da Silveira, the captain-general of Macao, they explained how, under great pressure, they had sworn the allegiance to Spain. A few of the gentry favoured it as most advantageous for Macao. But the majority, and the people, cried it down. In the midst of a tumult, the envoy placed himself under the captain-general's protection until such time as he could return to Manila, alleging that it was out of sheer complacency that he had acted upon the governor's instructions, and that from the very outset he had despaired of success, being now at heart anxious to be relieved of his mission.

Dom Sebastião Lobo da Silveira at first favoured the Spanish pretensions, and elicited a protest from the senate, whom he menaced with troops and artillery, as was his wont. But when he found the indignant city in open rebellion, he imprisoned the envoy, whom he himself had furnished with a safe-conduct. He was eventually recalled by the viceroy of India ; but the people doomed him to perish in the colony he had attempted to sell. An angry mob assailed him one night, and stabbed him to death under a staircase where he was found concealed. A military officer, the

*sargento mór*, was also hunted down and stabbed to death though sheltered between the altar and a priest celebrating high mass at the church of the Dominicans.<sup>7</sup>

The envoy and his retinue remained in prison until orders came from Goa for their release, when every Spaniard was bundled out of the colony.

In reprisal, Manila sundered all commercial relations with Macao, thus cutting off the only remaining mainstay of the colony's prosperity—a fit epilogue to the tragedies brought about by the Dutch, whom Philip II drove to the Far East.

Meanwhile, a manifesto from Dom João IV was hailed with great enthusiasm at Macao: and allegiance to the new monarch having been sworn, on the 20th June 1642, Antonio Fialho Ferreira and Gonçalo Ferraz were sent as envoys to greet the king with assurances of Macao's loyalty and attachment, and a gift of two hundred bronze guns, ammunition, and a substantial pecuniary contribution. In response the king feelingly declared that of all the colonies there was none more loyal than Macao; and to perpetuate his recognition, subsequently desired that the expression should serve as the city's motto, by royal command the following inscription being placed over the gate of the senate house:

CIDADE DO NOME DA DEOS, NÃO HA OUTRA  
MAIS LEAL.

*Em nome d' El Rei Nosso Senhor D. João IV mandou o Governador e Capitão-Geral da praça, João de Sousa Pereira, pôr este letreiro em fé da muita lealdade que conheceo nos moradores d'ella, em 1654.*

<sup>7</sup> The incidents up to the captain-general's recall are narrated in the *Historia de Portugal segundo o plano de F. Diniz*, vol. VI, p. 144; the tragic events which followed are related in Navarette's *Tratado de la monarchia de China*, p. 368, ed. 1676, and Fr. Juan de la Concepcion's *Historia General de Philipinas*, vol. VI, chap. V.

The defenceless condition of the Portuguese dominions at this critical epoch gave rise to serious diplomatic conjectures. In the general peace of Münster, Portugal was not included, nor was the Portuguese monarch recognised, consequent upon the prevailing Castilian policy of the queen regent of France and Cardinal Mazarin. It was apprehended, therefore, that Spain would attempt to reconquer Portugal, and that in such eventuality Dom João IV would find it hardly possible to maintain himself on the throne. Under this hypothesis Mazarin availed himself of Chevalier de Jant's embassy, to sound that monarch's views. Dom João, alluding to the precarious state of his Asiatic dominions, remarked, among other matters, that his vassals at Macao, conscious of his inability to defend them, had placed themselves under the protection of the new Tartar emperor as a safeguard against the Dutch.<sup>8</sup>

How Macao upheld her loyalty in the midst of such abandonment, perils, and ambitious designs of the greatest maritime powers of that epoch is, indeed, one of the most noble traits in her annals, and a touching instance of that unswerving fidelity shown by the self-sacrificing Egas Moniz and immortalised by Camões :

*Oh grão fidelidade portugueza*

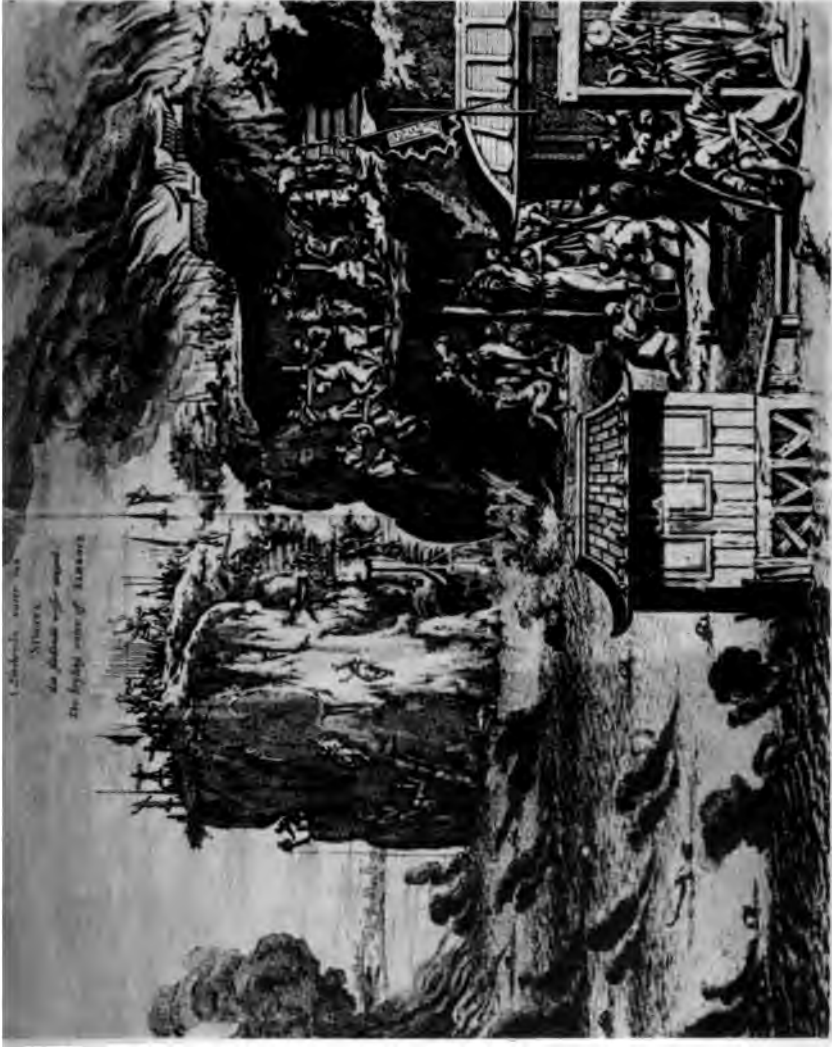
*De vassallos que a tanto se obrigava !*

<sup>8</sup> *Quadro Elementar das Relações Politicas e Diplomaticas de Portugal*, vol. IV., part II.

## VIII.

From the Spanish domination Portugal inherited an English besides a Dutch scourge. While the Portuguese expiated Castilian outrages in the Netherlands, complications between Spain and England involved them in further troubles. It is questionable, however, whether such troubles could have been avoided at all, when, what with the rise of Protestantism, England no longer assented to the papal bulls which apportioned almost the whole world to Portugal and Spain; and when the loss of the Armada exposed the highways of commerce to that rampant privateering, or as Fronde plainly calls it, piracy, which proved to be the foundation of England's maritime greatness. The richly-laden, lubberly carracks from the Orient were too tempting; the spirit of the Vikings too strongly characterised the English. Even before the wreck of the Armada, Drake's fleet in 1587 waylaid and captured at the Azores a fine carrack whose cargo dazzled the plunderers and whose papers revealed the whole routine of the trade. At the Azores again, Burroughs' fleet in 1593 overpowered the *Madre de Deos*, a richer prize. The carrack, of 1600 tons, was exhibited at Dartmouth as the largest ship yet seen in England. The very tidings of these captures influenced the Dutch; and thenceforth Holland and England bustled with East India associations and expeditions.

To the Portuguese was thenceforth lost that auspicious significance the Cape of Good Hope once had in its name. To them, it was now in more than one sense the Cape of Storms—the foreground in a scene of stress and storm sadder by far than the disasters foreboded by Adamastor. Degenerating, hard-pressed and betrayed, the Portuguese now found in the grand heritage of their hardy sires a



1860  
SHIBUYA  
The highest view of SHIBUYA

*From Montaigne's Atlas Japonensis*

MARTYRDOM OF CHRISTIANS AT A SULPHUR SPRING





veritable curse which drew upon them the malignity, the violence and rapacity of ubiquitous, redoubtable foes. And the precarious Portuguese empire, won with such toil and heroism, now began to give way under Dutch and English cross-fire.

When Count de Linhares, viceroy of Goa, effected the truce whereby the East India Company secured for the English the privilege of trading at Portuguese factories in India, in 1635, such was the plight of Portuguese shipping that, to fetch some guns and copper from Macao, the viceroy chartered an English ship, of which the people of Goa availed themselves as of an amnesty to resume their trade with Macao, some disposing of their wives' jewels for that purpose. In charge of a considerable cargo went two Portuguese factors, instructed to prevent the English even from landing at Macao. There, however, the English traded on their own account, and sought permission to raise two cottages and to return, promising to supply the Chinese with drugs at fifty per cent. less than what the Portuguese charged. As pointed out by Pero da Silva, who succeeded Count de Linhares, nothing worse could have been done in the interests of Portuguese trade than by sending this English ship to Macao.<sup>1</sup> The viceroy found it no longer possible for the Portuguese to hold commercial relations with the English, particularly on account of the proceedings of Captain Weddel, the commander of a fleet sent by Courten's Association to trade in India and China—proceedings which the president of the East India Company wholly repudiated as a disgrace to the English name involving loss and discredit to the Company. Notwithstanding the president's amicable assurances, moreover, the viceroy noticed an increase in the bad return the English made for Portuguese friendliness, as complained

<sup>1</sup> Danvers : *The Portuguese in India*, vol. II, p. 248.

in a despatch to the king of Portugal. Orders were accordingly issued to the Portuguese factories to decline trading with the English and at the same time to avoid a rupture with them, rendering them every possible help in case of shipwreck or distress, but permitting no trade nor any lengthy stay of theirs at the factories, much less the sale of Portuguese ships to them.<sup>2</sup>

From Goa, Weddel's fleet, of four ships, proceeded to Macao, in 1637, with military stores for the colony, and a letter from Charles I of England to the captain-general, Domingos da Camara Noronha, who, however, advised Weddel to leave and thus avoid probable difficulties with the mandarins. The English were not allowed to land, nor any Chinese to approach the fleet, except those sent with provisions. As others nevertheless went on board, Weddel was warned to beware of their treachery. They undertook to convey the fleet to Canton. An exploring party spent a month in sounding the river. On the way, a Chinese fleet stopped further ingress. Some negroes on board the Chinese fleet acted as interpreters—fugitives from among the slaves at Macao. The mandarins expostulated; the explorers were asked "what moved them to come hither and discover the prohibited goods and the concealed parts and passages of so great a prince's dominions." At the instance of the mandarins, the party returned to Macao with the promise of being granted, as requested, a licence to trade there. Meanwhile Weddel was beguiled with similar hopes at Macao. But when six small Portuguese trading vessels had safely sailed away, he was officially disillusioned. With the whole fleet he thereupon proceeded to Canton, although the Portuguese themselves were then debarred therefrom. The ships, flying a white ensign,

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 241 *et seq.*

moored close to a dismantled fort. The supercargoes entered into negotiations with the mandarins, who requested them to wait for six days, pending arrangements. On the fourth day, the fort, having been stealthily armed at night, opened fire upon an English barge, in consequence of alleged bribes and imputations on the part of the Portuguese. The ships then displayed their red ensign; and an engagement followed, resulting in the capture of the fort. In spite of Chinese overtures of peace, a party with a flag of truce was fired at on going ashore for provisions. A message was sent to the mandarins, remonstrating against the breach of faith, and soliciting permission to trade. A petty mandarin—said to be a Portuguese renegade—conveyed the supercargoes to Canton for the purpose of tendering their petition. The *chun-ping*, or admiral, is said to have received them with great honours, declared their petition reasonable, severely blamed the Portuguese, and, professing himself the sincere friend of the English, promised them his support. The supercargoes returned with an alleged “patent for free trade and liberty to fortify on any place out of the mouth of the river.”<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, a pinnace started in search of an island to settle upon; while the ships began loading sugar and ginger on payment of ten thousand reals as duties. Soon, however, affairs took an ill turn, attributed to further Portuguese intrigues and bribes. By order of the *hai-tao*, one of the supercargoes was seized, robbed, and detained on board a junk. The others, who had returned to Canton in Chinese attire, were imprisoned and starved; but on threatening to set the city on fire by means of a lens, they were allowed to stir out under escort, when, with sword in one hand and money in the other, one of them forced wayfarers to sell them victuals.

<sup>3</sup> *Early Records of the East India Company's Factories in China appended to the Evidence before the House of Lords in 1830; and reproduced in the Canton Register of 14th May 1839.*

Their broker, whom the mandarins now blamed, was imprisoned and bamboosed. Meanwhile fire-junks were sent down against the ships at night. In reprisal, a Chinese fleet was destroyed, and towns, villages, and junks pillaged and burnt right and left, until words came from the supercargoes, at whose instance Weddel forbore doing further ravages. From Macao he now received a protest against his calling there without the necessary pass from the king or viceroy; and considerable surprise was expressed at his having likewise forced his way to Canton, in consequence of which it was apprehended the Chinese would retaliate upon the Portuguese. Weddel in turn sent the captain-general a protest for all damages sustained by ships and merchants. The fleet then took up a position to intercept Portuguese vessels due at Macao; whereupon it was proposed that if Weddel would land there and station his fleet to the leeward, his people would be allowed on shore. The proposal having been attended to, Weddel was provided with a house and entertained at a banquet. The senate sent five influential Portuguese merchants to Canton for the release of the supercargoes with their goods. The ransom cost eighty thousand taels. The supercargoes were taunted with ingratitude—why, it is not stated in the above-quoted records. Summoned before “counterfeit mandarins” in an island where the Portuguese resided, the supercargoes were there handed over to the ransomers, to be delivered up to Weddel on condition that he and his advisers promised in their king’s name never to send any more ships to China. It was ultimately agreed to allow the English a limited trade at Macao, in consideration of their ships conveying guns cast there for the defence of Goa against the Dutch, but which Weddel landed at Malacca and Cochin.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Danvers: *The Portuguese in India*, vol. II, p. 261.

The China trade, abandoned by Courten's Association, was taken up by the East India Company, and another fleet despatched to Macao with a letter from the king of England to the captain-general, who pointed out that Weddel's conduct the previous year had cost the Portuguese heavily—in fines imposed by the mandarins. Unable to wreak their vengeance on the "red-haired devils," the Chinese turned upon their scapegoat. An association of Chinese merchants trading at Macao not only fell through, but grew hostile to the Portuguese. A senatorial deputation failed to accommodate matters at Canton. Endless wrangling in connection with the payment of dues had resulted in Portuguese vessels being excluded from the port of Canton. Now, the mandarins addressed a memorial to the throne describing Macao as having risen from an insignificant place into "a kingdom with many forts and a great and insolent population," whom it would be advisable to supply with the necessary provisions and debar from the Canton trade—to which the emperor, in a rescript of 1640, acceded.

Such was the condition of Macao at this epoch that Dom Braz de Castro, appointed captain-general in 1648, declined the post in view of the colony being quite impoverished, and rebellious to the point of having murdered the captain-general lately. It was deemed useless to go without men and money; and these were not forthcoming, the viceroy of India being unwilling to send any force on the ground that the Dutch might otherwise hold it a breach of the armistice effected. To make matters worse, a plague broke out and at Macao alone carried off seven thousand victims, mostly Chinese, completely paralysing the trade.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Danvers : *The Portuguese in India*, vol. II., pp. 291-2.

Then came the most momentous crisis of the epoch, consequent on another piratical irruption. When after a protracted war the Tartars dethroned the Mings and subdued China, a native of Fokien who had once been a servant at Macao, Manila, and the Dutch establishment at Formosa, and who by piracy had risen to power, Ching Chi Lung, christened Nicholas at Macao, took up arms against the invaders, and, fighting in defence of his native province, secured the allegiance of numerous patriots as well as the command of the forces operating against the invaders. To buy off his formidable fleet, the Tartars flattered him with the promise of making him king of Fokien and Kwang-tung. His ambition, however, went further: Ching Chi Lung aspired to the throne of the Mings, which he meant to reach through the instrumentality of the very Tartars. But instead of outwitting them, he was himself outwitted, being lured to Peking, where the Tartar emperor had him cast into a dungeon. The leadership of the rebel forces then devolved upon Ching Chi Kong, alias Koxinga, son of Ching Chi Lung by a Japanese wife. Vowing to avenge his father, Koxinga waged war to the knife. The command of the sea ensured him facilities and an increasing sway which baffled the Tartars. This led the imperial court to decree in 1662 that on pain of death the littoral population should withdraw thirty *li* from coast, and suspend all trade and navigation. The position of Macao at this conjuncture was highly critical. In accordance with the decree, the Chinese inhabitants had all left for the interior. This did not satisfy the precautionary exigencies of the Tartars. It was required that the Portuguese too should observe the interdict on commerce and navigation, and that the fortifications of Macao should be razed to the ground, so as not to fall into the hands of Koxinga. The colony would in all probability have been swept off but for the

successful intercession of Schaal; an influential Jesuit then in high favour at Peking.

On the 4th November 1665 the senate, the captain-general, clergy and gentry of Macao assembled in council to deliberate upon the advisability of disbursing a large sum to exempt the colony from various vexatious and restrictive measures to which the trade was subject at the hands of the mandarins. One of the senators remarked that every expedient, and disbursement more than the colony could bear, had hitherto proved ineffectual : at the very moment when the citizens entertained sanguine hopes, the mandarin of Heangshan came to disabuse them with the statement that, besides what had been promised for landing and selling goods, a sum of over one hundred and twenty thousand taels was required : forty thousand for the court, and the rest for the mandarins of Canton. This sum would secure for Macao its former immunities. The alderman who announced this bade the assembly consider whether it was not advisable to do at once what must perforce be done. The case, he declared, was serious ; and he advised the assembly to carefully consider the decision to be arrived at, and its consequences upon both the spiritual and temporal welfare of the colony. The council resolved to ask for a reduction. At another assembly the same alderman stated that every effort had been made, with the result that the amount had been reduced to 128,400 taels inclusive of what had been promised for unloading ships. The vicar enjoined the assembly to bear in mind that no advantage had been derived from the 2,200 taels recently given, and from other disbursements said to be private, but which were in fact public ; that China was not to be trusted if every demand was so easily satisfied. But another prelate conjured the assembly to remember too that non-compliance meant rupture with a people who fought with a weapon



beyond the resistance of all worldly puissance, be it that of Caesar or Alexander the Great, for that weapon was—famine. By it the Chinese could triumph at will. In face of such arguments, the council decided to disburse the amount exacted, if after further efforts no reduction was found possible.<sup>6</sup>

The interdict was not violated with impunity : when informed that the viceroy of Canton countenanced foreign trade for his own benefit, the emperor significantly sent him a silken cord, with which he and over a hundred subordinates hanged themselves.<sup>7</sup>

Through Schaal's mediation, the emperor Kang-he, while interdicting their shipping, exempted the Portuguese from shifting into the interior together with the littoral population. Yet the exemption had to be purchased from the mandarins. The councils of rites and war proposed that the Portuguese should quit Macao and return home. In the emperor's name the government deprecated this, since the Portuguese had been so long at Macao, and the vassals of China there had retired into the mainland as decreed. Nevertheless, the imperial court decided that the Portuguese should likewise retreat into the interior. A spot, the worst imaginable, was assigned them on the Canton river ; and they were notified to this effect. The citizens entertained different opinions. The Macaenses were disposed to shift, but not so the Europeans. The notification being disregarded, a Chinese fleet besieged Macao. The citizens offered twenty thousand ducats for the privilege of retaining the colony. This was granted, but navigation prohibited. Ten ships, on arrival at Macao, were burnt, for violating the interdict. The cargoes of seven other

<sup>6</sup> *Mémoire sur la souveraineté territoriale du Portugal à Macao*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>7</sup> Martin's *China*, vol. I., p. 233.

ships, embargoed the previous year, were confiscated. These proceedings threw the colony into the height of commotion. The twenty thousand ducats was now claimed, but withheld until permission for navigating was granted. At this the mandarin flew into a rage, ordered the barrier-gate to be opened only once a fortnight, and did all he could to harass the Portuguese until he hanged himself, in 1667, consequent on troubles with the higher authorities.<sup>8</sup>

With the view of a diplomatic representation at Peking, the senate fully exposed the grievances of the colony to the viceroy of India, who in the king's name appointed Manoel de Saldanha for the proposed embassy. On arrival at Macao, in 1667, Saldanha consulted the men of light and leading as to the grievances and possible remedies. The senate furnished the embassy with costly presents for the court of Peking. Escorted by two mandarins, the ambassador went first to Canton, and, after a long stay there, proceeded to Peking with a numerous suite, including a guard of twenty musketeers, a chaplain, two secretaries, and two interpreters. Along the journey the embassy displayed the royal standard of Portugal, and a yellow flag, furnished by the Jesuits, with the following inscription: *The ambassador of Portugal on a complimentary mission to the emperor of China.* The very fact that upon this flag was not inscribed the usual tributary term *tsin-kong* constituted the greatest triumph which the cautious and courtly ambassador could possibly have achieved over the national pride of China: as the Chinese themselves remarked, he infringed an usage whereby for over two thousand years no other ambassador had been received by the empire save under the designation of tributary.<sup>9</sup> The embassy, which

<sup>8</sup> Navarette's *Tratados de la monarchia de China*, p. 366, ed. 1676.

<sup>9</sup> From the *Asiatic Miscellanies of the Jesuits of China and Japan*, in the *Mémoire sur la souveraineté territoriale du Portugal à Macao*, p. 64.

contributed in no small degree to ensure the possession of Macao by the Portuguese, was treated by the court of Peking with due deference.<sup>10</sup>

This was the more appreciable when contrasted with the indignities heaped by the same court upon the Dutch embassy of 1656 in spite of the most abject compliance with the tributary ceremonials, the failure of the mission being attributed to the influence of the Jesuits. Appended to Nieuhoff's accounts of the embassy is a narrative purported to be written by a Jesuit and dedicated to the captain-general and senators of Macao. In alluding to the discomfiture of the Dutch, the writer at once cheers, consoles, and eulogises the hapless colony: "Wherefore, most noble Captain and the rest of the Governours of the Holy City, be your Lordships of good courage and hope strongly in the Bowels of the Mercy of God, that as he hath suffered his city (most faithful to his Divine Majesty) of late years to undergo so many tribulations, he hath done it for direction only, not for destruction. Doth Gold melted in the Furnace come out wasted and consumed? No, but more Pure, Bright, Precious. Can God forget the Piety of such a city, which maintains so many Religious of all sorts and sexes, and where so many Masses and Oblations are daily offered? Where is the Refuge and Sanctuary of Religion but in this city, which is graciously called after the name of God? Can God forget his promise? He hath promised tribulations, and an hundred fold for the sufferings of his saints, and an hundred fold will he pay."

The Dutch meanwhile projected another descent upon Macao: in 1660 the Batavian government had reason to apprehend an attack by Koxinga's fleet on Zelandia Castel, the Dutch establishment at Formosa. Twelve ships were consequently despatched to protect the place, with orders

<sup>10</sup> Du Halde: *Déscription de la Chine*, vol. I., p. 542, Paris ed. 1735.

that in the event of their not being required there, they were to fall upon Macao. This, however, was a task which the fleet set aside, evidently because the idea then prevailed among the Dutch in China that Macao was impregnable by reason of its natural position as well as extensive fortifications, as remarked by Nieuhoff. Koxinga having effected a truce with the Dutch, the fleet returned to Batavia. Scarcely had it left, however, when Koxinga attacked Zelandia Castel. The Dutch, driven from Formosa, sided with the Tartars and thereby obtained permission to trade at various ports in China.

What with the heavy exactions of mandarins and the stagnation of trade, the English no longer frequented Macao. They resorted to Amoy and Formosa, being in close touch with Koxinga. Upon his overthrow, in 1681, they sought to establish themselves at Canton. Thither they went in 1682, but were met by a Tartar admiral with the declaration that, by virtue of an agreement with the emperor, the foreign trade then re-opened there was exclusively in the hands of the Portuguese, the monopoly being said to cost them £8,000 a year.<sup>11</sup>

This privilege was a godsend for Macao. Such were the straits of the once affluent colony that for some time the senate found it necessary even to withhold the percentage allotted out of the revenue to the charitable institutions, whilst altars were, it is said, denuded of their plate, which was melted to meet the heavy extortions of the mandarins. The king of Siam, who maintained cordial relations with the senate of Macao, in 1660 sent relief in the shape of a loan in silver and various products, to the city which, not long before, when the Japan trade flourished, was so wealthy that, in the words of a globe-trotter of the time, the streets could have been paved with silver.

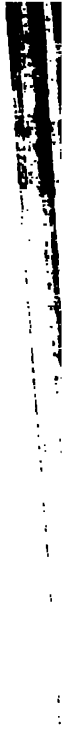
<sup>11</sup> Martin's *China*, vol. II., p. 8.

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From the Spanish Ambassador Frobenius English begins a Dutch voyage. The Spanish Ambassador Frobenius in the North Sea between Spain and England arrived in 1578. It is generally known that Frobenius could have been arrested at all along the coast of Prussia, England no longer had the trade which appertained along the coast of Spain; and when the law of the highways of commerce to the north of England was plainly called a piracy, the foundation of England's marine empire was laid, robbery carried from the coast of the spirit of the Vikings to the coast of England. Even before the year 1587 that in 1587 England and Spain were at war, the English navy was ready to strike at the Spanish fleet in the Bay of Biscay. The English navy was ready to strike at the Spanish fleet in the Bay of Biscay. The English navy was ready to strike at the Spanish fleet in the Bay of Biscay.





*From Kircher's "China Illustrata"*

## IX.

The Portuguese had not long enjoyed the new monopoly of the Canton trade when the emperor Kang-he, in 1685, declared China open to foreign commerce. At the same time the district mandarins sought to enfranchise Macao too as a Chinese port, and in defiance of Portuguese rights. In 1688 a Dutch ship forced her way into the inner harbour. The fort of Barra repelled the intrusion, firing upon the ship. The senators were thereupon summoned before the mandarin of Chin-san, who, as recorded in the minutes of the general council subsequently held at Macao, not only upbraided the senators for the repulse as contrary to the imperial decree sanctioning foreign trade in China, but also reproached the citizens of Macao for purchasing Chinese children, insisted on the rendition of both purchasers and children, and in the presence of the senators ordered their interpreter to be arrested and put in chains. The mandarins threatened to leave for Canton. A Chinese fleet appeared at Macao. For the preservation of the city, the council resolved to resort to the expedient adopted since the foundation of the colony—bribery. To this the captain-general objected. Eventually, it was decided to let the Dutch ship in, provided she saluted the fort of Barra. The senate's tame subserviency elicited from the viceroy of India, in 1689, an order that no vassal of Portugal was to obey the summons of any mandarin. The senate that year issued a proclamation calling upon the citizens, for the tranquillity of the colony, to evict the Chinese who usually occupied the basement of their premises, in default whereof a fine of ten pardaos was to be imposed, besides other penalties of the law.

Under the pretext of preventing smuggling and levying tonnage dues, the mandarins stationed at Macao four



customs guards who, in concert with them, practised the greatest violence, and imposed their whims upon the senate, without the least opposition.<sup>1</sup> This ended in the establishment of the *ho pu*, or Chinese customs, at Macao, in 1688, on the pretence that it was convenient for heavy ships to avoid going up the river as far as Canton.<sup>2</sup> This custom-house collected duties on shipments to or from Canton, payable by the Chinese. It also collected tonnage dues on foreign shipping. Hitherto this devolved upon the procurator, who by means of bribery prevailed upon the mandarins to accept payment according to approximate and conventional measurements. By the tariff of 1699 the shipping of Macao was classified into three grades, subject to duties like those of Fokien and Che-kiang.

Macao, once so affluent and bountiful, now laboured in dire distress, and no longer could afford the usual sops for Cerberus, in consequence of which serious were the apprehensions felt : that, like poor little Cosette at the hands of the Thernardiers in *Les Misérables*, Macao would be the more harrowed when she ceased to be a source of income to the mandarins. In the minutes of a general council held in 1689, it is touchingly remarked that, while there was money, it was easy to keep on terms with the Chinese ; but now that Macao stood in the depth of misery, only Divine Providence could avert the doom. The senate pointed out that for three years it had vainly striven to secure the colony's exemption from ground-rent, or at least a rebate thereon ; that the Chinese interpreter had bolted with nine hundred taels in settlement of three years' rent, and that the mandarins were pressing for payment. The council resolved to cover the loss by house-tax.

<sup>1</sup> Martinho de Mello e Castro's Memorandum, para. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Marques Pereira's *As Alfandegas Chinas de Macau*, p. 29. An error in Ljungstedt's *Historical Sketch*, p. 86, is repeated in this work, p. 30, with reference to the customs guards chasing a boat laden with goods. The date should be 1687 not 1597 as given.

The exemption from ground-rent had in fact been secured and lost after the Manchu conquest : in 1650 the Tartars besieged and amidst terrible carnage eventually subdued Canton, the last and staunchest stronghold of the Mings, whose partisans, sorely pressed, sought an alliance with the Portuguese ; while the Manchu emperor Shun-che, to conciliate the Portuguese, exempted Macao from the vexatious and paltry annuity in question.<sup>3</sup> In 1653, however, the senate's interpreter, on paying tonnage dues at Canton, was arrested and detained as hostage for the payment of ground-rent as well. According to the minutes of the senatorial session held on that occasion, it was decided to ransom the hostage without complying with the arbitrary exaction. But every effort proved unavailing, and the illegal annuity was once more enforced by the mandarins.

According to Ljungstedt,<sup>4</sup> the emperor waived the ground-rent for three years, in 1651, when Macao acknowledged the supremacy of the Manchu dynasty. Evidently ignoring this annuity's origin, Ljungstedt, in trying to trace it, hazards the opinion that at first, like the tributaries of China, Macao periodically sent an envoy with tribute to the emperor ; and that in the course of the Tartar invasion, the court's instability and the perils incurred by the envoy probably induced the Chinese government to commute the tribute offerings into the annuity. Such allegations cannot be better disproved than by the Chinese themselves : " The Portuguese never sent tribute to Peking during the Ming dynasty."<sup>5</sup> In the court document known as the *Ta Tsing Hwui-tien*, Macao is not included among the tributary states :—" The countries in the four quarters

<sup>3</sup> *Mémoire sur la souveraineté territoriale du Portugal à Macao*, p. 62.

<sup>4</sup> *Historical Sketch*, p. 76.

<sup>5</sup> From Chinese annals quoted in Parker's *China's Intercourse with Europe*, p. 5.

of the world which send embassies to China and pay tribute are Corea, Loochoo, Laos, Cochin China, Siam, Sulu, Holland, Burma and those of the Western Ocean; all other countries have only intercourse and commerce.<sup>6</sup>"

More than once the Manchu dynasty dispensed with the ground-rent of Macao. It was waived in 1714, the sum being then a thousand dollars. The senate, in a despatch to the viceroy of India, attributed this gracious act of the emperor Kang-he to the fact that, on an official visit of five high-graded mandarins from the court of Peking, the senators, in accordance with Chinese etiquette, enquired after the emperor's health, and as the mandarins replied, the forts, at a signal, fired a salute and the church bells rang, a demonstration which highly pleased the mandarins and the emperor. In 1718 the senate, through the medium of the Jesuits at Peking, submitted to Kang-he a proposal for the remission of both ground-rent and tonnage dues in return for the services of two ships to be employed in checking piracy at Canton waters. The proposal fell through, but the senate once more succeeded in obtaining the remission of the rent, evidently as a return for two bronze guns which the emperor desired to purchase. Referring to this matter in a despatch dated 1720, Dom Luiz de Menezes, viceroy of India, taunted the senate for not having made a present of the guns and for having sought the remission. However needy, the senate was thenceforth to abstain from any manifestation of its embarrassed circumstances. Even if a perpetual immunity from the ground-rent were obtainable, it should be prized apart from any pecuniary consideration. And furthermore, the senators were reproached for having performed seven genuflections (evidently the curtsy known as the *ta-tsien*) at a reception accorded to a *ta-gen* sent by the emperor to

<sup>6</sup> From Martin's *China*, vol. I., p. 264.

Macao. While displaying due pomp on such occasions, enjoined Dom Luiz de Menezes, the senate was to refrain from any show of inferiority, and never should the obeisance in question be rendered by the Portuguese to any people, much less by Christians, except to God alone. These high-flown strictures, however well-meant, were scarcely justifiable. If in its dealings with the mandarins the senate was solely guided by pecuniary considerations, Dom Luiz de Menezes would have had no further occasion to upbraid it for rejecting the foreign trade of China. With regard to the obeisance, it were well if the senate's condescension went no further than this observance of Chinese etiquette.<sup>7</sup> The main point is whether the Chinese viewed the ceremony in any other light but that of urbanity. That they did not, is evident from the fact that a few years later, a vice-regal delegate from Canton and the mandarins of Heang-shan on their knees performed similar obeisance to an ambassador from Portugal; and in modern times the imperial high-commissioner Ki-ying prostrated himself before the bust of Camões in the grotto at Macao, on being told that the immortal poet's fame among the Portuguese is as great as that of Confucius among the Chinese.

What brought the *tu-gen* to Macao was a question of momentous interest for the colony: in 1719 Kang-he, after interdicting Chinese navigation to foreign countries, sought to centre the foreign commerce of China at Macao. This reversion to the old exclusivism was due to a *chum-ping's* memorial in which free trade was reported to be fraught with perils, the Europeans being depicted as of unruly, aspiring spirit, and Chinese emigrants as of doubtful patriotism, both classes drawing an immense quantity of rice from the empire.<sup>8</sup> In Chinese annals, the English at

<sup>7</sup> Napoleon at St. Helena expressed considerable surprise at Lord Amherst's refusal to comply with the court ceremonials of China.

<sup>8</sup> Ljungstedt's *Historical Sketch*, p. 85.

Canton were at this epoch described as the most artful of foreigners.<sup>9</sup> The East India Company exacted privileges which must have astounded the intolerant mandarins ; while English ships, to repress abuses, resorted to *lex talionis*.<sup>10</sup>

In consequence of the exclusive policy now adopted, Kang-he proffered to Macao the foreign trade of China with the right to the whole import duties thereon ; and the viceroy of Canton suggested the construction of a fort at Taipa to guard the anchorage usually resorted to by English ships when calling at Macao. The senate and the *moradores* declined Kang-he's proposal ; and Dom Luiz de Menezes, in a despatch of 1720, tauntingly ascribed this rejection to the senate's shortsightedness in refusing to maintain an auxiliary force of fifty or sixty men notwithstanding the immense advantages derivable from the colony being rendered the centre of China's foreign commerce. The emperor Yung Ching in 1732 reiterated the proposal. By command of Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, viceroy of India, the senate again declined the splendid offer, although now disposed to accept it : in a despatch of 1733 it was pointed out to the viceroy that, although apprehended by some as a source of mischief and peril, the domicile of foreign merchants at Macao, far from being detrimental, was deemed by men of light and leading as likely to prove a great boon, since the colony's welfare depended on commerce. That the whole foreign trade of an empire should have been thus cast to the winds, cogent indeed must have been the reason, if any ; or if it was a blunder, it was egregious, unparalleled in the history of commerce, and quite characteristic of the nation that spurned Columbus when he proffered the New World.

<sup>9</sup> Parker : *China's Intercourse with Europe*. p. 42.

<sup>10</sup> See Martin's *China*, vol. II., p. 10.

The interdict on Chinese navigation abroad<sup>11</sup> was at first imposed upon Macao by the district mandarins, who were frustrated by the senate's representation to the viceroy of Canton, supported by an influential Jesuit there, José Pereira. An imperial decree in 1719 exempted the colony from any such interdictory measures; and in return the senate presented Kang-he with wines, sweets, snuff, etc., which Ljungstedt ridiculously takes for tribute.<sup>12</sup> This exemption proved a godsend: in two years the shipping increased from eight to twenty-one Macao-owned vessels. In 1725 Yung-ching restricted the number to twenty-five. These vessels were registered and each assigned a number entitling her to the old privileges.

Gradually the trade of Macao revived. The treaty of peace between Spain and Portugal in 1668 restored the Manila trade to Macao. It was subject, however, to occasional stoppage in consequence of altercations. The extent of that trade at the close of the seventeenth century may be gauged from the fact that three ships from Manila brought a million dollars for the purchase of silk. In 1720 the senate remarked in a despatch to the king that the Manila trade no longer yielded the splendid returns of yore. At the instance of Dom João V, the senate vested Spanish vessels with the privileges enjoyed by the ships of Macao. On arrival, Spanish vessels were allotted the numbers of such among the twenty-five registered ships not then in port, whereby the Spaniards secured the usual rebate in tonnage dues, in return for which they paid the Portuguese customs duties leviable on imports in Portuguese bottoms.

The prosperity of Macao would have been greatly enhanced if the king of Portugal had accorded the commercial facilities sought for by the senate as this epoch. A few

<sup>11</sup> Revoked by Yung-ching in 1723.

<sup>12</sup> See the *Historical Sketch*, p. 76.

privileges were in fact granted, but in such wise that they failed to benefit the colony. By a royal decree of 1709, ships proceeding from Macao to India without calling at Goa were, during the stoppage of the Manila trade only, exempted from tonnage dues claimed at Goa. The royal monopoly of the trade between Portugal and China was also temporarily waived, and transactions promoted between the merchants of Lisbon and Macao ; but consignments to Lisbon brought no returns whatsoever, whereupon the senate, addressing the king in 1716, proposed to send a small ship to Lisbon for the purpose of recovering the funds under royal protection ; and in view of the colony's decadence, Dom João V was requested to consider whether it was desirable that Macao should perish, and the best stronghold in the East fall into Chinese hands. A royal decree of 1719, in response to another petition, conferred on Macao, for five years only, the privilege of sending annually two ships to Portugal and Brazil via Goa, on the following conditions : no shipment to be sent to Angola, under penalty of confiscation, besides withdrawal of the privileges ; no gold or silver to be shipped from Portugal or Brazil ; no goods to be disposed of at Goa ; and as a protective measure for the customs revenue of that port, two other ships from Macao to call there before the two privileged vessels sailed thence for Portugal.<sup>13</sup> Such privileges are painfully contrasted by the extraordinary concessions secured by England at this epoch.

*Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat.*

Apprehensive of the Bourbon ascendancy in Spain, Portugal sought English protection, only to be involved in the war of the Spanish succession, and reduced by the Methuen treaty to a nation of vinedressers at the mercy of

<sup>13</sup> At the same time stress was laid on the stipulation that Macao was to defray the cost of an intended embassy to China.

the nation of shopkeepers. In return for a reduction of duties on Portuguese wines in England, which, though ostensibly a bounty, was an economical English counter-measure necessitated by a protective policy in France and the consequent prohibitive tariff on French wines in England,—in return for this token of her friendship, England secured an exclusive privilege for her goods in Portugal, whereby, compensating herself for losses in France, she blighted almost every Portuguese industry, employed a million hands at home to supply Portuguese demands, engrossed the inland traffic and financial transactions of Portugal as well as the trade with Brazil ; in short, English mercantilism so disorganised the political economy of Portugal, that, sixty years after the discovery of gold in Brazil, scarcely a million sterling in specie was left in Portugal, and the nation already owed some five millions ; while no less than a hundred millions in gold from Brazil had been regularly shipped out of Portugal in English men-of-war notwithstanding every prohibitive measure.<sup>14</sup>

The colonies, stunted by the royal trade monopoly, were further blighted by the blinded, suicidal egotism of Portuguese merchants. At Macao, the evil was rampant. In view of its ruinous consequences, a viceroy of India, João Saldanha da Gama, suggested to the senate, in 1728, the establishment of a commercial association similar to that of the Dutch, whose prosperity, he pointed out, was mainly due to their *esprit de corps*. At the same time the senators elicited a royal decree against their arbitrary procedure in reserving for themselves the trade of Macao with Manila and Batavia.

A royal decree of 1746 interdicted not only foreign commerce but even foreign domicile at Macao. On the other hand foreigners were tolerated at Canton during the

<sup>14</sup> See Raynal's *Histoire Philosophique et Politique*, book IX.



shipping season only, after which the mandarins furnished them with passports for Macao. This led the senate to discard the interdict on foreign residence, in 1757, when French, Spanish, Danish, and Swedish factories, in addition to the English and Dutch, had been established at Canton.

The ecclesiastical authorities had no inconsiderable voice in the opposition to foreign domicile, on moral besides religious grounds : and the repeal of the interdict caused a prelate to adopt measures for shadowing women of easy virtue, who were either banished to Timor, or lodged in the Asylo de Santa Maria Magdalena founded by him for teaching the Magdalens various callings which fitted them to earn a decent livelihood. On the other hand the evil was fostered by idlers, gamblers, and panders, whom the *ouvidor* was in 1803 instructed by the prince-regent to prosecute, consideration being recommended in cases involving *moradores* and certain foreign residents so as neither to compromise the government nor stake the decorum of justice. *Mésalliance* sometimes resulted from the campaign ; and in one instance a native woman who wedded a foreign merchant under romantic circumstances became a public benefactress by bequeathing her fortune to the charitable institutions of the colony, in one of which, the Santa Casa de Misericordia, the portrait of Martha Merop is still preserved.

Under the administration of the Marquis de Pombal, the royal trade monopoly was abolished, and a Portuguese East India Company projected, with a capital of £3,000,000, to be subscribed by thirty merchants. The project fell through. The monopoly, then assigned to a single foreign capitalist, failed in spite of the privileges with which it was vested.

The great rise of the tea trade at this period drew Pombal's attention to the relative importance of Macao as

a centre of exportation ; and while encouraging the transit, the great minister took care that it contributed to the crown's revenue.<sup>15</sup> But the prospects of Macao were marred by the establishment of foreign factories at Canton.

The popularity of tea in England, it may be remarked, was due to a Portuguese princess, Queen Catherine, whose predilection for that beverage rendered it fashionable. In an ode to her, Waller sings—

The best of queens and best of herbs we owe  
To that bold nation who the way did shew  
To the fair region where the sun doth rise,  
Whose rich productions we so justly prize.

But instead of being a source of wealth for that nation, the tea business became almost an English monopoly.

Once more Macao was proffered the foreign trade of China : the mandarins, tired of difficulties raised by the Europeans, proposed to shift the traffic from Whampoa to Macao—a measure which, as remarked by De Guignes, would have enriched the colony. But the bishop, then acting governor, rejected the proposal on the ground that he feared the heretics would corrupt Portuguese manners. The Chinese thus continued to tolerate the Europeans, and never more reiterated the proposal, so ill considered and so awkwardly declined : while the people of Macao grew none the better, but became the poorer ; and their poverty was an evil without remedy.<sup>16</sup>

The merchants of the Canton factories, however, found means to elude the prohibitive measures on foreign trade at Macao, and turned their capital, credit, and connection to good account during their periodical stay there. For a trifling consideration Portuguese agents lent their name for

<sup>15</sup> Morse Stephen's *Portugal*, p. 369.

<sup>16</sup> *Voyage à Peking*, vol. III., pp. 186-7.

such investments ; and at their expense the investors engrossed substantial profits greatly outweighing whatever advantages the colony derived from foreign residence.<sup>17</sup>

Towards the end of the eighteenth century Portuguese shipping at Macao had dwindled to some eight or ten vessels trading mostly with Siam ; and from Portugal one or two vessels annually came with Brazil snuff, then in great demand among the Chinese.

*Magni nominis umbra.*

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<sup>17</sup> Staunton's Accounts of Macartney's Embassy, vol. II., p. 586.





*From Kircher's "China Illustrata"*

KANG-HE

## X.

Thirty years after the death of St. Francis Xavier his followers still continued to be rigorously debarred from China. Gazing at the mainland from Macao, Valignani, the Jesuit provincial, used to exclaim despairingly : "O rock, when wilt thou open?" The famous pseudo-embassy to Shao-king-foo furnished the opening so long sighed for. Ruggiero presented the viceroy with a clock and prism, then sensational curiosities to the Chinese. Enchanted with the clock, and won over by suave manners the viceroy readily granted him the desired permission to remain, assigning a pagoda for residence. There a talented confrère joined Ruggiero, Ricci. Attired and shaved like bonzes, these two Jesuits lived ostensibly for no other purpose than learning the Chinese language, arts, and sciences, of which they professed to be warm admirers. They were called upon to officiate as bonzes, but declared they only served the Lord of Heaven : and discarding the garb of bonzes, they adopted that of the literati. With the viceroy's permission they had a house built. Thither resorted the mandarins and gentry to see the astrolabes and quadrants, armillary spheres, celestial and terrestrial globes made by Ricci ; and when he was at the same time heard to inculcate Confucian maxims, the Celestials proclaimed him a wonderful sage. Brought by a mandarin to Nanking, Li Ma Teo—so was Matteo Ricci called—befriended the foremost literati and diffused scientific treatises in an admirably elegant style. The fame of the lionised savant preceded him to Peking, and he won the emperor's good graces. To flatter the national vanity, Ricci drew a map of the world with China in the centre, as befitted the Middle Kingdom. This gave immense satisfaction, and by imperial behest the map was reproduced on silk. Asked

by Van-li whence came he, Ricci replied—*ta si yang kw*, the Great Kingdom of the Western Ocean ; and so was Portugal thenceforth designated. After Ricci's death, the Jesuits, denounced as preachers of a perplexing doctrine, would have been banished to Macao but for an influential and scholarly convert of his, now risen to the rank of a *ko-lao*, Seu Kwang-ke, known as Dr. Paul, who impressed upon the emperor that if he relied on talented Jesuits and Portuguese artillery, China need fear no foe. Other highly gifted Jesuits upheld the prestige won by the brilliant pupil of Clavius, and at the imperial court served as exponents of almost all Western arts and sciences. The fall of the Mings affected them not. Schaal, whom Shun-che ennobled, became mandarin of the first grade and president of the mathematical tribunal ; and his versatility was such that he reformed the calendar, planned a fort, cast guns, and repaired a harp. Verbiest, no less honoured, did much in astronomy and gun-founding too. Gerbillon with Bouvet cured Kang-he of a dangerous fever, and with Pereira at the head of an army checked Russian aggression and averted an imminent war by a treaty of perpetual peace and amity concluded with the ambassador Golovin at Nertchinsk. No less important to the Chinese government was the survey of the empire undertaken by the Jesuits, to whose scientific and literary labours, on the other hand, Europe was indebted for a mine of information concerning China. At the imperial court, such was the confidence, the consideration enjoyed by the Jesuits that Kang-he was educated by them, and had a fine church built within the precinct of the palace. But when urged to embrace the faith, philosophically he declared this unnecessary since he worshipped the true God.

So carefully Chinafied was the Jesuit system of proselytism that, unlike others, it clashed not against the nation's idiosyncrasies and ultra-conservatism. Ricci evidently re-

cognised the impolicy and danger of attempting to subvert the sublime social and ethical system of Confucius, and preparatory to a full revelation of the Gospel under more auspicious circumstances, even found it advisable to adapt the terms *tien* and *shang-ti* to signify Heaven and the "Lord of Heaven" among the converts, who, moreover, were not debarred from celebrating the ancestral and Confucian rites.

It was against the errors of Celestial astronomers that the Jesuits evinced an uncompromising intolerance; and this created bitter enmity, as did also the favours showered on them. Thus, after Shun-che's death, his *ma-fa*, or venerable old man, Schaal, was loaded with chains, and died in prison broken-hearted, condemned by the regents to the *ling-chi* process of being hacked into pieces; and Gabriel de Magalhães, another of Shun-che's intimate friends, succumbed to the effect of torture on the rack, but was honoured by Kang-he with an imposing funeral and an eulogium. Christianity was interdicted as pernicious. Most of the Jesuits were banished. But knowledge is power; and theirs, particularly Verbiest's proficiency in astronomy, restored them to favour; and an edict from Kang-he sanctioned the propagandism in China.

To avoid conflicting systems, Gregory XIII assigned the mission in China exclusively to the Jesuits. But Urban VIII revoked this measure; and the outcome was, alas, a protracted and disastrous controversy. The Confucian and ancestral rites having been condemned by Morales, a Dominican, converts who practised those rites were excommunicated by Innocent X. But a Jesuit, Martinez, convinced Alexander VII that the rites were not, as alleged, idolatrous, but civil, and instituted purely as a matter of polity; and a covenant among the controversialists in China recognised this as most probable in the absence of any



proof to the contrary. Soon, however, one of the Dominican covenanters, Navarette, dissented; and another Dominican, Bishop Maigrot, challenging the assertion of Martinez, interdicted the rites, sanctioned though they were by Alexander VII. The term *shang-ti* was suppressed, and *chu* affixed to *tien* as a correct definition of God. The uproarious logomachy escaped not the raillery of Voltaire in the *Princesse de Babylone*, the great emperor of China welcoming Formosanta with her speaking phoenix just after banishing a party of foreign bonzes who had come from the confines of the West in the frantic expectation of compelling all China to think like themselves, and who were bidden to depart in peace, if they could be at peace, and never return. Kang-he in fact determined to put a stop to the commotion resulting from the controversy. In an edict he declared that *tien* signified the true God, and that the rites were civil. He instituted an examination to find out the partisanship of the missionaries. The followers of Ricci were authorised to preach; those of Maigrot received orders to quit the empire.

On the other hand, Clement XI, who confirmed Maigrot's decision, despatched a legate *a latere* to China, the patriarch of Antioch, Monseigneur de Tournon, a rigid canonist, bitterly hostile to the tolerant policy of the Jesuits. On the way he already thundered against them at Pondichery and Manila. At Peking he elicited Kang-he's remonstrances against undue interference with secular affairs and against measures of his which tended to fan the controversy into flame. His credentials, moreover, were only to the bishop of Peking, and to Maigrot. Thus, after a private audience, during which the legate was suddenly taken ill, Kang-he bade him leave Peking. An imperial decree followed him to Macao, for his detention there pending the return of two Jesuits sent by Kang-he to obtain the pope's abrogation of mandates issued by the legate against the examination

of missionaries and the observance of the interdicted rites.

At Macao further troubles and humiliations awaited the legate in consequence of his studied disregard for the *real padroado*, the patronage accorded by the king of Portugal to missionaries *in partibus*, pursuant to which they proceeded to their destination via Lisbon and under the auspices of the crown. Bygone, however, were the times when, unchallenged, successive popes by divine right invested Portugal with the donation of heathen lands from the coast of Africa to the then undefined Far East. When by a mere stroke of the pen Alexander VI compensated Spain with the donation of the but partially discovered New World, already a jealous monarch in Christendom wondered by what clause in Adam's will was almost the whole earth bequeathed to the kings of Spain and Portugal. At Lisbon, both state and church ceased to adhere to the Vatican when, out of deference to Spain, the pope ignored the restoration of the Portuguese monarchy; and when the *real padroado* was contested at Rome on the ground that the king had no right to a universal patronage. Tournon, acting on this principle, gave great umbrage. The slight was amply retaliated. By order of the primate of Goa, a pastoral was issued at Macao interdicting the recognition of the patriarch in China as an apostolic visitor. On the other hand, in a mandate given at Canton, Tournon called upon the diocese of Macao to discard the practice of Ricci. Against this mandate the bishop, Dom João do Casal, protested, not only because it violated the prerogatives of the *real padroado*, but also because it emanated from one who was not competent to decide the ritual question; and, vindicating the *padroado*, the prelate pointed out that the legate's credentials had not been registered at Lisbon in accordance therewith; that the papal decree on the Chinese rites, which had likewise not been produced, should be based

on the opinion of duly qualified persons ; that the mandate was opposed to the emperor's edict ; that to substitute the practice of Maigrot for that of Ricci would end not only in Maigrot and his followers being hunted out of China, but in ruining the colony of Macao and the missions, which, at great cost, the king maintained for the sake of Christianity in the Far East ; and appealing to the Holy See, the bishop placed himself, the king and the primate under its protection against the outrages of a declared enemy of the Portuguese nation, of the diocesan jurisdiction, and the primate. In response, the legate enjoined the bishop to obey under pain of censure, and, rejecting the appeal, insisted on its elimination from the register of the diocese.<sup>1</sup>

On arrival at Macao, Tournon was, in the name of the clergy and laity, officially advised to abstain from exercising any authority in contravention of the prerogatives vested in the *real padroado*. Defiance resulted in a scandalous commotion. The Dominicans and Augustines, who warmly sided with the patriarch, challenged the diocesan jurisdiction. The bishop, relates a local manuscript,<sup>2</sup> excommunicated even such as only went to the church-yards of St. Dominic's and St. Augustine's. The patriarch revoked the anathema by placards which were no sooner posted than destroyed. One posted at the gate of St. Dominic's was, by the captain-general's order, torn down by an orderly. The friars, from their windows, pelted him with stones ; others came out and caned him. In the king's name, Diogo de Pinho Teixeira, the captain-general, then ordered the soldiery to arrest the Dominicans. As the troops broke into the church, the friars fell upon them. After staunch resistance some were arrested. The rest resorted to the altar, where, under the agis of the Host, they stood at bay for three days and nights without food. At last, stirring from the sacred

<sup>1</sup> See *Anecdotes sur l'état de la religion dans la Chine*, tome III., part II.

<sup>2</sup> Reproduced in the *Ephemerides*, pp. 62, 80-1.

precinct, they were captured and imprisoned with the others in the fortresses.

The legate, now raised to the eminence of cardinal, was isolated in his residence under military surveillance. In vain thundered his censures. A monitory posted at his door bade him, under pain of excommunication, to rescind them and produce his credentials. Death relieved the august prisoner from privation and further indignities. After three years' detention, Cardinal de Tournon died, rather suddenly, on the 8th July 1710. In a bull which annulled all the measures taken against the hapless legate, Clement XI severely censured the bishop of Macao.

The cardinal's partisans denounced the senate for having stood in the way of their forwarding a letter from the pope to Kang-he. The senate, as recorded in the minutes of the sessions of 1712, resolved to bribe the mandarins as the surest way of counteracting the calumny.

The tragic fate of the legate deeply impressed the court of Lisbon. In reinstating the Augustines, who had been imprisoned and dispossessed of their monastery at Macao, Dom João V presented them with a chalice and reliquary, besides an order upon the senate for a small annuity, in token of gratification at their conduct towards the patriarch, and as a solatium for the ordeals undergone by them for his sake.

The solution of the momentous controversy, in the opinion of many prelates in China, devolved upon a synod. At the instance of the inquisitors, however, the mandates of the legate were confirmed by Clement XI in the bull *ex illa die*. In 1720 another legate was sent to Peking, Mezzabarba, patriarch of Alexandria, whom the imperial court received with great attentions. But he failed to reconcile the emperor with the papal interdict of the ancestral and Confucian rites. At Macao the legate was prevailed upon to modify the

severity of the bull by granting eight permissions, which the pope repealed at the instance of the vicar of Peking, a Franciscan, who proceeded to Rome expressly for that purpose. Unlike his predecessor, whose remains he conveyed to Rome, Mezzabarba complied with the exigencies of the *real padroado*, which ensured him every possible consideration at the hands of the Portuguese government, clergy and people. The king bore all the expenses of the mission from Lisbon to China, and by royal command the senate of Macao defrayed the cost of the stay in China as well as of the homeward voyage. At Macao the legate was accorded an imposing reception.

The advanced age of Kang-he inspired serious apprehensions at Macao as to the probable policy of his successor, who, it was predicted, would prove less friendly and tolerant towards the missionaries. It was even feared that Kang-he's death would be followed by a civil war, as there were various pretenders to the throne. With the view of rendering any possible succour desired by the emperor, the senate in 1717 requested Dom João V to send fifty soldiers, a hundred muskets, and five hundred barrels of gunpowder. A royal decree of 1719 granted the request, limiting the quantity of gunpowder to three hundred barrels.

In spite of the deplorable controversy, the emperor Kang-he, guided by a liberal-minded policy, regarded the spread of the Gospel in his dominions with the utmost tolerance, although warned by his councillors that the advent of missionaries in Japan led to intrigues, strifes and calamities, which should serve as a lesson for China. Yet, while jealously guarding the integrity of his sovereignty against priestly domination, Kang-he displayed the best disposition towards the accomplished followers of Ricci. But when it transpired that imperial regulations were set at naught, that missionaries evaded the examination instituted

by his order, Kang-he deemed it high time to sweep away the Christian faith from his empire. But ere this could be realised, he expired, in 1722, after a glorious reign of sixty years. Macao was not insensible of the many instances of Kang-he's benevolence : when his demise was officially announced, the senate ordered the forts and ships in port to fire minute guns for twenty-four hours, and mourning to be worn by civil and military officers for three months.

The emperor Yung Ching accomplished the suppression of Christianity in China. Whilst a few Jesuits were retained in the imperial service, missionaries were driven out of the land. In vain they returned in disguise. They were again deported to Macao, with strict injunctions to leave by the first ship, and they embarked under the surveillance of mandarins. Converts in great number reverted to paganism. Desolate churches crumbled into dust. Thus fell the grand fabric reared by the Jesuits after a century's patient, intelligent labour.

The main factors in the downfall proved to be those very monastical orders whose advent had been so strongly deprecated. The Dominicans, in particular, ill brooked the splendid success achieved by their superior rivals. To mar that triumph was a longing inspired by blind party feeling, by wounded pride, enhanced by the bitter recollection that the expulsion of the Dominicans from Japan was due to the influence of the Jesuits. In Japan the strife could only be attributed to sheer rivalry. In China the rites served as a *cheval de bataille*. Dominican inquisitors scrupled not to rouse the qualms of the pope in regard to those rites, although the observance thereof had been duly sanctioned upon the conviction that the ceremonies were not idolatrous. As explained by Ricci, the Chinese revere their ancestors only as those to whom they owe their lives, and Confucius is honoured merely as a philosopher and legislator. Moreover,

non-compliance with the ancestral rite means nothing short of disgrace; whilst by neglecting to render the homage due to Confucius, every prospect of official honours and emoluments is forfeited—terms these which support the assertion that the rites in question are civil. Had the Vatican definitely sanctioned these usages, it would not have been the only instance of tolerance. The church of Rome has its Latin as well as Oriental rites. The Maronites, Melchites, Armenians and Chaldeans are tolerated, though differing from the orthodoxy in some of their rites. But Tournon, blinded by his fanatical prejudices against the Jesuits, warred against the Chinese rites, although as patriarch of Antioch he stood nominally at the head of the Maronites, who were allowed to retain ancient peculiarities dating from the days when they were heretical monothelites. Thus, heterodoxy might be reconciled with orthodoxy, but not rites proved to be civil. Blasting all hopes of converting an empire, the Dominicans triumphed over the Jesuits through the short-sighted policy of Clement XI, much to the amazement of Kang-he, who could hardly realise that the pope should presume to judge of the usages of China with which he was as little acquainted as he, the emperor, was with those of Europe. No less pointed was the saying of Yung-ching when, in reply to a petition for the return of the missionaries, he remarked that if he were to send bonzes to Europe the probability was that they would be treated as fanatical disturbers of the public tranquillity deserved. As such were missionaries thenceforth dealt with in China.

The destinies of Macao, always closely linked with the cause of Christianity, depended on the anti-Christian disposition of Yung Ching being allayed. The senate, addressing Dom João V in 1724, pointed out the danger incurred through the persecution of Christianity in China; and to avert the ruin of the colony as well as of its missions, it was suggested that an ambassador should be sent to conciliate the emperor.

An embassy to Peking happened to have been already determined upon, after the mission of Antonio de Magalhães, a Jesuit, sent by Kang-he, in 1721, with the view of urging Dom João to use his influence at the Vatican in favour of the Christians in China and their ritual observances. The envoy brought sixty chests of presents from Kang-he ; and Magalhães himself presented Dom João with seven exquisite pearls. Among the imperial gifts were some artificial flowers made by Kang-he's own hands<sup>3</sup>—a rare token of regard never before received by a European monarch from the Son of Heaven.

A high functionary, Alexandre Metello de Souza e Menezes, was appointed ambassador, and, accompanied by Magalhães, sailed with an imposing suite in the frigate *Nossa Senhora d'Oliveira*, arriving at Macao on the 10th June 1726, and landing there three days after with imposing pomp and magnificence.

The viceroy of Canton, on being officially apprised by the senate of the ambassador's arrival, reported it to the emperor as that of a tributary envoy. The mandarin of Heang-shan, treating the embassy as such, recommended despatch in the journey to Peking. Metello de Souza declared that he would by no means proceed on a tributary embassy, and sent the viceroy, for immediate transmission, a letter to the emperor requesting that due honour might be accorded to the congratulatory embassy. This letter the viceroy detained on the ground that he could do the needful. Thenceforth a notable change was observable. The viceroy ordered the mandarin of Heangshan to explain that the tributary term objected to, *tsing kong*, was used through a clerical mistake ; and to ascertain when it would please the ambassador to start on his journey, so that ample

<sup>3</sup> From a despatch of the French minister at Lisbon, quoted in Viscount de Santarem's *Memoria sobre o estabelecimento de Macao*, p. 27.



preparations might be made in honour of a congratulatory mission coming from a land nine thousand miles away, and deserving of all considerations. A vice-regal delegate, accompanied by the mandarin, next called on the ambassador with presents and insignia, and graciously knelt down before him to perform their obeisance, but were given to understand that such ceremonials were unnecessary. Metello de Souza, alluding to the clerical error, desired that it should be publicly rectified, since it had found its way into public documents. Accordingly, an edict from the mandarin of Heang-shan proclaimed that the grandee of Portugal came to congratulate the emperor, not to offer tribute as alleged by ignorant people ; and such allegation being discourteous and injurious, any one repeating it would be severely punished on complaint from the procurator of Macao. The governor of Canton also proclaimed that the embassy differed much from those of tributary states, and extensive preparations were therefore ordered for its reception in a becoming style. Nevertheless, Metello de Souza declined to stir from Macao unless the letter to the emperor was immediately despatched, so that it might be ascertained whether the emperor wished that such a reception should be given him not only at Canton, but at the imperial court as well. An express courier forthwith started with the letter, and another from the viceroy, who, in explaining the case, remarked that in truth the embassy differed from others, if only judging by its magnificence.

Meanwhile, Magalhães, who had returned to Peking, was consulted as to the purport of the embassy. He replied that, as far as he knew, it was to express condolence for the demise of Kang-he and to compliment the reigning emperor, as well as to beseech his protection for the inhabitants of Macao and Portuguese vassals in China. This reply did not satisfy the emperor. It was apprehended that the ambassador would refer to the religious question. The

emperor deprecated this, inasmuch as he was determined to concede nothing on that point, and at the same time he desired not only to spare the ambassador any chagrin but to show him the utmost consideration. One of the princes then sounded the missionaries; and when they assured him that every disagreeable topic would be avoided, he promised that the ambassador would be accorded honours never before received by any other in China. Again the prince questioned the missionaries, as to the foreign acceptance of the term *tsing kong*, to which the ambassador so strongly objected. It was explained that the word had a very bad significance: tribute, feudality, subjection, dependence; and that a better term might be found to designate the embassy. The objectionable term, the prince admitted, was applicable only in the case of embassies from tributary states; and after consulting the emperor and the tribunal of rites, he announced that it was decided to style the embassy *Ge-ho*, or congratulatory mission, and to despatch a *ta-gen*, together with a European, for the purpose of escorting the ambassador from Macao to Peking. The president of one of the tribunals, who happened to be very well disposed towards the Portuguese, and Magalhães, were chosen for this purpose; and the viceroy of Canton received orders to show the ambassador every consideration and assure him of the emperor's kind regard.

Thus, after five months stay at Macao, during which Metello de Souza had thoroughly acquainted himself with the state of affairs, the embassy proceeded, as usual, by the inland route, via Canton. The superb junk in which the ambassador went displayed, at the poop, a green flag with the arms of Portugal; on the mainmast, another green flag with a Chinese inscription: "the kingdom of the Far West sends a grandee to offer congratulations;" and at the bow, two red tablets inscribed: "the grandee from the Far West." On the way, Magalhães and the *ta-gen* met the embassy.

When nearing Peking, the ambassador was waited upon by court officials with refreshments, and with men and horses for conveyance.

The embassy entered Peking on 18th May 1727, in the following order: a mounted guard of two hundred Tartars with three files of musicians; the royal presents, in thirty richly adorned chests with yellow silk coverings, borne by two hundred and sixty-two negro footmen liveried in scarlet; the drummer and trumpeters, in blue and silver uniform, with the arms of Portugal splendidly embroidered in green damask and gold-fringed banners; royal guardsmen with their espadons; the master of the horse, the gentlemen-in-waiting, and the secretary, dressed in gold and silver cloth, with plumed hat, and silver rapier, each with a footman leading his horse; more royal guardsmen, in blue and silver uniform, with the ambassador's coat of arms on their helmets; the ambassador, attired in gold and grey, in a chair of blue velvet, the eight bearers liveried in blue silk, red sash, and plumed hat; a guard of musketeers, flanking the chair; adjutants of the senate of Macao with the official umbrella and Tartar cushion; the ambassador's horses, splendidly caparisoned; the father-confessor, interpreter, and court missionaries; the rest of the equipage and native officials,—altogether close upon eight hundred persons. The route was lined with troops; and all along, the crowds were at once delighted and amazed at the shower of silver crusados flung at them.

The punctilio shown by the ambassador more than once set the court officials in a flutter, accustomed as they were to the usual submissiveness of other envoys. An invitation from the tribunal of rites for the customary rehearsal of the audience ceremonials, which Metello de Souza deemed incompatible with his dignity, was declined on the pretext that it was unnecessary to rehearse what he knew perfectly

well. Serious objection was then raised to the ambassador proceeding to the audience in the state chair with eight bearers, which was looked upon in the light of such an undue assumption that it was thought well not to contest the point.<sup>4</sup> The audience had to be postponed in consequence of a hitch as to the mode of presenting the credentials, which, according to the court's etiquette, should be left on a table at the audience-hall. Metello de Souza, however, desired to hand his credentials to the emperor, as a Russian ambassador had recently done. To this the emperor graciously acceded.

The audience took place on May 28th, amidst a brilliant concourse. Preceded by several high functionaries, the ambassador stepped into the state-room by the western entrance, holding the credentials with both hands raised to the level of the face. Kneeling before the throne, he presented them ; and the emperor handed them over to a magnate, by whom they were held, while the audience lasted, in the same manner as the ambassador had done. In conformity with the court etiquette, Metello de Souza then retired by the same way to the central door, whence, the usual obeisance rendered, he was conducted to a seat near the throne ; and there, kneeling on a cushion, he addressed the emperor, dwelling in particular on the excellent relations between Kang-he and Dom João V, relations which, it was hoped, would continue unimpaired, to the well-being of the Portuguese in China and at Macao, for whom imperial protection was beseeched. In a most affable reply, the emperor assured the ambassador of his amicable disposition. Tartar tea having been served as usual, the embassy retired, and as the interpreter left, the emperor

<sup>4</sup> One version has it that Metello de Souza nevertheless went in in the chair ; according to another, on horseback. *Memoria sobre o estabelecimento de Macao*, p.p. 47-8 ; *Arquivo Pittoresco*, vol. IV, p. 246.

was heard to remark that the ambassador was a polished, wise man worthy of regard.

The royal presents were tendered at another audience; and Yung Ching, who expressed great pleasure in accepting so many precious tokens of the king's friendship, reciprocated with thirty chests of no less costly gifts for Dom João V, and seven for the ambassador.

After a month's fête at the capital, the embassy was invited to the imperial country-seat of Yuen-ming-yuen; and there Metello de Souza had the honour of being graciously served with wine in a gold cup handed to him by the emperor. At the last audience, Yung Ching was once more entreated to protect Macao, and instruct the Canton officials to this effect. He bowed assent.

Aware of certain time-honoured assumptions, Metello de Souza gave the councillors to understand that the emperor's reply to the royal missive must be on terms of equality, as otherwise he could not undertake to convey a message derogatory to his sovereign. His mind was set at rest on this point by a high dignitary appointed to escort the embassy to Macao.

In the words of Parennin, the court Jesuit who acted as interpreter, "justice must be done to Metello de Souza, who, notwithstanding considerable difficulties met in the course of his embassy, always knew how to maintain the honour of his sovereign and of all Europe in the eyes of a court who had hitherto spoken of nothing but tributes and tributaries whenever receiving any embassy through the grand tribunals."<sup>5</sup>

The magnificence of the embassy cost Macao dearly indeed. It broke a bank recently established: since 1720

<sup>5</sup> From Parennin's letter to the preceptor of the Spanish infantes: *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, vol. XXI.

the senate had so far recovered from its financial embarrassments that the surplus revenue warranted the establishment of a bank; and the respondentia funds, advanced on security, brought in a premium of twenty per cent. for every monsoon. The embassy, however, not only exhausted these funds, but led the senate to mortgage its revenue. It was not before 1762 that the senate again held capital enough to resume its financial transactions.<sup>6</sup>

The embassy succeeded in appeasing Yung Ching, but in no way it reconciled him to the views of the missionaries. Theirs was a hopeless cause.

If in China missionaries tabooed Chinese usages, it may well be imagined what the religious intolerance was at Macao. To many a fanatic there, the legendary pagoda of Ama was an eyesore; and notwithstanding the sanction of civil authorities, the clergy even interdicted Chinese theatricals and dragon procession. On the other hand Navarette relates how a Chinese broker once paraded Christian reliquaries and ornaments at an idolatrous pageantry; and the profanation would have been avenged by Portuguese arms but for apprehensions that the city might be jeopardised if the idolaters were slain and the idols smashed.<sup>7</sup> To such apprehensions should perhaps be attributed the fact that no *auto da fé* is known to have taken place at Macao, the monks there contenting themselves with burning the effigies of Herod and his daughter on St. John's day.

In 1702 a mandarin with his retinue collided with the funeral procession on Good Friday; and a free fight ensued, amidst which the procurator was arrested and brought before the mandarin, disorder prevailing in the city for three days.<sup>8</sup> Next year a prolonged drought and the

<sup>6</sup> Andrade's *Cartas da Índia e da China*, vol. I, chap. XXI.

<sup>7</sup> *Tratados de la monarchia de China*, book VI, chap. X.

<sup>8</sup> The *Ephemerides*, p. 30.

consequent distress, regarded as a scourge of divine justice, led the people of Macao to seek remission by means of penitence and processions. From church to church went the sombre nocturnal procession of penitents with unusual pomp. Still no rain fell, even when among the imposing array of images St. Anthony's statue was next processioned. Nothing so far could appease the merciless sky. Bishop Casal then appealed to Our Lady of Remedies, whose gracious image was conveyed in a solemn procession on the 3rd May 1703. It rained a little the next day, and heavy downpours followed up to the last day of the *novena*, to the wonder of Celestial unbelievers, as proudly recorded by the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Remedies.

In fires and riots a beautiful lady was reported as having been observed on high protecting the city with a mantle ; and yet one scarcely ever heard of St. Catherine of Sienna, whom since 1646 the senate adopted as the patroness of Macao, probably to harmonise with Goa whose protectrix she was too, or perhaps because it was thought that St. John the Baptist had become a remiss patron since the rout of the Dutch.

As all over Christendom, Macao could boast of many an image with wonderful attributes. The statue of St. James in the chapel of the Barra fort was reported to be fond of patrolling the beach at night, the boots in fact being found besmeared with mud every morning. The lifelike effigy of the Senhor dos Passos is said to have actually refused to be landed at Macao by anybody else but the Augustines, and, in further manifestation of preference for those friars, to have chosen its own shrine at St. Augustine's, whither it is believed to have returned by itself on being once removed to the cathedral. At the procession of St. Anthony, the stand of his image became as if rooted to the ground if the pecuniary offering happened

to be short of the usual amount : before the procession the senate used to offer the soldier-saint a purse with the stipend of a captain of the line—an annuity which was done away with at the instance of a senator whom misfortunes, attributed to the offended saint, soon after reduced to penury. To such a stretch was the devotion to this popular saint carried, that, at his thirteen-day festival, a guard of honour every morning fired a salute in his church during mass. Before the household statuette of St. Anthony even starving devotees kept a lamp constantly burning ; and among the lower class the image was fondled with flowers, incense, and tapers, or reproached and even ill-used, according to the saint's merit or demerit in granting or denying what was beseeched of him, being usually pestered even for indication as to the whereabouts of anything mislaid or lost, for, as sung in his litany, St. Anthony could restore lost things.

Unfortunately, however, a most serious loss remained to be made good, and a most desired miracle to be wrought—the undoing of Maigrot's mischiefs, in consequence of which China could not boast of having produced at least one saint, although Ricci is said to have died in the odour of sanctity.

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## XI.

Half a century after the restoration of the Portuguese monarchy, Dom Pedro II confirmed the royal charter of Macao, granted during the Spanish domination, and ratified in 1648 by João da Silva Telles de Menezes, Count de Aveiras, and viceroy of India. The letters-patent, however, evidently never reached Macao : upon enquiry from the senate, Dom João V declared, in a letter dated 1709, that the documents in question—passed by Dom Rodrigo da Costa, viceroy of India,—had, in 1691, received royal confirmation. They were confirmed again by Dom João, who, moreover, in a constitutional deed dated 1712, defined the political jurisdiction of the senate as extending over all such cases as concerned the welfare and tranquillity of Macao, while, financially, the senate was entrusted with the sole control of the colony's revenue and disbursements.

The captain-general, usually the proud scion of some patrician and historical family—ill brooked this senatorial supremacy. The imposing pomp of his installation belied his subordinate position. When at the gate of the citadel he presented his letter-patent to the senior alderman, he was in turn handed a baton and the key of the citadel, amidst a salute of twenty-one guns. To his chagrin, however, he soon found his authority strictly limited to the command of the scanty garrison.

The captain-general's appointment was invariably due to a favouritism whose only palliative lay in its somewhat chivalresque feature : by the royal decrees of 1665 and 1675 the viceroy of India was enjoined to reserve the captain-generalship of Macao, among other posts, as a dowry for unprovided young ladies of rank, whose fathers had lost their lives in the military and civil service in India,—posts,

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*in Kircher's China Illustrata*

RICCI AND SEU-KWANG-KE

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which the ladies, on marrying, conferred upon their husbands. The captain-generalship was a coveted appointment, on account of the golden opportunities it afforded for amassing wealth in commercial ventures, what with the prerogatives attached to the post in connection with the royal trade monopoly. It was the plaint of less privileged merchants that the captain-general, thus favoured, enjoyed the lion's share in the profits derivable from many a mart. Eventually, in 1720, Dom João V revoked the prerogatives, and forbade the captain-general to trade in his own or others' name.

The senators, on the other hand, were invariably merchants, taunted with being solicitous only after their own commercial interests, and with crass ignorance in governmental affairs.<sup>1</sup> Some were, in fact, illiterate, and signed documents with a cross, to which the secretary appended the name. But generally the senators were men of sound common-sense and consummate prudence. They were endowed with aristocratic privileges, and known as the nobility of Macao. At their hands, the captain-general's domineering tendencies, acquired while tyrannising over African and Indian colonies, often received a salutary check.

While the purely military governorship dissatisfied many an ambitious captain-general, the senate jealously resented the least encroachment of his on its jurisdiction. Hence the bitter feud which sometimes broke forth into open conflicts involving bloodshed and scandal.

The royal decrees of 1709 enacted that the captain-general was not to interfere with the political and financial administration, which, by right, devolved upon the senate; and that instead of summoning the senators on any emergency, he should call at the senate-house, where he was to be accorded the principal seat at the council-table, which.

<sup>1</sup> Martinho de Mello e Castro's *Memorandum* para. 11.

nevertheless, continued to be assigned to the senior alderman on such occasions. This attitude, so singularly contrasted by the submissiveness which characterised the senate's Chinese policy, tends to show what it must have cost those proud, punctilious city-fathers to lay aside their dignity and their manliness when under the force of circumstances they complied with the impositions of arrant mandarindom, for the sake of the community's relief and well-being.

The captain-general Diogo de Pinho Teixeira little heeded the royal instructions to refrain from meddling with governmental affairs—the petty tyrant who had a sergeant's hand nailed through for ravishing a negress.<sup>2</sup> In 1710 he ventured to annul the senatorial elections duly effected. The senators protested; he ordered their arrest and imprisonment. Warned in time, they took refuge at the seminary of St. Paul. By a proclamation Teixeira summoned all the citizens to his residence, the citadel; and there another election took place. Two senates officiated at the same time, that at the seminary acting with the co-operation of the Jesuits. Teixeira next bade the Jesuits free the refugees, who, he declared, were no longer senators. As the Jesuits took this in jest, sentries were posted around the seminary. Thither, too, one of the newly elected judges soon resorted. Another election followed, with the same result. Exasperated, Teixeira urged a forced entry into the seminary to arrest the refugees. At the steps of St. Paul's the *ouvidor*, the notaries, the Jesuits assembled to discuss the point. The Jesuits attested their privileges. It was conclusively shown that forced entry into their premises was inadmissible from a legal point of view. Teixeira, however, had a ship's gun brought to smash the massive gate of the seminary; and and on its proving inadequate for the purpose, he gave orders to raze the seminary with the guns of Monte. This

<sup>2</sup> The *Ephemerides*, p. 64.

was averted through the intercession of the bishop. Appeals from the clergy and gentry resulted in the removal of the sentries. Three citizens were consecutively elected for the vacant post of judge, but no sooner was each nominated than off he went to join his predecessors at the seminary, where many citizens also sought refuge. Weeks after, on the anniversary of the Dutch invasion, the senators, rod in hand, came out of their retreat, and, escorted by numerous partisans armed with muskets, proceeded to a general council at the senate-house, held with the view of restoring public tranquillity. The bishop, who presided, declined to mediate in face of the captain-general's overbearing attitude. A Jesuit then went to the citadel and interceded on his knees, with tears in his eyes. Teixeira demanded the city's capitulation. This was complied with, but rejected on some of the terms being found unsatisfactory. For a week matters stood at a deadlock. Informed that a general council was being held, Teixeira with his partisans and a squad of soldiers proceeded to disperse the assembly. As they approached the senate-house from the Travessa do Governador, armed citizens led by João de Pina Falcão, the senior alderman, barred the way. On refusing to clear away, they were fired upon by command of Teixeira. The citizens returned the fire, killing an ensign and driving the captain-general with his party back to the citadel, which then opened fire upon the senate-house. One shot whizzed close by; another went through the gate, killed the porter, and, striking against the granite steps, wounded several persons with the splinters sent flying about. The tocsin tolled. To the citadel the bishop despatched a priest with the Host, before whom the captain-general knelt and prayed. Three days after, on the 2nd July 1710, the senate signed the capitulation at a general council. Again the senators retired to the seminary, where they remained until the recall of Teixeira, who embarked for Goa with many prisoners,

including the senators elected by his order. Many citizens also left Macao of their own accord, being apprehensive of ills to come.<sup>3</sup>

Scarcely had the commotion subsided, when, in consequence of the murder of a Chinaman by a Portuguese sailor who had the corpse thrown into the harbour in a gunny bag with his name on, a mandarin with troops appeared at Macao soon after the discovery of the corpse; and such was the tumult which ensued, that the *ouvidor* found it necessary to get hold of the accused at the gaol, and, on conviction, hang him, at the fort of Bomparto, the execution, effected after the cord had thrice snapped, being witnessed by the relatives of the murdered man, and the *ouvidor*, Gaspar Martins, the senior alderman.<sup>4</sup> The sentence of death, which devolved upon the supreme court of Goa, was evidently insisted upon by the mandarin. In 1712 a royal decree reiterated the injunction that the mandarins were not to be obeyed; and by command of the viceroy of India, the captain-general Francisco de Mello e Castro was conveyed to Goa with several functionaries as prisoners.<sup>5</sup>

Again capital punishment was, in 1712, imposed under revolting circumstances: by order of the captain-general Antonio de Sequeira de Noronha, a negro slave was blown to pieces at the mouth of a gun in the citadel, for the murder of a Chinaman; and eight negro accomplices were whipped along the streets and then shipped to Manila for sale, the proceeds being given to the family of the murdered man and the mandarins' underlings who had captured the culprits.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The *Ephemerides*, pp. 45-6, 50-1, 56, 16.

<sup>4</sup> The *Ephemerides*, p. 75.

*Ibid.*, p. 6.

*Ibid.*, p. 26.

A source of abuses, for long suppressed, was revived at this epoch : the *ouvidoria*, which at the petition of the citizens Dom João IV had abolished in 1642, was re-established in 1702. Scarcely had João Carneiro Zuzarte assumed the office, when he caused the procurator to be arrested and imprisoned for three days—a procedure which created considerable astonishment. Despotism checked despotism : by order of the Holy Office, the next *ouvidor*, Thomaz Garcez do Couto, appointed in 1710, was, in 1711, sent to Goa as an excommunicated prisoner, for having ordered the arrest of a *naique* of the Inquisition. In 1716 Manoel Vicente da Roza was removed from the *ouvidoria*, pursuant to instructions from the viceroy of India.

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 to 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.<sup>7</sup> By his wise and just procedure he endeared himself among

<sup>7</sup> *Jornada que o senhor Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho, governador e capitão-geral da Cidade do Nome de Deus de Macao na China, fez de Goa até chegar á dita cidade, por João Tavares de Vellez Guerreiro.*



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.

A series of despots followed. In 1722 the senate sent the king a representation on the excesses committed by the captain-general Dom Christovão Severim Manoel. A royal despatch dated 1725 alluded to orders already issued to bring him to justice, since the privileges accorded to the city should be maintained, and the city afforded due protection. The senate, writing to the viceroy of India in 1728, referred to the despot's recall as a godsend which saved Macao from being abandoned by the Portuguese, who had resolved to resort to Chinese territory in order to escape from further injustice and tyranny.

The turbulence and scandals of the epoch are glaringly indicated in many a royal decree : one dated 1728 expressed great astonishment at the high-handed doings of the senate in denaturalising citizens and banishing them to Manila, Batavia, and Madras for no other reason than personal spite,—a practice which the king forbade. Another decree of 1728 ordered the senate to furnish the viceroy of India with copies of warrants issued by former viceroys in the king's name—warrants of contradistinctive tenours for the use of the senators according to their ruling passions and discretionary powers. Only such of these warrants as might be found convenient were to be left unrevoked. Another decree of the same year alluded to the refusal on the part of the judges to recognise the authority of the *ouvidor* Moreira de Souza, and to the opposition offered by the citizens on the arrest of one of the judges, who, in the midst of a tumult, took refuge at the seminary. The decree reminded the senate that, when necessary, the *ouvidor* was

authorised to arrest ordinary judges. The viceroy of India recalled Moreira de Souza for his overbearing attitude towards the captain-general, and for having convoked the people to render him accounts of the government's shortcomings. A royal decree of 1731, however, reinstated Moreira de Souza, whom the captain-general Antonio Moniz Barretto had illegally sent to Goa in chains; and his property, which had been confiscated, was to be restored. In vindication, Moreira de Souza was authorised to arrest the captain-general on the expiry of his term of office and convey him, likewise in chains, for trial at Goa together with his chief abettor, Manoel Vicente da Roza, who was to be detained in India, but not at Goa, pending enquiries. A syndic of unquestionable integrity was to proceed from Goa to Macao and there investigate the cause of Moreira de Souza's grievance, specially in connection with Manoel Vicente da Roza, accused of having bribed the captain-general, among others, with ten gold bars in order to get Moreira de Souza disgraced. As related by a contemporary,<sup>8</sup> the syndic, Manoel Macedo Neto, perpetrated further outrages on Moreira de Souza. A forced entry being attempted at his residence for the arrest of a refugee, the gate was barred, and negro domestics armed with muskets, as a precaution against further violence. At this the syndic had a bombard brought from Monte. The fire, levelled at the gate and walls, was stopped only in consequence of damages sustained by adjoining houses. Sentries were then posted at the gate. A neighbour, the bishop of Peking, obtained leave to remove Moreira de Souza to his residence, where he remained until sent again to Goa as a prisoner, without any justification. The syndic was replaced by Luiz Netto da Silveira, who, immediately on arrival, ordered the arrest of several leading citizens, some of whom, including Manoel Vicente da Roza, escaped to

<sup>8</sup> The *Ephemerides*, pp. 65, 68.

the seminary. So disgusted was the captain-general Antonio do Amaral Menezes that he quitted the colony without deigning to bid any one adieu.

The scandalous state of affairs was accentuated by a most disgraceful execution: in 1744 a Portuguese, charged with the murder of a Chinaman, was sentenced by mandarins to be executed at the market-place near St. Dominic's; and the ostentatious solemnity observed at the execution betokened an utter disregard for the national dignity. The condemned, appareled in white robe, was escorted by the Jesuits and the Brethren of Mercy with their standard and paraphernalia. On the way the sombre cortege stopped before the House of Mercy, at the gate of which the condemned knelt and prayed, a priest officiating at the altar. A crowd of Chinese awaited the execution. At a mandarin's bidding, the executioner, a negro, fixed the knot. The cord, as usual, snapped. The Brethren of Mercy thereupon covered the condemned with their standard. But the Chinese clamoured for death; and the execution followed, amidst a scuffle. Thenceforth the market-place served as an execution-ground too.<sup>9</sup>

The viceroy of Goa in 1746 annulled the senatorial election at Macao, and, in appointing the new senators who were to assume office without delay, strongly urged upon the treasurer the lawful disposal of public funds and the obligation of rendering accounts at the end of the year.

<sup>9</sup> The *Ephemerides*, p. 124. The following contrivance proved more effectual than the cord-snapping: It is related that a Chinaman who had been killed was secretly buried in a garden. The mandarins, apprised of this, sent their underlings to ascertain the place of burial. At night, however, negro slaves horribly disguised to personify devils and put to flight any watch-keeper, proceeded to remove the corpse and place in its stead a dead cow. When on the morrow the mandarins came and the grave was opened in their presence for the usual inquest, they were nonplussed at the apparent metamorphoses, which caused no inconsiderable sensation among the Chinese, and, it is said, led to the case being quashed.

Amidst this utter demoralisation, there came a high-spirited man bent on stemming the tide of iniquities. Appointed captain-general of Macao in 1747, Antonio José Telles de Menezes soon showed that, cost what it might, he was determined to effect the urgently needed reforms. A wayward senator found in him an unceremonious castigator : cautioned in vain for wilful neglect, one of the judges, Antonio Pereira Braga, was, on further complaint, summoned to the citadel, eased of his cane and rapier, and soundly thrashed by Telles de Menezes.<sup>10</sup> Ruling with a rod of iron, the reformer struck terror by erecting a gibbet and pulley for the military punishment of strappado. The people trembled at the very sight of him. A squad of soldiers escorted him whenever he stirred out of the citadel. Under his salutary though despotic sway Macao might have been relieved of many a crying abuse, but for an opposition engendered by personal spite. Among others, Manoel Vicente da Roza honoured Telles de Menezes with an implacable animosity dating from the day when a Menezes ordered him to be removed from the *ouvidoria*.

It happened that the Chinese customs officials, dissatisfied with their establishment, had a fence pulled down and another one raised further off, encroaching upon a space to which they had no right. By command of Telles de Menezes the new fence was demolished. In high dudgeon the mandarin threatened to lay his grievance before the viceroy of Canton. Apologies and compensation from the senate, and a new fence, accommodated matters for the nonce.

Then there arose a more serious complication with the mandarins. Near the citadel one night a sentry arrested two Chinamen. Telles de Menezes ordered them to be

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid* p. 112.

handed over to the procurator. On the way, they attempted to escape, and fared so badly at the hands of the two soldiers escorting them, that, when brought to the procurator's house one was dead and the other dying. Under the circumstances the procurator sent them back to the citadel. In the morning he called on the captain-general and was told that the unfortunate creatures had disappeared—the corpses having been, according to one account, buried in the dungeon of the citadel, or, according to the senate's version, put in jars and dropped at sea. Officers of the senate, affirms *Martinho de Mello e Castro*, instigated the soldiers to kill the Chinamen; and by order of the mandarins the senate retained the soldiers for trial. The mandarins demanded the corpses as well as the delinquents, and, on non-compliance, ordered the stoppage of provisions and the exodus of Chinese inhabitants, while war-junks arrived with troops. *Telles de Menezes* was equal to the occasion. He declared he was ready for emergencies, and that in case of famine provisions would be had by force wherever obtainable. The fortresses prepared for action: the citizens armed themselves. The mandarins reiterated their demand in imperious tones. The senate, quite disheartened, was about to surrender the delinquents, when *Telles de Menezes* wrested them from its jurisdiction and banished them to Timor. The victims, he maintained, had disappeared. In despair distressed citizens appealed to the Jesuits, who promised to adjust matters. In vain the mandarins clamoured for the corpses: in vain the senate assembled and reassembled: *Telles de Menezes* persisted in ignoring the fate of the victims. A mandarin then pointed out that reticence in the matter was useless as he knew all about the case, the truth having leaked out through a Portuguese informer. This highly incensed *Telles de Menezes*. It transpired that the informer in question was a man named *Franco*, whom *Telles de Menezes* condemned to the strappado, being thrice

hurled down the gibbet from the battlement to the moat of the citadel. Meanwhile the Jesuits and merchants appeased the mandarins with a heavy bribe, one merchant alone contributing thirty gold ingots; and after three weeks' interdict the market re-opened. The viceroy of Canton submitted the case to the emperor, who was graciously pleased to consider the banishment of the culprits a condign expiation inasmuch as they were reported to be afflicted with occasional fits of insanity, which accounted for the homicide.<sup>11</sup>

In wresting the delinquents from the wavering hands of the senate, Telles de Menezes spared the Portuguese the ignominy of seeing Portuguese soldiers in a Portuguese establishment tried and condemned to death by mandarins and executed in Chinese gallows. By banishing them, he complied with the dictates of justice so far as it lay in his power. No less justified was he in the custom-house question, since the encroachment was upon land to which the Portuguese had every right, if only from an emphatic point of view. Nevertheless, the attitude of Telles de Menezes in these affairs served for an impeachment. In conjunction with Manoel Vicente da Roza, who sent to Goa a rich present in the shape of "oranges of gold,"<sup>12</sup> the senate induced the mandarins to address a complaint to the viceroy of India. A syndic was sent from Goa for the trial of Telles de Menezes, with orders to tender the mandarins ample apologies. As related by Martinho de Mello e Castro,<sup>13</sup> Telles de Menezes was deposed, arrested, paraded in the streets with all the posse of the syndic, imprisoned in the fortress of Guia, and thence conveyed to Goa.

<sup>11</sup> *Registo dos officios para o governo em Lishoa e Goa, 1748*, in the senate's archives; the *Ephemerides*, pp. 51-8; Ljungstedt's *Historical Sketch*, pp. 105-6.

<sup>12</sup> Marques Pereira's *As Alfandegas Chinesas de Macau*, p. 109.

<sup>13</sup> In his *Memorandum*, para. 20-3.

## XII.

When the Chinese were first admitted into the colony of Macao, the mandarins pretended that, though settled there, the vassals of China were not exempt from their own laws; and through the blamable compliance of the senate, the mandarins established their jurisdiction over the Chinese community. In the event of any transgression of Chinese laws at Macao, the mandarins officially notified the senate to this effect. In serious cases, they called on the procurator after obtaining permission to enter the city, and were received by the senate with attentions commensurate to their grades. The procurator and mandarins dealt with such cases, the senate acting according to the exigency of the situation.

If a Chinese committed a misdemeanour, the procurator awarded the punishment. If a Chinese committed a serious crime, or if he assaulted or wounded a Portuguese, the procurator handed him over, with affidavits, to the viceroy of Canton, by whom the penalty was imposed. If a Chinese killed a Portuguese or a Chinese, the procurator ordered his arrest, and a mandarin came for the inquest, held before burial in conformity with the laws of China. The prisoner was then conveyed to Canton to be sentenced and executed there without remission.

If a Portuguese assaulted or wounded a Chinese, he was prosecuted before the *ouvidor* and punished according to Portuguese laws. If a Portuguese killed a Chinese, a mandarin came for inquest and bade the senate sentence and execute the culprit at Macao. The senate, however, explained that it was not empowered to inflict capital punishment, and sent the prisoner for trial and execution at Goa.

In serious cases devolving upon the high court, the trial of Chinese subjects was reserved for the magistrates of the empire, who imposed the penalty of the law; but the execution was effected beyond the boundaries of Macao. All penalties incurred by Portuguese subjects according to the laws of Portugal were reserved for their own courts of justice.

In cases of debts between Portuguese and Chinese subjects, be the Chinese debtors or creditors, the procurator adjudicated, and imposed the penalty of imprisonment or such as the laws of Portugal prescribed for remiss debtors and fraudulent creditors.

In all other matters relative to the civil as well as military, commercial, and fiscal administration of the colony, the Portuguese authorities acted independently of the laws of the empire, and without any interference on the part of mandarins,—except the levying of tonnage dues, which was not entirely disposed of and controlled.

Under this mixed jurisdiction, Macao remained for long neglected. The senate's relaxation continued; the court of Lisbon left the important colony in utter abandonment; and Goa contributed not a little towards its ruin. Under the circumstances, the mandarins of Canton and their subordinates convinced themselves that they might do what they pleased in a colony which seemed to have no owner.

A Portuguese happened to kill a Chinaman. The mandarin who held the inquest ordered the senate to detain the delinquent pending his being sentenced at Canton. There the sentence of death was pronounced; and the mandarin, in notifying the senate to this effect, insisted upon the execution. The senate complied, without the least difficulty, and in all submission.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Martinho de Mello e Castro's Memorandum, paras. 11-19.*



The execution—that of 1744 related in the preceding chapter—led to the formal appli-ance of the Chinese penal code to foreign homicides: it was decreed in the eighth year of Kien Lung that in any case whereby a foreigner incurred the penalty of strangulation or decapitation, the district magistrate, after full investigation, was to submit the case to the viceroy and governor of Canton, by whom such investigation should be strictly revised; and if the verdict of the inferior court proved just, the district magistrate should be ordered to proceed with the foreign chief to impose the penalty of death; but under extenuating circumstances, when not subject therefore to capital punishment, the delinquent was to be deported for punishment in his own country.<sup>2</sup>

Five years after this enactment, further encroachments were made in the colony's jurisdiction. The perversion of justice in the impeachment of Telles de Menezes led the mandarins to exact what they had hitherto not ventured to broach. Evidently they too lost all confidence in a government which scrupled not to outrage a staunch defender of the national honour and dignity, a righteous man whom in their conscience they might have deemed undeserving of the ignominy he underwent. Scarcely had Telles de Menezes been victimised, in 1749, when the mandarins found a pretext for substituting the mixed jurisdiction with an undivided sway of theirs over the colony. It having transpired that at the seminary of Nossa Senhora do Amparo was harboured a native catechist who had been hunted out of China for preaching the proscribed faith, the mandarins first insisted on the rendition of the fugitive, the surrender of all Chinese neophytes, and the demolition of the Amparo. The authorities, backed by the clergy, opposed with unusual firmness, while the occupants of the doomed establishment were clandestinely removed to a safe

<sup>2</sup> Sir Geo. Staunton's *Penal Laws of China*, appendix XI, p. 53.

shelter. The viceroy of Canton then decreed that the Portuguese must either submit or quit Macao. The supply of provisions, as usual, was cut short. At a general council, the senate, deprecating violent measures, recognised the absolute necessity of abandoning the Amparo to its fate, and assenting to a code dictated by the mandarins for the colony's guidance.

As pointed out in *Martinho de Mello e Castro's* *Memo-randum*, this code was imposed not in the emperor's name, but in that of the viceroy and his subordinates. They insisted on the code being engraved on two stone tablets in Portuguese and Chinese, and posted at a most prominent locality in the city, indicating the day for the installation with all pomp and solemnity, in the presence of the senate, the mandarins, and their retinue. Great was the consternation at Macao, for the code did away with the rights of both the church and the crown. After several council sittings, the syndic of Telles de Menezes and the senate resorted to the mandarin of Chinsau, and, prostrate before him, implored for some modification. They only succeeded in having the tablets posted at the court-yard of the senate-house and at the mandarin's residence, instead of at the locality originally assigned—the market-place.<sup>3</sup>

By this code the mandarins arrogated to themselves all judiciary procedure; enjoined the senate, under severe penalty, to hand over all delinquents, Portuguese and Chinese, for prosecution at the tribunal of the mandarins, and for punishment at their hands, even unto death; forbade the senate to cause or tolerate the least violence being done to Chinese subjects, or to imprison them for a moment, be it for debt or crime; forbade the Portuguese to build churches or new houses on pain of ~~detention or~~

<sup>3</sup> According to the minutes of the senate the ~~efforts were~~ nothing to prevent this impolitic exposure, ~~avoided through the~~ friendly influence of a mandarin just then appointed ~~for Chinsau.~~

sale, assigning the proceeds as an imperial fee; forbade the propagation of the gospel, on the ground that it corrupted the manners and heart of man. In fine, the code reduced the Portuguese inhabitants to a most oppressive dependence and thralldom.

The mandarins, remarks Martinho de Mello e Castro, persistently upheld this code of theirs, not for its due observance, which they well knew to be incompatible with the existence of the Portuguese at Macao; but because by means of that very incompatibility they attained their ends: to render the colony more than ever dependent upon their will for its preservation, exposing the Portuguese to eviction as transgressors of the law; and to provoke endless contentions leading to the usual appeals for mercy with the good round sum of money for adjusting matters.

Nothing, adds the worthy minister, nothing so clearly attested, as this calamity, the utter degradation and helplessness to which the government of Macao had sunk. It was known there that the code emanated neither from the emperor nor from the court of Peking; that when by their misconduct and greed the mandarins gave rise to commotion, they were severely punished. And there were fortresses at Macao with good artillery and sufficient hands to man them. Yet, in the face of all this, there was not one solitary man in that unfortunate colony resolute enough to lead two or three hundred men into one of those fortresses, point the guns at the Chinese quarters and those of the mandarins, and firmly declare: that the code in question was detrimental to the crown of Portugal and diametrically opposed to the immunities which for two centuries the Portuguese had enjoyed in that city by virtue of imperial concessions granted in return for eminent services to the empire; that the said code could not have been enacted by order of the emperor inasmuch as it was not customary for one emperor to revoke

the concessions of his predecessors, but was the work of him, the mandarin, and his subordinates; that on this understanding that code would be transmitted to Peking so that the emperor might know how the Portuguese were harassed and oppressed; and pending the emperor's reply, the mandarins must abstain from any innovation, as they would otherwise be treated as infractors of imperial laws, and held responsible for all the evil consequences thereof.

But instead of any such contrivance, which could not but have had the desired effect on the irresolute and cowardly dispositions of the mandarins, the syndic and senate resorted to the indecent procedure of begging for mercy from the mandarin of Chiusan, with the result that the Portuguese, subjected thus to the decrees of mandarins besides those of the empire, were saddled with the liability of renditing vassals of the crown of Portugal to be tried, sentenced, and punished, even to death, by the laws and injustice of China.<sup>4</sup>

Consequent upon alterations effected at the syndic's instance, however, there was a wide divergency between the Portuguese and Chinese texts of the code.<sup>5</sup> The following is a summary of the Portuguese text, dated 9th November 1749, to which the senate adhered:

1.—Chinese gamblers and miscreants should be evicted from Macao.

2.—Chinese craft should all moor before the Chinese custom-house at nightfall.<sup>6</sup>

3.—Chinese inhabitants should be punished and deported for buying goods stolen by negro slaves, or selling them anything on credit.

<sup>4</sup> Martinho de Mello e Castro's *Memorandum*, para. 25-34.

<sup>5</sup> Both texts are reproduced in Ljungstedt's *Historical Sketch*, p. 212.

<sup>6</sup> Judging by the gist of the Chinese text, the main object in view seems to be the prevention of surreptitious conveyance of converts at night.

4.—Chinese inhabitants should not stir out after 9 p.m., and, when arrested, must be conveyed to the procurator, that they might be handed over to the mandarin for punishment; and their lanterns must not be put out, on pain of the transgressor, if under military command, being punished by the captain-general; if civilian, by the judge.<sup>7</sup>

5.—In the event of a Christian killing a Chinese, the case should be submitted to the king of Portugal in conformity with the ancient usage.<sup>8</sup>

6.—Chinese debtors and miscreants should be dealt with by the mandarins, but not lodged in the prison of the Christians.

7.—New buildings should be demolished and transgressors punished according to Portuguese law.<sup>9</sup>

8.—Purchasers of Chinese children should be severely punished.

9.—When slaves, leagued with Chinese, committed thefts, they should be tried and punished by the mandarins and the city judge.

10.—Foreigners who harboured Chinese vagrants and miscreants should be rigorously chastised.

11.—Sportsmen should be prohibited from shooting in Chinese territory under severe penalties.

12.—Omitted in the Portuguese text. (In the most offensively-worded Chinese text, this article interdicted the propagation of the Gospel as a social pollution, and enjoined the senate to make frequent domiciliary visits to enforce the interdict, both preachers and converts to be deported, and the senate punished in case of infraction).

<sup>7</sup> By the Chinese text the procurator was not only forbidden to punish Chinese delinquents but to detain them even for an instant. In case of infraction he should be impeached and severely punished by the king of Portugal.

<sup>8</sup> The Chinese text enforced the enactment of 1744.

<sup>9</sup> By the mandarine, according to the Chinese text.

How the Portuguese regarded this last clause may be gauged from a fact related by Metello de Sousa at Peking: when consequent on the ruin of the China mission a minister proposed the abandonment of Macao, Dom João V opposed in the persuasion that time would effect the desired change in favour of Christianity in China.<sup>10</sup>

It having been resolved at a general council to approach the king for the necessary redress, Dom Hilario de Santa Rosa, bishop of Macao, proceeded home with an appeal, which Dom José I received in council.

It was decided to send another embassy to Peking, and Francisco Xavier Assis Pacheco Sampaio was appointed for the mission. On arrival at Macao, in August 1752, he was advised by the Jesuits to enter into immediate communication with the court of Peking, as it was not at all probable that the Canton mandarins would expedite matters satisfactorily. By an express courier the ambassador accordingly despatched a message to an influential Jesuit at Peking, Father Hallerstein, president of the mathematical board, furnishing him with a memorial for presentation to the emperor, if necessary; and the prelates of Peking were also urged to do their utmost inasmuch as it was in the interests of Christianity. The senate then formally announced the ambassador's arrival to the district mandarins. As remarked by Pacheco Sampaio,<sup>11</sup> the manner in which those petty mandarins treated the embassy showed to what a depth Portuguese prestige had sunk in consequence of the recent scandals. The mandarins not only styled the embassy tributary, but pretended to submit it to every possible humiliation: they required a statement of what the ambassador brought in payment of tributes; they urged him to proceed to Canton before receipt of orders from Peking;

<sup>10</sup> *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, vol. XXI., p. 57.

<sup>11</sup> See his report, appended to Viscount de Santarem's *Memoria sobre o estabelecimento de Macao*.

and they insisted upon his performing the same ceremonials as an envoy from Siam who then happened to be in China with a tribute offering of elephants. With becoming dignity Pacheco Sampaio cut short further parley with the remark that the crown of Portugal paid no tribute but on the contrary received it from many an Asiatic potentate, and that unless treated with due deference he would not budge an inch from Macao nor attend to any further communication.

A Tartar *ta-gen* was sent by the emperor to escort the ambassador, as was also Hallerstein, to act as interpreter; while orders from Peking to the viceroy of Canton brought him and his subordinates to their senses. By way of an *amenâe honorable*, the mandarin of Heangshan issued a proclamation declaring in florid style that it had never been customary for the king of Portugal to pay tribute, and that from the far western ocean, an immense way off, separated by vast seas, the said king sent an ambassador, who, fearlessly crossing such expanse, came to offer presents from his country, and, kowtowing, enquire after the emperor's health, as had been the case in the reign of Yung Ching, when great courtesy and liberality were shown to the embassy, as the emperor's love and benevolence extended to all, Accordingly, to welcome the present embassy, envoys were on the way from Peking, and ample preparations made by the mandarin, who enjoined the merchants and people of Macao to observe the proclamation, sweep the streets clean, make no noise, nor style the ambassador tributary, that it might not bring contempt and discredit on him; in default whereof severe punishment would be inflicted.

At Macao, where Pacheco Sampaio met with a reception whose magnificence he favourably contrasted with that of state occasions at Goa, a satin-covered landing-stage was erected, whence he embarked for Canton with a suite of

seventy-one persons, accompanied by the officials and clergy for a considerable way up the river. At Canton, the superintendents of foreign trade, who had keenly observed the diplomatic wrangling, vied one another in their attentions, and the factories fired salutes in his honour. The viceroy's hospitality was declined, as the ambassador desired to proceed to Peking without delay. A banquet had to be accepted, however, as it was tendered at the emperor's express bidding. The order of precedence observed at the table gave great umbrage. The viceroy assigned the first and second seats to the escorts from Peking, and the third to the ambassador, on the ground that, according to the usage of the land, the precedence given to the escorts should not be attributed to preference but to their function as conductors, while the ambassador was in reality the principal guest.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, Hallerstein took the fourth seat, placing the ambassador and the secretary between him and the *ta-gen*. The imperial treasury, as usual, offered to defray the incidental expenses of the journey to Peking, but as the funds had to be accounted for there, the offer was declined with the explanation that it only devolved upon the ambassador to furnish his sovereign with an account of the embassy. Along the journey Pacheco Sampaio displayed princely munificence in gifts, prizes, and alms.

The embassy reached Peking on the 1st May 1753, the pageantry being none the less brilliant than that of Metello de Souza's mission. Pacheco Sampaio, who was highly flattered at the reception accorded him met with no objection in proceeding to the audience in a gorgeous chair with eight bearers, and eight more in reserve. But the officer on guard objected to the equipage entering the court armed with rapiers—an objection which the higher officials overruled.

<sup>12</sup> On subsequent reference at Peking, the court officials affirmed that such was in fact the etiquette.



At the audience—identical in style to that of Metello de Souza—Pacheco Sampaio declared in the course of his speech that it was the heartfelt wish of his sovereign that amicable relations between Portugal and China should continue warranted by the generous motives which had served for their basis in olden times. In reply, the emperor assured the ambassador that he always treated the Europeans as his ancestors had done, and thenceforth he would esteem them the more,<sup>13</sup>

Kien Lung indeed honoured Pacheco Sampaio with distinctions such as the courtiers averred had never been conferred. At one of the private audiences, in which the emperor and princes appeared divested of all state, Pacheco Sampaio was offered a small coral casket containing writings and pictures by Kien Lung himself—a rare gift, the like of which, if ever given to a magnate of the land, should, on the emperor's death, be restored to the court, failing which the recipient risked his life. To Pacheco Sampaio the gift was made with the assurance that in China no one could possess those autographs, given as the greatest token of the donor's affection. As a souvenir, the emperor had the ambassador's portrait taken by Attiret, the court painter, and placed in the state room of one of the palaces of Yuen-ming-yuen. In commemoration of the embassy, too, another church was built at Peking by the Jesuits, many of whom Kien Lung promoted officially in honour of the ambassador. As the genial Son of Heaven wished to see the ambassadorial equipage, a mutual display was arranged for on the occasion of a solemn sacrifice performed by him at Tien Tan to propitiate Heaven for much-needed rain. Amidst an imposing cortège, the emperor appeared in an extraordinary state chair borne by sixty-four men, followed by four thousand horsemen of the imperial guard—an array

<sup>13</sup> According to Ljungstedt's accounts the ambassador had his hat on during the audience. *Historical Sketch*, p. 104.

before which that of the ambassador, though paling into insignificance numerically, was, in his own estimation, none the less impressive in splendour. At length, after five pleasant weeks of banquets and fêtes, the embassy left Peking laden with magnificent presents.

At Canton, the new viceroy gave a banquet in honour of Pacheco Sampaio, who declined it on the excuse of acute suffering from a complaint, common in warm climes, which greatly pained the patient when sitting down. Such was the obsequious insistence, however, that Pacheco Sampaio finally accepted the invitation, but only to escape from the banqueting-room when conducted thither, proceeding to the reception-hall, where he drank to the health of the emperor, leaving immediately after.

A grand welcome awaited the worthy ambassador at Macao. Triumphal arches were raised, the city illuminated, and a *Te Deum* was held with unusual pomp in celebration of the successful intercession on behalf of Christianity.

Politically, however, the embassy resulted in scarcely anything beyond attesting that the recent grievances of Macao could not but have emanated from the intolerance and malignity of the provincial mandarins. Yet another instance of their effrontery remains to be recorded: on leaving Macao the ambassador was asked to convey a letter from the viceroy of Canton to the king of Portugal, to be read in public audience. The ambassador returned it to the mandarins with the remark that he brought the emperor's message, and could not bring any other, though the viceregal missive was said to be couched in terms highly complimentary to the embassy.

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### XIII.

In one of the far-famed classics of China, the national policy towards foreigners is thus laid down: The barbarians are like beasts and should not be governed on the same principles as the Chinese, for any effort to control them by the grand maxims of wisdom would only lead to tumult. Of this the ancient monarchs were well aware, and they consequently controlled barbarians by misrule. To misgovern them is, therefore, the renowned, the best method of governing them.<sup>1</sup> That such was virtually the fundamental principle of China's foreign intercourse, is evident from the fact that, in foreign affairs, the mandarins systematically sought to carry their point not by argument but mainly by the barbarous expedient of starving the foreign community to submission, although according to the penal code of China, *Tu Tsing Leu Lee*, section *CCXCI*, those who deprive the hungry of their food are liable to punishment for the consequences thereof.<sup>2</sup> At Macao the frequent interdict on the supply of provisions was enforced simultaneously with the exodus of Chinese inhabitants, so that it was only the foreigners who in such ordeals stood beyond the pale of Chinese law.

A counterplot to this anti-foreign measure might perhaps have been found in the detention of influential Chinese subjects at Macao on such emergencies. But this course implied Chinese domicile, which, while desirable from this point of view, continued to be systematically discountenanced on sanitary and political grounds. The viceroy of India enjoined the senate in 1711 to debar the Chinese from acquiring landed properties at Macao. The injunction was

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from Sou Tong Po in Premare's *Notitia Linguae Sinicae*, p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> See Sir Geo. Staunton's *Penal Laws of China*, p. 312.



A Zitter (soft)



A Jesuit



A Lady



A Gentleman



A Lady's Palanquin



A Zitter (hard)



A Dominican



An Augustinian



A Franciscan



A Ship

authorities there declined to comply; mandarins and *hong* merchants gathered round the captured vessel; and eventually the chief *hong* merchant accommodated matters by the following expedient: for allowing the Chinese to board the ship in triumph, McClary was in turn allowed to retain a chest containing gold and pearls shipped by some Armenians.<sup>6</sup> To ensure the supply of tea, Sir George Staunton deprecated a rupture with China, winking at the outrageous execution of the *Lady Hughes'* gunner who, handed over to the mandarins under great pressure, was, without any trial, strangled on a charge of homicide, of which he was not guilty.<sup>7</sup> To the unchristian conduct of the English in this sacrifice of an innocent man, an English historian attributes the impositions, insults, and oppression since then suffered by all foreigners in China.<sup>8</sup>

Nevertheless, the Portuguese were blamed by many an English writer for not sacrificing Macao in defence of an Englishman charged there, in 1773, with the murder of a Chinaman. According to one version, the innocence of the accused was conclusively established, as no evidence was forthcoming to convict him at the trial held by the Portuguese tribunal. The mandarins, however, insisted upon his rendition, and, since this was not complied with, they stopped the supply of provisions and then menaced the city. At a general council, the surrender of a guiltless man for immolation was strongly deprecated; while on the other hand the vicar-general argued that, when a tyrant imposes the alternative of such a sacrifice or the destruction of a city, moralists decide that the city may call upon any innocent man to surrender himself for the preservation of the community, which is of greater moment than the life of an individual; and if he refuses to obey, he is not

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. p. 50-1.

<sup>7</sup> Sir Geo. Staunton's *Accounts of Macartney's Embassy*, vol. I, pp. 18-21.

<sup>8</sup> Martin's *China*, vol. II, p. 17.

innocent, but a criminal. Thereupon, as the mandarins were determined to carry out their threat, it was resolved by a majority to surrender the accused, whom the mandarins put to death.<sup>9</sup> According to another version, the lack of evidence at the trial was simply due to the fact that the witnesses, as Christians, refused to depose against a Christian; while the Chinese held ample proof that the accused committed the murder under circumstances which, if narrated, would shame every honest Englishman.<sup>10</sup>

This was evidently the murder case which, according to Raynal, led the viceroy of Canton to memorialise the court in 1774 for a magistrate to instruct and govern the barbarians at Macao. A posse of mandarins accordingly proceeded to instal the *tso-tang* there. Out of alleged scorn for foreigners, however, he fixed his residence at the outskirts of the colony whereof he was to assume possession in his master's name.<sup>11</sup> This respectful distance was due to the colony's attitude: the senate in this instance was at one with the captain-general, Diogo de Saldanha; the citadel prepared for action; the citizens unanimously determined to repel the intruder, or, failing this, to abandon Macao, in which eventuality the approaches to the inner harbour, and those to the harbour of Taipa in particular, were to be blocked up with the city's débris.<sup>12</sup>

The grievances suffered by foreigners at Canton a few years back prompted a resolute Englishman to force his way to Peking and there expose the abuses. An impeached mandarin was cashiered, but Flint's mission also resulted in his imprisonment for years at Chinsan in the vicinity of Macao, and the execution of the native who wrote the memorial for him. The superintendents of the foreign

<sup>9</sup> Ljungstedt's *Historical Sketch*, p. 81.

<sup>10</sup> Andrade's *Cartas da India e da China*, vol. II, p. 262, 2nd ed.

<sup>11</sup> *Histoire Philosophique et Politique*, book V.

<sup>12</sup> *Mémoire sur la souveraineté territoriale du Portugal à Macao*, p. 67.

factories at Canton, moreover, were subjected to gross personal indignities in consequence of their refusal to perform the usual obeisance before the viceroy at an interview in connection with Flint's bold attitude.

No less ineffectual were the efforts of the Portuguese to curb the rampant mandarindom, notwithstanding the *tso-tang's* extra-mural residence. In 1784 the Minister for the Colonies, Martinho de Mello e Castro, instituted a governmental reform at Macao. Among other measures, the captain-general, or rather governor now, was empowered to interpose in all affairs concerning the welfare of the colony, and to veto any senatorial motion by his single vote; and the municipal guard was substituted by a sepoy garrison of a hundred musketeers and fifty artillerymen. Under this new régime, an attempt was made in 1787 to re-assert the colony's jurisdiction and evict the scum of the Chinese community. After due notice to quit, the tenants of over a hundred Chinese dwellings were, on non-compliance, forcibly ejected therefrom by the troops and negro slaves. By order of the procurator three houses were pulled down. The mandarin of Chiusan soon appeared on the scene, and, repairing to the senate-house in search of the procurator, found the side-entrance assigned to the mandarins closed and undecked with the red curtain usually hung there in their honour. Astonished at these proceedings, the mandarin called on the *ouvidor*, Lazaro da Silva Ferreira, who explained that the government had resolved to relieve the colony of a worthless section of the Chinese community, to demolish newly-built houses at Patane, and evict the villagers of Mong-ha, in order to place the colony on its old footing and recover rights usurped by the Chinese. A bang on the table emphasised the declaration. The mandarin, misconstruing this into an insult, rose and precipitately left the colony, interdicting the supply of

provisions. The case was forthwith reported to the viceroy of Canton, and mandarins flocked to Chinsan. In concert with the *ouvidor* and procurator, the governor, Bernardo Aleixo de Lemos Faria, completely ignored the senate in the interchange of despatches which ensued with the mandarins; while troops guarded Mong-ha and Patanc. The precarious situation, however, rendered any but the old régime impracticable. The Chinese, suspending all intercourse with the colony, isolated the Portuguese for the usual expiation. Famine prevailed. Such was the consequent distress, that the *ouvidor* found it necessary to appeal to the senate for mediation, the mandarins declining to recognise any other authority. The whole transaction was then submitted to the senate at a general council; the procurator was removed from office; and the old régime eventually settled the differences.

In a representation to the queen, the senate pointed out the danger incurred by the colony of being ruined through the rashness of one or two individuals, and the advisability of the procurator always acting in unison with the senate, of despatches from the mandarins being opened only at senatorial sittings, and of due consideration being shown to the Chinese, with all of which Dona Maria I, in a decree of 1789, concurred.

As usual the insolence of mandarindom went apace with the senate's subserviency. In 1790 the procurator notified the mandarin of Heangshan to the effect that, in conformity with the regulation on house-building, it would devolve upon him to demolish a new house which was being built by the Chinese near the market-place, unless the construction thereof was stopped. The mandarin replied that the locality in question was wholly inhabited by Chinese, and quite beyond the procurator's jurisdiction. And the Portuguese were enjoined to be quiet, and to bear



in mind that they could not ever repair their old houses without a licence from the mandarins.<sup>13</sup>

Now, if a regulation enacted by the mandarins was thus set at naught by the prefect of Heangshan, it may well be inferred that upon any contention arising out of the divergency between the Portuguese and Chinese texts of the code of 1749, it was the Chinese version that prevailed, even in the vexed question of capital punishment. The invalidity of the Portuguese provision in this respect, exemplified by the case of 1773, was corroborated in 1792, when a Manila sailor, beset by a Chinese mob at Macao, slew three of his assailants. By order of the senate he was arrested. The mandarins, apprised of this, came over and pronounced the sentence of death after holding the inquest, for which purpose the corpses lay exposed on the praya for days. The culprit, handed over to the mandarins, was barbarously strangled in the presence of the senators. This done, Chinese villagers, who on such occasions flocked to Macao, mobbed the procurator and judges, and stoned every Portuguese they came across, with perfect impunity. The governor, Vasco de Sousa Faro, restrained the troops from action, and, after the disgraceful scenes, ordered the usual salute to be fired in honour of the mandarins on their departure.

The senate, in exposing the case before the court of Lisbon, alleged that the invariable sequence of a homicide at Macao was that the mandarins arrogated to themselves the trial and punishment of the culprit. In a scathing reply, Martinho de Mello e Castro, alluding to the case of the two soldiers saved by Telles de Menezes, pointedly remarked that if the senators had recollected this, they would not have dared to lay such an allegation before the queen, as if the absurd, audacious pretensions of the

<sup>13</sup>Ljungstedt's *Historical Sketch*, p. 30.

mandarins, so detrimental to the Portuguese, were an incontestable, irresistible law! The worthy minister taunted the senators for acting the part of bailiffs to the mandarins, and blamed the governor for conforming thereto. Faro was recalled.

Politically a failure, the new régime cost the hapless colony dearly. It entailed upon the senate financial sacrifices which such failure rendered the more galling. Prior to the reform, the senate owned one million crusados, which, invested in marine insurance, yielded an annual income of a hundred thousand crusados. These funds were so drawn upon since the captain-general and *ouvidor* inaugurated the new régime, that, in 1793, the senate's treasury stood quite drained, and thus deprived of the income as well.<sup>14</sup>

For long the administration of the colony's finances was a subject of animadversion on the part of the viceroys of Goa. One fifth of the colony's revenue, appertaining to the king and constituting the *cafre real*, was, since 1714, entrusted to the senate, and by order of Vasco de Menezes, viceroy, it was assigned for the purpose of defraying civil, military, and ecclesiastical expenditure as well as for maintaining the charitable institutions of the colony. Since 1730 the funds more than sufficed for such purposes, and the surplus was invested in the usual *respondentia*. In 1738 the viceroy, Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, found it advisable to reform the financial administration of Macao. The procurator, who had hitherto acted as treasurer, was superseded by a treasurer whose appointment was effected together with the senatorial elections. Pending royal instructions, the senate set at naught the viceregal decree to this effect. The next viceroy, Dom Luiz de Menezes, enforced the decree, which was carried out under the supervision of the captain-general Manoel Pereira Coutinho—measures which a royal decree

<sup>14</sup> Andrade's *Cartas da India e da China*, vol. I, chap. 21.

of 1744 declared necessary in view of misappropriation. Nevertheless, the senate declined to render the annual accounts to Goa. The viceroy, passing severe strictures, annulled the senatorial elections. Eventually, it was enacted, in 1784, that the accounts were to be audited by the governor and *ouvidor*. When Lazaro da Silva Ferreira accordingly examined the books of the *cofre real*, a deficit was found amounting to 320,000 taels, due, he conjectured, to the acceptance of fraudulent and insolvent securities for the respondentia funds—kinsmen, friends, and patrons in power having overlooked the settlement and suffered the debts to accumulate; and many of the debtors being either dead or insolvent. If the reimbursement were demanded from honest citizens who had stood as sureties, a death-blow would be dealt to the colony's trade and shipping, in which their capital was invested. Under the circumstances, the prince-regent in a letter dated 1799 informed the senate that the queen's claim to the extent of 291,193 taels had been graciously waived.<sup>15</sup>

Though displumed, the senators were none the less jealous of their regalia. The seat of honour at the council-table, to which the captains-general had aspired in vain, instead of being now assigned to the governor, was done away with. Upon the council-table, as of old, rested one end of a senatorial rod, the other end reclining on the wall, over the national arms, behind the three principal seats assigned to the senior alderman, the governor, and the *ouvidor*. Lazaro da Silva Ferreira once purposely caused the rod to fall, and then ordered its removal, as it had hurt his head. At the next sitting, however, he noticed that his order had not been attended to, and on handling the rod he found to his surprise that it had since been hooked on to the wall. The senior alderman then explained that the senators so revered their predecessors

<sup>15</sup> Ljungstedt's *Historical Sketch*, p. 65.

that they could not discard the time-honoured usage, and out of regard for the *ouvidor* they had ordered the rod of justice to be secured, that it might not hurt him again.<sup>16</sup>

The Chinese meanwhile dispossessed the colony of many a dependency—Oiteng, Ribeira Grande, Ribeirinha, Bugio, Taipa. By imperial command, the Canton government in 1644 allotted a spot at Lapa, opposite the inner shores of Macao, for the burial-ground of a Jesuit, João Rodrigues, who had rendered valuable services to the court of Peking. An imperial grant in 1645 further invested the Jesuits with the possession of a large tract there—Oiteng—for their resting-place. Hence the island of Lapa's former name: *Ilha dos Padres*.<sup>17</sup> According to a Dutch chart of the seventeenth century, there were then a battery and a dock at Lapa. At Oiteng the Jesuits raised a chapel. In the adjoining tracts—the popular pleasure-grounds of Ribeira Grande and Ribeirinha—there were several country-seats owned by the gentry of Macao. The Augustines and Dominicans also held properties there. The islet of Bugio belonged to the Jesuits. So did the *Ilha Verde*. At the roadstead, the Portuguese evidently inhabited Taipa, judging by the names of such localities as *Praias de Jorge Ribeiro* and *Maria Nunes*. In course of time, these suburbs were forsaken. In the case of Lapa, the mandarin of Heangshan systematically ignored the rights of the landholders. The senate in 1711 complained of this to an influential Jesuit at Canton with the view of obtaining redress at the hands of the viceroy. But constant vexations on the part of petty mandarins and their underlings prevailed in the end. The Jesuits abandoned their estates, as did the others. The country-seats went

<sup>16</sup> *Andrade's Memoria dos Feitos Macaenses*, 2nd ed., p. 21.

<sup>17</sup> The island was also known as *Patera*, the Japanese corruption for *Padre*. According to Walter Dickson's *Japan*, p. 387, the Japanese once inhabited Lapa, and there was once a large structure there known to the Chinese as *yat-pono-lao*, or Japanese hall.

to rack and ruin. Eventually the senate informed the viceroy of India in 1764 that Portuguese properties at Lapa had been entirely abandoned, what with the misfortunes and ruin which had befallen the owners.<sup>15</sup>

Consequent on the anti-Jesuit campaign in Portugal, the Jesuits were expelled from Macao in 1762, and their properties confiscated by the government. It is related that the authorities expected to surprise them with Pombal's decree for their expulsion, but found them, when called upon to leave the colony, mustered in a file, ready to quit, with nothing but their breviaries under their arms. Forewarned, they had disposed of their valuables to trustworthy citizens. Fabulous treasures were supposed to have been buried in the mysterious subterranean passages of St. Paul's. But even if such had been the case, the treasures must have been taken away subsequently, when Jesuits in disguise came back to Macao, and one was even elected senator in 1775. He was dismissed on detection. Of the confiscated properties, the Ilha Verde was allotted to a citizen in settlement of a claim on the Jesuits, subject to reversion to the crown of Portugal. Ultimately the verdant, picturesque islet was disposed of to the Royal College of St. Joseph and turned into a country-seat and pleasure-ground. By the proscription of the Jesuits, two seats of learning in the colony were closed—the seminary of St. Paul, and the above-mentioned college then but recently established. In 1784 it was placed in charge of missionaries sent expressly from Lisbon.

In defiance of the proscription, a French Jesuit, Louis Le Tibure, pretended to establish himself at Macao in 1767, but, though backed by the viceroy of Canton and escorted by a posse of mandarins, he failed to gain admittance. The attitude of the senate met with unstinted encomium

<sup>15</sup> See Ljungstedt's *Historical Sketch*, pp. 91, 134-44.

in several royal and ministerial despatches of 1770, some of which transmitted anti-Jesuitic works, notably the *Dedução Chronologica e Analytica*, to be translated into Chinese and circulated among influential mandarins, it being even proposed to present a copy to the emperor.

It must have been with an aching heart that the followers of Ricci now regarded Macao, the forbidden city, whose welfare had once been of tender solicitude to them; whose doom had been averted by their influence and tact; and whose history, so closely associated with theirs, prides itself on their glorious achievements in China.

At the court of Peking, fortunately, the prestige of Jesuit savants was maintained by Portuguese missionaries of other orders. Among them was Felix da Rocha, who served the imperial court for over half a century. This distinguished mathematician was appointed to map Western Tartary in 1723, became president of the mathematical tribunal, and served as interpreter to the Portuguese embassy in 1752, when he received special honours at the hands of Kien Lung. On Rocha's death, in 1781, the emperor, who defrayed the expenses of his funeral, signified his wish to have another Portuguese mathematician. Accordingly, at the senate's instance, Dona Maria I nominated Dom Fr. Alexandre de Gouvea for the bishopric of Peking, in view of his attainments.<sup>19</sup>

At the same time the queen desired the senate to instruct Dom Fr. Alexandre de Gouvea in the matter of the ancient privileges and immunities accorded by China to Macao, so that as the constituted procurator and protector of the colony he might strive to effect their restoration as well as the suppression of abuses which had supplanted them. It was for this purpose, too, that Martinho de Mello e Castro drew up his famous memorandum.

<sup>19</sup> A painter was also sent, Joaquim Leonardo da Rosa, to be maintained at the court of Peking at the senate's expense

#### XIV.

A British protectorate supplanted the Spanish domination in Portugal. In return for the cession of Bombay and Tangier as part of Dona Catherina's dowry, Charles II, by the treaty of 1661, bound England, then and thereafter, to defend the colonial empire of Portugal. But instead of a Bayard, the protégé found a veritable Tartuffe. The Bourbon pact, the combined efforts of France and Spain, failed to check British aggrandisement at Portuguese expense. An offensive and defensive Anglo-Portuguese alliance against France consummated the ruin of the doubly victimised English protégé; and fomented by England, the French invasion of Portugal led to a British occupation of several Portuguese colonies, notably of Macao, for ostensibly defensive purposes: whilst extensive losses were sustained by Portuguese shipping at the hands of the French in the Atlantic.

Yet, when shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, in 1795, a French ship, *La Flavie*, was chased by an English man-of-war into the harbour of Macao, and the *ouvidor* proposed to hold her as a prize, she was released at the instance of Governor Pinto.<sup>1</sup>

From India Marquis Wellesley in 1802 despatched to Macao a transport with British troops whose services, tendered by the East India Company's principal supercargo, the government of Macao declined. Sanctioned by the governor of Goa, however, the occupation would have been enforced at the point of the bayonet but for the timely arrival of a Spanish frigate from Manila with the welcome tidings of the peace of Amiens, expressly communicated to Governor

<sup>1</sup> De Guignes: *Voyages à Peking*, vol. III, p. 186. According to Ljungstedt's *Historical Sketch*, p. 87, the release was effected at the instance of the mandarins.

Pinto. On receipt of confirmatory advices from Bombay, the British left Macao for the nonce.

That the unsolicited succour served but for a pretext, that the ulterior design was nothing short of annexation, must have been evident when the senate, mistrusting the viceroy of Canton, appealed to the bishop of Peking, Dom Fr. Alexandre de Gouvea, with the result that a convention was concluded at Peking whereby Macao, placed under the emperor's protection, was precluded from accepting any foreign succour, it being stipulated that, if actually needed, assistance was to be rendered by China; although upon enquiry the viceroy of Canton alleged that the apprehensions were groundless and pusillanimous.

The prince-regent of Portugal highly eulogised the senate for its loyalty and adroitness in thus safeguarding the colony; whilst at Peking Portuguese missionaries expiated their loyalty. According to an English version, Father Almeida demonstrated to the imperial court that if the English secured a footing in China, the fate of Hindustan would befall her. But the viceroy of Canton, "nettled at the officious zeal of the Portuguese," disclaimed any hostile design on the part of the English, whereupon the very idea of the court being misled by a missionary so exasperated the emperor that Almeida had to implore pardon on his knees for what he was told he deserved death, and he was dismissed with the caution never to meddle again in state affairs.<sup>2</sup> This venerable old missionary, José Bernardo de Almeida, a Jesuit, died in 1805, after forty-six years' residence in Peking and twenty-five years' service at the mathematical tribunal. After the worthy bishop's demise, in 1808, his successor, Dom Joaquim de Sousa Saraiva, vainly awaited the usual passport for Peking, until he breathed his last ten years after, at Macao.

<sup>2</sup> Barrow's *Travels in China*, pp. 19-20,



Measures were adopted to prevent further direct representations from Macao to Peking ; and the missionaries, who had hitherto been under the special control of a *Ko-lao*, were, since 1804, subjected to the ordinary jurisdiction, like Chinese vassals.<sup>3</sup>

As the *ouvidor* Arriaga bitterly complained to the prince-regent of Portugal, two British warships, the *Diana* and *Antelope* harassed Macao in 1807 : the rights of neutral ships were violated, the customs officials outraged, and serious injuries done to Portuguese trade.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Peninsular War, the governor-general of India, Lord Minto, through the medium of Count de Sarzedas, viceroy of Goa, proffered British succour to the governor of Macao. The viceroy, in reply, pointed out the absolute necessity for the greatest care and tact in dealing with the Chinese government, and, as the probable consequences of a British occupation of Macao, foresaw the loss of that colony to the crown of Portugal, as well as an interdict on the British trade and the customary stoppage of provisions. Impregnable against a small French squadron, he added, Macao might surely be taken if attacked from land and sea ; but if a powerful French fleet could freely scour the China sea, well might the British and Portuguese give way to despair. The proposed defence of the colony would no doubt prove acceptable to the prince-regent ; and the viceroy trusted in the soundness of the British policy, but declared himself relieved of all responsibilities in the event of any lamentable contingency.

The officious and zealous ally insisted not only upon the occupation of Macao, but also upon all the forts there, all the points of vantage, all the artillery, all the naval and military stores, being placed at the disposal of the British commander, for the defence of the place against the

<sup>3</sup> Ljungstedt's *Historical Sketch*, pp. 182-3.

French, their allies and dependants. On the British troops devolved that defence; the Portuguese garrison to be kept within barracks, subject to orders from the British commander. And such were the instructions given by the viceroy of Goa to the governor of Macao.

Two months after, on the 11th September 1808, a British squadron appeared at the roadstead of Macao, a ship of the line, a frigate, and a sloop, under Rear-Admiral Drury, who brought a letter from Lord Minto to the governor of Macao, Bernardo Aleixo de Lemos Faria: it announced disasters in Portugal, and, in view of Macao's commercial importance, the projected occupation, which, by virtue of the ancient alliance, would, it was hoped, meet with every facility. In transmitting the letter, Supercargo Roberts of the East India Company informed Lemos Faria that the admiral was disposed to enter into amicable arrangements prior to the landing of troops, and that any measure tending to rouse opposition on the part of the Chinese government would be deemed hostile proceedings and dealt with accordingly, however much to the admiral's regret.

Lemos Faria, in reply, expressed the hope that it was not the intention of the British to deprive Macao of the liberty which they sought to defend, nor that he would be constrained to do what could not but be a breach of duty. Ignoring the instructions he had received from Goa, Lemos Faria took upon himself the responsibility of declining to accede to the unqualified demand; and greatly astonished at the supercargo's statements, he declared that he would not even so much as allow the squadron to enter the harbour, this being precluded by a convention with China which it was his duty to observe in the absence of superior orders to the contrary, and in view of his extremely delicate situation in regard to China. But grateful for the admiral's

solicitude towards the colony's safeguard, he would be glad to listen to any other proposal to that effect.

Rear-Admiral Drury then wrote that his only aim was to protect Macao, that the royal family of Portugal had taken refuge in Brazil under the escort of a British squadron, and that consequent upon the interrupted communication it would be long ere instructions could reach Macao from Portugal or Brazil. But he had no objection to wait a reasonable time, pending the receipt of orders from Goa relative to the landing of troops; and he desired a personal interview with Lemos Faria, whose honour and loyalty he doubted not.

In a most courteous reply, Lemos Faria flattered himself on the just appreciation of his loyalty to his duties, and on his perfect assurance of England's amicable and excellent disposition towards Portugal, which warranted the expectation that the admiral, far from violating the convention between Macao and China, would preserve the public tranquillity and modify his instructions pending the arrival of orders from Brazil or Goa; while he on the other hand would for the present defer informing the Chinese government of the admiral's intention, which, to such an intolerant, mistrustful people as the Chinese, could not but be of serious import. With regard to the desired interview, it was to be hoped the end in view would not be any unwarrantable agreement, but to discuss the means of dispelling the apprehensions created in 1802 and now again roused by the presence of the squadron—apprehensions which seemed to render the admiral's mission still more difficult than if occasioned by emergencies suggestive enough of a military occupation, notwithstanding the circumstance that, better adapted for naval defence, the colony was, moreover, under the imperial protection of China. Coercive measures being a source of commotion,

the consequences thereof should not be imputed to the government of Macao, which, though precluded from acquiescing in all that was desired, would willingly do the utmost to oblige the admiral.

After several fruitless interviews, it was decided to effect the occupation upon further delay of the orders from Goa, or upon the squadron being required elsewhere. The intended force being numerically superior to the garrison, Lemos Faria declared this a point which none but the prince-regent of Portugal could determine upon, specially in view of the complicated nature of the colony's relations with China. Such a measure he would resist even at the cost of bloodshed—useless and unnecessary, but conformable to his lawful duties.

Every conciliatory effort having failed, in a manifesto dated September 15th Lemos Faria proclaimed that, constrained by the superior force of the greatest and oldest ally of the Braganzas, and in the absence of any better expedient, it only remained for him to appeal to China in accordance with the convention of 1802, and to repel, as far as practicable, the attempted British invasion. He protested against the admiral's aggressive attitude, and disclaimed all responsibility for the consequences.

The mandarin of Chin-san, officially apprised of the projected occupation, declared that ceded out of imperial benevolence to the Portuguese, Macao had for long been peacefully inhabited by them; that ships of other nations could only moor at the roadstead; and that as enacted in regulations of old standing, foreigners were not at liberty to call and reside of their own accord at Macao. Mistrusting the admiral's motives, the mandarin recommended the utmost vigilance; and in the event of troops being landed, he enjoined the procurator to advise him without delay, so that the viceroy of Canton might be immediately consulted in the matter.

The mandarin of Heangshan, likewise apprised, replied that there was no justification for the British occupation, as Macao, forming part of the Chinese empire, was, through imperial commiseration, granted as a resort for the Portuguese who from afar came to trade with China. It was not likely that the French would dare violate the laws of the empire by attacking Macao. In case of any attempted invasion, a Chinese army would defend the place. The admiral should therefore be asked to leave the roadstead. The forts should be efficiently garrisoned and the closest watch kept, as the Portuguese would be held responsible and severely dealt with for the landing of British troops.

Rear-Admiral Drury's next despatch announced that, the proffered succour having been rejected with disloyalty in spite of all assurances, it was his painful duty to resort to measures whereby the vassals of China might suffer, although he desired to maintain friendly relations with their government,—measures forced upon him by the unjustifiable attitude of the Macao authorities, whom he held answerable both to Portugal and China for the unfortunate consequences. To his regret, he announced that, the moment being at hand when the occupation would become indispensable, it was his intention to land both troops and marines, and at the point of the bayonet take possession of the place without further parley, any opposition being considered as downright rebellion. To avoid hostile demonstrations on the part of the unruly troops and marines, a British detachment should at once be availed of to act in concert with the garrison in defence of the sovereignty of Portugal.

The citizens vowed that only when they lay dead might the city be invaded by barbarians who, unable to take it by means of chicanery, now resorted to threats.

Aged as he was, José Joaquim de Barros volunteered to defend the most risky post. With men of such mettle, exclaimed Lemos Faria, Macao would not fall in the hands of those who seemed to be foes rather than allies. In assuming the command of Monte, Lemos Faria swore that while he lived that citadel would never surrender. To Barros he assigned the command of São Francisco, and that of the other forts to men of confidence.

Calming the prevailing indignation and excitement, Miguel de Arriaga Brum da Silveira, the *ouvidor*, pointed out that in no way would the national honour be compromised by the landing of British troops with the sanction of the government, since every effort to avoid the occupation had proved futile; and now that affairs had taken such a critical turn, the British should be taught by experience that Macao would not tolerate invaders. Arriaga's motion prevailed.

In conformity with the resolution of a general council, Lemos Faria, in reply to the admiral, while disclaiming the supposed disloyalty, informed him that, with regard to the proffered detachment to assist the garrison, a declaration to that effect was necessary, as well as the appointment of a delegate to treat of the disposal of that detachment in a manner calculated to leave no apprehension as to the end in view being any other than to secure the colony for Portugal, so as to avoid all difficulties with the Chinese authorities, in the interests of the East India Company, and to avert the ruin of the colony, now menaced.

At the same time, copies of the despatches received from Chinsan and Heangshan were officially transmitted to the East India Company's supercargoes, who replied that, if necessary, the admiral would accommodate matters with the viceroy of Canton.

In a despatch to that official, the admiral strove to justify his attitude towards Macao, tendered his squadron for crushing the piracy then rampant, and requested a personal interview.

In reply to Lemos Faria, Drury expressed great joy at finding that the amicable ties between England and Portugal had not been sundered ; and he promised obedience and respect on the part of the troops, since they were to land as sincere friends.

Captains Robertson and Caulfield were delegated to look after the disposal of the troops, and on September 21st concluded with Lemos Faria and Arriaga a convention to the following effect :

The laws of the colony were to remain in full force. Crimes against the Chinese to be dealt with according to the established procedure. The British detachment to be under the control of the government of Macao, and Captain Robertson consulted in the matter of accommodation. Only the Portuguese flag was to be hoisted. The fortifications might be repaired and supplied with ammunition, as required by the British commander, if deemed necessary by such as the governor of Macao might appoint for this purpose : but the ammunition of the British detachment to be kept in the custody of the Portuguese garrison, and under the immediate control of the governor. The shipping in port to be in no way interfered with ; and British ships to be on the same footing as hitherto. On behalf of Rear-Admiral Drury and the general council of Macao, the contracting parties should co-operate to avoid complications with the Chinese government, the British government being held responsible to the prince-regent of Portugal for the consequences entailed by this convention, effected as it was without his sanction, and subject to confirmation by him or by his lieutenant, the viceroy of Goa.

A British detachment of some three hundred men then landed quietly, part being lodged at the forts of Guia and Bomparto, and the rest at the old seminary, at the establishments of the East India Company, and in tents raised at Flora and on various quays.

Instead of showing the respect promised by the admiral, the defenders soon rendered themselves odious all over the colony: the Europeans in drunken revelries violated the sanctity of private domicile; the sepoy committed depredations right and left, and desecrated Chinese tombs, with the result that, in the midst of continual disturbances, several sepoy were killed.

In reply to repeated complaints, the mandarins pointed out that there was no necessity for punishing crimes which should never exist in the empire, and that all would be quiet if the British would only quit Macao.

In view of the increasing hostility displayed by the Chinese at Macao, and extensive military preparations at Canton, the admiral, whose despatch to the viceroy remained unanswered, again addressed him, requesting that measures might be adopted to prevent further disturbances, and transmitting a copy of the convention ratified with the government of Macao. In apprising Lemos Faria of this, Drury desired he would use all influence to persuade the viceroy of the advisability of the British occupation of Macao. Lemos Faria undertook to forward a copy of the convention to the competent mandarin for transmission to the viceroy, as from the way the admiral had sent his copy he would not be attended to. Out of courtesy, Lemos Faria at the same time promised to point out to the viceroy the amicable relations subsisting between England and Portugal and the benefits derivable by all concerned from the convention in question.



The admiral next represented to Lemos Faria the necessity of lodging the British detachment at the citadel, in order to avoid further quarrels with the Chinese, which might entail serious consequences. Lemos Faria at once replied that, in view of the friendly relations between England and Portugal, he had no objection whatsoever, provided the citadel was now required for the defence of the colony against the French, in conformity with the instructions he had now received from Goa ; but since the object in view was merely to prevent fresh disturbances, the end, in his opinion, might as well be attained if discipline were maintained among the troops at their actual quarters, without raising further apprehensions on the part of the Chinese, who were already seriously concerned at the occupation of Guia and Bompato,—apprehensions which might be the cause of evils by far greater than those which the admiral sought to avoid, and which the senate would do the utmost to repress.

The mandarin of Heangshan, who kept up constant communication with the procurator, hinted that the British should not be allowed to occupy any of the forts, much less the citadel. The procurator assured him that the latter would never be occupied by any but Portuguese soldiers, and requested him to dispel the misapprehensions which prevailed among the Chinese. The mandarin then offered to garrison the citadel with Chinese troops as a means of reassuring the Chinese inhabitants, who were quitting the colony in large numbers and threatening to cut short the supply of provisions. The procurator in reply remarked that the British had been requested to leave, and that the admiral had started for Canton to settle the matter with the viceroy. The citadel, he reiterated, would be guarded by the colony's garrison. The British were now disposed to be quiet. No fear need therefore be entertained by the Chinese, who should return and resume their business.

The supercargoes then informed Lemos Faria that another British detachment had arrived, for which, in the admiral's absence and on his behalf, they requested admittance and accommodation. To obviate further troubles with the Chinese, it was suggested that the ships should display the Portuguese flag and the troops passed for a detachment of the garrison of Goa, and above all that the sanction of the Chinese government should not be solicited. The difficulties with the Chinese being ascribed to certain misrepresentations on the part of Portuguese citizens in violation of the duty they owed their sovereign, Lemos Faria was in the admiral's name intimated that, failing other remedies, any citizen suspected of disloyalty towards the sovereign, would be summarily deported to Brazil—a proceeding which, it was hoped, the vigilance and example of the governor himself would tend to avert, for the welfare of the colony.

Lemos Faria replied that he would have not the slightest objection to the landing of the detachment in question, if what had transpired since the landing of the first detachment had not complicated matters day by day, and if the landing of further troops prior to the conclusion of the admiral's negotiations with the viceroy would not create further difficulties fatal to British trade, already suspended at Canton. Moreover, a despatch from the Chinese government had just come to hand protesting menacingly against the arrival of further British forces. It was therefore advisable that, before the disembarkation, the principal supercargoes should consult the governor, as any inconvenience suffered by the troops on board was decidedly nothing in comparison to what might result from their precipitate landing without some satisfactory understanding, which the sad condition of Macao rendered

imperatively necessary. As to the want of loyalty, there was not a single citizen at Macao who did not recognise the sovereignty of Portugal, or who might be accused of being a rebel—a concern which it was his duty to look after.

The Chinese despatch referred to was from the mandarin of Heangshan declaring that if the British troops were allowed to land, the matter would be reported to the viceroy as due to the governor's dereliction of duty.

At the same time the supercargoes received a despatch from the viceroy of Canton reminding them that the possession of Macao by the Portuguese was due to a special imperial favour never accorded to other Europeans, and to which the British should not dare to aspire. If the French attempted to take Macao, their fate would be that of meat on the mincing board. If the British really meant to defend Macao, it would be more to the purpose if they guarded the roadstead and there met the French. And if the British desired to resume their trade, they should lose no time in quitting Macao, which they were occupying in violation of the imperial law, and to their own prejudice.

In a memorial to the throne asking for instructions, the viceroy pointed out that the British were selfishly availing themselves of the critical situation in Portugal to annex Macao under false colours; and he referred to a memorial of Lord Macartney to the imperial council for the concession of one of the Chusan islands or some place near Canton, and Kien-lung's decrees, which, refuting and rejecting the reasons set forth, enjoined the viceroys of maritime provinces to be on the alert.

The difficulties experienced by Rear-Admiral Drury at Canton being ascribed to the correspondence between the government of Macao and the district mandarins not having

been duly submitted to the viceroy, the supercargoes wrote to Lemos Faria for copies of such correspondence, and requested him to impress on the viceroy the necessity for the British auxiliaries at Macao. Lemos Faria was taunted for not following the policy adopted by the viceroy of Goa, and the citizens for being oblivious of their duty to the prince-regent and factors in the opposition the British met with.

Lemos Faria replied that, among the difficulties indicated by him as likely to arise from the British policy towards Macao, he had predicted a complication with the Chinese government, foreseen by reason of his experience and exposed with frankness though at the cost of his being taken for a marplot, in spite of his manifest wish to avoid troubles. Reminding the supercargoes of their former assurance that the admiral would accommodate matters with the viceroy of Canton, Lemos Faria expressed considerable astonishment that he should now be required to do anything in the matter, the more since the supercargoes had on various occasions presumed that a British occupation of Macao depended on the will of the emperor of China solely. Disclaiming any responsibility for the district mandarins' shortcomings, Lemos Faria however undertook to ascertain why the correspondence in question had not been submitted to the viceroy. Among the citizens of Macao—the most loyal of Portuguese colonies—there was not one who could be taunted with disloyalty to the house of Braganza. But since it was not forbidden them to love the tranquillity of their homes, they no wonder deplored their actual situation; and without execrating the cause thereof, they cursed its effects: parents wept over their dying children abandoned by Chinese nurses, who had all fled; the poor complained of the scarcity, the famine-price of food, and feared a complete stoppage of provisions; merchants found their business at a standstill, and their

A despatch from the mandarin of Heangshan on the same subject was replied to in much the same strain; and the mandarin retorted that in case of the cargo being landed, the British were to be fired upon, failing which the Portuguese would be reported to the viceroy as British accomplices, and treated accordingly.

At the same time the military mandarin of Nanhai issued a proclamation, which was posted at Canton, Whampoa and Macao, announcing that an army was being levied for the annihilation of wicked barbarians, in accordance with an imperial decree received by the viceroy. The people were exhorted to exercise the closest watchfulness and adopt defensive measures at the estuaries.

From the viceroy, the admiral and supercargoes received copies of the imperial decree, in which they were asked if they ignored that the Portuguese inhabited Chinese territory, and that if the French attempted to take Macao, which was not at all likely, an army of Chinese braves would be sent to fight and slay them. If the British knew this, why then did they send troops to render this assistance and protection? With regard to the proffered succour against the pirates, it was unnecessary: the imperial forces had often defeated them, and the scattered remnants would soon be exterminated. What necessity was there, then, for the pretended assistance? It was manifest that under the cloak of protection the British meant to avail themselves of the precarious condition of the Portuguese to take possession of Macao, in direct violation of the laws of the Celestial dynasty. If they withdrew from Macao at once, they would yet be forgiven, and their trade resumed. But if they persisted in tarrying there, the hatches of their ships would remain closed, as would be the waterways of Macao, to stop their supply of food, and a great army would be despatched to besiege and capture them. Repentance would then be too late.

Lemos Faria, in a despatch to the supercargoes, remarked that, from various communications of Chinese officials, he concluded that the supreme moment of disillusion was at hand. Reticence on the subject being nothing short of a crime, he found it necessary to submit copy of two despatches couched in the most resolute language, that the admiral might adopt measures best calculated to safeguard the interests of the allied nations; and he undertook to advise the Chinese authorities of the adoption of such measures.

The supercargoes answered that in view of the governor's inability to prevent Chinese hostilities, they too were of opinion that the admiral should at once take steps to protect mutual interests. They desired the mandarins to understand that, like the admiral, they would do the utmost to avoid hostilities. On the other hand, the mandarins should see that Chinese troops did not approach beyond Chinsan. Any further advance would be considered hostile, when measures would be taken to repel any attack, for which the British were prepared. It was hoped, therefore, that the governor, conscious of the peril, would also devise means to avoid a Chinese surprise or invasion.

For the information of the Britishers, a Chinese despatch stated that an army of eighty thousand braves would soon reach Macao to annihilate the invaders, since they disregarded imperial admonitions. In reply, the procurator, José Joaquim de Barros, pointed out that the British troops were willing to leave but could not do so all at once, and that there was no necessity for the Chinese braves to march upon Macao unless bidden to do so, which was improbable, it being improper to imitate the British, who, instead of defending Macao, caused troubles and losses.

The viceroy of Goa sent a substitute for Lemos Faria; and Lucas José Alvarenga strove to assume the governorship at once on arrival. But the mandarins insisted on

Lemos Faria retaining the post until after the withdrawal of the British forces. In a despatch to the procurator, the prefect of Heangshan, remarking that Alvarenga came in a British warship, enquired whether one might be perfectly sure that there did not exist an understanding between him and the English, for which reason it was neither just nor expedient that he should replace Lemos Faria prior to the British evacuation.

On the 11th December 1808, Lemos Faria, Arriaga, and Alvarenga on the one part, and Colonel Wegnelin, Captain Robertson, and supercargo Pattle on the other, came to the following agreement : Macao being under the protection of the Chinese empire, Arriaga should propose to the Chinese government the withdrawal of British troops on condition of British trade being allowed to remain on its former footing. The co-operation of the admiral and principal supercargo being necessary for the negotiations, Arriaga should without any hindrance proceed to Whampoa duly authorised to act with them in a manner conducive towards the well-being of all concerned. For the preservation of tranquillity among the troops, the district mandarins should remove the restrictions on the sale of provisions. Pending the negotiations, the competent authority should check the advance of Chinese troops. Any proceedings to the contrary would be held as opposed to the emperor's wish to maintain friendly relations with all people sincerely disposed thereto.

On December 18th the mandarin of Heangshan notified the procurator that if by midnight the British troops still tarried, the Chinese army would enter Macao in conformity with the imperial decree. The embarkation, which was being then effected, was completed on the 19th, much to the city's relief and joy. Then the mandarin insisted on the departure of the squadron. Before leaving, Rear Admiral

Drury expressed his acknowledgment to Lemos Faria, whose declarations, he now admitted, were true and just.

Such were the misgivings of the Chinese that, even after the last batch had embarked, the Chinese general required a certificate from the procurator to the effect that no British soldier lurked in the forts. The senate's compliance failed to dispel the misapprehensions: on the pretence of a promenade, the general visited all the forts to convince himself thoroughly.

A Portuguese priest who, with the senate's sanction acted as Chinese interpreter to the admiral, was arrested and put in chains for high treason against the Celestial dynasty in serving the Britishers. To save him, the garrison of Macao had to support Arriaga, who effected the release at the peril of his own life.

On the 1st January 1809 the interdict on British trade was revoked at Canton, as a special bounty, in consideration of England having paid tribute.<sup>4</sup>

Nay, a pagoda and fort were raised on the riverside near Canton in commemoration of Admiral Drury's prudent retreat therefrom in face of a hostile reception, which the Chinese magnified into a victory.

And the supercargoes of the East India Company having been recalled in consequence of their unwarrantable attitude, the subsequent re-appointment of Mr. Roberts met with strong Chinese opposition; and his demise at Macao, shortly after, the mandarins attributed to the judgment of Heaven.

<sup>4</sup> Lord Macartney's equipage on the way to Peking displayed banners with the following inscription in Chinese: "Embassador bearing tribute from the country of England." Staunton's *Account of the Embassy*, vol. II, p. 130.



The Chinese ascendancy over Macao of course elicited British strictures on the Portuguese, regardless of the fact that England, notwithstanding her resources, also gave in under the force of circumstances whence sprung that ascendancy, which, however galling, served to prevent the loss of Macao predicted by the viceroy of Goa.

Thus, from a very critical situation Macao emerged with the glory of having foiled the design of the most ambitious and successful power of the age, and of having once more distinguished herself by her loyalty towards Portugal, thanks to the support accorded by China, perhaps more from interested than from generous motives, and as a mutual safeguard against the aggressive policy of

“Those haughty shopkeepers who sternly dealt  
Their goods and edicts out from pole to pole  
And made the very billows pay them toll.”

The Portuguese ministry, when apprised of the British occupation of Macao, insisted upon the immediate withdrawal of the troops, in view of the pretended defence being a useless measure involving serious loss to the colony's trade, which, like the British, was stopped. For the damages incurred thereby, as well as for the outrageous doings of the *Diana* and *Antelope*, Portugal in vain sought for redress. Thus much for Macao's share of British protection.

Nay, Lord Strangford, the British minister at the court of Rio de Janeiro, laid before the prince regent complaints from the East India Company's supercargoes, who had the effrontery to urge the dismissal of Arriaga and a change in the senatorial form of government—complaints which the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in reply, pointed out to be unjustifiable and uncalled for, the more so in view of Arriaga's services in moderating the attitude

of the mandarins during the British occupation, and in negotiating the re-establishment of British trade on its former footing.

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Accounts of the British occupation of Macao are to be found in the following works: Judice Biker's *Collecção de Tratados e Concertos de Pazcs*, vol. XI; Andrade's *Memoria dos Feitos Macaenses*; Soriano's *Historia da Guerra Civil, 1a epocha*, vol. II chap. VI, 2a. epocha, vol. I, chap. VII; Soares' *Quadros Navacs*, vol., II chap. 33; Martins de Carvalho's *A Nossa Alliada!* chaps. VIII-XIII; *Mémoire sur la souveraineté territoriale du Portugal à Macao*, pp. 75-84.

## XV.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, piracy was again rampant on the China coast. Fostered by the inefficiency of the imperial naval forces, the irruption gathered further strength from an influx of outlaws from Cochin China and Formosa, then in rebellion. A confederacy among the brigands consummated their sway. The chieftain, Ching Ye, aspired to nothing short of imperial power, but ere long perished in a typhoon. His widow, an extraordinary woman, then assumed the chieftainship, organised the fleet, enacted laws for the maintenance of discipline, and chose for lieutenant commander the notorious Cam Pao Sai, known also as Chang Pao. The fleet formed two divisions. The first, flying a red flag, was under the immediate command of Cam Pao Sai. The second flew a black flag, and was led by Kwo Po Tai, who, like Cam Pao Sai, was said to be a kinsman of the pirate-queen. The junks, specially adopted for predatory and warlike purposes, were generally watertight, and swifter than ordinary junks. They were of a fine, smart type, mostly between 70 and 150 tons. The largest carried 20 or 25 guns, with about 200 men armed with jingals, short-swords, stinkpots, and spears which they hurled like javelins. To each junk was attached a 6 or 8 swivel-gun rowing boat, which usually infested coast villages at night to levy contributions. The confederacy received periodical tributes, and in return issued passes which were scrupulously respected, it being on record that the pirate-queen once amply redressed a boat which had been plundered in spite of its safe-conduct. The chieftains with their squadrons visited important ports, which, on non-compliance with their arbitrary impositions, were pillaged and ravaged.

Already in 1792 the mandarin of Heangshan desired Macao to equip two ships for protection of the Canton waterways. The proposal was made in the name of public welfare. Yet such considerations fell into the background when, in return, Macao stipulated for the restitution of her ancient privileges ; the usurpation of which the mandarins evidently preferred to the well-being of a great maritime population under their legitimate jurisdiction and inefficient protection. The negotiations fell through in face of the Portuguese claim, which the mandarin of Heangshan disputed :—

The revival of the dormant Portuguese seigniorship over the peninsula of Macao up to the barrier, and over the old dependencies of Taijia, Ribeira Grande, Ribeirinha, Oiteng, and Bugio, was thus forefended : it devolved upon the Portuguese not to govern these localities but to drive away foreign ships from among the islands. The privilege of sanctioning or disallowing Chinese domicile in the colony was recognised only so far as bad characters were concerned. The confiscation of Chinese property in settlement of Chinese debt, breach of contract, or unlawful detention of funds due to Christians, was disallowed : any breach of contract should be referred to the mandarin. The privilege of punishing Chinese delinquents was plausibly argued away : the Chinese have their laws : and as the Portuguese are governed by theirs, so should the Chinese be by their own. Execution at Macao of Chinese murderers of Christians was allowed since the Portuguese feared that the condemned might escape on the way, although in conformity with the mandarins' sentence both Christian and Chinese murderers should be executed at Canton. The validity of passports issued by the procurator for passage to and from Canton, and the imposition of duties according to the imperial tariff only, were contended on the ground that the transit was never prohibited, but

according to the regulations the passes issued by mandarins must be examined and duties fixed upon along the different routes. Finally, the procurator's prerogative of laying complaints before the viceroy of Canton against wrongs done by mandarins evoked the paternal observation that the Portuguese were never oppressed with any injustice which the mandarins did not diligently seek to redress.

It was evidently by illusory representations, too, that the court of Peking was informed as to the progress of the piratical confederacy, with which the imperial fleet utterly failed to cope. The first engagement with Can Pao Sai resulted in the capitulation of an imperial division of 28 junks with 500 guns and 8,000 men. Two subsequent encounters also brought disasters on the imperial forces. Once, however, Admiral Tseng's hundred sail sent the pirates to flight. But his fame was soon lost. Betrayed in front and rear, he was defeated. After another engagement of doubtful issue, a new admiral assumed command, only to be utterly routed, whereupon in despair he committed suicide.

The Chinese government then sought to reduce the pirates by cutting off their supplies. For this purpose, native shipping was stopped along the coast infested. In reprisal the pirates perpetrated atrocities right and left. The imperialists, when captured, were disembowelled alive, a practice which inspired such terror, that at the very sight of the pirates the imperial fleet fled panicstricken. In the Heangshan channel alone, over fifteen thousand persons were said to have fallen victims.

Not content with preying upon the Chinese, the pirates now attacked foreign ships, and sometimes even ventured within range of Macao's fortresses while attempting to intercept vessels with provisions for the colony.

The government of Macao then resolved to provide a coast-guard. In twenty-eight days a sloop was built at Calcutta for this purpose, the *Prinzeza Carlota*, of 120 tons, and 16 guns. When she reached Macao, the pirates had waxed so daring, that it was necessary to equip another vessel, the ship *Arriaga*, now named the *Ulysses*. There was also a lorcha of 20 tons, the *Ledo*, armed with a revolving howitzer and four swivels, and commanded by Antonio Gonçalves Carocha, an intrepid Macaense pilot. Employed in convoying provision-laden vessels, the *Ledo* often did wonders; and the damages she inflicted exasperated the pirates, who in vain sought to capture the swift and smart little daredevil.

On the 6th May 1807, near Macao, the Portuguese scored a signal victory over the pirates. After an exchange of shots lasting over an hour, the enemy, considerably mauled, took to flight, leaving the flagship in a hot engagement with the *Prinzeza Carlota*, commanded by Lieutenant Pereira Barreto, who, finding her at a disadvantage in consequence of the enemy's heavier artillery, determined to board the flagship—an unusually large junk with 20 guns and some 300 men. Close and closer drew the combatants. As the grapples were fastened, the pirates hurled a fire-barrel which very nearly set the sloop in flames. Barreto promptly cast it overboard, climbed up into the enemy's quarter-deck, and, with his *espada colubrina* (a double and serpentine edged sword), wrought such havoc, that thirty of his men who followed him related that when they reached the deck they found it covered with mutilated remains. Not one of the pirates surrendered. Some jumped overboard, others fought to the bitter end. Their commander, finding resistance no longer practicable, frantically slew his wife, and, with her body locked in his arms, plunged into the sea. When Barreto reached Macao with his prize, the citizens who rushed on board to congratulate him, stood

on a yardarm of the *Belisario*; and Braga, removed from her command, was imprisoned at Monte, whence he left for Goa deranged in mind.

Meanwhile the star of Cam Pao Sai was in the ascendant. By playing with consummate tact upon the superstitions of his followers, he came to be regarded by them as a supernatural being in communion with the gods. Invariably before any risky enterprise the chiefs assembled for the purpose of consulting their oracles on board a magnificent floating pagoda which accompanied the main fleet. Before such consultations, Cam Pao Sai secretly instructed the bonzes as to the course to be adopted. At the gathering of the chiefs, he exposed his views, which, through the contrivance of the bonzes, the oracles mystically seconded, to the wonder of the reverent chiefs; and to the credit of the trusted oracles, the bold plans of Cam Pao Sai, cunningly devised, generally turned out well. Idolised by the confederacy, with 80,000 men and over 600 junks at his beck, Cam Pao Sai now aspired to the throne of China, and, availing himself of the deep-seated prejudices against the Tartar dynasty, fomented a rebellion in Kwangtung, where a host of malcontents openly avowed him their allegiance.

In view of the incipient rebellion, the viceroy of Canton organised another imperial fleet. At the same time the East India Company was believed to have hinted that, if desired, assistance might be had from Bombay.<sup>1</sup> This, it was presumed, prompted Arriaga to proffer Macao's services. Highly popular among the mandarins, Arriaga had a proposal in the usual florid, pompous Chinese style addressed to the commander-in-chief at Canton for the equipment of six Portuguese ships to assist the imperial fleet, and for

<sup>1</sup> Ljungstedt's *Historical Sketch*, p. 112.

a loan which was to be refunded in five years; and alluding to the recent prowess of the *Princesa Carlota* and *Belisario*, witnessed by several mandarins, Arriaga pointed out that certain rumours about the Portuguese lacking men and ammunition proceeded from such as were seeking to benefit themselves at the cost of injury to others. In a no less high-flown reply, the commander-in-chief complimented the Portuguese on their being the recipients of imperial favours far in excess of those conferred on other foreigners; he highly commended them for being the foes of China's foes; and foreign assistance, he declared, was unnecessary; but on the understanding that the Portuguese ships were only to accompany the imperial fleet, he accepted the proposal, promising ample rewards for their exertions.<sup>3</sup>

Accordingly, the viceroy of Canton deputed the mandarins Shou-kei-chi, Pom, and Chu, of Nam-hoy, Heangshan, and Chin-san respectively, to negotiate a convention with Miguel de Arriaga Brum da Silveira and the procurator José Joaquim de Barros. The convention, ratified at Macao on the 23rd November 1809, was to the following effect:—

A coast-guard, consisting of six Portuguese ships and the imperial fleet, was to cruise for six months between the Bogue and Macao to debar the pirates from the channels hitherto infested by them. The Chinese government undertook to contribute eighty thousand taels towards the equipment of the Portuguese squadron. The government of Macao agreed to despatch immediately the two armed vessels it owned, the rest to follow soon. Mutual assistance was to be rendered in all that concerned the welfare of the expedition, it being understood that the cruise was not to extend beyond the sphere of action determined upon. The spoils to be equally divided between the Portuguese and Chinese governments. At the close

<sup>3</sup> See Martin's *China*, vol. I, pp. 374-5.



of the expedition the ancient privileges of Macao were to be restored. The contracting parties bound themselves to fulfil all the above-mentioned stipulations without any modification whatsoever, such stipulations being held as ratified by virtue of the full powers vested in them.

The senate's financial resources proving inadequate to the exigencies of the occasion, Arriaga on his own responsibility took considerable sums on loan from Portuguese merchants, notably from Francisco Antonio Pereira Thovar and Felix José Coimbra. The East India Company furnished a large quantity of ammunition. Six days after the convention, the Portuguese squadron sailed from Macao amidst enthusiastic demonstrations. It consisted of the following vessels: *Inconquistavel*, of 400 tons, 26 guns, 160 men, the flagship, Captain Alcoforado, commander-in-chief; *Pallas*, 18 guns, 130 men, Captain Luiz Carlos de Miranda; *Indiana*, 24 guns, 120 men, Captain Anacleto José da Silva; *Princesa Carlota*, 16 guns, 100 men, Captain Carocha; *São Miguel*, 16 guns, 100 men, Captain José Felix dos Remedios; *Belisario*, 18 guns, 120 men, Captain José Alves; of the crew, only about a hundred being Portuguese, and the rest Manila and Cambodian sailors.

The imperial fleet, of 60 junks with 1,200 guns and 18,000 men, proved quite unreliable; whereupon the Portuguese determined to act single-handed.

After several skirmishes, on December 11th three squadrons of the red flag were defeated within sight of Macao, some fifteen junks being sunk. By order of the government, Alcoforado then called upon Cam Pao Sai to capitulate at Macao and avail himself of the emperor's promise of amnesty and a high-graded mandarinship for him. In case of non-compliance, declared Alcoforado, he would rest not till he annihilated the confederate forces. Cam Pao Sai replied that he wished to be at peace with

the Portuguese, but feared them not ; nor would he ever submit to the emperor, notwithstanding Alcoforado's assurances.

An amnesty proclaimed at Canton, and the terror inspired by Portuguese arms, led to disaffection among the confederates. The chieftain of the black flags surrendered with 180 well equipped junks. After another successful onset upon the fleet of Cam Pao Sai, Alcoforado apprised him of this, and pointed out the advisability of his following suit before further desertion. But dauntless even in the midst of defection, Cam Pao Sai in a high-sounding reply declared himself determined to establish a Chinese dynasty. To detach the Portuguese from the imperial cause, he solemnly promised them two or even three provinces if they would only assist him with four ships. As to rendering himself a Tartar vassal—never. The red flags answered his purpose, and soon the imperial fleet would be crushed.

Alcoforado having resumed hostilities, Cam Pao Sai detached a small division to divert him, and sheltered the main fleet in shallow channels while his braves were being trained by English and American gunners preparatory for a decisive stroke.

The English, moreover, supplied the pirates with ammunition, evidently in the hope of rendering them more than a match for the Portuguese and Chinese forces, and thus necessitating an appeal from China for British assistance, as remarked in a despatch from the viceroy of Goa to the Minister for the Colonies announcing the overthrow of the pirates.<sup>3</sup>

The Portuguese squadron lay off Lantao on the morning of 21st January 1810, when a forest of masts hove in sight: Cam Pao Sai was coming for a desperate struggle.

<sup>3</sup> See Judice Biker's *Collecção de Tratados &c.* vol. XI, p. 277.

Against his mighty array of over 300 junks with 1,500 guns and more than 20,000 men, the six ships mustered only 118 guns, 730 men. Heavier odds, however, signalled many a feat of Portuguese arms. From the *Inconquistavel's* deck, Alcoforado's sword, waving and glistening in the sunlight, flashed a signal. At once the squadron bore down upon the enemy's van under a brisk cannonade, and when within range opened a deadly musket fire. One after another the foremost junks thus assailed, gave way. Meanwhile a division pluckily made for the leeward, placing the Portuguese between two fires. Then Alcoforado's artillery roared and pounded. When delivering both broadsides simultaneously, such was the shock that the ships heaved almost out of water. The plan of Cam Pao Sai soon grew evident: to overwhelm and board the ships. His fleet now formed six divisions, and each division beset a ship at all points. This manœuvre Alcoforado boldly countenanced inasmuch as, while a withering fusillade kept the enemy back, the ships' artillery now found ampler scope, the broadsides thundering forth with terrific effect; and moreover, the junks, arrayed in circles, played further havoc among themselves, every stray shot of theirs finding a sure target on the opposite side. In the thick of action, the *Pallas* grounded on a sandbank; whereupon the enemy made desperate attempts to board her from stem and stern, but was held in check by a ceaseless fire. The sailors now took up arms and assisted in working the artillery. The enemy's fire, smashing several portholes, almost silenced the guns. In despair, Captain Miranda adjured the crew to resist to the last man. Repelling onset upon onset which cost the enemy dearly, the *Pallas*, thus at bay, for over an hour stood in imminent peril of being boarded, until at last the rising tide floated her. The *Princesa Carlota* dealt a decisive blow. Descrying the floating pagoda, Carocha determined to destroy it at all hazards,

conscious of the effect its loss would produce on the superstitious hordes, over whose destinies the revered oracles played such an important part. The convoys defended their sacred charge with the heroism of fanatics. But as stubborn was the attack, and Carocha succeeded in sinking the superb tabernacle. The wail of frantic bouzes, the loss of the oracles which had so often urged the hordes on to victory, now disheartened them. Panic ensued. Part of the fleet fled. The rest with the fallen chieftain followed, hotly pursued down to the bay of Heangshan, where they remained blockaded.

At last Cam Pao Sai agreed to surrender, but on condition of the faithful observance of all the terms of capitulation being guaranteed by Arriaga, who mediated on behalf of the Chinese government. This was communicated to the viceroy of Canton and in turn submitted to the emperor for approval.

At this juncture the *ouvidor* Peixoto arrived to substitute Arriaga, and in assuming office sought to supersede him in the mediation as well. To the satisfaction of Macao, however, Arriaga's services were retained at the instance of both parties.

While blockading the fleet, Alcoforado was asked to honour the famous chieftain with a visit, that he might have the pleasure of being acquainted with the gallant hero. Upon consultation, the commanders of the squadron, suspecting treachery, dissuaded Alcoforado from risking his life wantonly. But a stranger to fear, he went in a gig, bidding them avenge his fate in case of betrayal. He was received with a flourish of gongs, a general salute, and every possible deference at the hands of Cam Pao Sai, who, reiterating his proposal to capitulate under Arriaga's auspices, availed himself of the occasion to hand over the

English and American captives on board his fleet. Upon Alcoforado's return, the squadron manned the yards and fired a salute in his honour.

In the meantime, Arriaga, the imperial commissioner, the viceroy and district mandarins, held a conference at the town of Heangshan. It was proposed that the capitulation should take place at Macao, the fleet to be escorted thither flying the red flag, which was to be hauled down as the junks passed by the fortress of Barra. But Macao was deprived of this triumphal spectacle in consequence of the groundless apprehensions, the studied opposition of Governor Alvarenga.

It having been decided to effect the capitulation at Foo-yung-shao, near the town of Heangshan, the viceroy instructed Cam Pao Sai to conduct his fleet thither. At the same time Alvarenga was requested to transmit the order for raising the blockade. This was delayed, with the result that, as the fleet weighed anchor, Alcoforado mistook the movement for an attempted flight, and accordingly prepared for action. The imperial commissioners hastened to explain matters, and sought to dispense with the order from Macao. Pending its receipt, however, Alcoforado rigorously maintained the blockade, in accordance with the military law on this point.

Cam Pao Sai capitulated with over 270 junks, 16,000 men, 5,000 women, 7,000 swords and jingals, and 1,200 guns. At a conference held to discuss the terms, Cam Pao Sai complimented Arriaga as the prime mover in the capitulation, and proudly reminded the mandarins that for fourteen years they had felt his sway and but for Portuguese valour he might still be wielding the sceptre of the sea. He took his seat at the council table in the hope that he would now be treated as a fearless freeman. It being suggested that as a deterrent some of the pirates,

criminals of the deepest dye, should be put to death, Cam Pau Sai named fourteen of them, whose atrocities, he declared, he had never countenanced.<sup>4</sup> There still remained, he pointed out, a division of eighty junks sent by him to collect tributes at Chincheo; and he promised its capitulation.

About a month after, however, news reached Canton that this division refused to surrender. On being consulted by the viceroy, Cam Pau Sai volunteered to proceed with sixty junks of his former fleet to bring the rebels over, proffering his two sons as hostages in case his intentions were doubted. The viceroy, declining the proposal, despatched an imperial fleet of 200 junks; which soon returned in a sorry plight, routed by the rebels. The viceroy then approached Arriaga, who advised him to accept Cam Pau Sai's proposal, even without the hostages, in view of his recognised good faith. This advice was acted upon, with the result that on refusing to surrender the division was captured by its former chieftain.

Whilst Cam Pau Sai was honoured with the exalted rank of a *Ko-lao*, the Chinese government acted with bad faith towards the Portuguese. The ancient privileges of Macao were not restored. When the due allotment of the spoils came under discussion, Arriaga accepted only some guns for presentation to the prince-regent of Portugal, and placed the rest at the disposal of the emperor of China. In return for this munificence, the Chinese government left part of the stipulated contribution unpaid. The inefficiency of China's naval forces, on the other hand, entailed heavy sacrifices on Macao, the outlay since 1804 amounting to 480,053 taels mainly obtained on loan from patriotic citizens, and never reimbursed. Those honoured citizens, prompted by Arriaga's eloquent appeals, thus

<sup>4</sup> They were decapitated at Macao and their heads exposed along the isthmus.

yielded to a generous impulse only to find themselves eventually in altered circumstances, victims of a noble illusion, of the promised restitution of Macao's ancient privileges.

But, as it was, the outcome of Macao's abnegation and prowess was grand indeed. Her prestige regained its pristine lustre. Foreigners and Chinese were alike sensible of Macao's pelican-like sacrifice in the cause of humanity, of commerce and navigation. In the annals of Canton the viceroy fittingly recorded Arriaga's services. The East India Company's new supercargoes reported home that from Macao's patriotic exertions the Portuguese government derived glory, and all commercial nations the freedom of the China sea, while the Chinese sincerely congratulated themselves on the extinction of an enemy that for long had oppressed them unchecked.

To commemorate this glorious achievement it was officially proposed to raise two stone tablets at the senate-house with inscriptions in Portuguese and Chinese—a proposal which, though enthusiastically received, was never carried out.

Detractors, however, were not wanting. A Chinese narrative ascribes the pirates' overthrow and pacification to the amnesty, and to the diplomacy of Fei Heung Chow a physician of Macao.<sup>5</sup> An English narrative,<sup>6</sup> too, under date of 8th December 1809 greatly depreciates the prowess of Alcoforado's squadron. But the unexpected sometimes happens: it is a pleasant surprise to notice that, in this instance, Ljungstedt does justice to Portuguese gallantry, and deplors that the golden opportunity should be allowed to pass by without substantial requital from the Chinese government.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See Neumann's *History of the Pirates*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* Quoted also in the *Chinese Repository*, vol. III, in the article headed *Chinese Pirates*.

<sup>7</sup> *Historical Sketch*, pp. 113-15.

Needless to say, Alcoforado's squadron was accorded a triumphal reception at Macao. The forts fired a salute, the church bells rang merrily, an imposing thanksgiving followed, and the city was illuminated, in honour of one of the proudest epochs in the history of Macao.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> For circumstantial accounts see Andrade's *Memoria dos Feitos Macaenses*, Soares' *Quadros Navaes*, vol. II, chap. 33. In the former work appears the following verse by Miranda e Lima, almost apotheosising Arriaga :

Á sombra de frondifera oliveira,  
 Por ti ha tanto tempo desejada,  
 Graças ao Creador Omnipotente,  
 Te vejo, cara patria, reclinada.  
  
 No pelago espaçoso que te cerca,  
 Ja não vês tremular hostis pendões,  
 Nao ouves rebombar os horisontes,  
 Com horrorosos tiros de canhões.  
  
 De salitroso pó que antes servia  
 Para ao longe mandar lethaes pelouros,  
 Se ferreos tubos hoje tu carregas,  
 E' so por festejar co'os seus estouros.  
  
 Centenares de *taos* prenhes de tigres  
 Que ao pé de ti rasgavam cruelmente  
 Meninas e donzellas delicadas,  
 A teu Pae sujeitou o Eterno Ente.  
  
 Teu benefico Pae, o Arriaga,  
 Estes tigres de Hyrcania domou,  
 E a frondente oliveira que te cobre,  
 Cortando mil obstaculos, plantou.  
  
 Jamais, pois, riscarão da fantasia  
 O nome deste Heroe da lusa gente ;  
 E agora que celebras seu triumpho,  
 De verde palma vae cingirlhe a frente.  
  
 Da victoria este emblema para ornares,  
 Lindas flores procura designantes  
 D'aquelles predicados apreciaveis  
 Neste filho de Lisia mui brilhantes.  
  
 O louro girasol que sempre segue  
 O planeta que os outros illumina,  
 Designa a bem notoria lealdade  
 Do ñosso Heroe á prole Bragantina.



Os fortes amarantos que resistem  
Ao vento, a calma, ao gelo, symbolisam  
A íntegra constancia nas empresas  
Que o nome de Arriaga immortalisam.

A antiga açucena que dispende  
Liberalmente o corcho de que gosa,  
E symbolo do seu singelo peito,  
Emblema da sua alma generosa.

Um fio que nascendo d'alta vara,  
Seu fio na flor da monarchia,  
Para baixo a sublime frente inclina,  
Sua clemencia designa e cortesia.

Das mais virtuaes symbolos procura  
Nuestros lindos matizes dos jardins ;  
Não te esqueças das rosas rubicundas,  
Dos junquillos, dos cravos, dos jasmims.

Te ti receta agora esta corôa,  
Rem que inferior ao seu merecimento ;  
Enquanto outro melhor se lhe prepara  
No reino superior do firmamento.

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## XVI.

The Chinese population of Macao was at first under the immediate control of the prefect of Heangshan, who, in course of time, was partly relieved by the appointment of the *Kiun-min-fu*, or sub-prefect, known to the Portuguese as the mandarin of Casa Branca, so styled from the conspicuousness of his white-washed residence at Chin-san. Unlike the prefecture, this sub-prefecture was strictly an imperial appointment, due, possibly, to imperial solicitude for the welfare of the colony. Hence, perhaps, the homage which the senators were known to have rendered him on their knees at Chin-san. When the presence of the mandarins was required at Macao, they officially announced the intended visit, heralded their approach with gongs, and were accommodated at the expense of the senate; a salute was fired, and the senate's gate draped with red curtain. Functionaries of higher rank than the district mandarins required presents, which they reciprocated. When the viceroy of Canton visited Macao, such was the exigency of Chinese etiquette that, at the official reception, senators squatted on *capanecas*; and it was in 1712 that for the first time they were graciously allowed to sit on chairs at a viceregal reception, as mentioned in a senatorial representation to Goa. Eventually, as Macao became a favourite resort of vagabonds, gamblers, and culprits fleeing from the tender mercies of the mandarins, the Chinese government grew dissatisfied with its extramural jurisdiction over the colony; and the conflict between the Portuguese and Chinese jurisdictions in the murder case of 1773, as already related, led to the appointment of a deputy magistrate, the *tso-tang*, whose installation within the city was so resolutely opposed. In 1800, however, the intramural

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jurisdiction of a *tso-tang* at Macao became an accomplished fact.

As a safeguard against one of the worst instances of mandarindom, on the other hand, it was decreed by the prince-regent of Portugal, in 1803, that in cases involving capital punishment, the accused, if a Christian, was on no account to be handed over to the Chinese authorities, but tried, and, if convicted, sentenced to death by the court of justice at Macao, and executed by a Christian executioner.

This new régime first came into operation in 1805: A Portuguese having stabbed a Chinaman to death, tried to hush up matters by offering a compensation of four thousand dollars to the family of the deceased. Scarcely had this hush money been paid, however, when the murder was reported to the mandarins, who, as usual, claimed the culprit. As the government of Macao refused to surrender him, the supply of provisions for the Portuguese was interdicted. But the governor, Caetano de Sousa Pereira, had taken precautionary measures, and could well afford to snap his fingers at the old coercive expedient, being in possession of two years' stock of provisions belonging to the garrison. The culprit was duly tried, convicted, and sentenced to death. It being rumoured that the Chinese intended to seize the condemned on the way to the scaffold, the governor mustered the troops, ordered the fortress guns to be loaded and levelled at the crowd assembled at the place of execution, and awaited the attack. In face of this determined attitude, the Chinese quietly retired, alleging themselves perfectly satisfied with the execution.<sup>1</sup>

A notable change in the mandarins' policy towards Macao revealed itself on this occasion: in an edict relative

<sup>1</sup> Krusenstern's *Voyage round the world*, vol. II, pp. 283-4.

to the non-rendition of the culprit, the mandarin of Heangshan declared that, consequent upon a large increase in the Chinese population of the colony, it was no longer advisable to cut off all communications as of yore; and pending the rendition, he therefore only enjoined the Chinese inhabitants under severe penalties to cease furnishing the Portuguese with the usual labour, provisions, and commodities.<sup>2</sup>

In other instances, however, the exigencies of mandarindom continued unabated.

The *tso-tang* in 1810 apprised the "eye of the barbarians," or procurator, of an intended visit from the viceroy of Canton, who, he announced, was coming to diffuse virtues, do good, and, in short, to show his complacency. The following obligations were therefore imposed upon Macao: the troops should receive the viceroy with esteem and respect; wherever he passed by, bells should be rung to congratulate him; the streets should be swept clean; and tables placed there with perfumes, so as to manifest a sincere veneration—and all this without negligence or laziness.<sup>3</sup> The full extent of this assumption may be gauged only when it is explained that, in all likelihood, this programme—dated the 28th day of the 1st moon of the 14th years of Kiaking—was suggested by the military honours, the ringing of church bells, and the burning of incense, with which the imposing, lifelike image of Christ is, on the first Sunday in Lent, conveyed along the streets of Macao in solemn procession. The viceroy came to express acknowledgment for the signal services rendered in the overthrow of Cam Pao Sai.

Instead of the promised restitution of Macao's ancient privileges, further encroachments:

<sup>2</sup> Sir Geo. Staunton's *Penal Laws of China* p. 318, and *Miscellaneous notices relating to China*, vol. II, p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> The *Ephemerides*, p. 114.

Os rubros amaranthos que resistem  
Ao vento, á calma, ao gelo, symbolisam  
A intrepida constancia nas empresas  
Que o nome de Arriaga immortalisam.

A candida açucena que dispende  
Liberalmente o corceo de que gosa,  
E' symbolo do seu singelo peito,  
Emblema da sua alma generosa.

O lirio que nascendo d'alta vara,  
Sendo rei da florida monarchia,  
Para baixo a sublime frente inclina,  
Sua clemencia designa e cortesia.

Das mais virtudes symbolos procura  
Noutros lindos matizes dos jardins ;  
Não te esqueças das rosas rubicundas,  
Dos junquilhaos, dos cravos, dos jasmims.

De ti receba agora esta corôa,  
Bem que inferior ao seu merecimento ;  
Emquanto outro melhor se lhe prepara  
No reino superior do firmamento.

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## XVI.

The Chinese population of Macao was at first under the immediate control of the prefect of Heangshan, who, in course of time, was partly relieved by the appointment of the *Kiun-min-fu*, or sub-prefect, known to the Portuguese as the mandarin of Casa Branca, so styled from the conspicuousness of his white-washed residence at Chin-san. Unlike the prefecture, this sub-prefecture was strictly an imperial appointment, due, possibly, to imperial solicitude for the welfare of the colony. Hence, perhaps, the homage which the senators were known to have rendered him on their knees at Chin-san. When the presence of the mandarins was required at Macao, they officially announced the intended visit, heralded their approach with gongs, and were accommodated at the expense of the senate; a salute was fired, and the senate's gate draped with red curtain. Functionaries of higher rank than the district mandarins required presents, which they reciprocated. When the viceroy of Canton visited Macao, such was the exigency of Chinese etiquette that, at the official reception, senators squatted on *capanecas*; and it was in 1712 that for the first time they were graciously allowed to sit on chairs at a viceregal reception, as mentioned in a senatorial representation to Goa. Eventually, as Macao became a favourite resort of vagabonds, gamblers, and culprits fleeing from the tender mercies of the mandarins, the Chinese government grew dissatisfied with its extramural jurisdiction over the colony; and the conflict between the Portuguese and Chinese jurisdictions in the murder case of 1773, as already related, led to the appointment of a deputy magistrate, the *tso-tang*, whose installation within the city was so resolutely opposed. In 1800, however, the intramural



and not addicted to drink ; and that beyond all doubt the slave was the murderer. The mandarin then insisted on having the culprit, whoever he might be. The procurator, José Baptista de Miranda e Lima, replied that the culprit having been duly convicted, would be sentenced and executed in conformity with Portuguese law. Meanwhile, in tears, the victim's mother ran about the city collecting funds from the Chinese for an appeal to the Canton authorities. The viceroy despatched a commissioner to investigate the case. On his arrival, the mandarin of Heangshan imperiously reiterated his demand and ordered the culprit to be brought to the pagoda of Sien Fung for trial. After a series of unavailing despatches, it was inquired whether there would be any objection to bring the prisoner before the viceregal commissioner at the *tso-tang's* residence. The procurator pointed out that the culprit could not be conveyed thither, nor would he be removed from prison except for the purpose of suffering the penalty of death imposed by Portuguese justice. The *tso-tang* then remarked that this was not in accordance with ancient usage, and, on being referred to the case of 1805, maintained that it should not serve as a precedent inasmuch as the mandarins erred in not doing their utmost to enforce their own laws. The procurator, who highly resented this explanation, was next asked whether the prisoner might be examined by the mandarins at the senate-house. The answer was that if the mandarins desired to see the prisoner they might call at the dungeon in the citadel. The *tso-tang* said they would not go there, and the procurator retorted that neither would the prisoner be removed from thence. If the supply of provisions were stopped ? asked the *tso-tang* with evident painfulness. Calmly, gravely, the procurator replied that, even if Macao were laid in ruins, the law must be complied with. Eventually the mandarins called at the

citadel, where the leading officials received them. An attempted magisterial inquiry having been promptly checked, the mandarins asked why Major Favacho was not there. The *ouvidor* replied that the major's innocence had more than once been attested already. The real culprit was then brought before them, and he admitted having killed the boy while drunk. The prefect of Heangshan next produced several documents to show how cases of homicide were formerly dealt with, and once more strove to hold a judicial enquiry, which the *ouvidor* again cut short with the remark that such matters devolved upon him alone, and had been duly attended to. The mandarins retired evidently satisfied. Later in the day, however, the *tso-tang* requested the procurator to furnish him with a declaration to the effect that the major was not the culprit, and did not appear before the mandarins because he was ill. The procurator said it greatly annoyed him to hear the *tso-tang* still harping on the subject when he knew perfectly well who the delinquent was; and if the major did not appear it was only because he should not have done so unnecessarily. In the dead of night another messenger followed with a certificate for the procurator's signature: it certified that the mandarins, having seen the culprit, delivered him into the custody of the procurator, who was to hand him over in due course. This the procurator roundly refused to do, not only because the rendition was quite out of the question, and the document as indecorous as it was compromising, but for the simple reason, too, that he was not a gaoler. Then came a formal demand, in the viceroy's name, for the rendition, that the culprit might be tried by the commissioner and the prefect and subprefect of Heangshan. For reply, the procurator merely announced that the execution would take place three days hence. The mandarins then contended that it should be effected that very

day as the high-graded mandarins could not wait any longer, it being moreover very expensive to accommodate them and their suite of about a thousand men, of whom the soldiers were without quarters. The procurator nevertheless firmly declined to alter the date, explaining that according to Portuguese law the condemned was entitled to three days of grace to reconcile himself with God. The prefect contested that a man who could slay a fellow-being so barbarously had no idea of God, nor of of Heaven, nor of anything good: and that consequently it was too great a mercy to grant him those days of grace. Finally it was agreed that the execution should take place as determined, and that the Portuguese and Chinese authorities should co-operate to maintain order among their respective subjects, the *tso-tang* holding himself responsible for any trouble that might arise. At length, shortly after eight o'clock on the morning of the 13th March 1826, a gun-fire from Monte announced that the condemned was being conducted to the scaffold, at the historic plain beneath the fortress of Guia. He came with the usual imposing accompaniment of religion and justice, with a guard of sixty soldiers and sixty negro slaves. A posse of mandarins including the viceregal commissioner occupied a matshed in front of the scaffold. All around, the field was taken up by about five thousand Chinese spectators, the *tso-tang* being stationed at the city-gate close by, to maintain order. As the condemned approached, the multitude raised a hue and cry to the effect that he was not the man—it was expected that Major Favacho would be executed. At this the mandarins despatched several runners, who by freely using their canes succeeded in restoring order and clearing the way for the dismal cortège. The military guard was posted immediately round the scaffold. Some four hundred Chinese soldiers formed an outer guard. Another gunfire shortly after

announced that the sentence of death had been carried out. Upon a third gun being fired, the corpse was lowered, and the mandarins proceeded to examine it. Then, from among the crowd, a Chinaman came forward, and, falling at the feet of the viceregal commissioner, exclaimed. "An innocent man has been executed. The murderer lives unpunished. The death of the Chinese boy is not avenged. Nor does such execution, according to the laws of the empire, devolve upon foreigners. Heavens! where is justice to be had?" For this, the viceregal commissioner ordered him to be whipped. As he rejoined the crowd, he uttered similar seditious exclamations, and was again arrested and thrashed. Then, addressing the multitude, he cried out *ta!* the usual Chinese appeal to blows. A tumult ensued. The mandarins, assailed with a shower of stones, vainly strove to restore order; and as their retinue punished the rioters, the mob waxed fiercer, dismounted and thrashed a military mandarin, and smashed the chair in which went the viceregal commissioner, who was severely hurt by a stone as the posse of mandarins hurried away. Amidst scenes of indescribable confusion the military guard and the negroes fought their way to Monte. A mob meanwhile rushed into the city, attacked and plundered the foreign quarters, wrecking Major Favacho's house. As the Chinese left the field, a significant discovery was made: near the scaffold lay a Chinese gallows.<sup>8</sup> It having transpired that the major was in the governor's palace, the mob rushed thither, and, on trying to break in, was repulsed. The governor, who, together with most of the leading functionaries and citizens had been viewing the execution

<sup>8</sup> In the shape of a cross. The mode of execution is thus: the condemned stands on a brick, his back on the cross. The executioners pass a cord round his legs, under his arms, into a hole at the top of the cross, around his neck, and again through the hole. The brick is removed, and a stick passing through the loops of the cord is twisted round several times to tighten the rope until strangulation ensues. See Martin's *China*, vol II, p. 241.

from Monte, now resolved to sally forth at the head of the troops to charge the mob, but was prevailed upon to despatch first a squad of soldiers with a large batch of negroes armed with poles, who gallantly drove the rioters into the native quarters. A military detachment followed with field-pieces, and patrolled the city as did also a naval party. The rioters before regaining their boats from the Tarrafeiro, plundered several houses in that locality. A good many of the mob were afterwards arrested, identified, and punished at the instance of the viceregal commissioner, who declared that he returned to Canton with a most favourable impression of the Portuguese, quite different from what had been told him, for, instead of finding them irascible and quarrelsome, he observed that it was they who remained cool and strove to restore tranquillity. Seditious placards were afterwards found posted about the city, and the rioters attempted to intercept the supply of provisions, but were checked by the mandarins. 'The *tes-tang* apologised for the disturbance he failed to prevent.'<sup>9</sup>

The vindication of Portuguese law and the moral triumph achieved by Miranda e Lima seem the more appreciable when brought in relief against the rampant intolerance observable afterwards: The mandarin of Heangshan in 1828 bade the procurator drive away a Dutch ship in distress, and prohibit British residents from riding in the rural districts as they desecrated Chinese graves there; in 1829 he stopped hill-cutting near the hermitage of Penha so as not to prejudice the fung-suy and subterranean dragon of the Makok pagoda, and he caused reclamation works at the Praia do Manduco to be undone for the sake of a legendary rock famous in Canton annals; and he forbade British residents to ride up to the barrier gate because they frightened passers by; in 1830 he interdicted

<sup>9</sup> *Gazeta de Macao*, 1826.

repairs on board an American ship, and in 1831 stopped building operations at Ilha Verde. No less astounding were the *tsu-tang's* impositions: in 1829 the bishop of Peking, then at Macao, was ordered to leave for home at once; in 1830 the importation of sulphur and saltpetre was prohibited at Macao; in 1831 the construction of walls at Bom Jesus and Ilha Verde was forbidden; and in 1833 Chinese subjects were interdicted from carrying Christians in palanquins and chairs.<sup>10</sup>

The bishop of Peking above alluded to was Dom Verissimo Monteiro da Serra, who for twenty-three years had been employed at the imperial court and observatory of Peking, in return for which he was made a mandarin of high rank. To a long and intimate acquaintance with this worthy prelate was no doubt traceable the sympathy for Christianity manifested in Ki-ying's essays. A persecution originating from the imprudence of an Italian missionary led to the bishop's withdrawal from Peking,<sup>11</sup> whence in 1827 he proceeded to Macao, and there remained for many years as rector of St. Joseph's College. A posse of mandarins once visited the distinguished exile there, and as he appeared in his official Chinese dress of imperial yellow, they rendered him obeisance on their knees.

Consequent upon the abolition, in 1793, of the measures against Chinese domicile, and also upon the insecurity which prevailed in the neighbouring districts during the piratical irruption, the Chinese population of Macao increased considerably. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, De Guignes estimated the Chinese at Macao as eight thousand out of a total of about twelve thousand. A quarter of a century later the population had well nigh

<sup>10</sup> *The Ephemerides.*

<sup>11</sup> *Caldeira's Apontamentos d'uma viagem de Lisboa á China, Vol. I, chap. 26.*

doubled, being, according to Andrade, 22,500, of which 18,000 were Chinese. In 1834 Ljungstedt reckoned the latter at 30,000.

Commensurate with this rise in population, the trade improved, and Macao flourished as the centre of an extensive commerce carried on by Chinese merchants of high standing, besides foreign firms, and several Portuguese houses of substantial resources. A noteworthy feature in the transactions of Portuguese and Chinese merchants was that their word sufficed even for contracts involving large sums.

The seafaring class at this epoch could boast of a most honourable episode. A ship of Macao, laden with supposed treasure, was on the way to Calcutta, when the owner revealed to the captain the fact that the treasure boxes only contained stones, and required him to sink the ship with the view of defrauding the underwriters. Captain Angelo Barradas, however, was not to be bought, with the result that, on arrival, the owner, a Portuguese nobleman in difficulties, was prosecuted and lodged in prison, where he died.

In the days of Arriaga the fine prospects in Siam led him to cherish the hope of finding an El Dorado for Macao. To start with, a Portuguese factory and consulate were established at Bangkok in 1820, and a treaty of alliance, amity, and commerce was to have consolidated Portuguese interests in Siam, when these high hopes were marred by the governor-general of Goa, who neglected the negotiations and appointed a consul whose inaptitude and disgraceful conduct ended in his recall. A highly lucrative mart almost exclusively in Portuguese hands thus passed into those of their British rivals.

The British, moreover, foiled the viceroy of Goa's project to monopolise the opium traffic for Macao. The

export from India, which up to 1767 rarely exceeded two hundred chests annually, rose that year to a thousand, and ever since then increased by leaps and bounds. At first the British stationed their opium ships at the offings of Macao, whence they glutted China with the smuggled drug. In 1796 China for the first time interdicted the importation of the bane. Consequent on the restrictive measures then adopted, the British sought to centre their opium trade at Macao. The prince-regent of Portugal in a letter dated 1799 enquired whether the senate deemed it advisable to sanction foreign importation of the drug at Macao under heavier duties than what Portuguese merchants paid, since direct importation into China was disadvantageous to the colony's revenue. In conformity with the senate's views, a royal decree of 1802 conferred on Portuguese merchants the exclusive privilege of importing opium at Macao. Eventually the decree was set aside. Arriaga next imposed a protective tariff which drove the British importers to Lintin, where they now stationed their opium ships. At the same time Arriaga concerted measures with the mandarins for facilitating the Portuguese traffic and harassing that of foreigners. As the result did not answer expectations, the leading Portuguese merchants in 1823 accepted Arriaga's proposal to remove the restrictions on foreign opium. The scheme failed. The trade dwindled, withered at Macao, like its sicklied victims. On the other hand the importation at Lintin rose to such an extent that, if effected at Macao at the current customs duty, it would have yielded the colony a yearly revenue of about half a million dollars. But while financially detrimental to Macao, the centralisation at Lintin eventually redounded to the colony's safeguard: if the British opium traffic had been centred at Macao, the crisis which led to the Opium War must have ended fatally to the historical colony as a Portuguese possession.



Worthy prelates at Macao spared no pains to remove the taint from the colony, and held such among their fold who dealt in the drug as beyond the pale of absolution, for wholesale poisoning. By way of reprisal for the excommunication, it sometimes happened that church fees were not paid for the sarcastic reason that the money came from the anathematised traffic. Nevertheless, if the opium trade had been exclusively in Portuguese hands, it would have been crushed once for all by the Draconian measures subsequently adopted by the Chinese government, for then the power would have been wanting to force the bane upon China, and Lin's opium crusade would have triumphed if only for the extravagant notions then entertained as to China's still untested might, although a young governor of Macao used to brag that with his *quatro gatos* he could make all Kwangtung quakè with terror: in Andrade's estimation, however, it was simply ridiculous to see a captain with 200 sepoys at the gateways of the Chinese empire provoking the wrath of 150,000,000 Tartars in the van of 200,000,000 Chinese.

It was probably in connection with the opium traffic that, under instructions from Peking, the mandarin of Chinsan in 1829 asked for detailed informations concerning the government, trade, and shipping of Macao. In furnishing the particulars the procurator abjectly petitioned for permission to increase the number of registered ships, for the removal of a great number of squatters, for the restitution of landed properties formerly owned by the Portuguese, for the privilege of owning gardens in the rural districts of the colony, and for more liberty since three centuries more than sufficed to attest the probity, honour, and good character of the Portuguese in China. Briefly the mandarin replied and that the laws of the empire venerated antiquities and would never sanction innovations.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The *Ephemerides*, pp. 41, 47.

The procurator of Macao was more successful in his representations concerning the murder of the crew of the French ship *Le Navigateur*, being to a great extent instrumental in bringing the criminals to justice.

Such was the mistrust of the Chinese government at this epoch that it was only with the sanction of the governor of Canton and the sub-prefect of Heangshan that the fortresses of Monte and Guia underwent repairs in 1836, on condition of no additional fortification being raised and of a new road being undone and filled up at the vicinity of Guia; and when the Portuguese corvette *Infanta Regente* in 1838 reached Macao in distress after sustaining serious damages in a typhoon, the *tso-tang* made searching enquiries about some troops for Timor, who were required to remain on board while the repairs were effected.<sup>13</sup>

But harassed and oppressed as the Portuguese were at Macao, they fared not so badly as the British at Canton whom the Chinese treated with unsurpassed contumely, subjecting them to a series of rebuffs and indignities more than flesh and blood could bear. When, in response to an imperial edict, Manning, a gentleman of considerable scientific attainments, proffered his services as astronomer and physician to the court of Peking, he was told his petition could not even be submitted to the emperor. A year later it cost the East India Company £50,000 to remove an interdict from its Canton trade, which, shortly after, was again interdicted in consequence of the British occupation of Macao. No ambassador to China was more punctilious nor underwent greater ignominy than Lord Amherst, who was refused an imperial audience, expelled from Peking, and most disrespectfully conveyed back to Canton as a tributary envoy in spite of scrupulous avoidance of the least justification thereto.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 63.

At Canton the British endured untold indignities; they could not even bring their wives to the City of Rama. Consequent upon this enforced celibacy, the ladies resided at Macao, and there met their husbands, who, to enjoy this respite after the shipping season, had to submit themselves to further exigencies and to the extortions of mandarins: a trip from Canton to Macao in 1825 cost more than a first-class passage from Hongkong to London nowadays. In 1829 the ladies were permitted to reside at Canton. Soon, however, the concession was revoked, and attempts were made to seize several ladies, whereupon seamen were landed to guard their premises, and *hong* merchants guaranteed that the ladies would not be molested. The East India Company's court of directors censured and superseded the supercargoes who obtained the privilege, with the result that the outrageous interdict was again enforced. "In fact," says an outspoken Englishman, "the sole idea of the East India Directors was the obtainment of tea and its profits; any indignity, personal or national, would not be resented, lest tea should be refused, although all past experience was decidedly adverse to such ignoble proceedings."<sup>14</sup> In a proclamation posted at Macao the viceroy of Canton went so far as to order that, in case of resistance, ladies venturing into the forbidden city were to be fired upon. An imperial decree reminded foreigners that former regulations disallowed foreign women residing at Canton; that foreign merchants were not permitted to enter their factories sitting on sedan-chairs; and that muskets and guns were only for defence at sea against pirates, and must on no account be brought to Canton.

To make matters even worse, the president of the East India Company's Select Committee officiously announced in 1831 that the governor of Macao had received

<sup>14</sup> See Martin's *China*, vol. II, pp 19, 30.

orders to allow the residence there of only such foreigners as had obtained the sanction of the court of Lisbon. From Goa, however, the governor received instructions to grant permits for foreign residence without exception in the absence of orders to the contrary from Lisbon. The situation improved not after the winding up of the East India Company and establishment of the British superintendence of trade at Canton. In 1834 the viceroy of Canton prohibited all native intercourse with the Britishers on the ground that they were perverse smugglers. A viceregal memorial to Peking represented Lord Napier, the superintendent, as outlandish, and the Britishers as ferocious; urged the necessity of reducing them to submission; and pointed to the customs revenue derived from their trade as perfectly dispensable. Upon Lord Napier were heaped the vilest abuses; in vain he strove to establish official communication; and expelled from Canton, sick unto death, he retired to Macao, and there ended his embittered days. In an address to the people of Great Britain, the British merchants in China at this epoch alluded to the Portuguese as manly and generous towards them at Macao.<sup>15</sup> In some instances British residents there appealed to the governor against the assumptions of the superintendents, whose consequent non-recognition engendered friction; and this led to instructions being sent from Lisbon to Governor Andrea enjoining consideration for the royal commission of the superintendents.

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<sup>15</sup> The address is reproduced in the *Canton Register* of 5th July 1836 and 21st May 1839.

## XVII.

After the calamities of the Napoleonic era, Portugal sank deeper than ever under British domination, what with a servile regency and the subservient royal fugitive at Rio de Janeiro. Dom João VI not only abandoned the hapless country, not only sought to drain it of its noblest and wealthiest families, but of troops and funds as well for the subjugation of Uruguay, regardless of the British subjugation of Portugal. From a ruined English trade domain Portugal became reduced to a downtrodden Irish province under the dictatorship of an English general, Lord Beresford, commander-in-chief of the Portuguese army. The nation winced under his arbitrary, overbearing attitude; the military budget absorbed all but a third of the revenue; and the army was to a great extent officered by Englishmen, while distinguished Portuguese officers vegetated in neglect. A scion of the generous and chivalrous old Portuguese nobility, the gallant Gomes Freire d'Andrade, organised a patriotic league to wrest Portugal from the galling yoke. The distinctions he had won as one of Napoleon's generals marked him out for an atrocious expiation. The dictator and his pack shadowed the league; judicial enormities followed; and to the scaffold were condemned the leaders of the patriotic agitation. Gomes Freire d'Andrade was denied the prerogative of being shot at his own word of command as befitted his rank. Hero of fifteen campaigns, he, on being clad like a convict, fainted. A strong military party resolved to rescue the illustrious patriot, who, however, deprecated further bloodshed in the English cause. It was not over his grave that were shed the tears of blood which Napoleon had foretold the English would draw from the Portuguese: the worthiest of the martyrs were even denied a grave, their remains being burnt, their ashes scattered in the sea.

The martyrdom, the outrage roused the long-suffering nation to action. Beresford left for Rio de Janeiro. A rising broke forth at Oporto. A *junta* was formed there for the provisional government of the country. Lisbon espoused the sacred cause of freedom. The reaction set in all over the land. The *juntas* of Oporto and Lisbon convened the *côrtes* for the adoption of a national constitution. The regency was overthrown. Beresford, returning with full powers for further atrocities, dared not land and forthwith retired to England. At Rio de Janeiro the constitution was also adhered to. The king, urged by the army, at last sailed for the land of his dereliction, and landed only after duly assenting to the pronouncedly democratic constitution.

When tidings of this welcome change reached Macao, dissensions arose between conservatives and constitutionalists as to the régime which should be followed, the conservative leader being an aristocratic official, Arriaga, whose prestige and influence stood seriously in the way of an immediate and unsanctioned reform suggested by the spirit of the times. This evoked a stirring representation to the senate from the citizen João Nepomuceno Maher, followed by a protest from numerous citizens against the indifference shown to Maher's just expostulations and to the wishes of the Macaenses.

In an eloquent appeal to the king and *côrtes*, from the pen of José Baptista de Miranda e Lima, Macao claimed the restoration of the old senatorial *régime* adapted to constitutional principles; the dissolution of the Prince Regent's Battalion, created in 1810; and its substitution by a municipal guard; the exemption of the colony's treasury from subsidies to the government of Goa and Timor; and employment of Macaenses in the civil and military service of the colony—in fine, **Macao for the Macaenses.**

After the calamities of the Napoleonic era, Portugal sank deeper than ever under British domination, what a servile regency and the subservient royal fugitive Rio de Janeiro. Dom João VI not only abandoned his hapless country, not only sought to drain it of its noble and wealthiest families, but of troops and funds as well for the subjugation of Uruguay, regardless of the British subjugation of Portugal. From a ruined English trade domain Portugal became reduced to a downtrodden Irish province under the dictatorship of an English general, Lord Beresford, commander-in-chief of the Portuguese army. The nation winced under his arbitrary, overbearing attitude; the military budget absorbed all but a third of the revenue; and the army was to a great extent officered by Englishmen, while distinguished Portuguese officers vegetated in neglect. A scion of the generous and chivalrous old Portuguese nobility, the gallant Gomes Freire d'Andrade, organised a patriotic league to wrest Portugal from the galling yoke. The distinctions he had won as one of Napoleon's generals marked him out for an atrocious expiation. The dictator and his pack shadowed the league; judicial enormities followed; and to the scaffold were condemned the leaders of the patriotic agitation. Gomes Freire d'Andrade was denied the prerogative of being shot at his own word of command as befitted his rank. Hero of fifteen campaigns, he, on being clad like a convict, fainted. A strong military party resolved to rescue the illustrious patriot, who, however, deprecated further bloodshed in the English cause. It was not over his grave that were shed the tears of blood which Napoleon had foretold the English would draw from the Portuguese: the worthiest of the martyrs were even denied a grave, their remains being burnt, their ashes scattered in the sea.

the Chinese, who were disquieted by idle rumours which should not be imputed to a third party without any proof. It was hoped that for the sake of public tranquillity the new *régime* would be such as not to clash with conventional usages. The governor would as far as consistent with his duties refrain from taking part in the new administration, if necessary for the public weal and peace.

A deputation led by Major Paulino da Silva Barbosa then waited upon the senators and formally demanded the election of a new senate, desirable in the opinion of some of the aldermen themselves, as of late the government had been paralysed and disorders prevalent in the city.

The election took place on August 19th after a tumult, occasioned by the remark that the assembly had no authority to change the government, for which Major Cavalcanti narrowly escaped being hurled out of a window into the street. Calming the assembly, the demagogue, Paulino da Silva Barbosa, declared that the *régime* desired by the people was one bearing the closest possible affinity to the constitution, without any change which might militate against time-honoured usages. The form of government adopted was the same which had been in vogue prior to 1784, the senate being again vested with legislative, executive, and judicial powers uncontrolled either by the governor or *ouvidor*. At Barbosa's instance the governor, Brigadier-General Castro Cabral e Albuquerque was appointed military governor; while Arriaga was divested of all his offices as *ouvidor-geral*, comptroller of the customs and treasury, trustee of the estates of orphans, administrator of the Santa Casa de Misericordia, etc. The prayer of Aristides befitted him: that the day might never come when the city would be forced to remember him.



Victim of the loyalty he owed to the crown, and loaded with reproaches and insults which an extreme sensibility rendered the more harrowing, the historical city-father paid the penalty of his celebrity and misfortunes—misfortunes which reduced him to poverty and to the deplorable state of a magistrate head over ears in debt, and, to the ruin of many creditors, involved in commercial speculations which one of the leading citizens and merchants estimated at from three to four million dollars.<sup>1</sup>

The new régime had not been long in force when as the outcome of a conspiracy a military revolt broke out, the object in view being a military dictatorship. Major Barbosa was wounded, and together with another senator, Paulo Vicente Bello, imprisoned at Monte. In the absence of a dexterous leader, the *coup* failed. At a general council held on the following day Barbosa deposed the military governor as one of the main factors in the abortive revolt. All the officers and most of the garrison, being also implicated, were imprisoned and eventually conveyed to Goa for trial. It having transpired that Arriaga was the principal conspirator, the council resolved to deport him. To spare him from outrage and death at the hands of a furious populace, Barbosa escorted Arriaga to the citadel, where he was detained pending his departure. In consequence of ill-health he was allowed to shift to his residence, and under surveillance carried there for three months. At length, under pressure from the senate, he embarked together with the deposed military governor, both to be tried at Lisbon; but at the last moment Arriaga managed to escape from the ship, and proceeded in a boat to Canton, where he awaited his redress.

From Goa the frigate *Salamandra* was despatched with troops to re-establish the former *régime* of Macao, by order of Dom Manoel da Camara, governor-general of Goa. Apprised of this, the senate at a general council nominated Barbosa to proceed at once to Lisbon for the purpose of appealing before the king and *côrtes* against the governor-general's despotism. This sensible project, however, was not carried out. Five days after the general council, on the 16th June 1823, the *Salamandra* reached the roadstead of Macao, and an officer proceeded to acquaint the senate with her mission. In the absence of any authorisation from the home government, Dom Manoel da Camara's orders were ignored. The *Salamandra* was requested to return to Goa. She was denied admittance into the inner harbour; and communication with her was strictly prohibited. The supply of provisions being interdicted except for the purpose of returning to Goa as desired, she intercepted a Portuguese ship laden with rice, and forcibly took a hundred bags, for which the commander gave a receipt. To prevent the troops on board from landing, the citizens garrisoned the forts and guarded the shores, fully determined to perish, if necessary, in defence of their liberty and their home. The commanders of the forts had orders from Barbosa to fire upon the *Salamandra* in case she attempted to sail in. On the other hand, her commander, Joaquim Mourão Garcez Palha, resolved to land the troops, and, to avoid complications with the Chinese in case of hostilities, requested from the viceroy of Canton the withdrawal of all Chinese inhabitants from the colony for forty-eight hours.

At the same time Arriaga approached the viceroy at Canton representing the attitude of Macao as in contravention of royal commands, and petitioning for measures to ensure the frigate's supply of provisions through the district mandarins. The viceroy pointed out that although

the affair concerned the Portuguese alone, neither party should resort to arbitrary measures inasmuch as circumstances at Macao differed from those of other parts of the Portuguese dominions. The viceroy and the naval and military commanders of Canton addressed a representation on the subject to the emperor, who, in the rescript thereto,<sup>2</sup> remarked that since Arriaga behaved himself truly, sincerely, respectfully and zealously, the barbarous and astute disturbers of the peace should be sternly dealt with; and in concert with Arriaga, the viceroy was to treat the matter well and diligently, reporting to the emperor thereon.

With the view of accommodating matters, two viceregal commissioners proceeded to Macao, the governor of Canton and a high-graded military mandarin. After much parley, a general council was held at their suggestion. Mourão attended it, as also did Major Cabral d'Estefique, commander of the military detachment brought by the *Salamandra*. The orders from Goa were submitted to the assembly, appointing a new senate, and Major Cabral d'Estefique as governor,—terms which the assembly unanimously rejected. The commissioners then proposed that the *Salamandra* should return; and on being assured that this would be done when the north-east monsoon set in, they returned to Canton after enjoining the district mandarins to watch over the tranquillity of the colony.

Judicial and fiscal complications led Barbosa to propose the election of another senate without the usual judges, who, elected separately, should act independently of the senate. Barbosa also advocated the appointment of a deputy for Macao at the *côrtes*, so that redress might be had for many a grievance due to the lack of such a representative at Lisbon. While these proposals were cast to the winds, the senate, dazed by its dilemmas, evinced the utmost indiffer-

<sup>2</sup> Reproduced in the *Gazeta de Macao* of 2nd June 1824.

ence at the sight of a fast ebbing popularity and the growing ascendancy of the conservative party.

Early on the morning of September 23rd the military detachment landed unopposed, and mustered before the senate-house. At the same time stirring proclamations from Mourão and d'Estefique urged the constitutional party to abandon the fallen cause of Barbosa, who was surprised in bed, arrested, and conveyed on board the *Salamandra*.

A provisional government was at once established, consisting of Bishop Chacim, Major d'Estefique, and the presiding alderman of a newly elected senate.

A popular agitation in favour of Arriaga followed. The clergy, the naval and military officers, the Portuguese and Chinese communities severally advocated his recall in representations which vied one another in the appreciation of his eminent services, the most appreciable recognition whereof at the same time revealed an edifying instance of high-mindedness: citizens whom his financial embarrassments had reduced to straitened circumstances magnanimously overlooked their grievances and thought only of redressing those of the distinguished exile; Arriaga did not survive the gratitude of the Macaenses. The provisional government recalled and touchingly reinstated the broken-hearted victim of anarchy and calumny. Within a year after, in 1824, his brilliant career ended in an early grave, after a lingering illness aggravated by intense moral suffering.

The *Salamandra* returned to Goa with Barbosa and several other leaders of the constitutional party as prisoners. Padre Leite, the celebrated rector of St. Joseph's College, would have been one of them but for the eloquent entreaties of the students and their parents on behalf of

the venerable *savant*, whose sympathy was a solace and an honour to his partisans. Several other prominent constitutionalists fled to avoid arrest. Some of them preferred their exile when called upon to avail themselves of a royal amnesty to political offenders, proclaimed at Macao by Joaquim Mourão Garcez Palha on his return to assume the governorship in 1825, when the provisional government was dissolved, and the colony's administration resumed its usual routine.

A noteworthy event of the period under review is the publication of the first Macao newspaper, in 1822—the *Abelha da China*, established by Barbosa, whose organ it was during the constitutional crisis. Edited by the principal of the Dominicans, and buzzing with the characteristic turbulence of that monastic order, the *Abelha* proved a veritable wasp for the conservative party. The virulent edition of 28th August 1823 was by order of the provisional government judicially and publicly burnt at the *ouvidor's* gate. On Arriaga's reinstatement the paper was suppressed, and the *Gazeta de Macao* issued instead.

Meanwhile, resenting the democratic triumph, the high-spirited Dom Miguel at the head of an army dissolved the *côrtes*, abolished the constitution, and reinstated the king, his father, in all the absolutism of yore. This *coup d'état* was hailed with great enthusiasm at Macao, what with the annihilation of the liberalism which characterised Barbosa's party, and the royal favours accorded to several complimentary missions from the senate of Macao, notably that of 1818, when the citizen Domingos Pio Marques, sent to congratulate the prince-regent on his accession to the throne, obtained the title of *Vossa Senhoria* (your lordship) for the senators—then an uncommon distinction among the Portuguese. With great pomp the city *de novo* swore allegiance to the

absolute monarch, and, regardless of the nation's trampled rights, celebrated the downfall of the constitution with fêtes, banquets, thanksgivings and magnificent illuminations for three nights.

But the afterglow of the French Revolution, though tardy, did not flush Portugal in vain. Eventually the nation again triumphed, and the constitution was firmly re-established after great vicissitudes and a civil war whence Portugal emerged exhausted and separated by England from Brazil. In the course of the sanguinary strife between Dom Pedro and Dom Miguel, party feeling ran high at Macao in favour of the Miguelistas, on which account several leading functionaries were removed from office on the downfall of that party, although they were worthy citizens who had Macao's welfare at heart.

Political reforms in Portugal led to a new colonial régime, which, by the royal decree of 1834, was applied to Macao as far as compatible with local circumstances. Among other measures, the *ouvidoria* was abolished; and on the 22nd February 1835 the senate was dissolved by the governor, Bernardo José de Sousa Soares Andrea, vested with full powers as a civil governor, on the senate thenceforth devolving only the municipal concerns.

Thus ended the senatorial régime which an eloquent appeal to the *cortes* in 1837 strove to revive. In assuming its new rôle the Leal Senado might well solace itself with the recollection that, however great its frailties might have been, only its conciliatory policy could have tided over the two and a half centuries of China's rampant intolerance; that to the Macaenses the senate was ever a paternal government; and that to its historic loyalty in many a

momentous ordeal Portugal owed the preservation of a colony which, abandoned as it stood, heroically withstood the pretensions of successive rulers of the sea.

In Andrea, happily, Macao found a model governor. Whilst his liberal-minded, straightforward administration elicited the encomiums of both the Portuguese and foreign communities, a firm, stern attitude ensured the respect of the Chinese. And the Macaenses, who presented Andrea with a sword of honour, never forgot that, when he might have brought a fortune as others did, Andrea left Macao with five dollars, stoically declining even such comforts as were provided by intimate friends for his voyage home.

Among other salutary measures due to the constitutional régime, the monastic orders were suppressed, and domestic slaves emancipated. To crown the measures of reform, Macao was in 1844 freed from the pernicious tutelage of Goa. Thenceforth Macao, Timor, and Solor anomalously constituted a province under Macao's control, although those rich but undeveloped East India possessions warranted them better treatment than as mere dependencies.

A ministerial decree of 1838 ordered the establishment of a museum, library, and botanical garden at Macao, and translation of Chinese works into Portuguese—requirements which, however, continued to be overlooked.

At this epoch Macao was the scene of literary achievements, notably of the sinologues Padre Gonçalves and Dr. Morrison, of Ljungstedt, and Professor Miranda e Lima, author of the fine georgic *Alectorea*.<sup>3</sup> The dictionaries of Padre Gonçalves—printed at St. Joseph's College, Macao—constituted an unprecedented sinologic achievement among the Portuguese.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Published at Macao in 1838, and republished at Hongkong in 1866 with several other poems of his.

<sup>4</sup> For a list of Padre Gonçalves' works, see the *Ephemeriden*, p. 90.

It was at this epoch, too, that the far-famed grotto began to figure as a romantic shrine whose glamour, inspiring many a gifted pilgrim, evoked charming tributes to Camões, the earliest on record being from a descendant of the Last of the Tribunes.

Patané, lieu charmant et si cher au Poète.  
 Je n'oublierai jamais ton illustre retraite :  
 Ici Camões, au bruit du flot retentissant,  
 Méla l'accord plaintif de son luth gémissant.  
 Au flambeau d'Apollon allumant son génie,  
 Il chanta les héros de la Lusitanie.  
 Du Tage, à l'urne d'or, loin des bords paternels,  
 De Bellone il cueillit les lauriers immortels.  
 Malheureux exilé, cet émule d'Homère  
 Acheta son génie au prix de sa misère.  
 Il posséda, du moins pour charmer ses douleurs,  
 Les baisers de l'Amour, et les chants des neuf Sœurs.  
 Lusius et les chinois honorent sa mémoire ;  
 Le temps qui détruit tout, agrandira sa gloire.  
 Moi qui chéris ses vers, qui pleurais ses malheurs,  
 J'aimais à saluer ces bois inspirateurs ;  
 Je visitais cent fois cet humble et noble asyle :  
 Dans ta grotte, o Louis, mon cœur fut plus tranquille.  
 Agité plus que toi, je fuyais dans les champs  
 Et le monde et mon cœur, l'envie et les tyrans.  
 Au grand Louis de Camões, portugais d'origine castillane,  
 Soldat religieux, voyageur et poète exilé,  
 L'humble Louis de Rienzi, français d'origine romaine,  
 Voyageur religieux, soldat et poète expatrié.

No less eloquent is the following, from a scholarly **supercargo** of the East India Company who subsequently became governor of the neighbouring British colony, **Sir John Davis** :



Hic, in remotis sol ubi rupibus  
 Frondes per altas mollius incidit,  
 Fervebat in pulchram camcenam  
 Ingenium Camoentis ardens :

Signum et Poetæ marmore lucido  
 Spirabat olim carminibus sacrum,  
 Parvumque, quod vivens amavit,  
 Effigie decorabat antrum :

Sed jam vetustas, aut manus impia  
 Prostravit, Eheu !—Triste silentium  
 Regnare nunc solum videtur  
 Per scopulos, virides et umbras !

At fama nobis restat, at inclytum  
 Restat Poetæ nomen, at ingenii  
 Stat carmen exemplum perenne,  
 Ærea nec monumenta quærit!

Sic usque virtus vincit, ad ultimos  
 Perducta fines temporis, exitus  
 Sprenens sepulchrorumque inanes,  
 Marmoris ac celerem ruinam !

A clumsy bust in that secluded spot—such was the **first** monument ever dedicated to Camões, alas, to be mutilated, evidently by profane hands. It was replaced several times, eventually by one of bronze cast at Lisbon, thanks to the solicitude of Commendador Lourenço Marques, who then owned the demesne with the garden and grotto, and who also ornamented the place with the granite tablets with **verses**.

On the pedestal of the bust are engraved **six stanzas** from the *Lusiads*, three on either side. The following is Sir Richard Burton's version :

Thou hast a Rival, not alone in deed  
 but in his dolence and his guerdon dour :  
 In thee and him two breasts of noblest breed  
 we see degraded to low state obscure :  
 To die in 'spital, on the bed of need  
 who King and Law like wall of iron secure !  
 Thus do capricious kings, whose will demandeth  
 More than what Justice or what Truth commandeth :

*Canto x, stanza xxiii.*

See how my Lay so long to sing hath striven  
 your Tagus and the Lusians dear to you,  
 how oft this exile Fate from home hath driven,  
 new labours ever suffering, losses new :  
 Now tempting Ocean, then all helpless driven  
 the dread Mavortian risks and wrongs to rue ;  
 Self-doomed as Canacé to death abhor'd,  
 In this hand aye the Pen, in that the Sword :

*Canto vii, stanza lxxix.*

Now sunk by hateful scorn'd Penury  
 to chew the bitter bit of beggar-bread :  
 Then mockt by Hope already brought so nigh  
 to be anew and more than e'er misk'd :  
 Then with bare life in hand condemned to fly  
 where life depended from so fine a thread ;  
 Only a greater miracle could save  
 Than what to Judah's King new life-lease gave.

*Canto vii, stanza lxxx.*

Amid such fierce extreme of Fear and Pain,  
 such grievous labours, perils lacking name,  
 whose fair Honour wooeth aye shall gain  
 Man's true nobility, immortal Fame :  
 Not those who ever lean on antient strain  
 imping on noble trunk a barren claim :

Not those reclining on the golden beds,  
 Where Moscow's zebelin downy softness spreads :  
*Canto vi, stanza xcv.*

Gainsay I not, that some of high descent  
 from wealthy houses, men of generous strain,  
 still with their noble lives and excellent  
 herited titles worthily sustain :  
 And if the light which ancestry hath lent  
 no novel glory by their doings gain,  
 At least it faileth not, nor dim it groweth :  
 But ah ! few men like these the Painter knoweth.  
*Canto viii, stanza xlii.*

And still, my Nymphs ! 'twas not enough of pain  
 such sorrow-clouds around my life should close :  
 but they, for whom I sang the patriot-strain,  
 with sad return must pay my toils, my throes :  
 In place of Peace and Rest I hoped to gain,  
 in lieu of Bay-wreaths bound around my brows,  
 Troubles by men unseen they must invent,  
 When ills of every kind my soul torment.  
*Canto vii, stanza lxxxii.*

On the tablet nearest to the grotto is engraved the  
 following beautiful lines from Almeida Garrett's *Camões* ;

Oh gruta de Macau, soidão querida,  
 Onde tão doces horas de tristeza,  
 De saudade passei ! gruta benigna,  
 Que escutaste meus languidos suspiros,  
 Que ouviste minhas queixas namoradas,  
 Oh fresquidão amena, oh grato asylo,  
 Onde me ia acoitar de acerbos magoas,  
 Onde amor, onde a patria me inspiraram

Os maviosos sons e os sons terriveis  
 Que hão de affrontar os tempos e a injustiça !  
 Tu guardarás no seio os meus queixumes,  
 Tu cantarás ás porvindouras eras  
 Os segredos d'amor que me escutaste,  
 E tu dirás a ingratos portuguezes,  
 Se portuguez eu fui, se amei a patria,  
 Se alem d'ella e d'amor p'or outro objecto  
 Meu coração bateu, luctou, meu braço,  
 Ou modulou meu verso eternos carmes.

The grotto was formerly ornamented with a porch whose architrave and pillars bore the following inscription in Chinese, composed by a Tartar mandarin :—

“TO THE SAGE PAR EXCELLENCE.”

“In talent and virtue the Poet surpassed the rest of mankind ; but he became the prey of envy. His admirable verses flourished greatly ; and now this monument is raised to hand over his memory to posterity.”

This porch, suggestive enough of a *pai lao*, or Chinese honorary portal, was raised in 1840, and removed in 1886, when the grotto and garden became national property. Already in 1851 its removal had been æsthetically urged, by M. Jules Zanole :—

Pourquoi ces ornements, et ce double portique,  
 Ces modernes frontons masquant la grotte antique,  
 Ces frivoles décors, tout ce luxe emprunté ?  
 Rendez, rendez plutôt à ce lieu solitaire  
 Son simple et noble aspect, son cachet de mystère,  
 Et sa sauvage majesté.

Laissez l'humble rocher sans festons, sans sculpture,  
 Paré des seuls attrails qu'il tient de la nature.  
 Que lui sert cet éclat ? Pour qu'il frappe les yeux,  
 A-t-il besoin de faste et de pompe étrangère

Il suffit au ciseau de graver sur la pierre  
Ce nom qui fut si glorieux.

Brisez ces lourds barreaux au profane vulgaire  
Fermant de tous côtés le sacre sanctuaire.  
Ouvrez lui librement l'accès de ce séjour ;  
Qu'il puisse pénétrer sous cette voûte sombre  
Où le barde fameux venait s'asseoir à l'ombre  
Et s'abriter des feux du jour ;

Qu'il puisse contempler la paisible retraite  
Qui retentit des chants de l'illustre poète,  
S'inspirer aux accords de sa sublime voix ;  
Demander à l'écho de répéter encore  
Les sons mélodieux que la lyre sonore  
Faisait entendre sous ses doigts.

C'est là que, loin du bruit, et s'isolant du monde,  
Au milieu du silence et de la paix profonde,  
Sous cette roche nue, ouverte au doux zéphyr,  
Respirant la fraîcheur au sein de ces ombrages,  
Il aimait à tracer ses immortelles pages  
Pour les léguer à l'avenir ;

C'est là que déposant son armure pesante,  
Fatigué de combats, et de lutte sanglante,  
L'intrepide soldat, le fier aventurier,  
Dans un champ plus fécond cherchant une autre gloire  
À son front couronné déjà par la victoire  
Attachait un nouveau laurier ;

C'est là qu'à son pays, sa chère et douce idole,  
Consacrant sa pensée et sa mâle parole,  
Entraîné par l'élan de sa brûlante ardeur,  
Il jetait hardiment sur le sol péctique  
L'éternel fondement, la base granitique  
D'un monument plein de grandeur ;

Là que, donnant l'essor à son vaste génie,  
 Des valeureux enfants de la Lusitanie  
 Il chantait dans ses vers les glorieux exploits ;  
 De Vasco da Gama célébrait les conquêtes,  
 Et l'impuissant courroux du géant des tempêtes  
 Soudain se calmait à sa voix :

Là que, suivant de près les traces de Virgile,  
 Heureux imitateur, il semait dans son style  
 D'un coloris brillant, l'éclat et la fraîcheur ;  
 Et tirant de son luth une tendre harmonie,  
 Au chantre gracieux de l'antique Ausonie  
 Disputait souvent sa douceur.

C'est de là que parti pour revoir sa patrie,  
 Assailli par les vents sur la mer en furie,  
 Au sein de l'océan par la vague emporté,  
 Contre les flots fougueux luttant avec courage,  
 Il arrachait au gouffre, et sauvait du naufrage  
 Ses vers, son immortalité :

C'est de là que, voguant vers les rives du Tage  
 Vers ces bords fortunés, témoins de son jeune âge,  
 Il s'était élancé le cœur libre et joyeux,  
 Souriant à l'aspect de ces vertes campagnes,  
 De ces bois d'orangers, de ces belles montagnes,  
 Dont l'image charmait ses yeux :

À l'aspect de ces lieux, on son âme ravie  
 S'était épanouie au souffle de la vie,  
 Où le pauvre exilé rêvait tant de bonheur,  
 Et qui devait bientôt, abritant sa misère,  
 Pour prix de ses travaux, au bout de sa carrière,  
 Ne lui laisser que la douleur.

La honte, la douleur, les lambeaux, la misère  
 Ce fut là le partage et l'unique salaire

Du poète immortel, orgueil du Portugal !  
 Tandis que, le front ceint d'une riche auréole,  
 Pétrarque, ivre d'honneurs, montait au Capitole,  
 Camões mourait à l'hôpital !

Dans un quartier désert de cette ville immense,  
 À Lisbonne, berceau de sa joyeuse enfance  
 On voit encore la place où pauvre, mendiant,  
 N'ayant pour se vêtir qu'une étoffe grossière,  
 Sans aliments, sans pain, assis sur une pierre,  
 Il tendait la main au passant.

Un grabat d'hôpital, un bloc de pierre nue,  
 Des haillons pour manteau, pour asile la rue,  
 À celui dont la voix charmait tout l'univers !  
 Et pas une statue, offerte à sa mémoire,  
 Qui rappelle son nom et ses titres de gloire,  
 Et le venge de ses revers !

Pas un seul monument, une pieuse image  
 Qui dise à l'étranger, cherchant sur le rivage,  
 Aux lieux qui l'ont vu naître, un simple souvenir :  
 Par un tardif respect sa patrie oubliée  
 A voulu se laver d'une tache honteuse  
 Et lui prouver son repentir !

Honneur du moins à vous, enfants de cette terre  
 Où s'asseyait Camões sous l'ombre hospitalière,  
 A vous, de Macao dignes et glorieux fils,  
 De soins religieux entourant sa retraite,  
 Vous avez fait, vous seuls, pour l'illustre poète  
 Bien plus que n'a fait son pays.

Under date of 1851, too, Mrs. Mary Middleton graced  
 with the following charming lines an album of the

Commendador Lourenço Marques, in which were inscribed the foregoing, as well as others too numerous for reproduction here.

Camões ! How often have I strayed  
 In yonder garden's pensive shade,  
 And sighed to think of thee !  
 So loved, so loving, so unblest !  
 So hard thy toil, so short thy rest,  
 Until no more by earth opprest,  
 Escaped thy spirit free !

And does thy genius haunt the scene,  
 And canst thou the homage glean  
 Which mortals love to pay ?  
 From some in exile like thine own,  
 Who seat them by the rugged stone,  
 Beneath whose shade, unsought, unknown,  
 Burst forth thy wondrous lay ?

Men of all nations hither meet,  
 And all direct their wandering feet  
 Towards these shady bowers.  
 And none who love the Poet's art,  
 None from these solitudes depart  
 But say within their inmost heart,  
 " O that the Bard were ours ! "

I too have brought my offering,  
 Have dared Camões' praise to sing,  
 And learned his worth to prize.  
 But now my wandering steps no more  
 Must tread these paths as heretofore,  
 And with me to a distant shore  
 I bear these memories !



I leave thee in thy deep repose.  
If in thy unexampled woes  
True wisdom's lore was thine,  
Ah! then we know each trial sore  
Brought thee but nearer to the shore  
Where earthly woes can never more  
Disturb thy bliss divine.

Adieu, then, soldier-poet's shade!  
Adieu, the friends with whom I've strayed  
So oft in pensive mood.  
Sadder and wiser have I been  
For dwelling mid these groves serene,  
And musing on life's stormy scene  
In this dear solitude.



I leave thee in thy deep repose.  
If in thy unexampled woes  
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For dwelling mid these groves serene,  
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In this dear solitude.

## XVIII.

When a foreign commodity, imported at an exorbitant price, places the corresponding exportation of home products at a great disadvantage, and not only drains the national wealth but as a highly deleterious luxury tends to spread untold misery and to impair the vitality of the nation, economically, socially, and politically the exclusion of such a bane becomes an imperative necessity : hence the *raison d'être* of China's ill-starred crusade against the British opium traffic.

Repeatedly interdicted since the reign of Kia King, the traffic nevertheless for long flourished with the connivance of heavily bribed mandarins, until at last the alarming prevalence of the fatal vice impressed upon the higher authorities the extreme gravity of the situation : from the time of China becoming a nation until now, declared a Chinese statesman, never did any evil at first so bland, so enticing, blaze so fearfully as this dreadful poison.

Vested with full powers to crush the evil, that statesman, the imperial high commissioner Lin, first roused the mandarins to their sense of duty : " It belongs to you to rule the people ! You try their crimes, and you award their punishment. Let me ask of you, supposing you were called upon to judge *your own crimes* in this respect, pray by what law or statute would you judge them ?"<sup>1</sup>

In an eloquent address to Queen Victoria, which it is presumed never reached its destination, Lin plaintively set forth that " in the ways of Heaven no partiality exists, and no sanction is allowed to the injuring of others for the advantage of one's self." It was proposed to eradicate the evil by concerted measures : China to interdict the use of

<sup>1</sup> Martin's *China*, vol. II, p. 240.

opium, England the cultivation and manufacture thereof. In justifying China's attitude, Lin announced the drastic measures to be enforced, lest it might be alleged in excuse that no warning had been given.<sup>2</sup>

In an edict to foreigners of all nations, Lin asked: "Why do you bring to our land the opium which in your own land is not made use of, by it defrauding men of their property and causing injury to their lives? I find that with this thing you have seduced and deluded the people of China for tens of years past, and countless are the unjust hoards that you have acquired." In proclaiming the extreme penalties of the law now enforced, Lin exhorted the foreign merchants to surrender whatever opium they possessed, in return for which the emperor would grant ample favours.<sup>3</sup>

To the shame of Western civilisation, however, British mercantilism prevailed over every effort to suppress the nefarious traffic: it remained for the Chinese government to combat single-handed a monstrous evil fostered by Christians boasting of higher morals, tenderer sentiments of humanity, nobler altruistic principles than those of the poisoned Celestials, who now found justified in its plenitude their deep-seated prejudice against the sordid "barbarians."

As a warning, a Chinese opium dealer was strangled in front of the British factory at Canton, and another outside the walls of Macao. The immolation of these scapegoats proving unavailing, the factories at Canton were sequestered, and under penalty of death the superintendent of British trade, Captain Elliot, surrendered all the opium at Lintin—over twenty thousand chests; and Lin, who superintended its destruction, wrung from the stricken

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.

traders a solemn promise never more to import the drug. Most of them then resorted to Macao. There, the Portuguese, who held about two thousand chests, lost no time in shipping them off to Manila, and when bidden to surrender their stock, boasted of having none and undertook to admit no more at Macao.

In a note dated 22nd March 1839, four days before surrendering the opium at Lintin, Elliot asked for protection to British residents at Macao against an apprehended Chinese attack—protection which Governor Silveira Pinto, in reply, promised to all but those engaged in the interdicted traffic. In his despatch of 13th April 1839, however, Elliot placed all British subjects, ships, and property at Macao under Portuguese protection; and in return he offered credit to any extent desired for the effectual defence of the colony and the harbour of Taipa, for the equipment of vessels as coast-guards, and, if necessary, to reinforce and provision the colony through immediate appeal to Manila; the terms for any assistance mutually rendered to be adjusted by the respective governments, and all British subjects at Macao to be placed under the governor's command, if desirable, to defend the rights of the Portuguese crown, and common life and property.

Silveira Pinto explained in reply that his very peculiar position imposed on him the bounden duty of observing a strict neutrality as long as he was not constrained by cogent reasons to adopt a different policy, or until there should be evidence of the peril apprehended; in which case the generous facilities proffered would be freely availed of. He reiterated that, as far as lay in his power, he would protect the lives and property of British subjects, with the sole exception of such as were concerned in the interdicted opium trade.

Elliot then advocated the annexation of Macao: in his despatch of 6th May 1839 to Lord Palmerston, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, he pretended that the safety of Macao was of secondary moment to the Portuguese government and of indispensable necessity to the British, particularly at that crisis; and he consequently urged some immediate arrangement either for the cession of Portuguese rights at Macao or for the effectual defence of the place and its appropriation to British uses by means of a subsidiary convention. It was alleged that sweeping civil, military, and fiscal reforms were necessary to render the place of the least use as a safe entrepôt, or for any real purpose of protection: and there was but little hope for all this while Macao remained in Portuguese hands<sup>1</sup>

In an edict issued at Chinsan, Lin warned the Portuguese of the perils incurred in harbouring robbers; allegorised the British at Macao as birds that wanted to possess the nest of others: and in reprisal for the non-remission of a British sailor who had murdered a native at Kowloon, Lin interdicted the supply of provisions to British residents at Macao, and ordered Chinese servants to quit their employ. The Portuguese and other foreigners, whom the edict spared, were requested to furnish the *tsatang* with a list of their daily requirements, to be supplied on the distinct understanding that the interdict would be strictly observed.<sup>2</sup>

It was the poor, unfortunately, who suffered in consequence of the interdict: provisions, being scarce, grew dear and dearer; and among the Chinese, in particular, there was dire distress. Lin now demanded the expulsion of the British from Macao; and the mandate being disregarded, he menaced the colony. Amidst an infernal din

<sup>1</sup> See *Correspondence relating to China*, 1840.

<sup>2</sup> See *Chinese Repository*, vol. VIII, p. 216 et seq.

of gongs and the hue and cry of a raving populace, Chinese troops in considerable number one night mustered at Santo Antonio and Palanchica, whence they were driven back by a detachment of the garrison led by Silveira Pinto himself. Elliot then proposed the withdrawal of the British community from Macao, and this was resolved upon at a meeting. On the other hand, Silveira Pinto declared that, notwithstanding the ordeal, he would never press the British to leave the colony; and though sensible of the slender forces at his disposal to ward off an overwhelming Chinese onset, he promised, if they remained, to defend them to the last. But they preferred to leave for the Hongkong anchorage; and as they embarked, the garrison with Silveira Pinto in full uniform stood by to prevent an apprehended attack.<sup>6</sup>

Scarcely had Macao's ordeal thus ended, when, in a despatch dated 1st September 1839, Elliot informed Silveira Pinto that H.M.S. *Volage* brought orders to co-operate in defending the colony against Chinese aggression. Assistance was also tendered from British officers and civilians at Hongkong; and Portuguese protection once more solicited. In proposing the return of the British to Macao, Elliot formally contradicted a Chinese rumour to the effect that their withdrawal therefrom was due to the mandarins. The reason, he declared, was because he would not compromise the colony without any force at hand. Such was no longer the case: from 800 to 1,000 men could now be placed at the governor's disposal.

Silveira Pinto reiterated that he could not but preserve a strict neutrality, in the absence of express and definitive orders from his government to the contrary.

<sup>6</sup> See Mr. W. C. Hunter's letter in the *China Mail* of 1st June 1868. Writing from personal experience, Mr. Hunter chivalrously defended the Portuguese from calumnious imputations.



At the same time, Lin visited Macao, being received by the procurator with a guard of honour and a salute of nineteen guns. The object of the visit was to ascertain whether the Portuguese provided for the observance of the interdict at Macao. Without meeting Silveira Pinto, Lin left after promenading along the Praya Grande, presenting the procurator with a fan as a token of regard, and the guard with a medley of flowers, sugar, tea, wine, cows, pigs, and sycee.

In announcing the intended blockade of Canton shortly after, Elliot's despatch of 12th September 1839 to Silveira Pinto solicited refuge for British merchants and their families at Macao, and proposed to centre the British trade there: if British cargoes of lawful produce were allowed to be stored there on payment of the usual duties, the friendliness and wisdom of the act, assured Elliot, would not be lost upon the British government; and he believed it would be the gracious purpose and within the power of Her Majesty permanently to secure the advantages of such a course of trade for the colony, to its immense prosperity. It would be difficult, he added, to refuse this facility to the British government without incurring the risk of discussions calculated to disturb the strict neutrality it was desired to maintain.

But neither the intimidation nor the song of the sirens had the desired effect: Silveira Pinto replied that he understood not how Elliot, after declaring that he left Macao in order not to compromise the Portuguese, after advising British subjects to follow him, could now entertain different views when there were stronger reasons for abiding by his original determination, and when he found himself in open hostility with the Chinese government, well knowing the tenure whereby the crown of Portugal retained the colony,

and the arbitrary way in which the overbearing and mistrustful Chinese authorities carried out their measures: Elliot ignored not that a single edict of theirs sufficed to reduce the colony to starvation; that the governor's wish, nay, duty of welcoming the subjects of the most ancient ally of Portugal would only serve to distress them again with the terrible ordeals from which Elliot had rescued Macao by his voluntary withdrawal therefrom—to say nothing of graver consequences entailed upon the Portuguese. With regard to the storage of goods, the proposal would be most advantageous for Macao, could it be acted upon; but Silveira Pinto deeply regretted it was not in his power to assent thereto presently, for reasons which Elliot did not ignore.

On the other hand the mandarins proclaimed at Macao that any foreigner found introducing opium into China would be decapitated, and any abettor strangled. At the same time the procurator was urged to see that Portuguese landlords evicted British tenants, who were all to be expelled and never again allowed to land at Macao. In return the mandarins promised to intercede for the Portuguese and petition the imperial commissioner to foster Portuguese commerce.

At Peking, in fact, an influential minister, Tsung Wan Yen, memorialised the throne to spare Macao: by adopting restrictive measures and holding the Portuguese as sureties for well-disposed foreigners, there would be no necessity, it was hoped, for sealing the doom of Macao to prevent the traffic in opium.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Chinese Repository*, vol. VIII, p. 566; Slade's *China Narrative*, p. 168.

For sheltering English ladies and children, however, the Portuguese were debarred from the Canton trade.<sup>8</sup> In the name of the imperial commissioner, a special edict from the mandarin of Chinsan ordered the arrest of Elliot, expressing considerable astonishment at his high-handed attempt to exclude American vessels from Macao. A Spanish brig, the *Bilbaino*, mistaken for a British vessel, was, by Lin's order, seized and burnt at the Taipa anchorage, her crew being subjected to gross indignities; and the Spanish government was denied the reparation demanded for the outrages. To preclude further complications, armed Portuguese vessels guarded the harbours of Macao against the approach of opium laden ships. New regulations prohibited the importation of British goods at Canton and Macao. An edict from the mandarin of Heangshan again urged the expulsion of the British from Macao, their return thither being ascribed to a desired understanding with the *hony* merchants there as to projected regulations for trading at Whampoa: but since British merchants refused to sign bonds for non-importation of opium, since the Kowloon murderer had not been rendited, and proscribed traffickers and their opium ships had not been driven home, Chinese troops were ordered to advance upon Macao to seize British residents, whom the people were, under pain of death, forbidden to serve or provision.

Hostilities having commenced, H.M.S. *Hyacinth* forced her way into the inner harbour of Macao. This elicited a vehement protest from Silveira Pinto, who held the British responsible for the consequences. It was pointed out that, even under the guise of protection, such a course had not been pursued by Rear-Admiral Drury. Eventually Captain Smith withdrew the *Hyacinth* on condition of energetic measures being taken to effect

\* Martin's *China*, vol. II, p. 38.

the removal of Chinese troops from the colony's vicinity. The *Hyacinth*, *Larne*, and *Enterprise* were then brought to bear upon the barrier gate. The Chinese fort near by opened fire, and after an hour's cannonade was silenced by one gun landed at the isthmus. A British detachment of some 300 men next dislodged about 5,000 Chinese troops from the vicinity, setting their shanties on fire. In the course of the war, the fort at Macao Passage was captured by Captain Herbert, and from Macao Captain Hall in command of the *Nemesis* with several armed boats proceeded by the inner passage to Canton, destroying all the forts and a large Chinese fleet on the way.

Such were the main incidents in connection with Macao during the crisis which resulted in the establishment of the colony of Hongkong, whose acquisition Lord Napier had advocated as admirably adapted for every purpose. On the 21st January 1841, Elliot issued a circular at Macao announcing to British residents the following terms of peace: the cession of Hongkong to the British crown on condition of the trade there being, as if carried on at Whampoa, subject to all just charges and duties levied by the Chinese empire; an indemnity of six million dollars for the opium confiscated by Lin; direct intercourse between British and Chinese officials upon an equal footing; and the opening of the port of Canton pending final negotiations.

The Chinese government, however, declined to ratify the agreement. Keshen, who made the concessions, was denounced as a traitor. An imperial decree, expressing regret for the injudicious recall of Lin, ordered Keshen with his whole family to be put to death at Peking.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup>Thither he was conveyed in chains, but his life was spared. His immense fortune, which the government confiscated, included 270,000 taels in gold, 3,400,000 in silver, 2,000,000 in foreign money, numerous banks and pawnshops, and vast landed estates.

The emperor Tao Kuang, repudiating the terms of peace, urged the nation to resist to the last. Eleven fortified cities and encampments capitulated; and the treaty of Nanking inaugurated a new era in China's foreign relations, imposed an additional indemnity of fifteen million dollars, and ceded Hongkong for the ostensible purpose of serving as a station where British subjects might careen and refit their ships when required, and keep stores for that purpose,—thus evading Elliot's fiscal arrangements with China, which would have assimilated Hongkong to Macao on that point.<sup>10</sup>

After all, the vaunted mightiness of China proved to be only chimerical. But yesterday the very idea of a hundred and fifty million Tartars in the van of two hundred million Chinese was enough to ensure tolerance on the part of foreigners in China, to command the respect of the world; now, none so weak, so deluded, as to "tremble and obey:" an empire constituting one third of mankind was subdued by a fleet of 37 ships with but 784 guns and 19,000 men,—thanks to the detestation inspired by Confucianism for the art of war.

To foreigners in China, the Opium War was undoubtedly a war of liberation, but at what a cost, alas! By brutal force, a poisonous vice was perpetuated, and a helpless government terrorised into the heartrending sacrifice of a

<sup>10</sup>The three Chinese commissioners who negotiated the treaty had orders to secure peace at any price, while the British negotiators were guided by an old draft of a treaty sent from Downing Street in 1840, with the wording *cession of the islands of*..... Sir Henry Pottinger furnished this document with the *struck off the islands*, and Hongkong alone mentioned in the blank space. When the terms had been dictated, the chief commissioner Elphinstone paused, evidently expecting some further demand. "Is that all?" inquired he. After consulting Lieut. Colonel Malcolm, Mr. Morrison replied in the negative. But with great tact Elphinstone at once closed the negotiations with the assurance: "All shall be granted—it is settled, it is finished." Marten's *China*, vol. II, p. 84.

sacred principle, a humanitarian interdict aiming at national regeneration. Well might China taunt Europe with callousness in face of such an instance of *lèse-humanité*.<sup>11</sup>

But happily the prestige of Western civilisation suffered not, at least in the estimation of an enlightened Chinese statesman: a French embassy afforded Ki-ying the opportunity to manifest in more than one way that China now knew how to honour a European power recognised as an intellectual nation animated by the purest and noblest sentiments. When at a most graceful reception M. de Lagrenée announced his mission to conclude a treaty of commerce and amity with China, Ki-ying flattered the French with the avowal that he regarded them not as a trading people but as *la grande nation*, with whom China would be on most friendly understanding. It was after the Anglo-Chinese treaty, and in the Franco-Chinese treaty, that for the first time the characters reserved for designating the emperor of China were applied to a European sovereign. The peculiar nicety of Chinese diplomatic etiquette moreover served to accentuate the differential treatment of the British and French representatives: to Sir Henry Pottinger, Ki-ying presented his portrait in ordinary garb; to M. de Lagrenée, in court attire, thereby implying the grade of distinction accorded them.<sup>12</sup> Thus Ki-ying manifested that, while humbled to the dust by England, China could still pique the pride of the dictatorial conqueror who, curbing the arrogance of mandarindom, ensured equality in the intercourse of foreign and Chinese officials.

<sup>11</sup> That Elliot himself was conscience-stricken may be gleaned from what he wrote to Lord Palmerston: "If my private feelings were of the least consequence upon questions of a public and important nature, assuredly I might justly say that no man entertains a deeper detestation of the disgrace and sin of this forced traffic on the coast of China than the humble individual who signs this despatch. I see little to choose between it and piracy."

<sup>12</sup> See Martin's *China*, vol. I, pp. 399-401.

In view of the altered state of affairs, Macao strove to relieve herself from the incubus which for ages had retarded her advancement, and now more than ever degraded her in the eyes of the world: in a representation addressed to Ki-ying in 1843, shortly after the ratification of the Anglo-Chinese treaty, it was pointed out that, Hongkong having been ceded unconditionally, the Portuguese would suffer a great injustice and injury if Macao were still expected to pay ground-rent; that China should recognise the peninsula of Macao and the island of Taipa as territories appertaining by right to the Portuguese; and to avoid transgression, to maintain order, it was proposed to establish a Portuguese outpost at the barrier-gate. It was also desired that official correspondence be thenceforth conducted on terms of equality: that anchorage dues on Macao shipping be reduced to less than what was payable at Whampoa, without any restriction on foreign shipping; that export duties on goods for Macao be likewise reduced, so as to draw Chinese trade thither and foster Portuguese shipping—advantageous to the Chinese customs, as smuggling would then be impracticable; that no hindrance whatsoever be placed in the way of the foreign merchants trading at Macao; that in the matter of house-building, repairing ships, and provisioning the colony, all restrictions be abolished; that British rights at the treaty ports be extended to the Portuguese, and exportation to Macao facilitated by discarding the transit system through Canton as well as the restrictions as to the quantity of goods; and finally that all these proposals be adopted immediately, subject to approval by a minister from Portugal.

To obtain her liberation, Macao appealed to the centuries of amicable relations, to the many instances of imperial benevolence, and the eminent services rendered in return. It was perhaps expected that, to counteract the advantages

wrong for Hongkong, China would sentimentally favour Macao. But while amiable and courteous in the extreme, while honouring the memories of the savants with whom Portugal had favoured China, Ki-ying proved less yielding than was expected, although the observance of the opium interdict entitled Macao to China's recognition.

An opportunity was now at hand, when by virtue of the ancient alliance with Portugal, England, her vaunted protectrix, might have rendered an inestimable service to Macao. Without detriment to Hongkong, England might in her triumph have lent a helping hand to lift Macao from a derogatory position which even of late had been a source of chagrin to the British. The boastful foe of slavery, England should now have championed the cause of liberty in generously helping to free Macao from the yoke of mandarindom—Macao, where in their stern ordeal British refugees met with kindness which evoked from Lin the taunt that the Portuguese treated the English like brothers. But ill-requited were the services and sacrifices of those who in the hour of need proved to be friends, who chivalrously ignored their commercial interests, nay imperilled their homes in fulfilling the sacred duty of sheltering those in distress. And the new era that just then auspiciously dawned upon foreign intercourse with China was, alas, destined to be Macao's darkest days.

Without even diplomatic support, the righteous claim of Macao met with serious drawbacks. In vain Silveira Pinto negotiated with Ki-ying; and eventually the claim was submitted to the emperor, who in turn consigned it to the deliberation of his ministers, with the result that, as set forth in a despatch dated the 26th day, 2nd moon, 24th year of Tao Kuang (18th April 1844), the following



terms were decided upon and communicated by Kiying and the Canton authorities to the procurator of Macao :<sup>13</sup>

The ground-rent was to be levied as usual ; and the city-wall at the Campo de Santo Antonio to serve as boundary, in order to obviate compromise with the Chinese. Official correspondence might be on terms of equality with the district mandarins, but with the provincial authorities should be in the form of a memorial. The port of Macao must remain closed to all foreign shipping but that under the Portuguese flag. A rebate in tonnage dues was granted on the twenty-five registered ships of Macao but not at the treaty ports ; any other ships at Macao to pay in full as foreign vessels generally at Whampao ; and lorchas with passports need only pay at Canton the same dues as cargo boats, this concession being "a token of compassion." The import and export duties leviable on Chinese merchants at Macao were to be according to the new tariff ; and goods in any quantity might be exported thither, but if conveyed via Canton must pay there new tariff duties in exchange for transit pass. All restrictions and perquisites were abolished on shipbuilding, and housebuilding within the city-walls, at Macao. The treaty ports were open to the Portuguese. "In consideration of the Portuguese having for over two hundred years traded at Macao and always proved extremely submissive and condescending, the great and august emperor vouchsafed them this extraordinary bounty, thus showing how he welcomed to his bosom those who came from afar, and how well he treated foreigners." As to the minister from Portugal it, was irrelevantly pointed out that the procurator who together with the governor usually administered the government should continue to be the only responsible party under the same régime. And finally those officials were enjoined to

<sup>13</sup> The despatch is reproduced in the *Ephemerides*, p. 109.

respect this imperial decree, and see that it was strictly adhered to by the merchants and people in order that they might carry on their business peacefully,—“and let not vain hopes spring forth in their hearts.”

Even in anticipation of this damper, the Hongkong legislature evinced a heartless antagonism towards Macao's piteous efforts to do away with the assumptions of mandarindom, an antagonism which might well have been spared in the name of civilisation if not in that of the oft-vaunted alliance between England and Portugal. But notwithstanding the fact that, repeatedly, England had presumed to defend Macao for the crown of Portugal in spite of Chinese pretensions, and that when recognising the national constitution of Portugal the British parliament formally acknowledged Macao to be a Portuguese possession as therein declared, still the first Hongkong ordinance, in establishing extritorial jurisdiction in China, enacted, in 1844, that the peninsula of Macao was to be deemed and taken to be within the dominions of the emperor of China. No wonder the mandarins so sarcastically bade Macao not to indulge in vain hopes: their re-affirmed pretentions were but a refrain to the Hongkong legislature's outrage on the law of nations.

Governor Pegado duly brought the ordinance to the notice of the Minister for the Colonies, with the result that, to palliate the gross outrage, Lord Aberdeen, the Foreign Secretary, alleged that the ordinance in no way affected the rights of the Portuguese crown, it having been only intended to establish the fact that British residents in China as well as at Macao could be tried before the courts of Hongkong under the same principle as by British law they were subject to be committed for trial before the courts of Great Britain, specially under Act 9, George IV, cap. 31 sess., for certain offences committed in foreign

countries without, however, thereby preventing British subjects from being called upon to answer before the courts of justice of said foreign places for such offences. *Nous verrons.*

It was not only England and China that were undermining the interests of the doomed Portuguese colony; even the Vatican lent a helping hand in despoiling Macao of the moral support she for long had in influential Portuguese dignitaries at Peking.<sup>14</sup> Consequent upon difficulties raised by French and Italian missionaries, a papal brief in 1846 displaced the last of Portuguese prelates in China, Dom João de França Castro e Moura, bishop of Peking—a venerable veteran of the mission, invested with high official honours as member of the mathematical board. Feelingly he declined the apostolic vicarship offered him; and for his reinstatement in the bishopric the native Christians repeatedly and in vain memorialised the Vatican and the Portuguese government; while the *propaganda fide* further encroached upon the right of the historical Portuguese mission in China, whose pitiful plight was such that, for the burial of Dom Caetano Pereira, bishop of Nanking, who died at Peking, the *real padroado* was indebted to the Russian mission there—a *Russis sepultus*, as recorded on the tombstone. And to the Russian archimandrite the Portuguese mission, on disposing of its landed property at Peking, entrusted the proceeds, remitted by caravan across Siberia and through the Russian legation at Lisbon,—evidently the first instance of an overland conveyance from the Far East to the Farthest West.

<sup>14</sup> The bishoprics of Peking and Nanking were created by Pope Alexander VIII, in 1690, at the instance of Dom Pedro II of Portugal.

## XIX.

There was a period in the history of Hongkong when the high hopes entertained of the free trade policy seemed to be founded on quicksand. Illusory at the treaty ports, the commercial privileges and immunities secured by the treaty of Nanking, as well as by the supplementary treaty, benefited not Hongkong; the inducements offered by the British government failed to attract respectable Chinese settlers for the colony; and whilst a fearful death-rate pointed to the insalubrity of the soil, an influx of pirates and outlaws from the mainland consummated the plight of the "Gehenna of the waters." It seemed as if China was determined that, in spite of British wealth and enterprise, Hongkong should be none but the place to careen and refit ships, as provided for in the treaty. But for the illegal traffic in opium, the free port, five years after its establishment, had no import or export trade—a circumstance unparalleled in British colonisation. In short, it was the general impression that Hongkong was an utter failure; and of this, convincing evidence abounds in the painstaking compilation and candid official statements of Mr. Montgomery Martin, who, in 1847, still advocated the colonisation of Chusan instead of Hongkong.<sup>1</sup>

It was precisely at this crucial point that, theorising on the new situation in China, the Portuguese government deemed it advisable to adopt at Macao a free trade policy which entailed upon the colony a momentous transition through a crisis unprecedented in the checkered career of the Portuguese in China.

To abolish the Portuguese custom-house of Macao was to do away with the only source of revenue; and in a

<sup>1</sup> See Martin's *China*, vol. II, chap. VI.

decadent, precarious colony under mixed jurisdiction, to create another revenue by taxation must needs rouse general discontent, if not sedition among the alien section of the community; while to enforce the disestablishment of the Chinese custom-house involved a most impolitic rupture with the Chinese government at such a conjuncture, and the consequent decentralisation of the extensive Chinese commerce which constituted the only vital element at Macao—consequences which, at Macao's expense, would no doubt be eagerly availed of to propitiate Hongkong, thus far so effectually boycotted by Chinese merchants.

On the other hand the inadequacy of the old régime was evident in the decreasing revenue, and the ineffectual opening of the port to foreign trade, in 1844, subject to the usual tonnage and customs dues; and while the uncompromising, supercilious attitude of China precluded an equitable solution, the pretensions of the Hongkong government to exercise jurisdiction at Macao as Chinese territory goaded Portugal to wrest the colony, at whatever cost, from the intolerable Chinese tutelage which had become a scandalous anachronism.

The royal decree of 20th November 1845 declared Macao a free port; and a distinguished officer of the navy, Captain Ferreira do Amaral, appointed governor, was instructed by Minister Falcão to assert the absolute autonomy of the colony.

Hostile as these measures were to the Chinese government, Macao could not but be thereby exposed to retaliation, to grave emergencies. Still, no funds were supplied to meet the exigencies of the situation; no reinforcement, even, was sent to the rickety sepoy garrison that but lately almost mutinied on account of the pay being in arrear for months; not a single warship went to protect the freedom

of the port, as to his Gethsemane hied the ill-fated João Maria Ferreira do Amaral—a man of iron who even when a midshipman of eighteen years already evinced a Spartan mettle while leading a storming party in 1823: in that keenly contested action, at Itaparica, near Bahia, a cannon-shot carried off Amaral's right arm; and yet with his usual presence of mind he exclaimed: "Forward, my brave comrades! I have another arm left me still."<sup>2</sup>

Assuming the governorship on the 21st April 1846, Amaral soon found his arduous mission rendered still more so by the antagonism of an influential Portuguese clique, who deprecated the anti-Chinese policy as tending to realise a fool's paradise; and Amaral's zeal for the national prestige was maliciously availed of to foment further bad blood at Macao: three leading Portuguese merchants there, involved in a civil suit due to an opium broker's fraud at Canton, resorted to Hongkong, where, at Amaral's informal request for their extradition, and without any *prima facie* evidence, two of them were lodged in gaol and then conveyed to Macao, in a British gunboat, handcuffed like convicted criminals, to the indignation of both colonies, and to the prejudice of Amaral's prestige.<sup>3</sup>

While a land tax and a projected income tax caused considerable uneasiness, a serious riot resulted from the imposition of a paltry duty on Chinese passage-boats. On the morning of 8th October 1846, a mob with three guns

<sup>2</sup> Solano Constancio: *Historia do Brazil*, vol. II, p. 322, Paris ed. 1839.

<sup>3</sup> One of the prisoners was a legal luminary who, while once acting as judge, had sentenced a lady to imprisonment for disgracing a Chinese carpenter by cutting off his queue. A relation of hers now took advantage of the situation to revile the prisoner on landing at Macao, for which he was arrested and imprisoned too. He appealed to Amaral, whose reply was quite characteristic of the man with the gloved but iron hand: that instead of the abusive language, a profound obeisance would have been more to the purpose.

landed from about forty junks at the inner shore, and advancing from the lane in front of St. Anthony's church, opened fire upon a squad of sepoy, whose musketry failed to produce any impression. Another squad soon reached the scene with two field-pieces, and assisted by armed citizens, succeeded in repelling the rioters, who took to their heel, abandoning the guns. As they scrambled for the junks, a brisk fire wrought havoc on them, while the guns of several lorchas as well as of Monte took charge of such junks as were escaping, many being sunk, and others drifting down the river in flames. There was no serious casualty among the Portuguese in spite of their dash against the overwhelming odds. In the words of Amaral, the valour of the Macaenses upheld the governmental authority and the national dignity. By a proclamation Amaral exhorted the citizens to refrain from further violence in terms calculated to conciliate the Chinese. The governor of Hongkong, in response to Amaral's request, sent H.M.S. *Culture* to receive such as might wish to take refuge on board in the event of further emergency.

In retaliation, the Chinese shut up their shops and stopped supplying the market with provisions. Amaral at once proclaimed that if within twenty-four hours the shops did not resume business, the artillery of Monte would raze the whole market-place. This manly attitude had the desired effect. Next morning there was not a single shop closed as Amaral rode past the market-place.

While the passage-boat people appealed to the governor of Hongkong, the mandarins of Heangshan proceeded to Macao in consequence of the riot, to which the *tso-tang* was no stranger. They were stopped at the city-gate with their armed retinue, which, Amaral insisted, should be left outside. The mandarins preferred to retire, but on the following day returned without any escort. They

assured Amaral of their amicable disposition, which he reciprocated. In the course of a lengthy conference, they remarked that if the passage-boat question had been referred to Canton it might have been satisfactorily settled. Amaral pointed out that on him devolved the full jurisdiction over Chinese residents at Macao, and in adopting his measures he would no more think of consulting the mandarins than he would any foreign power. The mandarins were feasted, and left apparently satisfied. But their sway over Macao was at an end : they were not even allowed the usual gongs to herald their approach. And one who had cried down Amaral's administration was unceremoniously hurled down the stairs of Government House by Amaral himself.

Amongst various improvements Amaral projected roadways for the rural district between the city-gate and the barrier, and accordingly ordered the removal of a great number of Chinese tombs therefrom. With due regard for the deeply-imbued ancestral veneration of the Chinese, he proclaimed that no offence was meant, whilst to the poor pecuniary assistance was tendered, and in some instances accepted for the purpose of effecting the removal. The district in question was so crammed with tombs that there was scarcely any track for transit. This encroachment no doubt aimed at confining the colony's boundary within the city-walls, despite the well-defined frontier at the barrier-gate—an encroachment which, in the words of Amaral, would, if unchecked, sooner or later reduce the colony to a Chinese cemetery pure and simple. In clearing the district, Amaral not only reasserted the ancient Portuguese rights thereto, but also gave the Chinese to understand that not even their most sacred feelings were any longer to stand in the way of much retarded improvements.



While conciliating the Chinese government with three armed lorchas to assist an admiral in suppressing piracy, Amaral made away with the systematic rapacity of a petty mandarin stationed at Macao. Within a stone's throw from the Government House stood a branch of the Chinese custom-house.<sup>4</sup> For extorting contributions from the boat people, with whom his retinue kept up a constant row, the petty mandarin in charge of this station was in 1847 arrested, brought before Amaral, and questioned as to whether anybody had authorised such impositions. He replied that nobody had, but that such was the custom. That such a custom might be done away with, he was ordered to leave the colony within twenty-four hours, and his house was disposed of by public auction, the proceeds, set aside to meet any lawful claim, being rejected by a viceregal emissary who soon came from Canton for explanations.<sup>5</sup>

The viceroy next wrote expressing much surprise at the watchkeeper's expulsion and the demolition of his house; still more at the Portuguese not gratefully observing the laws and statutes of the empire while depending on its beneficence for their food, clothing, and the very ground they trod, in short, for life and sustenance.

Amaral replied that if the petty mandarin was intended for a watchkeeper, there was nothing for him to watch at Praya Grande, whilst in truth he was only a robber who for want of the profit formerly derived from the nefarious opium smuggling, now swooped down like a vulture upon the boatwomen, the poor fishermen, and the masters of passage-boats, doing violence to such as resisted his

<sup>4</sup> At first a matshed only, which in 1779 the senate replaced with a house, this station originally served to levy an arbitrary tax on the person and luggage of foreigners landing and embarking at Praya Grande. See Ljungstedt's *Historical Sketch*, p. 89.

<sup>5</sup> Marques Pereira's *As Alfandegas Chinesas de Macau*, p. 54 *et seq.*

shameless exactions. There was scarcely a day, complained Amaral, that the soldiers of his guard were not called upon to quell disturbances caused by that despicable individual. For fifteen months, he, the governor, had winced under this affront: so many of his predecessors had suffered similar abuses, that he too had to quaff the bitter cup with resignation. But he had all the while been firmly resolved to demand the exit of that watch-keeper as soon as the difficult task of reforming the colony's government had been accomplished, seeing that the condescension and inaptitude of the former régime had reduced Portuguese citizens to a condition akin to that of vile slaves of the district mandarins. Adverting to the alleged claims on the gratitude of the Portuguese, Amaral pointed out that the ground they trod—in their possession for centuries—was righteously acquired; that their food, clothes, and shoes being paid for, in vain he racked his brains for the reason why the Portuguese should be indebted to the bounty of the Chinese for the mere purchase of such necessaries from them: and that as to life, neither he nor his soldiers would be the aggressors; but he was determined, when assailed, to sell his life dearly as well as those under the protection of his government.

Ki-ying professed having ever been on friendly terms with Amaral's predecessor, and never having given the Portuguese any cause for complaint; that the emperor had always manifested affection for them; and with regard to the question at issue, it would have been better, taking into consideration the old standing of the custom-station, to act in concert with the Chinese authorities in punishing such as practised abuses and appointing a Chinese who might properly watch for contraband.

Amaral explained that the queen of Portugal having declared Macao a free port, this fact in itself showed the

uselessness of any one coming to watch for contraband; and he hoped the Chinese government might be convinced that his wishes, his intentions were guided solely by the principles of righteousness.

But mandarins could hardly be expected to be thus convinced when the senate, in a series of despatches to the Minister for the Colonies, strongly deprecated Amaral's Chinese policy. This representation having come to light, in 1847, Amaral dissolved the senate, published the despatches in the *Boletim do Governo*, and taunting the ex-senators with lack of loyalty and patriotism, proclaimed that, cost what it might, he would render *de facto* Portuguese what had *de jure* been so three hundred years ago. And the approval he met with, observed the *Boletim*, was manifest in the welcome given him shortly after on his return from a trip to Hongkong, where he was received with naval and military honours.

But only the most inordinate Chauvinism could disguise the truth that Amaral's zeal was deserving of a better cause. Ill-timed from the outset, his task became the more so in view of a renewed civil war in Portugal: and despite his remonstrances, the home government left the colony entirely to its own resources in the momentous crisis. The economical situation which the free trade policy pretended to remedy, grew worse and worse. The solvency of the treasury depended on patriotic contributions from Macaense merchants; whilst for the public safety the citizens were further hampered with military service, when, as the senate pointed out to the Minister for the Colonies, it was only by a consummate diplomacy that Macao could be saved; and the sorry plight of Hongkong, so thoroughly boycotted by Chinese merchants, should serve as a warning that, to undervalue the good-will of China, would be to reduce Macao from a commercial establishment to a

military outpost on a level with the ruined Portuguese possessions in India and Africa.

While patriot stocally bore every sacrifice, the onus of taxation and specially of conscription gave rise to widespread discontent, enhanced by despondency, and still more when Amaral resorted to what was little short of martial law. It must be owned, however, that the stern governor's absolutism proceeded from no odious source. In most cases it was the outcome of slighted authority; in other it was exercised on behalf of the wronged, and for the sake of justice, order, discipline. In a murder case, Amaral's prompt measures precluded the usual complications, the victim being a Chinaman: on conviction, the culprit, a negro, was shot; and the impressive sight of his being conveyed to the place of execution with his coffin after him actually served as the deterrent it was meant for. The Chinese rabble's obstreperous defiance of the law, evidently inspired, was summarily chastised with hundreds of lashes. A Portuguese soldier who while drunk had outraged the wife and daughter of the petty mandarin stationed at the barrier-gate, was severely lashed too, in the presence of witnesses sent by the aggrieved mandarin at Amaral's request. In relating this case, which happened in July 1849, the *Boletim* remarked that, unlike their former practice, the Chinese now laid their grievances before the Portuguese authorities—a fact which bespoke the uprightness of Amaral's administration.

Three years had now elapsed since the promulgation of the free port decree, and yet there remained at Macao the *ho-pu*, or Chinese custom-house, whose influence, it was known, no Chinese at Macao might set at naught without bringing upon himself as well as upon his kith and kin at home a persecution at the hands of the mandarins.

Though an anomaly, the *ho-pu* at Macao could point to several analogous cases in Europe; at Hamburg a

Hanoverian agent collected duties for Stade; a Dutch agent at Antwerp levied the transit dues payable at Flushing; and shortly before Macao was declared a free port, Denmark proposed to collect at Russian, Prussian, and other ports in the Baltic the tolls due at the Sound. Thus, it was not unreasonably that, even without resorting to such precedents, a practical writer on Macao opined that, perhaps inconsiderately, the *ho-pu* had been deemed intolerable at Macao.<sup>6</sup>

As Amaral pointed out to the Chinese government, however, the Portuguese government held that, established for the sake of convenience, the *ho-pu* had ceased to be convenient and now proved detrimental under the altered state of affairs due to the rise of a free port at the very threshold of Macao—circumstances which imposed on the Portuguese the duty of resorting to their incontestable rights over the colony and adopting measures dictated by self-preservation.

On the other hand China heeded not the advisability of at least shifting the *ho-pu* to some neighbouring locality under Chinese jurisdiction where the imperial revenue might be protected without defying the royal commerce-destroying decree.

The freedom of the port was enforced under cover of artillery. The trade stagnated. But the *ho-pu*, though divested of its former importance, still remained. Uncompromising as usual, the mandarins thus goaded Amaral on to the stern duty of asserting the autonomy even at the cost of affecting the colony's commercial status to its very foundation.

A voluntary withdrawal being out of the question, Amaral at last ordered the closure of the *ho-pu*. Seu, the

<sup>6</sup> Caldeira: *Apontamentos d'uma viagem de Lisboa á China*, vol. I, p. 112.

viceroys, and the district mandarins raised a hue and cry to the effect that the *ho-pu* was indispensable to guard the revenue against loss from smuggling, and that the friendly relations between Portugal and China rendered it the duty of the Macao government to protect that revenue. Amaral explained that he would fain protect the interests of China whenever this depended on his authority, but above all it devolved upon him to fulfil the laws of the colony, and one of those laws was the royal decree declaring Macao free to the trade of all nations. By proclamation, accordingly, Amaral abolished the *ho-pu* on the 5th March 1849; and this being disregarded, on the 13th he ordered the expulsion of the *ho-pu's* staff, who, on intimation, cleared away bag and baggage, without resistance.

The sub-prefect of Heangshan was then notified that in future, when mandarins visited Macao, they were to be accorded the honours due to foreign representatives.

To the viceroys, Amaral pointed out that consequent upon the *ho-pu's* disestablishment, the Portuguese consul at Canton was instructed to concert measures with the superintendent of customs there, so that the imperial revenue might not be defrauded, nor the trade between Macao and Canton hampered with vexatious regulations.

Soon, however, it became manifest that efforts were being made to boycott Portuguese trade at Canton and to shift the trade of Macao to Whampoa. To check a meditated exodus, Amaral proclaimed that Chinese owners of landed property within the barrier must not leave Macao without a permit from the procurator, failing which the property was to be held as abandoned and forfeited to the government.

As a compromise the *hong* merchants proposed to subsidise the re-establishment of the *ho-pu*, on which

depended their stay at Macao in spite of strenuous efforts to bring them over to Hongkong. Amaral, however, could not of his own accord accede to the proposal, although, as alleged, the national honour and dignity had been vindicated.

To make matters worse, this uncompromising attitude soon found a striking contrast in the unusual condescension and conciliatory policy of the Hongkong government in connection with the promised right of entry into Canton, which was not pressed as expected, to the discomfiture of Amaral, who evidently timed his boldest stroke to what he must have considered unavoidable hostilities.

At the *ho-pu's* closed establishment there still remained a mast with banners and other insignia of mandarindom. By Amaral's order, and amidst a great number of spectators whose impressive silence lent a solemn air to the occasion, the mast was hewn down by negroes from the abolished Portuguese custom-house, and fell towards a dumbstruck Chinese crowd. As the spectators left, the silence was broken by an ominous exclamation: *Acabou Macao!*<sup>7</sup> Commercially it proved true indeed—Macao was done for.

But above all, it was the mandarins' Macao that was over, at any cost whatsoever; and upon the thoroughly vindicated colony the ill-starred liberator towered like a Hercules. For his wonders, Amaral had only the scanty garrison and conscripts, not a single warship, at his disposal: but his moral courage was fully worth an army and navy, and he dictated his terms with the hauteur, the volition of a conqueror. Right and not might was his watchword, and he acted upon it with a loftiness of purpose which brings to mind the palmy days of Portuguese colonisation. In the midst of defection and dejection, he vindicated the national prestige and sovereignty, bequeathed civic freedom

<sup>7</sup> *As Alfandegas Chinesas de Macau*, p. 64.

to the Macaenses, and adapted Macao to the political exigencies of the times, eradicating a deep-seated conservatism full of abuses which had grown conventional with the tolerance of ages. On one hand Amaral exempted the colony from the *ho pu* and tonnage dues as well as the ground-rent. On the other he submitted the Chinese community to the colony's autonomy and taxation. From the senate-house he tore away those indecorous tablets with Chinese laws which for generations had shamed and oppressed the Macaenses. In short, from Macao Amaral swept away every landmark of Chinese encroachment and ascendancy, every vestige of their intolerance and despotism,—the Augéan accumulation of centuries.

Dignified by Amaral's achievements, and honoured as the seat of the French, Spanish, and American legations to China, Macao saw in the moral support accorded by the ministers to Amaral a pledge of the civilised world's sympathy for a regeneration effected at such sacrifices; and at this epoch Macao evoked the following much-admired sonnet from Sir John Bowring, who subsequently became governor of Hongkong :

Gem of the orient earth and open sea,  
 Macao! that in thy lap and on thy breast  
 Hast gathered beauties all the loveliest,  
 Which the sun smiles on in his majesty.  
 The very clouds that top each mountain crest,  
 Seem to repose there, lingering lovingly.  
 How full of grace the green Cathayan tree  
 Bends to the breeze—and now thy sands are prest  
 With gentlet waves which ever and anon  
 Break their awakened furies on thy shore.  
 Were these the scenes *that* poet looked upon,  
 Whose lyre though known to fame knew misery more?  
 They have their glories, and earth's diadems  
 Have naught so bright as genius' gilded gems.

*Macao, 30th July, 1849.*

When it is borne in mind that this tribute was rendered during the short interval between a British and



a Chinese outrage upon Macao, the scenes depicted may not inappropriately be allegorised: the lingering clouds betoken the lull before the storm: the awakened furies of the waves bespeak the coming of the *dies iræ*; the green, bending bamboo personifies the new Macao bowed down, and the ill-starred lyre of Camões symbolises the fate of Amaral, whose laurels, alas, were soon transformed into a crown of martyrdom.

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*From the Tu-si-yang Kuo*  
AMARAL

## XX.

An atrocious doom awaited Amaral, and to brim the cup of bitterness, the consummation was preceded by an outrage which, to Amaral, must have been the unkindest cut of all, inasmuch as when he would rather have perished in fulfilling his stern duty, he was treacherously precluded from defending the newly vindicated sovereignty against the arrogated British exterritoriality which, unjustifiable from the first, had been rendered still more so by the annulment of the Chinese pretensions on which it was based.

On the 7th June 1849 the procession of Corpus Christi, vested with the pomp of church and state, was wending its way along the streets of Macao, when, among the uncovered multitude, a stranger, who viewed the pageantry from a prominent coign of vantage, defied the usage of Roman Catholic countries on such solemnities by refusing to take his hat off because he was a Protestant—James Summers, teacher, Colonial Chaplain's School, Hongkong. Several Protestant gentlemen, who out of courtesy stood uncovered, warned him to retire as others did if he would avoid unpleasant consequences. But he preferred to parade his bigotry and gratify his curiosity as well. A priest, passing by, politely requested him to uncover before the approaching Host, and on being disregarded, drew the attention of Amaral, who sent an orderly with the same request, which was likewise set at defiance. By Amaral's order Summers was thereupon arrested and lodged at the guard-house, whence he was removed to the *sala livre*, or free hall, of the civil prison. Having vainly asked to be released, he next wrote to a fellow-passenger, Captain Staveley, *aide-de-camp* to the commanding officer at Hongkong. In this appeal Summers alleged that he was detained in the common gaol.

On the morning of the 8th, Amaral was interviewed by Captain Staveley as well as by the senior naval officer, Captain the Hon. Henry Keppel of H.M.S. *Maeander*, and Captain Troubridge of H.M.S. *Amazon*, who had all come for the regatta to be held that day. They seemed to regard Summers as a victim of religious intolerance, Captain Troubridge behaving rather impertinently. Amaral pointed out that, besides slighting the religion of state, Summers had disobeyed his command; but to oblige Keppel, Amaral offered to appeal to the judge, if the release were requested as a favour. Keppel retorted that he wanted no favour, but demanded the release by right. Then, remarked Amaral, the case was in the hands of justice, and would be dealt with conformably to the laws of Portugal: and if he were deemed to be acting wrongly, it was a point for the queen his sovereign to decide upon. The interview then ended.

Shortly after, in an official note, Keppel reiterated his demand on the ground that apart from a religious standpoint, the offence was viewed in the light of mere disobedience to Amaral's command: and a full explanation of the case was also demanded for the information of the British government. Amaral, in reply, transmitted copy of his letter to the judge handing over the delinquent on a charge of double scandal.

The regatta being under his auspices, Amaral in the afternoon proceeded to the flagship, U.S.S. *Plymouth*, at the roadstead. After noticing Amaral's departure, Keppel, who was then on shore, revealed a meditated *coup* to Don Sinibaldo de Mas, the Spanish minister to China; and the plan included the capture and detention of Amaral in the event of his returning ashore before the projected descent, that insidious task being assigned to Captain Hay of H.M.S. *Columbine* evidently because that vessel, it was

believed, had old scores to pay off since the days of Amaral's distinguished naval career. In view of the serious consequences entailed, Don Sinibaldo de Mas insisted on due warning being given before such a grossly outrageous procedure, from which he dissuaded Keppel with apparent success.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless the occasion was seized with feline tact. Keppel himself subsequently admitted that Amaral's absence offered an excellent opportunity, and that he was well satisfied at having taken advantage thereof, for if Amaral had been on the spot, his high spirit would doubtless have urged him to an unavailing resistance which might have multiplied subjects for regret.<sup>2</sup>

While Staveley in disguise visited Summers for the purpose of acquainting himself with the surroundings, Keppel issued orders for landing the *Meander's* marines; and as the regatta went on, several boats reached Praia Grande with a strong party, a detachment of which landed, in front of Government House,<sup>3</sup> and in hot haste skulked through the courtyard of a private residence leading up to Rua da Sé and thence rushed upon the senate-house, adjoining which stood the prison. At the senate-square a young sentry, in charge of the field-pieces kept there, was pounced upon ere he could load his musket, and he would have been brutally put to death but for Staveley, who led the party. The marines then formed two parties. One entered the senate-house, shot an unarmed private off duty who gave the alarm, volleyed up the staircase, and bounded into the guardroom. The guards, in rushing for their arms, were intercepted, fired upon, and three of them wounded. Simultaneously the other party, under Staveley, entered the prison, and disarmed the sentry, who with his musket unloading presented bayonet. After a volley, Staveley rushed

<sup>1</sup> *China Mail*, 28th June 1849.

<sup>2</sup> Keppel's *Visit to the Indian Archipelago in the Meander*, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> Now turned into government office

into the *sala livre*, took Summers by the arm, and hurriedly led him away—within five minutes after landing.

The landing and the embarkation took place under the very nose of the sepoy guards at Government House, who, despite the odds against them, looked for the command to fire. But the officer in charge gave it not. A detachment from Monte came late for action; the forts remained silent; and the people seethed with indignation at the sight of the boats moving away in perfect impunity and joining in the regatta after the cold-blooded assassination of an unarmed soldier.

When apprised of the treacherous outrage, Amaral came in like a lion. The troops were all called to arms; the forts prepared for action, it being with considerable difficulty that Amaral was dissuaded from opening fire on a British vessel whither Summers had resorted. The foes of Amaral took advantage of the occasion to gratify their spite: it was rumoured that when leaving for the regatta he knew Keppel's design—a rumour which was contradicted in the *Boletim do Governo* with the declaration that if Amaral had been warned in time he would have been on the spot to repel force by force. The officer in charge of the Government House guards was severely censured and removed from the command. The murdered soldier was accorded an imposing public funeral, Amaral being one of the pall-bearers.

The foreign ministers, in response to a circular, expressed deep regret at the breach of the law of nations, and promised to acquaint their respective governments on the subject.

The governor of Hongkong forwarded Amaral's protest to the British government, and in London the Portuguese ambassador demanded such redress as in a similar situation

England might require for herself. On the other hand, Keppel's procedure was justified on the extra-territorial assumptions of the Hongkong consular ordinance, whereby Macao was to be regarded as Chinese soil—a justification which drew upon the Foreign Secretary the taunt of acting towards the Portuguese with chicanery and illiberality, of seeking to establish jurisdiction at Macao by virtue of the British treaty of peace with China. After considerable friction, and with a bad grace, Lord Palmerston eventually agreed to tender Portugal an apology, to censure Keppel, and pension the family of the murdered soldier.

Widely commented upon in Europe, the outrage called forth scathing strictures, being, as remarked in an English paper, one of those cases which made foreigners reproach British naval commanders with arrogance and wilfulness, and look on England's naval supremacy more like a tyranny than a friendly guardianship of the highway of nations.<sup>4</sup>

The incident bore consequences far more deplorable than those which Keppel, as alleged, sought to avoid in taking advantage of Amaral's absence to effect the descent. The Chinese, who believed that Macao stood under British ægis, now concluded that such was no longer the case; and the impunity which attended the outrage further emboldened them to give vent to their pent-up rancour, to wreak their vengeance on Amaral.<sup>5</sup>

At Canton, inflammatory placards, posted with official connivance, offered rewards for Amaral's head. At Macao the bloodthirsty conspiracy was in such evidence that,

<sup>4</sup> *London Economist*, 25th August 1849.

<sup>5</sup> For his capture and conveyance to Portugal in a British man-of-war, a *hong* merchant at Canton had naively but in earnest offered a large sum to be defrayed by subscription. *Friend of China*, Hongkong, 1st September, 1849.



two days before its consummation, Amaral expressed to Don Sinibaldo de Mas his conviction that he would fall a prey thereto ; and on the very evening of the shocking tragedy one of his Chinese servants warned him of the peril attending his wonted ride to the barrier—a warning repeated by a beggar on the way.

Accompanied by his *aide-de-camp*, Amaral went on the fatal ride, went beyond the barrier-gate, to give alms to an aged, infirm Chinawoman who lived on his bounty. On the way back, little dreaming that his last moment was so near at hand, Amaral spoke of suspending the *iso-tang* as a reprisal for the viceroy's refusal to recognise Mr. Dent as consul for Portugal at Canton.

When about three hundred paces from the barrier inward, as the horses trotted along the sandy isthmus, a Chinese boy shied them with a bamboo. Struck in the face with it, Amaral indignantly turned upon the cur, when seven Chinamen sprang upon him with *tai-fos*—Chinese shortswords. Both riders were provided with pistols. Amaral, holding the reins with his teeth, sought to defend himself with his only arm. But ere he could get a pistol out of the holster, he was hacked right and left and dismounted. Dismounted, too, and slightly wounded, Lieut. Leite, the *aide-de-camp*, left Amaral to his atrocious doom. Helpless as Amaral stood, he must have struggled desperately to ward off the murderous blade off his neck : the incision there was awry and laboured, the head severed from the chin ; the only hand, too, was cut off ; the sands, deeply stirred, bore vestiges of a frantic struggle. The assassins escaped, carrying away the head and hand. It was about sunset, on the 22nd August 1849, when the assassination took place. As the shades of night fell, the corpse, brought in a private carriage, reached the city whence but awhile ago Amaral

had ridden away bidding *au revoir*. At the sight of the mutilated, mangled remains, stricken Macao realised, in all its overpowering horror the heartrending penalty of her regeneration. As the news of the atrocity spread, a stampede waxed imminent among the Chinese inhabitants ; and the garrison, impatient of control, clamoured for a determined leader and for vengeance.

In assuming the administration, the *conselho do governo*—consisting of the bishop, judge, senior military officer, treasurer, president of the senate, and procurator—sought to restore order, and, while condoled with by the foreign representatives, appealed to them for succour, in view of an imminent Chinese descent upon the colony. The U.S.S. *Dolphin* proceeded to guard the approaches from the inland waterways, and the *Plymouth* at Whampoa, was ordered back to Macao at once. From Hongkong came the *Amazon* and *Metea* under Captain Troubridge, who, in a letter of condolence, proffered his services to the council.

Meanwhile Chinese troops and artillery were being massed in the immediate vicinity of Macao—a measure which, adopted in anticipation, revealed the political significance of Amaral's assassination—intended evidently as the prelude of hostilities aiming at Macao's relapse under Chinese domination. At the same time a large section of the Chinese community was suspected of being in league with the expected invaders.

On the morning of the 25th, while the conscripts patrolled the city, a detachment of the regulars proceeded with a field-piece to guard the barrier-gate, abandoned by the Chinese guards shortly after the assassination. Other available detachments followed when from the fort of Pak-sa-leang, about a mile to the north, the Chinese opened fire upon the barrier. The Portuguese forces there now

numbered but a hundred and twenty men with three guns. In the inner harbour an armed cutter and lorcha stood by, guarding the approach thereto from Pak-sa-leang. The Chinese forces numbered over two thousand, about five hundred being lodged in the fort, and the rest posted with artillery along the adjoining heights, with reinforcements pouring in from the interior. The field-pieces at the barrier, the guns of the lorcha and cutter, proved of little or no avail; and while the enemy's position was unassailable from the fortresses of Macao, the artillery of Pak-sa-leang ranged as far as the barrier. In the afternoon the Portuguese found their exposed position untenable. It was necessary either to silence the fort or to abandon the barrier. But whilst a retreat would have paved the way for the imminent descent upon the colony, a sortie was deemed inadvisable in view of the inadequate forces for offensive as well as defensive purposes at a moment when the colony stood endangered from within and without; and the foreign ministers, moreover, dissuaded the council from adopting offensive measures under actual circumstances.

At this juncture, a young Macaense sub-lieutenant of the artillery, Vicente Nicolao de Mesquita, then serving as the council's *aide-de-camp*, stepped forward and, in forcible language pointing to the urgency for prompt, decisive measures, volunteered to storm the Chinese fort with a party selected by himself. The foreign ministers, who attended the council, deemed this the height of temerity. The council, however, granted Mesquita the desired leave and exemption from any possible hindrance on the part of the commanding officer at the barrier, Captain Sampaio. At the same time the president of the council, Bishop Matta, enjoined Mesquita to observe above all the strictest prudence, dismissing him with a waving of the hand suggestive enough of a benediction.

At the head of sixteen men with a howitzer—the gift of a French naval commander to Amaral—Mesquita rushed to the scene of action, handed Captain Sampaio an order from the council to advance with the forces as far as the paddy fields, and there himself loaded and trained the howitzer. The shell, bursting where the crowd stood densest in the fort, created an evident scare. It was the only effectual shot fired. At the recoil a wheel broke, disabling the howitzer. Mesquita then formally asked leave of the commanding officer to storm the fort, producing the council's warrant for this purpose; and addressing the troops, bade those who would follow him to step to the front. Twenty braves did so, and with the select sixteen who had brought the howitzer, proceeded in single file along the slender tracks hedging the paddy fields, beyond which, on the crest of a craggy hillock, the fort puffed and boomed. At their approach the cannonade and fusillade were such that Captain Sampaio thought it advisable to call for a retreat. At the bugle-call to this effect, however, Mesquita, sanguine of success, ordered his bugler to sound the advance; and as this was being done, a shot, sweeping past, rent the bugle in twain. Urged by Mesquita's shouts, forward then dashed the gallant thirty-six, with an élan worthy of the proudest days of Lusian prowess. The spirit of the one-handed hero of Itaparica seemed to dwell now upon the dashing hero of Passaleão. Those who from Macao witnessed the exploit, including the foreign ministers, stood rapt in admiration at the sight of that handful of men advancing under a ceaseless fire, across an exposed, difficult ground, to storm a commanding stronghold teeming with defenders. But fortune favoured the braves: on nearing the hill-crested fort, they found that the artillery, high-ranged, could no longer be brought to bear on them. No less ineffective was the fire of unwieldy jingals, to which alone they were now exposed. As they scaled the craggy

height firing, the enemy, panic-stricken, abandoned both the fort and the adjoining hills. Almost exhausted under a scorching sun, Mesquita and his followers bounded into the fort in time to shoot a soldier who was about to fire the magazine by means of a flint. The guns—twenty 18-pounders—were then spiked. One of the heroes, who brought a Portuguese flag folded up in his breast, unfurled, and amidst frantic cheers, waved it over the battlements of Passaleão—so was Pak-sa-leang thenceforth styled by the Portuguese—carried at the cost of only one soldier severely wounded. The enemy's loss could not be ascertained as the retreating forces carried away both the wounded and dead. A mandarin who, stretched over an embrasure, distractedly offered a futile resistance, was the last to fall. With questionable taste, his head and one of his hands were cut off, affixed on spears, and brought away as trophies. From the magazine Mesquita laid a train down to where the party now mustered, and there ignited it. With a fearful boom the magazine flew into atoms, and the adjoining wall gave way, dismounting several guns.

Meanwhile despairing citizens at Macao prepared for the worst, dismayed ladies and children prayed for deliverance, at the sight of a signal of distress hoisted at the fort of São Francisco—the national ensign flown upside down. In response British marines landed, and, on a proposal to guard the fort being declined, were stationed before the headquarters at Praia Grande. In the absence of news from the scene of action, the city laboured under strange and dark illusions. The distant roar of artillery ceased; and the silence was regarded as confirmatory of the apprehension that some disaster had befallen the handful of defenders; that the invaders were rushing into the city unopposed. At the headquarters bewildered crowds anxiously awaiting news now stood aghast at what was believed to be a cry of alarm resounding from afar: thus

were misconstrued the hearty cheers with which the guards of Monte hailed the flag waved at Passaleão. In hot haste a messenger on horseback now approached the headquarters; his excited appearance seemed to bespeak the apprehended catastrophe. The marines, shouldering arms, stood on the alert. A moment of breathless suspense, of feverish curiosity, ensued. Then came the happy disillusion. Great was the relief when the messenger imparted to the council the welcome tidings of Mesquita's heroism and triumph.

Enthusiastic crowds ran forward, and meeting the heroes on the way back, greeted them with an ovation worthy of the feat of arms which not only averted the doom of Macao, but also vindicated the military prestige so impaired of late, and, foiling the sinister designs of mandarindom, consolidated Amaral's achievements.

Further danger, however, was apprehended. By way of a demonstration, the British marines, under Captain Troubridge, marched up to the scene of Mesquita's exploit the day after. The inadequacy of the colony's defensive resources led the foreign representatives to adopt precautionary measures against any sudden and treacherous attack. The men-of-war remained. At the instance of Baron de Forth-Rouen, the French minister, a strong detachment landed with stores from *La Bayonnaise*; and through the likewise chivalrous solicitude of Don Sinibaldo de Mas, the Manila government was approached for the loan of several gunboats.

Reinforcements were requisitioned from Goa and Lisbon; and a stirring call to arms addressed to the Portuguese community at Hongkong was promptly responded to by several patriots. That community afterwards presented Mesquita with a sword of honour.

Though conquered, Passaleão was forthwith abandoned. On the other hand, the barrier was demolished, and a Portuguese outpost established there; and to guard the approach therefrom, the forts of Mong-ha and Dona Maria II were constructed soon after. The *tso-lang* removed to Chinsan after the assassination of Amaral; the district mandarins no longer interfered with the colony. As remarked in the *Mémoire sur la souveraineté territoriale du Portugal à Macao*, the independence of the colony since August 1849 became inviolable, sacred—sealed as it is with the blood of Amaral, so barbarously shed; and thenceforth the sovereignty of Portugal over Macao became as plenary and absolute as in all other Portuguese possessions.

But such was the irony of fate that the liberation of Macao—which should have been the pledge of her future weal—entailed a heritage of woes before which the ordeals of three centuries paled into insignificance. To perish with Amaral could not have been more cruel for Macao than to be doomed as she was to expiate the very infamy which blighted her regeneration, to be harrowed by a series of studied, maddening insults, whilst the mutilated corpse of the martyred governor, for long unburied, awaited the restitution of the head and hand, carried off to Canton to aggravate the most heinous outrage ever suffered by the Portuguese in China.

Thus was vented on a Portuguese the murderous Anglophobia of the Cantonese, who, priding themselves on atrocities perpetrated on Britishers, rabidly expressed a longing to devour the barbarians' flesh and to sleep upon their skins, as inscribed on a tablet raised at Canton in 1848, and dedicated to Seu.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Seu Kwang-tsin, evidently a descendant of Seu Kwang-ke, Ricci's famous friend, whose appreciation of the Portuguese led him to advocate the military contingent sent from Macao to defend the emperor.

## XXI.

The loss of Macao's once influential representation at Peking was never so much to be deplored as after the Amaral tragedy, when, in seeking justice and redress, Macao had no other resource but to rely on the very viceroy of Canton who, in reporting the tragedy to the emperor, justified the atrocity as the providential outcome of a personal vengeance which in an exemplary manner disposed of a man for whose crimes there could be no condign punishment.<sup>1</sup>

To Seu, the viceroy, on the 23rd August 1849 the council of Macao protested against the outrageous assassination of Amaral as an evident work of hirelings traceable to the Canton placards offering rewards for his head—placards to which the Chinese authorities were no strangers. The crime, it was pointed out, called for a redress equal thereto. The council insisted upon the immediate arrest of the criminals and restitution of the head and hand, reserving for Her Most Faithful Majesty the demand for satisfaction due to the crown of Portugal, so outraged in the person of its lamented representative.

The Spanish, French, and American ministers collectively, and the British plenipotentiary separately, supported up the council's protest and demand.

In reply the viceroy manifested great surprise at the assassination, which, he insinuated, might have been abetted by spiteful victims of tyranny amongst Amaral's own people, and necessitated investigations in order to arrive at the precise truth, the inference drawn from the placards being held as unreasonable, and the council's demand as premature.

<sup>1</sup> See Gutzlaff's *Life of Taoukwang*, p. 259 et seq.



Upon investigation, retorted the council, it was conclusively shown that, though Chinese soldiery guarded the barrier-gate when the atrocity was perpetrated hard by, the assassins, with the mutilated head and hand in their possession, passed through that gate unhindered, as attested by the corporal on duty—nay, they tarried at that very barrier, as further evidenced by a bloodstained jacket and other traces of blood found there. Such assurance on the part of red-handed criminals, it was argued, implied a sense of security which could only be ascribed to warranted impunity and protection; and this inference was being corroborated by the moroseness and negligence of the Chinese authorities in a case of such gravity. The council therefore reiterated the protest and demand, pointed to the viceroy's disgraceful shift as unavailing if intended to shirk responsibility, and, repelling his malign insinuation, protested against the outrage on the memory of the illustrious governor and on the dignity, the good name of the Portuguese at Macao.

The barrier-gate, when surprised shortly after the tragedy, was found deserted by all but three of the guards—the corporal and two privates, who, pending inquiry, were detained at Macao.

In requesting the release of these three guards, on September 16th, the viceroy announced to the council the capture of Sen Chi Leong at Shon Tak on the 12th, and his execution on the 15th, as the sole assassin of Amaral, the conviction being based only on the prisoner's confession, a copy of which the viceroy transmitted in his despatch.

The manifest attempt to burk enquiry and screen the assassins was not the only ground on which the council held the unauthenticated confession as apocryphal: strangely it served for a scurrilous impeachment of Amaral's

administration as tyrannical ; and in further analogy to what the viceroy had insinuated in his previous despatch dated August 27th, Sen Chi Leong confessed that the Portuguese of Macao hated Amaral, and that when he heard from them that Amaral would not ride with many persons he proceeded to waylay and slay him. Repelling the insinuation thus repeated, the council protested against it, against the informal trial and precipitate execution as well as against the non-arrest of the criminals, for which the viceroy was now held doubly responsible inasmuch as Sen Chi Leong should have enabled him to find them out.

To attest the formality of the trial, Seu now declared that after the preliminary enquiry at the village of Shon Tak, Sen Chi Leong was submitted to the tribunal there, then to that of Canton, then to the criminal court, then to the governor, and finally to the viceroy, who, conjointly with the governor, tried and sentenced him. Yet, according to the viceroy's own previous statement, hardly three days elapsed from capture to execution.

Though Sen Chi Leong owned no accomplice, the viceroy, on October 14th, reported to the council an encounter between Chinese soldiery and two of Sen Chi Leong's accomplices—Ko Ahon, wounded and captured ; Li Apao, wounded and drowned. And Ko Ahon having denounced "two Chou and one Chen," on December 19th the viceroy announced to the council the capture of Chang Asin, alias Chou Asin, who had turned pirate, from whose confession it transpired that Chou Ayau and Chen Afat, also pirates, had been killed by the English at Hongkong. Both Ko Ahon and Chang Asin pretended to have been mere witnesses of the atrocity. Sen Chi Leong's account thereof was simply that, seeing the occasion was favourable, he dismounted Amaral, and, with a shortsword brought concealed, cut off the head and hand : not one word as to

how the mutilated corpse came to be so horribly mangled all over. Ko Ahon's account was that he and Li Apao were chosen by the others to kill Amaral, and the others to ward off any possible succour; but Sen Chi Leong, feigning himself as a complainant, approached Amaral with a petition and a closed umbrella in which was concealed a sharp sword, and, on Amaral stretching his hand to receive the petition, hacked him on the arm, and as in agony he fell off the horse, severed the head and hand. Chang Asin gave a similar account, and added that it was then twilight, as if to corroborate an allegation of the viceroy in his despatch of November 23rd, to the council: that it was night when the gang of Sen Chi Leong hurriedly escaped through the barrier-gate unrecognised by the guards. As remarked in the council's despatch of November 7th to the viceroy, it was passing strange that in the confessions no mention whatever was made of Kam Tong, publicly affirmed to be the ringleader of the gang that so atrociously assassinated Amaral.

It was currently reported that at the coast village of Ke Tai—not far from the barrier-gate—the assassins embarked for Canton, where they were rewarded; that Kam Tong, a native of Mongha, dealt the deathblow, conveyed the head and hand to the viceroy, and was decorated with a mandarin's button, as were also two of his accomplices; and that Sen Chi Leong was bought over by the mandarin of Chin-san to pose as the scapegoat—evidently in the hope of being pardoned, as he entreated, on the strength of his appeal to the ancestral veneration of the Chinese, and of the filial piety implied in his declaration that the only reason for the assassination was the destruction of his ancestor's tombs at the rural district, as also alleged by Ko Ahon and Chang Asin in their confessions.

The head and hand of Amaral, Sen Chi Leong pretended, he brought away as an offering to the manes

of his forefathers, and eventually buried at San Tim, a village of Shon Tak, whilst fleeing from justice. The viceroy, when announcing the execution of Sen Chi Leong and requesting the release of the three barrier-guards, stated that the head and hand, found concealed at the village, were to be handed over to the council by a commissioner, who also brought Sen Chi Leong's head to be posted at the locality of the crime as a deterrent.<sup>2</sup> On the commissioner's behalf, the *tso-tung*—now stationed at Chin-san—urged the council to release the barrier-guards first, as evidence of good faith. In reply the procurator insisted on the head and hand being delivered unconditionally, as implied in the viceregal despatch. Five days after, on September 25th, the council sent the viceroy a protest against the non-delivery. The *tso-tang* now induced the procurator to fix the 27th for the delivery, at five in the morning, at the barrier. Accordingly, an imposing cortège, including the *corps diplomatique*, there awaited the restitution of the martyr's precious remains. But hours after, the mournful assemblage returned bitterly disappointed and seething with indignation: the commissioner, wrote the *tso-tang*, brought orders to insist upon the release as a *sine qua non* for the delivery. The council, in reporting this to the viceroy, expressed doubt as to whether this statement was authorised; and declared that, failing reparation, the foreign ministers were to be apprised of the viceroy's responsibility for the outrage, for which Her Most Faithful Majesty would duly demand satisfaction too. The viceroy, alleging justice and humanity on his part, not only justified the commissioner's attitude, but hinted at the execution of Sen Chi Leong being ample reparation for the assassination of Amaral. Pressed to state explicitly whether he meant to traffic with the mutilated remains as an accomplice in the robbery thereof, the viceroy related the story of Ko Ahon; pressed

<sup>2</sup> This display the council overruled in Portuguese territory.

again, he expostulated against the protracted investigations—burked by him, he exonerated the barrier-guards as perfect strangers to the tragedy, again hinting at the affair as settled.

It was then that the council pointed to Kam Tong ; and to the proposed traffic, the retention of the head and hand, as in keeping with the foul means whereby those mutilated remains got into the viceroy's criminal clutches. And yet the viceroy presumed to satisfy the Portuguese government with his contemptible shams and tricks, to hold the case, the enquiry, as closed ; and if so he believed, added the council, he would find in due time that he laboured under a delusion.

To the foreign representatives the council on November 26th submitted the correspondence with the viceroy in an exhaustive manifesto—an eloquent appeal to the civilised world, and a lucid exposition of facts, whereby it was evident that the treacherous, barbarous assassination of Amaral was but the concerted preliminary of an aggressive plot backed up, if not hatched, by the Chinese authorities ; that by their dereliction of duty, by their outrageous proceedings those authorities constituted themselves participators in the crime which, by right, they were called upon to punish ; and finally that upon those authorities rested the responsibility for the atrocious crime and its consequences, against which the council solemnly protested, pending satisfaction for outraged justice, for violated laws, and for so many sacred rights trampled upon.

Unhesitatingly the viceroy avowed that the head and hand were in his possession, whereupon Don Sinibaldo de Mas proceeded to Canton and stipulated that if they were handed over to him, the release of the barrier-guards would forthwith be effected. The viceroy agreed, provided

a written promise was given. But as the council declined to sanction the exchange, the negotiation had to be broken off.<sup>3</sup>

The viceroy was on October 3rd explicitly assured that the barrier-guards would in due course be rendered, if not acquitted and set at liberty. But even upon a reiteration of this pledge, on December 3rd, he still failed to be dissuaded from the proposed traffic; whilst in further support of his sickening tergiversations he now produced the tale of Chang Asin. For reply the council on December 24th sent him the guards in charge of the *tso-tang*, with their affidavits and those of two witnesses. It was pointed out that the guards were at least privy to the atrocity, and either failed in their duty or acted under orders in allowing the assassins to escape. The viceroy was consequently held answerable for them pending such steps as would necessitate confrontation.

To crown his arrant perversity and impudence, the viceroy replied that the affidavits were but an accumulation of empty words; that the six real criminals were now all traced out, some dead; and that he complied with the laws of the empire in recognising confession of guilt as ample evidence and punishing crime on actual proof; and this he bade the council weigh seriously and calmly.

To the civil and military mandarins of Chinsan the viceroy now referred the council for the head and hand. The council, in fixing the time and locality for the delivery, enjoined the observance of due decorum. Yet another protest was necessary, another insult added to the series of studied outrages. On the 16th January 1850 a hired boat brought to the Praia Grande two policemen who delivered Amaral's head and hand in a bucket. The perfect state of preservation, the evident care taken to ensure it, belied

<sup>3</sup> Don Sinibaldo de Mas: *L'Angleterre, la Chine, et l'Inde*, p. 95.

the alleged burial at San Tim; and the fractured skull, the many wounds, were further evidence of the assassins' wanton ferocity.

Minute guns boomed, and the relics, duly encased, were brought by a sorrowing cortège and placed by the side of the coffin at the *chapelle ardente* in Government House, where the bishop officiated at a requiem service. At last the honours of sepulture were rendered, most impressively, at the church of St. Francis.<sup>4</sup> Thence the remains of the Liberator and Martyr of Macao were removed to Lisbon under instructions from the government. Had Amaral returned home alive, he would have been of inestimable service. "A nobler spirit than his never animated its tenement of clay, and he wanted nothing but opportunity and a wider sphere to have achieved a name equal to any in the annals of the age."<sup>5</sup>

The home government duly complimented the council of Macao for its very becoming attitude in the dolorous ordeal, an attitude which brings to mind Musset's line—

*Rien ne nous rend si grands qu'une grande douleur.*

It now remained for Portugal to avenge the most heinous of atrocities and outrages ever perpetrated by the Chinese upon Europeans. The resources were sadly unequal to the occasion. Yet the frigate *D. Maria II* and the corvettes *Iris* and *D. João I* were despatched to Macao, to be followed by other vessels with troops from Portugal. With the armed lorchas of Macao, these forces would, it was hoped, suffice at least for a meditated descent upon Canton. From Goa, too, came a detachment of picked European troops, sent immediately on receipt of the council's appeal for succour.

<sup>4</sup> Now converted into military quarters. With the church and convent of the Franciscans was demolished a stately flight of steps like that of St. Paul's, which served for a fine picture by Chinnery.

<sup>5</sup> *China Mail*, 30th August, 1849.

A distinguished governor was appointed for Macao, Pedro Alexandrino da Cunha. Thirty-eight days after assuming the post, he died rather suddenly, on the 6th July, 1850. A post-mortem examination made by five physicians removed the suspicion that it might be a case of poisoning, the cause of death being an aggravated state of chronic gastro-enteritis, as attested in the medical affidavit. From his despatches Cunha appeared to have laboured under great despondency in the matter of the projected campaign, beset as he was by serious drawbacks.

The troops expected from Portugal came not. The squadron arrived in a sorry condition, being with but one exception badly in want of repairs; and not long after arrival, a great disaster happened. It was the 29th October 1850, the King's birthday; the ships had fired the usual salute; the élite of Macao was about to call on board the *D. Maria II*, when a fearful explosion shook the colony. A dense black column of smoke rose from the Taipa anchorage, and as it slowly drifted by, a dire spectacle was unfolded—a shattered portion of the stern, on fire, was all that remained of the gaily-bedecked *D. Maria II*, blown up with three hundred barrels of gunpowder and nearly all hands on board. As the stately frigate, heaving right out of the water, burst asunder, far and wide were hurled iron, wooden, human fragments, with the guns and shots that were to have avenged Amaral. An American corvette moored not far off, the *Marion*, had a miraculous escape. Her deck presented a ghastly sight; the awning was reddened by the hail of flesh and blood; on deck lay mangled, disfigured victims moaning in the throes of death, while boats arrived with more, gallantly rescued from burning wreckage. Some of the survivors stated that the magazine-keeper, punished for drunkenness and neglect of duty, had been heard threatening to fire the magazine, and for some



fault or other the commander had pulled him by the beard just before the salute. The calamity cost the lives of one hundred and ninety one of the crew, and about forty Chinese on board and alongside. Thirty-six of the crew were on shore at the time, including the commander's little son, the pet of the crew, who had gone on shore at the suggestion of the grey-haired veterans to whose fiendish spite the disaster was generally attributed. But for this, it would be difficult indeed to set aside a lurking suspicion of foul play. Anyhow, uneasiness prevailed at Macao, what with the awful series of disasters.

The next governor, Francisco Antnio Gonçalves Cardoso, reached Macao in February 1851, and in a stirring, high-sounding proclamation rather significantly alluded to the Portuguese of old who held honour dearer than life, to the necessity of unity and firmness for overcoming drawbacks, to the duty of maintaining the colony with dignity, of respecting the law of nations to the utmost, of never yielding an inch to absurd pretensions, and observing the strictest discipline.

Cardoso, like Amaral, proved too high-spirited for the precarious colony, and ere he had been ten months in office, was superseded by the commander of the *D. João I*, Captain Guimarães, whom he had severely censured when in consequence of alleged stress of weather the *corvette* put back from a cruise to the North, whither she had been sent, at the repeated instance of the Hongkong government, for the purpose of investigating and checking abuses said to be perpetrated by Portuguese lorchas.

Meanwhile a curious incident happened at Macao. In the summer of 1850, the official Chinese interpreter, João Rodrigues Gonçalves, was approached by a well-dressed Chinaman who with great diffidence and mystery made a proposal: the governor of Macao (Pedro Alexandrino da

Cunha) being known to be a just and humane, as well as a prudent and resolute man of widespread renown, was proffered the command of thousands of staunch Chinese adherents abundantly provided for the purpose of seizing the empire. He was asked to take this matter into consideration, and favour them with a reply. The interpreter brusquely sent the man away, taking him for a fool, a joker, or an intriguer. Shortly after this incident, the Tae-ping rebellion was in full swing, and it was then that the significance of the proposal dawned upon the interpreter.<sup>6</sup>

In a memorial to the throne, Seu reported the Portuguese to be a horde of pirates, who, in concert with the rebels, meditated taking Kwang-tung and Fokien. As the rebellion spread, he sought to evade responsibility, pressing in vain for leave to visit the late emperor Tao-kwang's tomb. The troops he at last sent against the rebels were routed; and blamed for his tardy action, Seu was degraded, and yet retained in office. On leaving Canton for the scene of action he came across what was considered to be intended as an ill-omen for him—the effigy of a beheaded mandarin of his own rank, for exposing which the artist who made it was punished on the spot. It was soon rumoured that Seu had captured and sent the Tae-ping leader to Peking in an iron cage. This found corroboration when, together with the sentence of death, the Peking Gazette published the leader's confession of his pretensions to the throne, which was afterwards found to be apocryphal, the prisoner being only a petty chieftain. As the rebels gained ground, Seu was further degraded. His reports, remarked the emperor Hien Fung, were those of a dreamer; and to execute him would be but to relieve

<sup>6</sup> Don Sinibaldo de Mas: *L'Angleterre, la Chine et l'Inde*, pp. 144-6.

him of his responsibility. An imperial decree next disgraced Seu, who was variously reported to have committed suicide by swallowing gold leaf, or, according to others, to have joined the rebels. It eventually transpired that he was beheaded.<sup>7</sup>

Thus Nemesis overtook Seu in spite of the *vis inertia* which left him unpunished for his outrageous conduct in the Amaral tragedy—an impunity painfully contrasted by the fate of his successor, who, hauled by the queue and transported to Calcutta, died there a prisoner, all for declining to apologise for the *Arrow* incident. And in consonance with Portugal's apathy, the long administration of Governor Guimaraes was characterised by a callousness which seemed to imply that to vegetate as Macao did, it was necessary to show an utter lack of self-respect, to deaden all sense of wrong however grievous. Thus, after the *Raleigh's* wreck off Macao, Commodore Keppel was banqueted in the very Government House where he had outraged Amaral. And when in concert with England, France sent her China expedition to redress comparatively insignificant grievances, the Portuguese stood by with folded arms, although the queen's majesty had been pledged for the demand of satisfaction due to the crown of Portugal. At least take for the epitaph of Amaral these apposite lines from Herculano's historical threnody—

*Aspero é para o que morre assassinado, não poder  
clamar ao ceu justiça contra o seu matador.*

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<sup>7</sup> Callery and Ivan's *L'Insurrection en Chine*.

## XXII.

When at the very threshold of Macao there rose a British colony, history repeated itself: as Bombay had doomed Goa, so Hongkong now doomed Macao; and whilst a Machiavellian statecraft fostered the survival of the fittest, the predestined fall of Macao was precipitated by the very freeport policy intended for the colony's self-preservation.

Originally Elliot proposed to identify Hongkong with Macao from China's fiscal point of view; and the Foreign Office was not averse to his agreement for the payment of Chinese customs duties at Hongkong: in the instructions dated 31st May 1841 for the guidance of Sir Henry Pottinger in negotiating the treaty with China, Lord Palmerston pointed out that such an agreement, though anomalous, was by no means uncommon in Europe, instances being quoted of duties levied by the agent of one power in the territory of another; and by such an agreement, it was argued, British trade might the better be promoted under the transit-pass system, since it was unlikely that the extortionate duties levied at Chinese ports would be imposed at Hongkong.

Had such an arrangement been effected, it would have spared Macao a series of cruel ordeals, and eased Hongkong of the moral responsibility for the consequences thereof. There would have been no reason, too, for the tardy expostulation that the suppression of the Chinese custom-house at Macao was a suicidal measure, a deathblow to the colony's interests, altogether prompted by false notions of what was due to the dignity of a European power.<sup>1</sup>

*Friend of China, of Hongkong, 1st January, 1851.*

misery of the people; while to supplant the British opium traffic, vast cereal fields in China were appropriated for poppy culture. Yet, in the land thus perverted by Christians, missionaries at the same time preached the purity, the altruism of Christian morals! Bygone were the times when Macao truly deserved its appellation of Holy City, and when Macao's greatest fault lay in subserving the rapacity of mandarindom: now, alas! by ministering to the gambling propensity of the Chinese, the erstwhile august city vegetated in degradation worse than the Chinese domination of yore, expiating thus the ill-starred struggle for freedom.

From the comity of nations in China, Portugal was debarred. When amongst others the Portuguese, notwithstanding an influential opposition, claimed the privileges of the Tientsin treaties, Sieh Huan, the superintendent of trade at Tientsin, backed them up, since, he admitted, it would be unfair to deny equal rights to all, but the emperor is said to have decreed that small states should not be placed on the same footing as England, France, and the United States, the superintendent being held answerable if non-treaty states persisted in sending missions. In 1862, however, Governor Guimarães, accredited minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to the courts of China, Japan, and Siam, proceeded straight to Peking without notifying the superintendent at Tientsin, who thereupon sent an express to stop the embassy at the gates of Peking. But Count Kleczkowski, the French *chargé d'affaires*, afforded the necessary hospitality and protection, assumed the whole responsibility, and proposed that when he had accommodated matters, the treaty should be signed at Tientsin, whither he eventually accompanied the embassy. Prince Kung, who resented the informal rush to Peking, acquiesced in this arrangement.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See Farker's *China's Intercourse with Europe*, p. 106 *et seq.*

It was related that at a conference which Count Kleczkowski did not attend, the envoy was treated with scant courtesy ; but at the next conference the chivalrous representative of France, in a stormy scene, acted like Napoleon at Campo Formio, and, to the dismay of the mandarins, threatened to haul down the French flag in default of an apology, which was tendered instantly.

In anticipation of certain Chinese demands, Guimarães pointed out that, not being at war, Portugal did not pretend to conclude a treaty of peace, and would consequently neither tender nor demand satisfaction ; and that in view of the altered state in China's foreign relations, it was quite out of the question for Macao to revert to the old régime. At the next conference, however, one of the Chinese plenipotentiaries, Hang-ki, urged the revival of the ground-rent and *ho-pu* of Macao. Guimarães thereupon remarked that the altered status of Macao was closely associated with the cruel fate of Amaral and its sequence—a painful subject which he would rather avoid, as, though persuaded that the imperial government deplored the atrocity, he was sure too of that government's responsibility for it.<sup>5</sup> It was proposed to revert to the old *modus vivendi*. But what satisfaction, asked the envoy, could the Chinese government give Portugal for Amaral's death ? It being manifestly impossible to restore to life that loyal servant of his country, so too it was quite out of the question to undo the work sealed with such precious blood. After dwelling upon the pristine autonomy of Macao, the envoy referred to the *ho-pu* as established there on tolerance and for the sake of commercial facilities, not by virtue of any treaty, convention, or express consent of the Portuguese

<sup>5</sup> Chung How, one of the plenipotentiaries, is said to have impertinently asked in reply whether his own or the emperor's head was wanted in return. It should be mentioned that in Seu's report to the supreme tribunal at the imperial court, the assassination of Amaral was divested of all its international and political aspect.

government, not by natural or acquired right, and long after the establishment of the colony. Adverting to the circumstances which led to the necessity of rendering Macao a freeport, the envoy pointed to Amaral's procedure as justified by the right of self-preservation, since it was incontestable that, Macao being in the hands of the Portuguese, they had the right to administer the colony in the way best suiting their interests. Scarcely had the reform been effected, however, when Amaral was barbarously assassinated. And after the treacherous attack from Passaleão, the Portuguese might well have retained the captured fort and made reprisals. But they acted with the greatest moderation. On the other hand the Chinese authorities, disclaiming any complicity in the assassination, ceased to press their claim concerning the *ho-pu*, the question being taken for settled. That reason and justice were on the side of the Portuguese, the Canton authorities acknowledged by their silence, and their repugnance, whenever referred to the fate of Amaral. Seu himself begged that the ashes of the dead might not be uselessly stirred. Yeh, when written to about the *ho-pu*, replied that it were better not to dwell any more on that subject. The Portuguese government accordingly deemed the question settled, and the new situation accepted by the Chinese government. The relations between the two governments remained uninterrupted; and foreign nations, recognising the independence of Macao, accredited their consuls there to the Portuguese government. The situation was definite, clear; it was incontestable, and free from the complications arising from doubtful position and mixed jurisdiction, which it were always well to avoid. Free and neutral, Macao, in the event of war in China, offered advantages not only to the Portuguese and other foreigners, but specially to the Chinese themselves. It guaranteed the integrity of the empire, because with Macao as a neutral free port, no nation would be compelled to

seize Chinese territory, Chusan for instance, as a refuge for its subjects. The recent war and further the Tae-ping rebellion amply proved the accuracy of these conclusions ; and in the governor of Macao Yeh then found all the support warranted by neutrality towards a friendly and allied power like England, and for it Yeh tendered his thanks, which the governor deemed well-deserved. Guimarães then went on to say that if he meant to rake up old claims, there were, for instance, the heavy outlays incurred in the expedition against Cam Pao Sai, and the signal services which the Chinese government recognised but never requited ; and by joining the allied powers in the war, he might have exacted what he could. But while the war lasted, he even refrained from entering into the present negotiations ; and if His Most Faithful Majesty sent him on this mission, it was the better to cement the friendship thus shown, not to discuss matters mutually taken for settled. The plenipotentiary Hang-ki seemed convinced of the soundness of these arguments, which he left unrefuted ; but while explicitly declaring that the imperial government had not the slightest intention to deprive the Portuguese crown of its sovereignty over Macao, he nevertheless deemed it a duty to submit the proposed measures in dispute to the deliberations of the imperial government—measures which tended to hamper the colony more than ever. Under the circumstances, Guimarães found it necessary to lay a memorandum before the *Tsung-li yamen* in the hope that his views would be acquiesced in, since to Portugal, the oldest friend of China, could hardly be denied what had been conferred on nations less entitled to imperial regard and benevolence.

The memorandum was not replied to ; the negotiations improved not. Later on, Hang-Ki stated that it was not intended to contest the possession of Macao, as the old



standing of the colony in itself constituted a most respectable claim ; but that to be unconstrained either by force or necessity and yet insert in a treaty the full recognition of an independence never expressly acknowledged before, was, according to Chinese notions, an act so indecorous that no plenipotentiary would accept the responsibility thereof.

Eventually, however, the treaty was signed, at Tientsin on the 13th August 1862 : in various articles, as vaunted, it recognised Macao as an integrally Portuguese colony ; and in none did it stipulate for the *ho-pu's* re-establishment. For his diplomatic triumph, Guimarães received an ovation at Macao, and was created Viscount de Praia Grande.

The next governor, minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary, José Rodrigues Coelho do Amaral, in 1864 proceeded to Tientsin for the ratification of the treaty, after duly notifying the Peking government to this effect. One of the negotiators of the treaty, Chung How, and the former superintendent of trade whom Guimarães had evaded, Sieh Huan, were appointed plenipotentiaries for the exchange of ratifications, fixed for June 17th, when the Portuguese plenipotentiary and his suite appeared in full uniform, as did Mr. Hanna, the consul for Portugal at Tientsin ; but not so the mandarins, in spite of previous arrangement.

When Coelho do Amaral called upon Chung How and Sieh Huan to present the emperor's ratification, Sieh Huan remarked that it was necessary beforehand to discuss a certain point and insert in the treaty a slight alteration found indispensable to warrant equitable advantages.

Coelho do Amaral expressed surprise at such a proposal, which, he pointed out, was inadmissible. If the treaty had been ratified, there was nothing to discuss before

exchanging the ratifications, after which he would be ready to give any explanation or to enter into any discussion which might be found desirable. But if the emperor did not ratify the treaty, then, declared Coelho do Amaral, it only remained for him to withdraw and protest, such non-ratification not having been duly notified, of a treaty negotiated and sealed at the *tsung-li yamen*, which had manifestly then deemed the stipulations equitable, as might be attested by Chung How, one of the signatories, to whom he appealed.

Whilst deprecating a rupture, Sieh Huan replied that he fulfilled orders in apprising the envoy of the decision arrived at by the emperor, who, he explained, objected to the ninth article of the treaty, whereby the Chinese official to be sent to Macao should there enjoy the same attributes as the consuls of other nations only : as the non-collection of *ho-pu* duties at Macao greatly prejudiced imperial interests, it was necessary that the said official should be authorised to resume the collection of such duties, as Macao could not but be regarded as Chinese territory.

“ Then go and conquer Macao ” retorted Coelho do Amaral, rising, sending the orderlies for his chair, and remarking to the dismayed mandarins that he considered it an insult on the national dignity to discuss for another instant on such terms ; that forthwith he would send a protest, apprise the foreign ministers thereof, and leave Tientsin to refer the proceedings to his government for settlement.

Sieh Huan escorted the worthy envoy to his chair, and despatched after him three mandarins, who, received by the suite at the consulate, alleged that in the words which had so displeased the plenipotentiary no offence was meant : and at future conferences and friendly discussions, they hoped, it would be easy to arrive at a satisfactory

understanding. They were told in reply that it did not devolve upon him to confer and discuss prior to the exchange of ratifications pure and simple; and this being impracticable, it only remained for him to proceed as announced.

Coelho do Amaral having protested, the embassy left, notwithstanding repeated efforts to defer the departure evidently to palliate the affront by beguiling the plenipotentiary with futile conferences. In the course of the visits at the consulate, one of the mandarins remarked that his government had calculated upon the exchange of ratifications, not upon the signing of the treaty, as binding.<sup>6</sup>

With Japan and Siam Guimarães concluded a treaty of peace, amity, commerce, and navigation, that with Japan being identical to the British treaty; but in the absence of intercourse the privileges secured proved of little better avail than a dead-letter.

Four years after Coelho do Amaral's mission to Tientsin, a Chinese revenue cruiser, mooring in front of Government House at Macao, saluted the Portuguese flag with twenty-one guns; and a mandarin who was recognised as a former sailor in a Portuguese lorch, landed with despatches from the viceroy of Canton to the governor and procurator relative to the projected establishment of Chinese customs-stations in the vicinity of Macao. Governor Ponte e Horta objected not, provided the colony's rights and the principles of international law were duly observed. But as this was evidently not in contemplation, Procurator Marques Pereira proceeded to Canton, and, at an interview with the viceroy, pointed out that maritime domains—as a rule a radius of three miles from shore—could not be disregarded without serious offence to the rights of

<sup>6</sup> From Marques Pereira's *As Alfandegas Chinesas de Macau*, the author of which was secretary in both embassies.

sovereignty; that whilst under actual circumstances the governor of Macao could only base his arguments upon the inviolability of such domains, the question might have been duly solved if the treaty had been ratified; that a consulate was the only medium whereby China could lawfully protect her interests at Macao; and since the colony's independence was an incontrovertible fact, the ratification of the treaty clearly concerned the Chinese more than the Portuguese. The exchange of ratifications, it was hinted, might, if desirable, be effected at Canton. The viceroy, referring the procurator to the *tsung-li yamen* in the matter of the treaty, assured him that, even if the customs-stations were established before the desired ratification, the maritime domains of Macao would not only be scrupulously respected but would even be recognised as extending much beyond the radius indicated, in order to avoid conflicts which might easily arise and it were well to prevent.

A few months after this satisfactory arrangement, in August 1868—Vice-Admiral Sergio de Sousa having assumed the governorship—the mandarin alluded to again appeared at Macao as the guest of a certain influential Portuguese resident; the procurator next unearthed a Chinese customs-office within the colony; and his energetic proceeding led to threats of assassination, to charges of corruption instigated by the resident in question—charges which fell through in a prosecution for libel at Hongkong; while Chinese revenue-cruisers were stationed in the inner harbour of Macao; and on the shores of Lapa there rose the superintending mandarin's headquarters with flagstaffs and a battery,—within half a mile in front of the fort of Barra.

A commission of enquiry elicited the explanation that the governor sought to defer the establishment of the

customs—stations on the pretext (*sic*) of ascertaining whether those stations were to be beyond the maritime boundary of the colony and out of the range of its forts. But apprised that similar stations were already working round about Hongkong, he deemed it right, under the circumstances, to address a private letter to the viceroy of Canton with the view of establishing good relations and attenuating any possible bad impression caused by official opposition to rights of the Chinese government already recognised by the Hongkong authorities. And the commission of enquiry, approving the measures adopted, regretted the circumstances which rendered them necessary, hoping that advantage might be taken of any favourable opportunity to remedy the evil.<sup>7</sup>

To the winds were cast all the sacrifices and ordeals undergone for the freedom of the port : with the cordon of Chinese customs-stations and cruisers, Macao virtually ceased to be a freeport, except for the convenience of Hongkong, whence opium was to a large extent imported in British bottoms ; while extensive opium smuggling not infrequently led to bloody encounters between revenue cruisers and armed smugglers, sometimes within the maritime domains of Macao.

What with the Chinese customs blockade of Hongkong, too, a junk bound thence for Macao with gunpowder was forced to put back, and a complaint was made to the governor, Sir John Pope Hennessy, who declined to intervene on the ground that the Canton authorities held Macao as Chinese territory—an assumption against which Viscount de Paço d'Arcos, the governor of Macao, protested in terms which elicited the explanation that the governor of Hongkong countenanced not Chinese pretensions to the sovereignty over Macao.

<sup>7</sup> See Marques Pereira's *As Alfandegas Chinesas de Macao*.





LORCHA IN ACTION



### XXIII.

The utter helplessness of China after the Opium War led to a piratical irruption, in consequence of which Portuguese lorchas were, since 1843, employed as convoys for both trading and imperial junks—a lucrative employment which, fostered by the repeal of the old restrictive measures on the shipping of Macao, resulted in an unprecedented maritime activity there. In 1847 some twelve lorchas were wrecked at a typhoon: in the spring of 1848 they were replaced by twenty; and while the ships of Macao—eighteen in 1835—dwindled to seven in 1851, the number of lorchas then rose to sixty, and in 1855 to treble that number, what with the increased demand for convoy consequent upon the reign of terror created by the Tae-ping war in addition to the rampant piracy.

The lorchas—all built at the inner praya of Macao—were generally of teak and camphor-wood, flat-bottomed and of very light draught, the stern and rudder of Chinese design and well adapted for tacking about quickly, two-masted and with lateen as well as round sails, of matting in some; and there was excellent passenger accommodation on board. The largest lorcha measured about 150 tons, the smallest 40, the majority being of from 50 to 100. The smaller ones carried 4 or 6 guns, the larger 20, from 1 to 24 pounders, the heavier usually on swivels. The crew, half Portuguese half Chinese, carried muskets, swords, hatchets and spears. Quaint-looking and gaily painted, the lorchas greatly enhanced the picturesqueness of Macao. They were her only hope, constituting as they did a pledge of her welfare economically and politically: and fighting in the same cause as that which shed lustre on the colony's origin, the Macaenses showed that they had not lost the mettle of their historic forefathers.



The age of steamships had then but dawned. Returning from a voyage to Batavia, a young Macaense skipper reported to his father, an old salt himself, what he considered a maritime phenomenon: a vessel emitting volumes of smoke as if on fire, and sailing fast though without any sail at all. The old man quietly rose from his seat and with offended dignity left the young skipper to himself with the snub that such a tale would only do for children.

The lorchas frequented not only the treaty-ports, but any river or port on the way. The mandarins permitted this at the instance of merchants and fishermen as well as for their own safeguard. The convoys sometimes went to Corea, Japan, and Formosa, but were usually dispensed with when those forbidden lands hove in sight. And lorchas were known to have ventured across the Pacific to California.

For conveying trading junks the lorchas were engaged by merchants and brokers except at naval stations, where the charter was effected through mandarins, who after surveying the lorchas recommended them usually for a consideration. For guarding fisheries, the lorchas were ordinarily remunerated by wholesale dealers in salt fish. As coast-guards, the lorchas were maintained by the districts protected. In expeditions against pirates, Chinese admirals went on board the lorchas—their flagships. It was only thus that they ventured to attack the pirates, by whom they were otherwise blockaded or routed at the naval stations. One of them, degraded for neglecting to chase the pirates, excused himself on the ground that the sea was so rough and the gale so strong, that only pirates could sail then. Under Portuguese ægis the mandarins invariably witnessed victories which, grandiloquently reported to Peking as the outcome of their own prowess, procured them promotion and rewards.

So impudent were the pirates that they used to challenge the mandarins by pasquinades or even through emissaries, who, however, took care to ascertain that there were no Portuguese convoys to deal with; and it was no unusual thing for such emissaries then to bargain with mandarins and merchants for the ransom of captives and junks. The pirates fought bravely and sometimes learded the lorchas. When vanquished, they threw overboard their women and children tied up together, and their booty, after which they plunged into the sea. Their junks, well armed and water-tight, were usually disguised as fishing craft, with nets which, when lapped eight or sixteen fold and backed with leather, proved capital for defensive purpose—a contrivance which the convoys also adopted. When there happened to be but few Portuguese on board, Chinese lorchemen were dressed up as Europeans in case of attack, and this *ruse de guerre* often succeeded in cowing the pirates.

When capturing piratical craft while convoying, the lorchas were entitled to half the spoils, besides the arms and ammunition, and rewards for every pirate alive or dead. When not convoying, the lorchas retained the whole booty, subject to ransom if demanded by the lawful owners. Damages sustained by lorchas in encounters with pirates were made good by the mandarins. On convoys that distinguished themselves in the fight, the mandarins moreover conferred silver plates with complimentary inscriptions and pennons entitled to salutes and flourish of drums and gongs.<sup>1</sup>

Once more the Portuguese found their way to Ningpo, and there distinguished themselves. In 1847 seven Portuguese lorchas volunteered to sweep away the pirates that infested

<sup>1</sup> *Marinha Macaense* in the *Revista Popular* of Lisbon. 1852. Interesting particulars are also to be found in Caldeira's *Apontamentos d'uma viagem de Lisboa à China*.

Ningpo waters, and after a bloody encounter, accomplished their hardy task, obtaining rewards from the mandarins as well as rich spoils from the enemy. In 1848 sixty imperial junks met at Ningpo, and led by five Portuguese lorchas, proceeded to dislodge the pirates from their stronghold at Hie Shan Island, which, after a desperate struggle, was taken—a feat which the imperial fleets at Shanghai and Chapoo had repeatedly failed to accomplish. Such was the confidence, the goodwill won by the Portuguese at Ningpo that, when English and French convoys sought to oust them from the fisheries guarded by them, the leading fishermen proceeded to make a joint and formal declaration at the British consulate, in 1855, to the effect that they wanted only Portuguese convoys.

When, as already related, the *D. João I* put back at Macao from a cruise to the North, where she was to ascertain and check excesses alleged by the Hongkong government to have been committed by Portuguese lorchas, Governor Cardoso despatched in her stead the lorcha *Adamastor*. At the bay of Wanchow, the *Adamastor* came across a suspicious-looking fleet of junks, among which was a lorcha flying the British flag. A small party under Lieut. Miranda boarded and searched her, when stinkpots and other piratical implements were found. The master, Fenton, was arrested. He alleged that the actual master was a young Chinaman, whose arrest met with staunch resistance. Miranda was hurled overboard with a sword through his breast. The party, some wounded, had to abandon the prisoners and retreat. The *Adamastor* opened fire. Hotly chased, Fenton's lorcha escaped. On the *Adamastor's* arrival at Shanghai, it was ascertained that a Portuguese lorcha had done violence and exacted compensation from the *tao-tae* for an alleged capture of Chinese pirates, and at Ningpo another Portuguese lorcha had stopped

junks and levied contributions. In reporting these cases, however, Mr. Beale, the consul for Portugal at Shanghai, remarked that it would not do to charge Portuguese lorchas only, as it would be heaping on them all the rampant abuses perpetrated by a cosmopolitan horde.<sup>2</sup>

Fenton, subsequently captured by the Chinese, was tried at Hongkong, in 1852, as an accessory in the murder of Lient. Miranda, but acquitted in spite of evidence which, as the *China Mail* rightly remarked, would have sufficed to convict a Chinaman. And from Macao came the bitter query whether the weight of evidence depended upon the criminal's nationality. Tried again, Fenton was sentenced to three years' hard labour, for consorting with pirates.

Poorly built and equipped as most of the Portuguese lorchas were, generally out of loans and hard-earned savings of the poorer class, the convoying business became exceptionally risky in consequence of the confederacy of Europeans with the piratical hordes; and what was worse, the prestige of Portuguese lorchamen was impaired by several cases of barratry and piracy, while the lorcha-owners thus compromised raved and starved at Macao. At the same time desertion frequently took place among the naval and military forces there; and on one occasion no less than nine privates deserted whilst on duty, but were captured after a skirmish in Chinese territory. It having transpired that they were abetted to join a piratical craft, Governor Cardoso caused a deterrent to be inflicted: in the presence of naval and military detachments, the abettor, tied to a gun at the fort of São Francisco, was whipped until his life was medically declared to be in danger, receiving, it was said, no less than seventeen hundred lashes before he was removed to hospital frightfully lacerated. A piratical schooner, owned

<sup>2</sup> Caldeira's *Apontamentos d'uma viagem de Lisboa á China*, pp. 292-8, 320-2.

the Portuguese convoys defeated some of their French competitors, who thereupon joined a band of Cantonese pirates only to suffer a bloody reverse at the next encounter with the Portuguese. The Cantonese then gathered a formidable fleet and engaged several Frenchmen, Englishmen, Italians, and Americans for another onslaught. Meanwhile the French complained to the Macao government, and French men-of-war were authorised to take charge of Portuguese offenders. But when the *Capricieuse* arrived at Ningpo, the allied forces were massacring the Portuguese indiscriminately, some of whom, though innocent of any offence, were mercilessly butchered under circumstances little creditable to some of the foreign residents of Ningpo.<sup>5</sup>

Months before the tragedy, an outspoken Hongkong paper, in reporting the appointment of a Cantonese pirate-chief as the military mandarin of Chin-hae, pointed to the deadly feud between him and the Portuguese, to his meditated attack on them being sanctioned by the *tao-tae*, and to the absence of a British man-of-war from Ningpo as extraordinary in view of an apprehended foreign massacre.<sup>6</sup>

The pirate-mandarin aimed at ousting the Portuguese from Ningpo, where the *D. João I* had, in 1854, destroyed one of his fleets consequent upon outrages and murder there; and to discredit Portuguese convoys, not a few were the tales of horror he fabricated against them. The Frenchmen, most of them deserters from the French navy, were encouraged in their encroachment upon the Portuguese contract to guard the Chusan fisheries. Considerable friction prevailed between the Portuguese consul and Mr. Meadows, the British vice-consul, and, at his own solicitation, French consular agent, who, moreover, as a

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in *Crime and Government at Hongkong* from Dr. MacGowan's *Remarks on Chinese Foreign Relations*.

<sup>6</sup> *Friend of China*, 15th April, 1857.

staunch partisan of the Tac-pings, could not but resent the fact of many Tae-ping vessels having been recently destroyed by Portuguese convoys of the imperial navy.

When called upon by Consul Marques to exercise his control over the Frenchmen in view of their consorting with pirates, Mr. Meadows doubted the efficacy of his intervention, and blamed the Portuguese for trying to exclude others from the convoy, though he could not have ignored that, to conciliate the Frenchmen, the Portuguese had offered them part of their contract with fishermen who, at the British consulate, had formally manifested their preference for Portuguese convoys. To prevent acts of violence and spoliation, Mr. Meadows was next urged to do all he could in concert with the *tao-tae*, holding the Frenchmen and Cantonese answerable for Portuguese lives and property. But he evaded the point, alleging that the Chin-hac mandarin promised to break off the league with the Frenchmen, and that the latter avowed only defensive purposes; and he referred Consul Marques to the acting French consul at Shanghai, declining to approach the *tao-tae* as desired, lest he should commit the French authorities to any undesirable course of action. After the unsuccessful onset by the Frenchmen and Cantonese, measures were concerted for the preservation of public peace at Ningpo; while the pirate-chief gathered his forces from southern waters. Aware of what went on behind the curtain, Consul Marques on May 18th protested against the meditated attack, and held Mr. Meadows with his supporters responsible for the consequences. On the other hand the *tao-tae* was urged to be on guard against hostile designs, maliciously alleged to be entertained by the Portuguese, when it was they who, in compliance with consular instructions, showed forbearance under great provocation.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Consul Marques published the official correspondence in brochure, addressed to the foreign community in China; also in the *Friend of China* of October 1857.

But three hours before the *Capricieuse* moored at Ningpo harbour, on the 26th June 1857, the massacre began afloat and ashore. The Portuguese consulate was pillaged and wrecked, the flag hauled down and trampled upon; and whilst a native Christian sheltered the consul and his family at the French chapel, from the British consulate hunted Portuguese refugees were driven out to meet the shot and steel that awaited them; and days after, Portuguese prisoners were still tortured and butchered within view of that consulate.<sup>8</sup>

On the eve of French action in China, the complication at Ningpo, like that of the *Charles et Georges* at Lisbon, tended to preclude an *entente cordiale* and to frustrate any probable support from the chivalrous arms of France to vindicate Portugal's honour and dignity, and adjust matters at Macao.

Notwithstanding every effort to disfigure facts and prejudice public opinion against the Portuguese, the unavenged Ningpo outrages and atrocities drew forth galling strictures on the conduct of Mr. Meadows and his supporters, on the treatment of pirates as an honourable body, on the utter disregard for justice and humanity,<sup>9</sup> and on the impunity of Britishers guilty of the worst kind of piracy under the very shadow of the English flag.<sup>10</sup>

Such impunity found a striking contrast in the following case: In 1855 the British gunboat *Bustard* came across two suspected vessels at the bay of Pin-hae, opened fire, and sunk one of them, a piratical junk. The other, a *lorcha*, was about to be fired upon next, when

<sup>8</sup> To Mr. Meadows, however the lives of some thirty *lorchamen* must have been of little or no moment, since he could advocate the Tae-ping rebellion which flooded thirteen provinces with the blood of twenty millions of victims at the very least. Upon such a frightful calamity he even built the hopes of Christianity in China. See *The Chinese and their Rebellions*, p. 449.

<sup>9</sup> *China Mail*, 21th September 1857.

<sup>10</sup> *Friend of China*, 8th August and 7th November 1857.

she hoisted the Portuguese flag. On board were found four Portuguese, a Spaniard, and a Chinese pilot. One of the Portuguese was a passenger. They stated that, captured by the junk, the lorcha had been forced by the pirates to serve as an auxiliary in their depredations, being in fact laden with cargo plundered from a trading junk. After enquiry at Amoy, the *Bustard* brought the lorcha to Hongkong, where the five foreigners were charged with piracy. The passenger had ample opportunity to escape from the gunboat, but preferred to remain with the rest. The magistrate, having heard the evidence, stated in private that it did not incriminate them, and proposed handing them over to the Macao authorities, to which the acting governor objected on the ground that further evidence was forthcoming. The governor of Macao deemed the *Bustard's* procedure in conformity with the law of nations, and, fully confident in the integrity of British justice, only ventured to request that the evidence for the prosecution might be scrupulously sifted, and that in case of conviction such clemency might be shown as was compatible with justice. The five prisoners, committed for trial at the supreme court, were then arraigned on a charge of piracy and murder. The lorcha's pilot and a captured pirate, instead of being likewise arraigned, served as witnesses for the prosecution together with an alleged survivor of the trading junk. For the prisoners' defence a prominent lawyer offered his services for five hundred dollars. But robbed by the pirates, the prisoners were penniless. The Portuguese consul, wealthy as he was, refused to disburse the amount, and, like the Portuguese community, laboured under the delusion that the usual leniency would be vouchsafed. undefended, traduced, the poor wretches were convicted. Of the jurors one was a minor; and another, after wavering, agreed upon a unanimous verdict on both counts provided the prisoners were



recommended for mercy. But the foreman omitted this recommendation without any protest from the juror in question. The sentence of death was then passed. In vain the lawyer referred to appealed before the executive council, the condemned protesting their innocence. In vain the consuls for Spain and Portugal sought a perusal of the *procès verbal*, the case being briefly, imperfectly reported by the press. In vain the governor of Macao, protesting, urged the postponement of the execution pending an appeal to England. The condemned, bent on suicide, were dissuaded therefrom by the Spanish and Portuguese priests who solaced their last days. The execution was quite in keeping with the trial. As the condemned, accompanied by the priests, ascended the scaffold, one of the ladders, carelessly fixed, fell, bruising a priest. To the brutal glee of a crowd of sailors and innkeepers, the condemned, dressed like clowns, were exposed at the gallows with the rope on their necks, while the executioner went to procure the crows left behind. Upon the verge of eternity the victims once more protested their innocence, the ill-fated passenger in particular; and of this the priests who heard their confessions, seemed convinced. The execution was followed by a rush, a squabble for the ropes—a fit epilogue for the abominable tragedy.<sup>11</sup> It was evidently one of those judicial enormities of 1865-6 which a subsequent chief-justice of Hongkong, in providing for the defence of prisoners accused of murder, pointed out as instances of miscarriage of justice and execution of innocent persons.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Circumstantial accounts were given in two Portuguese newspapers—the *Ta si yang huo* of Macao and the *Echo do Porto* of Hongkong for August and September 1865. From the former paper a notable article was reproduced in the *Daily Press* of Hongkong and rabidly commented upon.

<sup>12</sup> See Chief Justice Smale's letter of 12th September 1877 published in the *Hongkong Government Gazette* of 6th July 1878.

The lorchas of Macao were doomed. Many were taken by pirates, some brand new, on leaving for the first voyage ; and such were the horrors experienced, that hardy lorchamen abandoned their career. Rather than serve as piratical auxiliaries, there were Portuguese lorchamen who when captured blew up their vessels. Others there were too that confederated with pirates. The lorchas ceased to be relied upon, what with the insecurity, the loss of prestige, the suppression of rampant piracy, and the progress of steam navigation. Disuse was followed by extinction of the picturesque little craft ; and nowadays one looks in vain for a vestige of Macao's ill-starred maritime enterprise. It began under honourable auspices ; it ended under such degrading circumstances that in the treaty with China negotiated by Guimarães there was a clause forbidding the Portuguese to trade with rebels and pirates—the traditional foes of Macao.

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#### XXIV.

The emigration of Chinese labourers to America—originally started at Hongkong for California—began at Macao in 1851, mostly for Cuba. To check the abuses which characterised the traffic, the Macao government adopted measures which, if stringently observed, would have satisfied the most captious legislators and humanitarians. By the ordinances of 1853 the government assumed control of the coolie-houses and provided for the proper accommodation and sanitary requirements of the emigrants on shore as well as during the voyage. To prevent the surreptitious conveyance of decoyed coolies, it was enacted, in 1855, that contracts should be registered, and coolies inspected by the procurator on shore and by the harbour-master on board ; and, in 1856, that coolie-brokers should be licensed, bonded, and subject to penalties for decoying and coercing emigrants, or for not defraying the return passage and expenses of coolies rejected by the government or by the emigration agents at Macao ; that minors under eighteen were not to emigrate except with their parents ; and that even after signing the contract, coolies might, if desired, cancel it, defraying lawful expenses incurred by the agents on their account. Unlicensed coolie-houses were closed in 1859 consequent upon prevalent abuses. To guard against false impersonation, it was thenceforth required that emigrants should sign their contract before two witnesses. In 1860 the post of superintendent of Chinese emigration was created ; and by the ordinances then framed, emigration agents were not to keep the coolies under restraint nor compel them to refund the cost of food, clothing, and expenses for the voyage. The regulations of 1868 required all emigration contracts to be

effected at the superintendent's office. In 1871 provisions were made against contracts between brokers and coolies. The coolies were thenceforth registered; and after the usual inspection on board, a declaration was required from the captain that the ship carried no decoyed coolies nor such as were suspected of being pirates. The ordinances of 1872 embodied all former provisions whose efficacy had been tested by experience; and in 1873 an amendment was made in favour of the coolies, reducing the term of their contract from eight to six years. The Portuguese consuls in Cuba and Peru reported to the Macao government upon the condition of the emigrants on arrival, and as far as practicable looked after their well-being there.

While the regulations of Macao provided only against abuses practised within the colony, the mainspring of the evil lay in the perfect impunity with which coolies were decoyed and coerced in China, although according to the laws of the empire the penalty was nothing short of decapitation. When found out at Macao, the victims were handed over by the authorities to the charge of the district mandarins; but instead of being sent home as requested, they were detained, sold to the crimps, and again brought to Macao for shipment.

Such perversity contributed not a little towards official laxity at Macao, which often nullified the provisions of the law turning the emigration into a slave trade fraught with dire consequences. Officials grew blind to all but perquisites, and the colony was under the thumb of the slave dealers, whose prodigality was such that one, emptying his easily filled treasure by the handful, resented the accountant's enquiry with the snub that the owner need not gratify anybody's curiosity, and the accounts should also be by handfuls of dollars. It was quite characteristic of the times: Macao rolled in wealth, and took umbrage at well-meant admonitions.

Thousands of crimps in the mainland baited country folks with dainty repasts, and deluded them with the promise of an El Dorado, lending them money which, invariably lost in gambling, soon placed the victims under the obligation of surrendering themselves in settlement. When country people could not be had, hawkers, artisans, servants were lured into the barracoons and compelled by hard usage to ship as emigrants, together with Annamites captured by pirates.

The captain of a coolie-ship once declined to convey some Annamites, moved by their tears and dumb entreaties. With uplifted hands one showed a cross he wore to the barracoon-owner, who freed and handed the batch over to the Jesuits recently re-established at the St. Joseph's College. By gestures and sketches the poor wretches tried to explain how they had been kidnapped. Some French missionaries at Hongkong furnished an interpreter. But he was denied admittance at the barracoons, where, it transpired, many Annamite captives were to be found. It chanced that as he passed by a street he came across a batch of his countrymen in Chinese attire. He followed them to the emigration office, fought his way in, and addressing them in their own tongue, overwhelmed them with joy. They declared they would not emigrate, but were coerced to do so. The superintendent thereupon ordered their release. The result was a sensational revelation. As set forth in Padre Rondina's memorial to the chief-justice of Macao, these Annamites formed part of an escort sent by the governor of Nandhin with tribute to the emperor of Annam. They started in five junks, and attacked by pirates in ten well-armed junks, part surrendered after a short struggle, and part plunged into the sea. To prevent the prisoners from plunging too, the pirates bound them up. After beheading two wounded mandarins and hastily transshipping the men

and booty, the pirates set sail and at Bah-choi transferred the captives and a large bag of silver to two lorchas. On arrival at Macao, the captives were either persuaded or coerced to ship as emigrants. The recalcitrants were shut up in the hold of one of the lorchas with a little rice and very little water. Parched with thirst, they begged for more water. It was denied them unless they agreed to emigrate. Yielding, they were removed to the barracoons and there flogged if they wept or refused to ship.<sup>1</sup>

An offer from the government to convey them home in a junk was declined, and to the discredit of Macao they appealed to Hongkong, where a public subscription procured them a ship in which they returned home with others released from the barracoons, including a military mandarin. Some of the kidnappers were arrested and imprisoned at Macao.

It was high time that stringent measures were taken either to prevent the scandalous evasion of the emigration laws of Macao, or, if that were impracticable, to stop the traffic altogether. The governor, however, bethought himself of interdicting the usage of footbinding among Chinese ladies at Macao—a measure which would have been quixotically enforced but for the ridicule heaped upon it; whilst by exposing the Annamite scandal the Jesuits incurred a bitter enmity eventually ending in their recall, which deprived the youths of Macao of excellent tuition.

From the coercive system of the coolie-traffic arose a series of appalling maritime disasters. The disillusion which followed in the wake of alluring promises, the stern reality in the barracoons, the anti-foreign prejudices enhanced by restraint and ill-usage, all tended to create deep-seated animosities which broke forth into mutiny on the high seas as the coolies, cramped in the holds of tossing ships, and maddened by oppression, gave way."

<sup>1</sup> *Echo do Povo*, of Hongkong, 14th May 1867.

despair. And what was still worse, emigrants sometimes turned out to be pirates bent on plundering the ship. When, revolting at sea, the coolies overpowered and murdered the crew, the ship put back drifting in distress until rescued or wrecked. When for the ship's preservation the crew shot the mutineers, fiendish desperadoes set the vessel on fire, and while the crew in boats abandoned the doomed ship, the living cargo perished in a veritable pandemonium unless providentially saved by passing vessels.

From 1850 to 1872 no less than thirty-four coolie ships came to grief : fifteen British, six French, five Italian, three Peruvian, two American, one Dutch, one Belgian, and one Salvadorian ; and of these, thirteen were from Macao, the rest being from Hongkong and Chinese ports. It was after no less than fifteen casualties that one for the first time befell a coolie-ship from Macao, in 1857 ; and thenceforth, out of eighteen casualties, as many as twelve happened to Macao coolie-ships.<sup>2</sup>

In 1870 the French ship *Nouvelle Pénélope* left Macao for Callao with 310 duly passed emigrants. Three days after departure they mutinied, murdering the captain and most of the crew. The ship put back, and was wrecked near Tienpak. Of the crew five reached Canton, whence, with the French consul, they proceeded to Macao, and, as suspected, found several of the mutineers already engaging themselves for emigration again. Others were caught in the streets. Altogether over seventy were arrested. From the proceedings at the *procuratura* it transpired that the piratical attack was planned at the emigration office ; that in all fifty of the emigrants were concerned therein ; and that only thirty-four of the prisoners were implicated in the massacre. The French consul demanded their extradition, for their trial at Saigon. But after considerable

<sup>2</sup> See the list with details in the *China Mail* of 29th December 1873. Published also in the Blue Book on China, No. 3, of 1875.

difficulties with the Chinese government, it was agreed that the culprits should be tried at Canton. Part of the gang suffered the penalty of decapitation there, and part at Lapa, within view of Macao, evidently as a deterrent; and after the execution, a Chinese gunboat saluted the French flag. But two of the gang having been caught at Hongkong, their rendition was sought for in vain: they were set at large. One, the ringleader, was re-arrested on a charge of piracy and murder, and proceedings followed as to whether the prisoner should be rendited or tried for piracy *jure gentium* at Hongkong. The chief-justice, however, discharged him on the ground that a coolie kidnapped in China for Peru had a distinct legal right to regain his liberty even by killing the officers of the kidnapping ship; and that the *Nouvelle Pénélope* was in law a pirate ship—a decision which, on appeal, the privy council revoked as not based on evidence.<sup>3</sup>

Whilst mutiny and murder, by pirates disguised as coolies, were thus blindly and judicially countenanced at Hongkong, awful were the imprecations which the ocean tragedies brought upon Macao, and which happily succeeded in withdrawing the ships of several nations from the traffic; rabid and *ad nauseam* were the outcries of the Hongkong press, notably of a Portuguese periodical which by a close espionage at Macao left nothing to be desired as a scandal-monger. In the case *Regina versus Saint* the editor of the *China Mail* was prosecuted for libelling the king of Portugal and the governor as well as a most worthy ex-governor of Macao; and the prosecution was abandoned as it only served to add insult to injury: at the supreme court of Hongkong a successor of Amaral was cross-examined even as to the sovereignty over Macao.

<sup>3</sup> See Norton Kyshe's *History of the Laws and Courts of Hongkong*, vol. II, p. p. 186-7.



In a raving tirade, the tenure of Macao was classified as "an unrecognised and unpermitted but unchallenged squatting on an undefined portion of Chinese territory;" and by a pen dipt in gall, with a perversity which paled that of Ljungstedt, the records of the Portuguese in China were arrantly turned into a sheer tissue of iniquities.<sup>4</sup> Exultingly, savagely the British press predicted the ruin of Macao; British officials assiduously stirred up Chinese antagonism for anti-coolie purposes; British influence drew upon the much-maligned colony the remonstrances of many a foreign power; in short, such was the pharisaical campaign that it called forth the expostulation that for the sake of her honour England should not strain her enormous energies to crush a small Portuguese colony, and that though she had the might she had not the right to throw the first stone at Macao for the coolie traffic.<sup>5</sup>

To the remonstrances of the British cabinet, the Portuguese government retorted that, whether designated as slave trade or not, the same kind of traffic flourished at Hongkong. At the legislative council of Hongkong, the participation of British merchants in the Macao traffic was denied; but it was subsequently affirmed that not only British merchants at Hongkong but London banks and firms of the highest standing reaped large profits from the traffic in question.

In a report on the powers of the Hongkong legislature to deal with the Macao coolie traffic, the attorney-general of Hongkong referred to the order in council of 1865, whereby, save in the matter of warrant or writ, Macao was placed under the extra-territorial jurisdiction of the supreme court of Hongkong then repealed so far as China and Japan were concerned; and emigration under the laws of Macao was defined as not slavery *per se* but as opening

<sup>4</sup> *China Review*, vol. II: *Macao and its Slave Trade*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*—A *Reply to "Macao and its Slave Trade."*

the door to abuses which under the colour of law were as bad as African slavery. To the governor of Hongkong an influential Chinese deputation explained how the crimps were the main factors in such abuses ; and it was argued that as the evil originated in China, repressive measures should be directed thereto. The chief-justice of Hongkong, in his observations and suggestions concerning the Macao traffic, remarked that while they cried out against Macao they should speedily see that they were not engaged in a traffic almost as bad ; and that his experience had satisfied him that the entire prohibition of the coolie traffic—advocated in 1867—was the only effectual remedy, because its atrocities were so inherent in the trade that all attempts at modification had utterly failed. If there was to be any Chinese emigration, it should be from China alone, and from Chinese ports direct, that the emigration of her own surplus population should be carried on. At all events the character for humanity of England would, for the first time in China, then be freed from the possibility of taint. The governor of Hongkong, however, in his despatch of 12th February 1873 to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, remarked that it was *not proposed* to deal with any other sort of emigration than that from Macao ; and it was even suggested that the naval authorities should seize Peruvian ships fitting out at Hongkong for the Macao coolie trade.<sup>6</sup>

Under the imperial act for the suppression of slavery, the chief justice of Hongkong in April 1873 *prohibited* the coolie traffic to be slave trade, and *directed* any participation therein punishable as felony. After *several* amendments, and under the protest of *the* members, the legislative council of Hongkong *passed* a drastic, vexatious ordinance in *addition* to *the*

<sup>6</sup> See *Papers relative to the measures taken to prevent the fitting out of ships at Hongkong for the Macao Coolie Trade, Blue Book of 1873.*

prohibiting the supply of stores and fittings to ships intended for the conveyance of coolies from other ports than Hongkong—on the eve of the Peruvian treaty with China, which, providing for the mutual repression of abuses, legalised the coolie emigration from Macao and Chinese ports to Peru.

The governor of Macao discouraged the continuance of the traffic there; and by the decree of 20th December 1873, the Portuguese government suppressed it, prompted, as declared, by humanitarian sentiments.<sup>7</sup> The effect of this altruistic measure on Macao was ruinous: several branches of trade died out, thousands of people were thrown out of employment; and by the exodus which ensued, landed properties became seriously depreciated; while the government lost an average yearly revenue of two hundred thousand dollars. But Minister Andrade Corvo, in his report to the legislative chambers, justified the measure adopted, inasmuch as the traffic affected the vital interests of the colony as well as the national prestige, consequent on the unsuppressed abuses, which, he pointed out, were mainly due to the fact that, under the influence of European diplomacy, China refused to co-operate with the Macao government in regulating the traffic.

Hongkong congratulated Macao on the stoppage of abuses and calamities, and, having secured the exclusive control of the traffic, dispensed with the drastic and vexatious regulations, which were supplanted by a consolidated ordinance whereby the industry of Chinese contract emigrants was virtually monopolised for the development of British colonies.

There was a flutter in British official circles at the prospect of Macao resuming the traffic on the same line as

<sup>7</sup> See the *Relatorio e documentos sobre a abolição da emigração de chins contractados em Macao*.

Hongkong. As the British consul at Canton reported to the minister at Peking, the viceroy of Canton sent a military officer to Macao with the message that if barracoons were re-established as inns, gunboats and troops would proceed with orders to destroy such inns and bring the people concerned to Canton for punishment—to which Viscount de São Januario, the governor of Macao, replied that in such eventuality Portuguese troops would co-operate to suppress the illicit traffic.<sup>8</sup>

Vainly Spain sought to assert her treaty rights to hire Chinese labourers for Spanish colonies: China was advised to reconsider the matter, to ascertain how the Chinese were treated in Cuba; and a commission of enquiry reported most unfavourably thereon.

But as Chatham said, Spain could no longer boast pre-eminence in barbarity. Irrespective of the inherent abuses of the Hongkong coolie traffic, now characterised by frequent abduction of women, it might as well have been ascertained whether Cuban planters, in whose interest it was to keep the coolies healthy, could possibly be more callous than the Hongkong landlords whose rack-renting system drove the coolie class to herd in abominably overcrowded, insanitary rookeries, to say nothing of subsequent plague horrors; and whether bondage at the sugar-cane plantations of the Antilles, or even at the guano-deposits of Chincha Islands, was more to be deplored than the physical as well as moral wreck wrought by the opium dens of Hongkong, or more to be pitied than the mule-like toils of the shortlived chair coolies who carry their human burden up the Hongkong hills gasping and sweltering—to whom, surely better than to the coolies in Cuba or Peru, may be applied Montesquieu's saying of the negroes: we cannot admit they are men without being led to doubt whether we are Christians.

<sup>8</sup> Blue Book on China, No 3 of 1875.

## XXV.

It has been pertinently remarked that, as Louis XIV was the state, so too the governors were the colonies of Portugal. Of this the following is a notable instance. A delimitation of frontier at Timor having been resolved upon in 1850 consequent on frequent quarrels between Portuguese and Dutch vassals, Lopes de Lima, a former governor-general of Goa, was appointed plenipotentiary and governor of Timor and Solor, which, out of deference to him, were detached from the jurisdiction of Macao and turned into a separate province. Though expressly instructed to negotiate *ad referendum*, Lopes de Lima, pressed by financial difficulties, assumed the responsibility of signing a convention whereby he ceded the coveted district of Larantuka in the island of Flores, and waived the Portuguese rights over the Solor archipelago, in exchange for the rebellious district of Maubara in Timor and an indemnity of two hundred thousand florins payable in three instalments, after the first of which Holland was to take possession of Larantuka subject to the approval of the Portuguese government. Amidst a popular outcry, that government repudiated the convention, and reconstituted the province of Macao, Timor and Solor, instructing the governor of Macao to send a substitute for Lopes de Lima. But appointed by the queen, he refused to hand over the reins of government to a delegate of the governor of Macao. On the arrival of the new governor, Dom Manoel da Saldanha Gama, in the gunboat *Mondego*, however, Lopes de Lima embarked as a prisoner, and when off Batavia he died, not so much in consequence of the fever contracted at Timor, as of intense moral sufferings. The convention, though repudiated, was not virtually abrogated

on account of the demanded recoupment of the first instalment of eighty thousand florins and all expenses incurred by the Dutch at Larantuka; and eventually a convention exactly like that of Lopes de Lima was ratified.<sup>1</sup> Thenceforth it was only the province of Macao and Timor. Thus were valuable possessions sacrificed through financial straits in a land whose mineral and vegetable resources should have placed it on a par with Java in prosperity,—financial straits which should perhaps be ascribed to the crisis which then precluded Macao from sending the usual subsidy.

The situation at Macao would have remained none the less critical but for the conciliatory policy of Governor Guimarães, and an influx of people and trade during the Tae-ping rebellion and the *Arrow* War. The Chinese community now exceeded fifty thousand. In one month, from May to June 1857, sixty ships entered the port of Macao—an unprecedented number since the days of the Opium War. The gambling monopolies swelled the revenue, which now regularly yielded a surplus; and the colony disbursed heavy contributions for the relief of other colonies afflicted with chronic deficits: it is an ill wind that blows nobody good.

Under the administration of Coelho do Amaral, Macao experienced considerable improvements. Excellent municipal regulations were enforced, and insanitary Chinese quarters transformed into neat, well-regulated districts; the streets, badly paved, were macadamised and lighted; crumbling forts and barracks were reconstructed; the city-gates, still closed at nightfall as of old, were demolished together with part of the city-walls, and rural confines adapted for an expansion of the city.

<sup>1</sup> *Os Portuguezes na Africa, Asia, America e Oceania*, vol. VIII, pp. 144-7.

When the colony had lost its maritime importance, the Guia lighthouse was constructed—the first in China. Would that the beacon could serve to steer Macao from wreck, or that the recurrent light might be taken for a pledge that the star of Macao had not set for evermore!

But forlorn must be any hope founded on the egregious régime whose shortcomings tended to disqualify Portugal as a colonial power, to reduce Portuguese colonies into a byword, justifying the remark that if the actual position of the Portuguese in the East could have been foreseen by Vasco da Gama, his hand might have wavered in steering the way thither.

In rescuing Macao from mandarindom the Portuguese government for the nonce moved with the times, but only to relapse into the proverbial lethargy and expose the precarious establishment to reprisals which blighted the prestige vindicated at the cost of trying sacrifices. And impassive in the face of galling outrages on the national honour, the effete government contented itself with Macao's autonomy being sealed with the unavenged blood of a martyred patriot, when an appeal to arms was the only way to adjust matters and clear up the horizon. There was less to stake now by a supreme effort to rescue the Portuguese in China from a derogatory situation which grew the more intolerable in view of the most-favoured-nation treatment accorded under pressure to other foreigners. Moreover, China indemnified the cost of British and French punitive expeditions; while Macao badly needed a settlement of outstanding claims, and a fiscal reorganisation which might do away with the gambling revenue. But instead of the most-favoured-nation clause and a righteous indemnity from China, Portugal burdened Macao with endless impositions to maintain inert naval forces as well as to relieve other misruled colonies. In fact, an inexorable

enemy could hardly levy a heavier indemnity from poor Macao. And to make matters worse, the colony was further handicapped with a fiscal system characterised by an amazing disregard for vital interests.

The staple industry of Macao, the manufacture of tea, once found some encouragement from Portugal, but was virtually boycotted there by the protective tariff of 1870, which granted a liberal rebate on direct importation of colonial produce in Portuguese bottoms. Because the tea was only manufactured and not grown at Macao, it was denied the rebate. Thenceforth, not a single trading vessel sailed from Macao for Lisbon, direct trade between Portugal and China ceasing altogether ; the exportation of Macao tea to foreign countries was exclusively carried on through Hongkong by foreign firms established at Macao for that purpose ; and Portugal, instead of supplying at least Spain and Brazil with tea, imported it from England on terms defying competition.

It might reasonably be expected that the free trade policy at Macao, enforced as it was in the sacred name of self-preservation, would, under unaltered circumstances, be adhered to as an imprescriptible dictate of political economy. In course of time, however, even the market supply of victuals was turned into a monopoly ; and such was the fiscal impolicy that, if the Portuguese custom-house were still extant in the colony, and levied duties on all the imports, it could hardly hamper the trade more effectually than the penny-wise pound-foolish imposts and monopolies of an intolerant system diametrically opposed to the principle of competition being the life of trade. But the home government's exactions had to be satisfied anyhow. And every promising business, overburdened with imposts, was nipped in the bud, to the aggrandisement of Hongkong, for thither gravitated many an industry thus



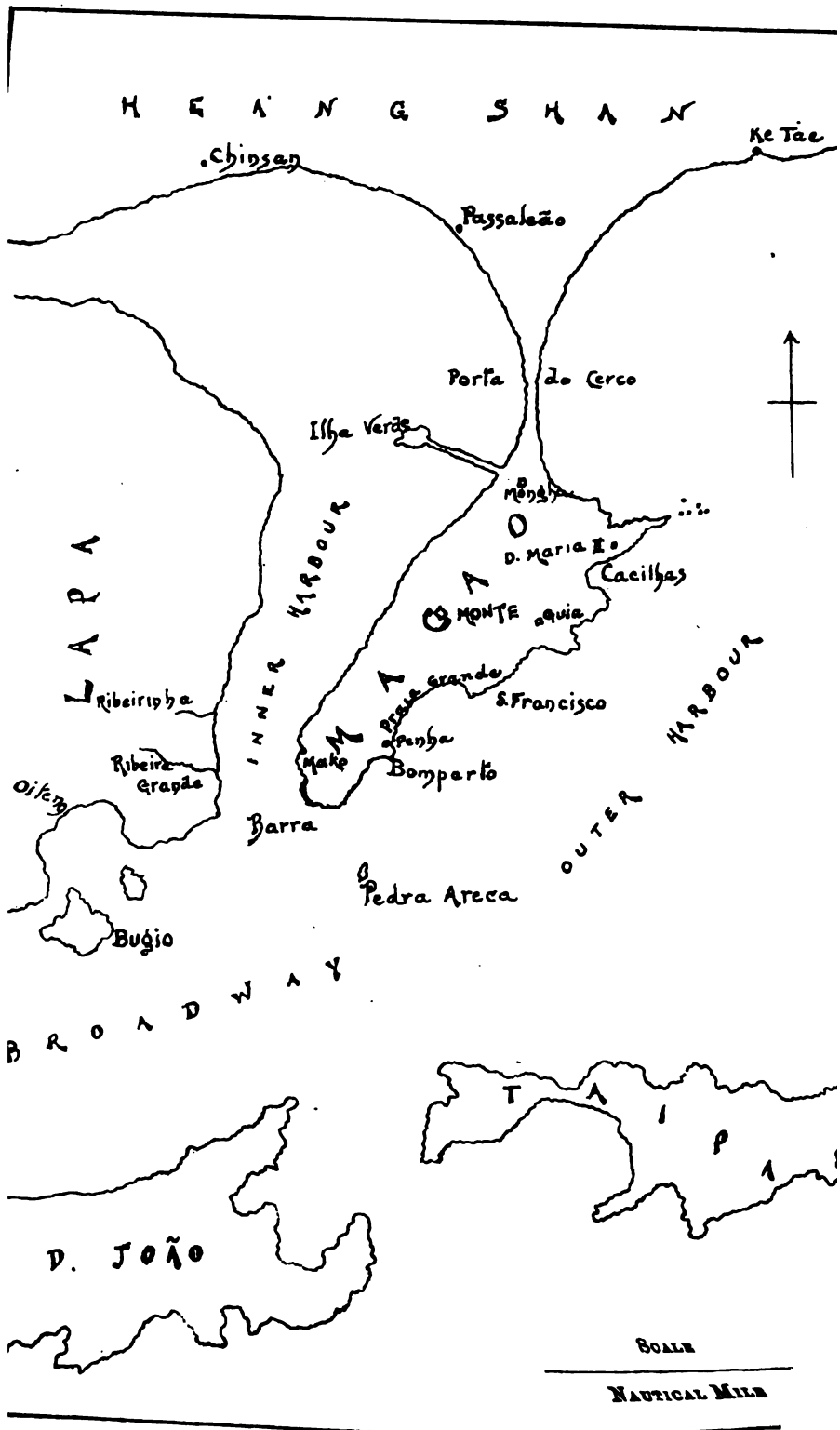
On recovery, Mesquita gladly accepted the command of the fort built by Amaral at Taipa, and in the solitude there found a peaceful retreat for years. At last promoted to the rank of colonel, and knighted, but not with the order of *Torre e Espada* which so befitted him, Mesquita returned to Macao only to suffer again from the same complaint, when he retired from active service. A man to whom honour was dearer than life, Mesquita then had the misfortune to find a maiden daughter of his involved in a scandal with a medical officer, a married man. To prevent a projected elopement, the distracted father doubted the efficacy of expostulations ; and aged, infirm as he was, now passed his nights in vigils, with rifle in hand watching for the seducer of his daughter. The moral torture, the physical strain, brought about another fit of insanity, exacerbated by studied disregard on the part of the governor and bishop, to whom, in his lucid moments, he appealed several times for measures which, if adopted, would have averted a ghastly tragedy. Twice he called on the bishop seeking admittance for his daughter into the convent, and twice the bishop denied him an interview. Thus driven to despair, Mesquita returned home bewildered ; and at nightfall his attitude was such as to alarm the family. In vain was a message sent to Government House for precautionary measures : the governor replied that he would have nothing to do with the private affairs of others. In the dead of night the maniac, raving, slew his wife and the daughter, wounded another daughter and a son, and after bidding his favourite son farewell, committed suicide. Those who might well have prevented the appalling dénouement now heaped the whole blame on the maddened victim of outraged honour, and in their sanctimonious indignation scrupled not to brand with ignominy the remains of him who had once been the providential deliverer of Macao. By command of

Governor Graça, the funeral of the hero of Passaleão was divested of military honours, though this devolved only upon a court martial; and Bishop Ennes followed suit by denying ecclesiastical sepulture. But the community, though shocked at the dreadful tragedy, did not forget that Macao owed a last tribute of gratitude. To balk any such manifestation, the governor, who at first thought of cremating the remains, ordered the interment before the appointed time. The commandant of the police, Colonel Garcia, however, followed by most of the police and military forces as well as by a great number of citizens, accompanied the remains of hapless Mesquita to an inglorious grave. Medical as well as public opinion exonerated Mesquita of all responsibility in view of his insanity. Even if it were not so, the fatal apathy of those to whom he appealed in vain must relieve him of the odium roused by the brutal deed; and the fell sacrifice at the shrine of honour could not but be judged in the same light as was that by Virginius: both arose from a sublime austerity of principle like that of Brutus when he sternly decreed and stoically witnessed the barbarous execution of his own disaffected sons—a procedure which, in the words of Plutarch, it is likewise hard to extol or censure with propriety.

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## XXVI.

The shallows of Macao in the good old days constituted a natural bulwark against the inroad of heavily armed, hostile ships as in the case of the Dutch invasion, without, however, entailing any serious drawback on the trade and shipping of the port, since ordinary vessels could approach the inner shores within pistol-shot of the warehouses, and at the roadstead there was the Taipa anchorage for ships of deep draught. But what had of yore been only a safeguard, in recent times became a cause for alarm as the accumulated, undredged shoals and an abnormal influx of silt from the adjacent estuaries encompassed the colony with veritable sloughs of despond: at the roadstead, depths marked on a British Admiralty officer's chart of 1865 as from 9 to 10 feet at neap-tide, were, upon survey in 1881, found reduced to 5½ feet; and at the inner shores the condition was such as to warrant the dismal conclusion that within two decades the legendary port that had sheltered the junk of Tien How would be dry at neap-tide. From another survey, held in 1883, it was estimated that in twenty-five years the harbours of Macao had been laden with no less than sixty-nine million metric tons of alluvial deposit. In 1883 the Colonial Office sent a distinguished engineer, Major Loureiro, to report upon the situation. It being proposed to survey the tides and currents at the estuaries, the necessary permission was requested from the viceroy of Canton for establishing hydrographic stations; but the request proved to be ill-timed, what with the misapprehensions roused by the imminent Franco-Chinese hostilities, and the ill-feeling consequent upon the non-rendition of a Portuguese who had accidentally caused the death of a Chinaman on





board a British steamer at Canton, and whom the Portuguese gunboat *Tamega* conveyed to Macao after a serious riot and considerable difficulties. British influence was then availed of in vain to secure the desired permission. To no purpose were assurances given as to the peaceful object of the intended survey; and vainly Major Loureiro strove by every possible means to dispel the misapprehensions of hostile designs. Every effort met with characteristic dodges calculated to indefinitely withhold the forbidden lore. The survey had thus to be confined within the waters of the colony and its dependencies. It was obvious that to resort solely to dredging operations, as popularly advocated, would only be a Sisyphean task, and that to render the port permanently accessible from its northern, eastern, and southern approaches, the tide must be carried in as much as possible, a current established at the ebb sufficiently strong to keep the channels clear, and the harbour currents as well as those of the Bugio or Malaochao channel concentrated at the Taipa channel so as to deepen it; and the silting at the roadstead being mainly due to the detritus brought by the Bugio currents from the Broadway, those currents must be diverted into the offings with a velocity that would carry the detritus far away to preclude its return with the influx of the tide.

Besides extensive dredging, a rectification of the inner shores from Barra to Ilha Verde, and other improvements, Major Loureiro therefore proposed the construction of a mole from Pedra Areca to the nearest point at Taipa, so as to force the Bugio currents through the Taipa channel in combination with those of the inner harbour, which, flowing parallel to the mole, would effect the junction at a very acute angle, acting thus with increased force; while at the outer harbour the flow, contracted by the mole to less than half the original width, would gather great force to scour the fairway; and west of the mole,

moreover, a sheltered space, also deepened, would serve for another anchorage. The total cost was estimated at 2,250 contos then equivalent to about \$2,650,000<sup>1</sup> a sum which might perhaps be obtained on loan to be refunded out of the colony's own revenue if Macao were not burdened with subsidies for Timor.<sup>2</sup>

In Major Loureiro's exhaustive report,<sup>3</sup> it was explicitly stated that the project only aimed at the preservation of the colony's actual trade and shipping ; and that notwithstanding all improvements Macao could not be rendered accessible to the leviathans of modern navigation nor accommodated with the facilities to be met with at the best ports nowadays. Nevertheless, in a lecture delivered some twelve years after at the Geographical Society of Lisbon,<sup>4</sup> Colonel Loureiro dwelt on the alternative of rendering the port navigable to ordinary vessels only or to the leviathans as well—a question, he pointed out, to be regarded not only from an engineering and financial but also from a political point of view ; and he was of the opinion that the harbour improvements should only be proportionate to the colony's requirements inasmuch as the cost of the upkeep would be much heavier were the works effected on a large scale. But it was mainly on political grounds that Colonel Loureiro suggested the advisability of adopting an unpretentious plan, for if Macao rivalled Hongkong, and, being a more commodiously situated entrepôt for the inland traffic, seriously affected

<sup>1</sup> At the government rate of exchange since then fixed, over three and a half million dollars (Mexican.)

Under the actual shipping legislation Portuguese vessels would hardly be benefited by the harbour improvement. During the Boxer crisis a proposal to transfer three Chinese steamers to the Portuguese flag at Shanghai permanently, fell through as according to Portuguese law the shipowners would have to pay fees equal to about *half the value of the steamers* for registry, besides being submitted to cumbersome regulations ill adapted to shipping in the Far East.

<sup>2</sup> *O Porto de Macau : ante-projecto para o seu melhoramento.*

<sup>3</sup> *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa, 15a serie, No. 1.*

the prosperity of that colony by attracting much of its shipping, it would be an unpardonable blow for which the British would know how to largely compensate themselves at the expense of the Portuguese—a hypothesis in which is epitomised the sad story of Hongkong's oppressive, blighting influence on the destinies of Macao.

An actual dependency of Hongkong could scarcely be more subservient to British interests than the spoliated and perverted Portuguese colony. To a large extent the trade of Macao consisted of opium imported from Hongkong for smuggling purposes; and it was with the view of guarding against the serious loss thereby suffered by the imperial revenue, that China concluded with Portugal a treaty which subserved Hongkong's interests. For an efficient regulation of the opium traffic, a compromise was initiated at London in 1885, followed by a convention at Hongkong; and as the efficacy thereof depended also on the co-operation of the Macao government, China undertook to enter into negotiations with Portugal for the adoption of the convention at Macao too, failing which the British government was to withdraw at once from the agreement, the due observance of which would, it was expected, warrant the raising of the vexatious customs blockade on the junk traffic of Hongkong. An understanding between Portugal and China became thus an Anglo-Chinese political necessity.

To Portugal, on the other hand, a treaty with China was never of less moment than at this period, when, out of the hopeless situation, there arose at the *côrtes* in 1885 the question of exchanging Macao and Portuguese Guinea for French Congo regions—a proposal which elicited an eloquent protest from Deputy Scarnichia, who represented Macao. The proposal, together with persistent rumours to the effect that Portugal meant to dispose of Macao, evidently set England on guard against the possible rise of a French



been levied before entering Macao may thence be reshipped to Chinese ports free from any further imposition of such dues. But the Lappa customs authorities ignore the exemption systematically.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, from the protocol to the supplementary agreement, the egregious treaty is but a dead-letter so far as the interests of Macao are concerned. It would have been as well if Portugal had declined the tardy treaty, effecting only a mere convention for the desired suppression of opium smuggling from Macao. Such a course would have appealed to a sense of justice, which eventually might perhaps have led the Chinese government to redeem the past with a treaty worthy of Portugal as the doyen of foreign powers in China. Anyhow, it would be no loss to reject an inequitable, not to say derogatory, treaty.

The welfare of Macao concerns China no less than Portugal inasmuch as whatever commercial vitality the colony still possesses is essentially Chinese. And this is not Macao's only claim for the most-favoured treatment at the hands of the Chinese government. To Macao belongs the honour of being ceded by China out of her own free and good will. To the Chinese, moreover, Macao is as a memento of the halcyon days of their foreign intercourse.

It is sad to realise the actual situation of the colony which should be the proudest European establishment in the Far East. Its silting, neglected harbours threaten to render it soon inaccessible save to junks and launches; its existence as a Portuguese establishment lies at the mercy of China's fiscal policy, and over the solvency of its administration hangs a sword of Damocles, for as the Canton government now absorbs most of the profit formerly

<sup>5</sup> See the Lappa Commissioner's Report in the Imperial Maritime Customs Decennial Reports, 1893.

derived by the Macao treasury from the most lucrative of the lottery monopolies, the same might happen to the other gambling monopolies of the colony, in which eventuality the mainstay of its revenue would be cut short, with little or no hope of relief. It would be advisable, therefore, to retrench the expenditure under a reorganised régime so as to ensure solvency independently of gambling monopolies, defraying with the proceeds thereof the cost of scouring the muddy harbours preparatory to a new era worthy of the colony's honourable traditions.

The experience of the last half century suffices to convince the Portuguese government of the folly of retaining Macao as a crown colony mostly if not solely for the benefit of the Chinese, and this out of a revenue derived from questionable sources. As a municipality Macao thrived for centuries, with the distinction of being the most loyal of Portuguese colonies. As a modernised municipality thoroughly adapted to the requirements of the times, Macao may yet rise to be the Shanghai of South China. Founded and ever maintained without any state support, Macao has, more than any other colony, a right to self-government, specially in view of the present régime being unable to make of the place anything better than the Monte Carlo of China.

The excellent geographical position and well-known salubrity of Macao are advantages which grow the more appreciable as Hongkong becomes the more notoriously unhealthy,—advantages which may sooner or later suit the purpose of some ambitious colonising power to submit Macao to the fate of Manila.

Moreover, the unsatisfactory state of Portugal's finances may eventually necessitate the disposal of the colonies to meet national obligations, as often suggested, and so persistently bruited. But amongst these colonies there is

at least one whose historical associations cannot but render it a national sacrilege to part with such a landmark for pecuniary considerations.

On the other hand, in these days of international rivalry in colonial expansion, when might has often supplanted right, a nation that fails to ensure the prosperity of its colonies cannot be expected to vegetate unchallenged in the name of other nations' interests, if not in that of humanity and civilisation : and it seems already written down in the book of fate that Portugal will ultimately fare as Spain did in the matter of colonies.

By a generous act, however, Portugal may be spared from altogether relinquishing one of the most precious souvenirs of a wrecked empire, if Macao is enfranchised as a municipality and placed under the auspices of the Powers in China, to whom, besides being then one more pledge of concerted action, Macao will ever be of interest as a spot hallowed by the struggle and suffering borne there for ages in the cause of Europe which has at last triumphed, as the ever memorable landmark whence the light of the West first irradiated upon China, and where in the noblest of epics Camões sang the dawn of European intercourse with the Far East : and surely such a spot deserves from the civilised world the pledge of a higher destiny, of happier days.

THE END.



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