

XII. THE ONE-ARMED GOVERNOR

'For aught that ever I could read, could ever hear by tale or history, the course of true love never did run smooth,' Lysander complained in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and the romantic episode in Macao's history which we are about to consider supports the plaint of the Shakespearian lover. Difference in blood — one of the reasons he gives for his opinion — may not have had much direct influence on the progress of this particular eighteenth century romance, but it was certainly a marked feature of the hero's physical make-up, since the blood of Europe, Africa and America ran in his veins. His father was scion of an old fidalgo family of Beira, which had been grafted with Flemish and Brazilian stock in the early 16th century, and had produced several soldiers and diplomats of note in their day and generation. If our hero's father, Antonio de Albuquerque de Coelho de Carvalho, could claim to be a true *filho d'algo* (son of somebody) the ancestry of his mother was, like that of Hilaire Belloc's Commander Sin, 'doubtful and obscure'. Her name was Angela de Bairos, and her parents were mulattos from Pernambuco, with white, negro and Amerindian blood in their veins in about equal proportions. Like many other daughters of Eve she 'had a son for her cradle ere she had a husband for her bed'; for she caught the fancy of the young Captain-Major of Pará and Lord of the Manor of Santa Cruz do Camutá (as Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho then was) by whom she had a son in or about the year 1682. Bastardy was not regarded as anything particularly shameful by the Portuguese nobility of the time; and the father brought up his natural son much as he would have one born in lawful wedlock, sending him to Portugal for his education, whilst he himself remained in Brazil as Governor of the province of Maranhão. The

father's career, though a distinguished one, does not directly concern us, and need only be briefly noticed here. After serving several years as Governor of Maranhão, he went home to Portugal, where he saw service in the war of the Spanish succession before returning to Brazil as Governor first of Rio de Janeiro and later of Minas Gerais. In this last capacity he made a remarkable forced march from the Mines to the relief of Rio, when this place was taken and sacked by the celebrated French corsair Duguay-Trouin in 1711. Although he arrived too late to save the city from capture by the French, his speedy approach was the chief reason why they agreed to evacuate it on payment of a ransom. He was later promoted to Governor of Angola where he died in 1725, after having governed the West African colony in unwonted peace and prosperity for three years.

History is silent as to what happened to Angela de Bairos what time her erstwhile lover ran his brilliant career, but we get some interesting glimpses of the Brazilian social milieu from the records of an inquiry made by a Commissary of the Inquisition in 1716 into the circumstances of our hero's birth. The dreaded Holy Office does not seem to have inspired the same awe in the witnesses from the backwoods of Maranhão as it did in those from the purlieus of Lisbon and Evora, where the risk of the stake was much graver. Thus the aged Sergeant-Major of the town of Santa Cruz do Camutá, when asked in accordance with the invariable Inquisition formula whether he was liable to have been affected by any family connection with, or personal enmity against, the persons about whom he was giving evidence, tartly replied that "hatred or dislike he had none," whilst his only relationship to them was through Adam and Eve". The local parish priest when asked to produce the baptismal and wedding records of his church, blandly replied that he had none, since the insects had eaten the former, whilst he did not bother to keep a written record of the latter as he knew everything by heart. After receiving these snubs, the Commissary of the Holy Office can hardly have been surprised when the last witness, an old man from the Azores, when questioned about the birthplace of Angela de

Bairos replied that he neither knew nor cared, "for he did not trouble himself with researches into other people's lives". In this at least he was hardly representative of many of his compatriots, for nowhere has the pseudo-science of heraldry and genealogy more ardent devotees than in Portugal, where it frequently assumes the proportions of a mania.

Despite the somewhat unco-operative attitude of the witnesses, the Holy Office representative did establish the fact that the ex-Governor of the Maranhão had a bastard child by Angela de Bairos about 1682, who was called Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho after his father, and who had been educated in Portugal after receiving his first lessons from the parish priest of his birthplace, Santa Cruz do Camutá. From these and other documents unearthed from the archives by my friend Senhor Frazão de Vasconcelos, it is likewise established that the youthful Antonio de Albuquerque was shipped off to India to seek his fortune like many another bastard or younger son, in 1700. He sailed in the ship *São Pedro Gonçalves* which left Lisbon in March and reached Goa in September, after a voyage marked by heavy mortality amongst the passengers and crew.

Albuquerque came out as a private soldier, but this was purely a formality in the case of those who like himself were of fidalgo origin, and hence it is not surprising to find him as a fully-fledged captain of marines eight years later. In this capacity he sailed in the frigate *Nossa Senhora das Neves* (Our Lady of the Snows) which left Goa for Macao in 1706. On board with him were two fidalgos named respectively Dom Henrique de Noronha (who was first lieutenant of the ship) and Francisco Xavier Douzel, both of whom fell foul of him in Macao as we shall shortly see. The frigate was nearly wrecked in a typhoon off the coast of Kwangtung, and had to be towed into port on the 23rd August "with all her rigging gone, dismasted, rudderless, and without even a beakhead". Being reduced to a sheer hulk, she had to spend two years in Macao harbour, undergoing repairs in an evidently leisurely fashion, during which space of time Satan certainly found mischief for idle hands to do.

A succinct account of Macao in Albuquerque's time, mar-

red by only a few minor inaccuracies, is contained in Captain Alexander Hamilton's *A New Account of the East-Indies* (Edinburgh, 1727):

"This City stands on a small Island, and is almost surrounded by the Sea. Towards the Land it is defended by three Castles built on the Tops of low Hills. By its Situation and Strength by Nature and Art, it was once thought impregnable. Indeed their beautiful Churches and other Buildings give us a reflecting Idea of its ancient Grandeur, for in the Forepart of the seventeenth Century, according to the Christian Aera, it was the greatest Port for Trade in India or China.

"The largest Brass Cannon that ever I saw are mounted in proper Batteries about the City. I measured one (amongst many) out of Curiosity, and found it 23 Foot from the Breech to the Muzzle Ring, nine Inches and a Quarter diameter in the Bore, and it was 12250 Rotulles or lb. Weight of solid Metal.

"The City contains five Churches, but the *Jesuits* is the best, and is dedicated to *St. Paul*. It has two Convents for married Women to retire to, when their Husbands are absent, and orphan Maidens are educated in them till they can catch an Husband. They have also a Nunnery for devout Ladies, young or old, that are out of Conceit with the Troubles and Cares of the World. And they have a *Sancta Casa* or the holy House of the Inquisition, that frightens every Catholic into the Belief of every Thing that holy Mother Church tells them is Truth, whether it be really so or no.

"The Forts are governed by a Captain-General, and the City by a *Burgber*, called the *Procuradore*, but, in Reality, both are governed by a *Chinese Mandaroen*, who resides about a League out of the City, at a Place called *Casa Branca*. The Portuguese Shipping that come there, are admitted into their Harbour, and are under the Protection of the Town; but the *Chinese* keep the Custom-house, and receive Customs for all Goods imported.

"That rich flourishing City has ruined itself by a long War they made with *Timore*, as I have observed before. They have exhausted their Men and Money on that unsuccess-

cessful Project of Domination, so that out of a Thousand creditable House-keepers that inhabited the City before that War, there are hardly fifty left; and out of forty Sail of trading Vessels, they have not above five left, so that in the whole City and Forts, there are computed to be about two hundred Laity, and six hundred Priests, and about fifteen hundred Women, and many of them are very prolific, for they bring forth Children without Husbands to father them."

Apropos of this last ungallant accusation, a Dutch account of Macao in the *Batavian Dagb-Register* for 1681, informs us that there was then a garrison of 150 soldiers, and a citizenry of between two and three thousand people, "but provided with a good 12,000 womenfolk".

We have already observed that Macao was then a favourite resort for impecunious suitors from other parts of the Portuguese Asiatic Empire, since many of the local damsels were richly dowered. The greatest catch at the time of Albuquerque's arrival was an orphan heiress named Maria de Moura, whose tender age of nine years did not deter two ardent lovers from pressing their suit. These were respectively the frigate's first lieutenant, and the captain of marines. The latter had the support of his commanding officer and (even more valuable) that of Bishop Casal and the Jesuits. On the other hand Dom Henrique de Noronha had the tacit approval of the grandmother, who felt, perhaps not altogether unreasonably, that the child was too young to know her own mind. Matters came to a head one fine afternoon in June 1709, when Maria de Moura was more or less forcibly abducted from her grandmother's house, and solemnly betrothed to Antonio de Albuquerque by the Vicar General, Lourenço Gomes, at the parish church of Saint Laurence.

A few weeks later Albuquerque whilst riding through the streets to the Franciscan Convent, was shot at by a negro slave of Noronha's armed with a blunderbuss. The shot went wide and Albuquerque, who was nothing if not courageous, attempted to ride his assailant down, but the culprit made good his escape. Returning from his fruitless pursuit through the Rua Formosa (near the modern Riviera Hotel, familiar to

all visitors to Macao). Albuquerque was fired at from the window of a house on the street corner by Dom Henrique himself, whose aim was rather better, since the bullet struck him in the right arm above the elbow. Wounded as he was, Albuquerque rode on to the Franciscan convent, where a third attempt on his life was made by another negro slave whose aim was as poor as that of his colleague. The intended victim had to be helped from his horse at the convent gate, where the hospitable friars gave him a welcome sanctuary. The municipal surgeon and the ship's doctor who were called in to heal the wound made light of the effects, but an English surgeon from a passing East-Indiaman, who came to see the patient a fortnight later, diagnosed that gangrene had set in, and advised immediate amputation if his life was to be saved. On hearing this, Albuquerque sent a message to his sweetheart, asking whether she would still be prepared to marry him when mutilated by the loss of his right arm. Maria de Moura made the classic reply that she would marry him even if his two legs were cut off, so long as he was still alive. The old chroniclers naturally extol the mutual faithfulness of this couple who were so readily prepared to sacrifice all for love; and the sensation created by this affair was for many years commemorated by a popular folk song which ran:

*Não he tão formosa
Nem tão bem parecida,
Que, por seu dinheiro
Maria arma tanta briga*

which may be rendered into English as:

*She is not so beautiful
Nor yet so fair
That for her money
Maria should cause such stir.*

But the lovers, as Shakespeare's Lysander might have told them, were by no means out of the wood yet. At Christmas that year (1709) the unfriendly grandmother, Maria de Vasconcelos, appealed to the Senate to take charge of her granddaughter, since it was plain that Antonio de Albuquerque intended to kidnap her on board the frigate and carry her off to Goa. The Senate was rather embarrassed by the

request since the courtship of Albuquerque was strongly supported by the frigate's captain, who went so far as to land detachments of sailors and marines to protect the lovers from further molestation. Moreover the senators' previous efforts to interfere on the grandmother's behalf, had been rudely rebuffed by the Bishop and his Vicar-General, nor were they more successful this time. Meanwhile Dom Henrique de Noronha, after the failure of his murderous attempt had sought sanctuary in the Dominican convent. The Governor had this place surrounded by a detachment of soldiers, but the culprit made good his escape during the night and took refuge in the house of Charles Maillard de Tournon, Patriarch of Antioch. Here he not only remained unmolested, but was visited by his friends, and by the other jealous but unsuccessful rivals of Albuquerque for the hand of the fair Maria de Moura. It is incidentally an interesting comment on the remarks of those historians who (relying exclusively on French and Italian sources) twit the Portuguese with their cruel imprisonment and rigorous treatment of the Papal Legate, that the Governor of Macao, Diogo de Pinho Teixeira, hostile to de Tournon as he was, did not dare to force the latter to give up the criminal whom he was sheltering in defiance of the secular justice. This alone is sufficient to disprove much of the nonsense written about the outrageous treatment of the ill-fated Cardinal in Macao.

True Love ran its chequered course for a full year after the attempted assassination of Albuquerque, until finally the devoted pair were safely united in holy wedlock on the night of the 22nd August 1710. Even then the wedding ceremony was nearly substituted by a funeral, as another jealous rival, Francisco Leite, laid a murderous ambush for Antonio Albuquerque. Fortunately for himself, the captain of marines had taken the precaution of having the chapel guarded by a company of his men, whilst more fortunately still, the would-be murderer mistook the rendezvous and went to the wrong church by mistake. His staunch friend the frigate's captain, Jerônimo de Mello Pereira, was present at the ceremony; but his unsuccessful rival, the First Lieutenant, was presumably amongst the band of Francisco

Leite who lay waiting in vain for the appearance of the betrothed outside the Church of Santo Antonio.

The Albuquerque's married life lasted four years and seems to have been ideally happy, if the subsequently bereaved husband's later actions are any guide. His "very rich and very beautiful" twelve-year old wife presented him with a daughter in 1712, who lived only a week, and two years later with a son. The birth of the latter was a signal for great rejoicing, Albuquerque giving Chinese plays in the street outside his door (another interesting example of Chinese influence on Macaonese social life) and organising equestrian sports and other displays at his own cost. The infant's christening on the 27th July 1714, was a sumptuous affair, dignified by the presence of the Governor with two companies of soldiers, and celebrated by discharges of cannon from the citade of São Paulo do Monte. All these rejoicings were cut short by the unexpected death of the mother four days later, which induced a contemporary chronicler sentimentally to observe

*O que de manhã foy mimo
He ja lastima de tarde*

'What is joy in the morning, turns to sorrow at night!'

If Albuquerque had lost his wife he still had her money, and the use he made of it (or perhaps his mere possession of it) aroused much ill-feeling amongst his fellow-citizens. He was clearly a short-tempered and somewhat autocratic individual, but a perusal of such contemporary documents as are still extant in the Senatorial Archives at Macao gives one the impression that he was as much sinned against as sinning. He was for several years a prominent committee member of the Senate, and as presiding Alderman in 1712 played a leading part in the re-establishment of commercial relations with Cochinchina, negotiations with the prefectural authorities of Heungshan-hsien, and other municipal business. His critics, chief amongst whom at this time were Francisco Xavier Doutel and Manoel Vicente Rosa, gained the ear of the Viceroy of Goa, Vasco Fernandes Cesar de Menezes, who ordered his arrest and return to Goa in 1715. When these instructions reached Macao, Manoel Vicente Rosa took advantage of the fact that he then held a magi-

strate's post to imprison Albuquerque in the fortress of Nossa Senhora da Guia, whence the latter penned a long-winded denunciation of his enemy to his former colleagues in the Senate which seems to have resulted in their ordering his release. Nor did he have much difficulty in clearing his good name on his return to Goa; for although the outgoing Viceroy had recalled him in disgrace to answer charges of "tyrannous behaviour not only to the citizens of Macao but equally to the foreign nationals who sought to trade in that port," his successor, the Archbishop-Primate Dom Sebastião de Andrade Pessanha, not only quashed the charges but nominated the accused to the post of Governor and Captain-General of the City of the Name of God in China to boot.

The night before Albuquerque was due to embark, the Captain of the ship which was to take him to Macao suddenly raised anchor and put to sea without warning, leaving the Governor stranded ashore. This unexpected contretemps may have been due to an approaching storm, but was more likely an act of pure spite on the part of the Captain, Francisco Xavier Doutel, a native of Braganza in Tras-os-Montes and a bitter personal enemy of Albuquerque. The latter was not the man to take this sort of thing lying down; and within a week of the captain's scurvy departure, he left Goa on the overland trip to Madras accompanied by a small staff and a few slaves on the morning of the 30th May 1717. Despite the lateness of the season and the torrential rains in the mountain passes of the Ghauts, to say nothing of the difficulties of crossing the warring principalities of the Carnatic with so small an armed escort, Albuquerque traversed the Indian peninsula in safety and reached Madras in the second half of June. Here he was disappointed in his expectation of taking passage on an English East Indiaman bound for China; but nothing daunted he bought a small ship in which to make the voyage himself. He hired an English pilot and a motley crew to work the vessel, in which he left Madras on the 5th August.

The voyage was an unexpectedly long and arduous one. Struggling with contrary winds and lack of water, Albuquerque put into Malacca roads and sent his English pilot ashore

for assistance. As this was not forthcoming from the Dutch authorities with sufficient promptitude and on terms that he considered consistent with his dignity, Albuquerque put to sea again without waiting for the pilot to re-embark or obtaining what he required. This ill-timed display of amour-propre lost him his passage to China, and forced him to winter in the river of Johor. This sultanate was then in the throes of a civil war between the reigning Sultan Mahmud and the Buginese adventurer Raja Kechil, real or pretended son of the pederastic Sultan Mahmud who had been murdered by his Prime Minister in 1699. Albuquerque perforce found himself involved in these hostilities, wherein the fortune of war changed with bewildering rapidity. By an adroit mixture of diplomacy and bluff, the Governor not only contrived to back each of the contestants in turn and in the right order, but was also able to rescue the crew of an English 'country' ship which was wintering in the river, and whose captain had lost his life in the course of a murderous affray at the Sultan's Palace. The grateful Raja Kechil after the (temporary) success of his coup, took a strong fancy to Albuquerque and even allowed him to choose a site for a Portuguese church and factory near Johor-Lama in March 1718. Nothing concrete came of this gift, but it may be recalled that a proffer of Singapore island was made by the then Sultan to Alexander Hamilton fifteen years previously. This offer was likewise never followed up, but these abortive grants form an interesting anticipation of Raffles' acquisition of the island in 1819.

Albuquerque resumed his voyage in April, and after a difficult passage in the South China Sea finally reached the island of Sanchuan with all on board suffering so badly from scurvy that it was necessary for them to disembark. He himself transhipped to a Chinese fishing junk in which he reached Macao on the 30th May 1718, — exactly a year to the day after leaving Goa. He took over the governorship of the colony the next day, and a few weeks later Francisco Xavier Doutel who had given him the slip so scurvily the previous year put into the harbour, having likewise lost his voyage and wintered in Solor. Doutel was naturally apprehensive that the injured Governor would now seek his revenge and

therefore took sanctuary in the Franciscan Convent. He need not have worried however, as contrary to the general expectation, Albuquerque made no attempt to use his official position to the detriment of his personal enemies, and the double-crossing sea-captain was allowed to go home unmolested.

The story of Albuquerque's eventful journey across the Carnatic, his magnificent reception by the Raja of Vellore, his participation in the civil broils of Johor and other events of his twelve-month odyssey, were recorded by his chief of staff, Captain João Tavares de Vellez Guerreiro, in a book printed after the Chinese manner from wood-blocks at the prefectural capital of Heungshan in 1718 or 1719. Copies of this original xylographic edition are now exceedingly rare; but the present writer is the proud possessor of one which is particularly interesting, in that it once belonged to the Jesuit Padre Henrique de Carvalho, Confessor to the Prince (later King) Dom José, and one of the most influential patrons of the Jesuit mission in China.

This work was reprinted by the Catalan printer Don Jayme de La Tey y Sagau in 1732, from a fount of new type recently imported to Lisbon from Holland. An excellent modern edition was edited by the Portuguese Orientalist J. F. Marques Pereira in 1905 (reprinted 1913), whilst the part relating to Johor was translated into English and published in the *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 13 (Singapore 1935) by the late D. Trevor Hughes, whose death in Changi P.O.W. camp was a great loss to students of Far Eastern history.

The reader of this present essay, and still more the student of the history of Macao, will probably have gathered that the governors and the Senate seldom saw eye to eye; whilst popular discontent with the autocratic or would-be autocratic tendencies of the captain-general frequently culminated in rioting and bloodshed. There was nothing in Albuquerque's earlier and stormy career in the city to indicate that his government would be other than usually hectic; and the popular view was that he had secured his appointment by bribery, purely with the idea of furthering his private ends at the expense of his personal enemies. To the

general surprise and gratification, this logical surmise turned out to be entirely mistaken. Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho proved in fact to be the most popular Governor which the colony ever had under the reign of the Braganzas. It is true that friction was not wholly absent, for Albuquerque had a dispute with the Senate about childish questions of protocol and precedence so dear to the official heart. But this was nothing serious, and at the end of his brief governorship of a little over a year, he laid down office amidst general expressions of regret from persons in all walks of life. One of the most striking testimonials came from the truculent old Bishop of Macao, Dom João de Casal, who had previously given a very different opinion of Albuquerque in his salad days, and who now wrote to the Viceroy at Goa that for the easing of his conscience he felt compelled to retract what he had previously written and to acknowledge frankly how well Albuquerque had ruled the colony. Since Casal (as his nearly half century of life in Macao showed) was not the type of man to eat his words, but contrariwise one of those who would rather break than bend, this was merited praise indeed; and so the Viceroy realised when he read the Bishop's letter.

In addition to his unexpected magnanimity, Albuquerque also derived a good deal of credit from the greatly increased material prosperity of the colony which coincided with his rule, but in this instance it must be admitted that the credit was somewhat vicarious. True it is that his just and prudent administration doubtless facilitated matters, and at least avoided arbitrary interference with the normal channels of trade; but the real reason for Macao's sudden resurgence to prosperity lay with causes quite outside his control.

In 1718, the Tsungping or Commander of the Green Banner troops at the city of Chak-shek in Kwangtung province, a Fukienese official named Ch'en Mao submitted a memorial to the throne, strongly criticising certain aspects of European commercial and religious relations with the Middle Kingdom. As a result of this memorial and of the discussion which it provoked at the Court of Peking, an edict was issued to the effect that English and French ships would not be allowed to trade at Canton as hitherto, but

should anchor in the Taipa roadstead opposite Macao and trade from there. This order reached Macao at the end of May 1717, — the very day that Albuquerque left Goa on his adventurous journey. Although this decree proved to be of short duration, another result of Ch'en Mao's memorial which had a greater effect on Macao, was the promulgation of a further Imperial edict prohibiting the sailing of Chinese junks to all foreign countries save Japan. This edict of Kan-g-hai gave the death blow to the flourishing trade of the Cantonese junks to Batavia, where the steadily growing demand for tea for the European market assured both Macaonese and Chinese of a ready sale for their cargoes. Since the Chinese could no longer voyage to this port, the supply of tea to the Dutch virtually became a Macaonese monopoly, and the number of ships registered in Macao rose from 9 to 23 in a single year.

This limitation of Chinese overseas trade to Macao and Canton only lasted until 1723, but during the six years of its enforcement the former place flourished greatly despite the greed of the local merchants who tended to spoil the market by cutthroat competition at Batavia. At one stage the Emperor (probably at the instigation of the Jesuits) even proposed to transfer the prosperous English factory at Canton to Macao. This suggestion was short-sightedly declined by the local authorities, perhaps because of the opposition of the Bishop who feared that the presence of so many heretics might contaminate his flock, already endangered by the alleged Jansenist influence of the ill-fated Cardinal de Tournon's entourage. At any rate this was the reason why a similar offer was rejected on the advice of the ecclesiastical authorities in 1733. It is not surprising to find that this decision was severely censured by the Viceroy of India, Dom Luis de Menezes, Count of Ericeira. After blaming the Senate for its fatuous inertia, he wrote to his friend Padre João Mourão of the Jesuit Mission at Peking, asking him, if the opportunity arose, to raise the matter again with K'ang-hsi since the citizens of Macao belatedly regretted having declined the Imperial favour. But as the Peking Padre doubtless informed him, the fleeting opportunity had gone, never to recur. — 'He who will not when he may, when he will he shall have nay'.

The foregoing facts are taken from a letter written by the Count of Ericeira to Padre Mourão in April 1720, which also contains some references to Albuquerque and the prospects of the China mission worth considering here. English writers, following in the footsteps of Whiteway in his *Rise of the Portuguese Power in India*, have been too prone to dismiss all the Viceroys and Governors of Portuguese Asia since the great Afonso de Albuquerque (or at any rate since the hardly less famous Dom João de Castro) as a bunch of base and incompetent bigots. Credulous and priest-ridden many of them doubtless were; but contemporary Englishmen were equally hidebound by modern standards, if in a different way.

Other writers, including those who should know better, dwell on the admittedly grave corruption of some of the Portuguese officials as if it were universal. Thus Father James Brodrick S.J. in his otherwise instructive little work *The Progress of the Jesuits (1556-1579)* permits himself an unworthy sneer at "the degenerate Portuguese authorities in India [who] were too busy feathering their own nests to have time for adventures in charity". This slur is all the more gratuitous as these same "degenerate authorities" were by and large the most consistent and enthusiastic supporters of the Society in the East, as anybody acquainted with the period must know. A more Christian as well as a fairer judgement was given by one of the Peking Padres who wrote to the Captain-General and Senate of Macao in 1656, acknowledging their generous support of the China mission in good times and in bad. He concluded his letter with the moving exhortation, — "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 Gloriously 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". Apart from this, the successors of Albuquerque and Castro were by no means all bigoted fools. Men like Dom Miguel de Noronha, Count of Linhares, in the seventeenth century, and João de Sal-

danha da Gama, a hundred years later, were able administrators and far-sighted statesmen who would have been a credit to any government. If they were not more successful, it was because events beyond their control were too strong for them.

Dom Luis de Menezes certainly compares favourably with most 18th century Europeans in Asia, and took a scholarly interest in the native civilizations of India and China which few of his contemporaries evinced. Only 27 years old when appointed Viceroy of India in 1717, he busied himself by collecting Asiatic manuscripts and books in his leisure hours, many of which he had translated for the benefit of his friends in Portugal, — who it is to be feared probably never read them. He bombarded the Peking Padres with requests for information, asking Father Mourão to find out whether there were any Jews in Tartary or any trace of Judaism in Northern China or Turkestan, — not so fatuous a question as it may seem when we recall that there was a group of Semitic descendants in Kaifeng-fu who kept up a form of Talmudic ritual down to modern times. He also asked for information on the "boundaries, wars, interests, religion, products, commerce, wealth, government, names, ages, virtues and vices of the ruling princes of the countries bordering on China"; identification of Kashgar and Cathay, together with all the geographical maps, pictures and drawings of Chinese fauna and flora which his hard-worked correspondent could collect. In (rather inadequate) return he sent a copy of Chauvin's *Philosophical Lexicon* for the Fathers' Library in Peking. This in course of time came to be a very interesting one, containing as it did many volumes sent by their correspondents in Lisbon, Paris, London and Moscow, who included some of the principal European scientists and geographers of the Age of Enlightenment.

Whether Father Mourão ever had the time or inclination to satisfy the Count's avid curiosity I do not know, but even had he done so the results could not have come down to us. Dom Luis de Menezes left Goa at the end of his Viceroyalty in January 1721 in the great ship *Nossa Senhora do Cabo* with his valuable library and Asiatic armoury aboard. The vessel was dismantled in a typhoon in the Indian Ocean and put

into the French island of Bourbon (the modern Reunion) for repairs. Whilst she lay at anchor in the roads, she was attacked and boarded by two pirate ships, *Victory* and *Fancy*, under the famous (or infamous) Jasper Seager alias Captain England, who entered the harbour under false colours and thus took their prey unawares. The Count-Viceroy was nearly killed in the scuffle which followed when the pirates swarmed aboard; but fortunately their Quartermaster recognised the distinguished fidalgo by the splendour of his scarlet coat and Order of Christ, and rescued him from being slaughtered by the sailors after his rapier had been broken in the hand-to-hand fight on the deck.

With the engaging courtesy of that century, the pirates treated their prisoner with the consideration due to his rank, firing a salute of 21 guns when sending him ashore in the ship's boat after fixing the amount of his ransom (promptly paid by the French Governor who was probably confederated with England and Co.) and offering to restore to him the whole of his private baggage intact. With true Iberian hauteur, Dom Luis de Menezes rejected the offer; and when the pirates politely persisted, he firmly retorted that if they made any distinction between himself and the other prisoners in this way, he would throw the chests overboard before their eyes. This quixotic pride resulted in all his precious Asiatic manuscripts being used for cartridge-paper by the corsairs; whilst the crowning blow came a few weeks later, when such books as he had previously sent ashore were destroyed by a fire which burnt the house wherein he was staying. His further career, though interesting enough in its way, need not detain us here, and we must return to a consideration of his correspondence with Father Mourão.

In discussing the vexed questions of the Chinese Rites and the *Padroado*, the Count ridiculed the Papal contention that the Chinese Emperor should not be termed *Supreme Lord* in native Christian literature unless the words of his *Empire* were added. He pointed out that the King of Portugal was officially addressed as 'most high and powerful Lord', without stating Lord of what, or assuming that this referred to Heaven. He deprecated the appointment of

the Patriarch Mezzabarba as *Legato a Latere* and the Papal reluctance to create three more Chinese Bishops subject to the *Padroado*, complaining that the Portuguese proverb *the Bride delivered and the Dowry promised* was verified in the present instance. He further complained of the Papal prohibition forbidding the Jesuits to accept the rank and status of Mandarins "which made them respected in China and served so greatly to exalt the Christian Name, in consideration of the Missionaries occupying such high positions in a heathen nation so civilized and proud".

What annoyed him most, was the attitude of the Archbishop-Primate of Goa, that same Dom Sebastião de Andrade Pessanha who had appointed Antonio de Albuquerque as Governor of Macao in 1717. When the Count suggested to the Archbishop that he should publish a pastoral in favour of the Jesuit attitude on these contentious questions, the latter replied, "that experience had shown that all previous disputes between Kings and Pontiffs had been amicably settled sooner or later, and that all those prelates and priests who directly or indirectly had ventured to oppose the decisions of Rome had subsequently been visited with the severe displeasure of the Vatican". Furthermore he had taken the oath to obey the Papal Constitution on the Rites at the hands of the Nuncio in Lisbon, and he regarded this and any other Bulls which the Pope might publish as being more binding than the real or pretended prerogative of the Portuguese Crown. The Viceroy did not dissemble his indignation at what he regarded as the weak-kneed and unpatriotic attitude of the Archbishop, which certainly would have caused Father Antonio Vieira to turn in his grave.

From this correspondence between Goa and Peking, we learn *inter alia* that Padre João Mourão had brought Antonio de Albuquerque's model governorship of Macao to the notice of the Emperor K'ang-hsi himself; and furthermore that both the Jesuits and the Court of Peking were desirous that this fidalgo should be continued for some time longer in the position he filled to such general satisfaction. The Viceroy replied that unfortunately the matter was beyond his control, as Albuquerque's successor, Antonio de Silva Tello de Menezes, had already sailed to super-

sede him and his patent was dated prior to that of the former. He added that if he had received the Jesuit's letter earlier, he could have arranged for Menezes to exchange Macao for another governorship, but as things were it was now too late. The uncommonly good impression created by Albuquerque in Macao may be gathered from the following and final quotation from the Count of Ericeira's correspondence; this time from a letter to one of the ex-Governor's bitterest enemies, Francisco Xavier Douzel, — "Antonio de Albuquerque has arrived here; and even though I have not yet spoken to him, I have realised from letters written by trustworthy persons, and those moreover who were always opposed to the former General, that his government had been a most successful one, since he had known how to subordinate his own inclinations to the public weal when occasion demanded it".

In view of his striking success in the ticklish and responsible post of Macao, it is scarcely surprising that the Count of Ericeira's successor, the Viceroy Francisco José de Sampaio e Castro, appointed Antonio de Albuquerque as Governor of the turbulent settlements in Timor and Solor in 1721. An account of his stewardship was given in the preceding chapter, and here we have only to record his arrival in the City of the Name of God on the 29th September 1725, after finishing his eventful three-year tenure of office in Timor. He stayed with his old friends and ghostly fathers of Saint Francis in their Monastery at the end of the Praia Grande, where a requiem Mass for his dead wife and daughter was celebrated on the 23rd November. The consideration in which he was held locally is shown by the fact that at the end of the service a salute of minute guns was fired by the fortress of Monte whilst the bells of all the Churches were tolled. It was on this occasion that Albuquerque ordered an urn to be made, in which he deposited the bones of his lost wife and child together with that of his right arm amputated in 1709. This urn was originally placed in the Convent Church of São Francisco, whence it was transferred to that of Santo Agostinho on the demolition of the former in 1865, and where it remains to the present day.

Two years after his return to India from Timor via Macao, Albuquerque was appointed *Provedor* of the *Misericórdia* at Goa in 1728. This charitable Institution and its beneficent activities have been strangely neglected by the historians and critics of Portuguese Asia, who might tone down some of their acerbities if they realised what an immense amount of unselfish charity this pious foundation performed amidst so much undeniable bigotry and squalor. The story of the *Misericórdia* at Goa is one of the redeeming features of Portuguese imperialism in Asia and one which had no parallel in other European Asiatic colonies until modern times. In succouring the needy and oppressed, befriending the orphan, and guarding the patrimony of the widow and the fatherless, this organization performed a truly merciful task, and performed it very well. Abuses and mistakes were often made of course, but by and large the administration remained on a surprisingly honest level. On the whole the institution may justly claim to have fulfilled its name and the purpose of the charitable Queen Dona Leonor, under whose patronage the original Holy House of Mercy was founded by her father-confessor at Lisbon in 1498.

The Goa branch was established shortly after the conquest by the great Afonso d'Albuquerque himself on the same principle as the parent house. At one time or another there were as many as twenty branches scattered throughout the Portuguese Asiatic colonies, of which that at Macao was the most important. The funds which supported this great endowment were entirely derived from private charity and from legacies in mortmain; through which means a percentage at least of ill-gotten gains was returned to the poor and needy from whom (perhaps) it had been squeezed in the first place. When the *Advocatus Diaboli* has had his say, it remains true that whatever was done in the way of mitigation of the inevitable ills of humanity, was done wisely, sympathetically, and reasonably honestly by the *Misericórdia*. The duties of the brotherhood of the *Misericórdia* were defined as being seven spiritual and seven corporal works. The former were:

1. Giving good advice.
2. Teaching the ignorant.

3. *Consoling the sorrowful.*
4. *Punishing evil-doers.*
5. *Pardoning injuries received.*
6. *Suffering our neighbours' shortcomings.*
7. *Praying to God for the living and the dead.*

Whilst the latter comprised

1. *Giving food to the hungry.*
2. *Giving drink to the thirsty.*
3. *Clothing the naked.*
4. *Visiting the sick and prisoners.*
5. *Giving shelter to the weary.*
6. *Ransoming captives.*
7. *Burying the dead.*

The rules of the *Misericórdia* at Lisbon provided for a brotherhood of 300 members, of whom half were gentry and half mechanics or plebians. In Macao, members would only admit belonging to the former category, even though many of them came originally from the slums of Lisbon or Porto, or from squalid hamlets in Beira or Alentejo. Once round the Cape of Good Hope every Portuguese gave himself the airs and graces of a fidalgo, according to the unanimous testimony of Linschoten, Mocquet, Pyard de Laval, &c. All members of the brotherhood in addition to being "men of good conscience and repute, obedient to God, modest, charitable and humble", were supposed to be endowed with the following qualifications, in default of any of which they were liable to instant expulsion on detection.

1. *Purity of blood, without any taint of Moorish or Jewish origin.*
2. *Freedom from ill repute in word and deed.*
3. *Of a suitable age, and not under 30 years old if unmarried.*
4. *Not suspect of serving the Misericórdia for pay.*
5. *Of sufficient intelligence and able to read and write.*
6. *In sufficiently comfortable circumstances to obviate any temptation to embezzle the funds of the Misericórdia, or any others to which they might have access.*
7. *To accompany only the Bier of the Misericórdia and no other.*

It would be too much to expect that this standard was

princes, prelates, and the common people alike". Not an easy order amongst a set of fidalgos notoriously as proud as Lucifer; but it is surprising how often the *Provedores* lived up to their presumed qualifications once they had assumed office, even if their previous behaviour had left something to be desired.

It was thus no sinecure post to which Albuquerque was elected in 1728, but he did not hold it for long. In December he was appointed Governor and Captain-General of the island of Patta (Pate) a dependency of Mombasa which had been retaken by the Portuguese from the Arabs of Oman that year. The reconquest (Mombasa had been Portuguese until its capture by the Arabs in 1699) proved an ephemeral one, and Albuquerque abandoned the island to its native Swahili chiefs, after a local rising had prevented him from building a fort as he had been instructed to do. His premature abandonment of Patta, and still more his failure to try and relieve Mombasa which fell to an Arab counter-attack a few months later, got him into serious trouble on his return to Goa in September 1729. He was brought to trial for dereliction of duty but honourably acquitted by the Court when he proved to its satisfaction that his diminutive garrison of 150 men were all at death's door from malnutrition, and that he could not have sailed to Mombasa against the monsoon. It is true that the Viceroy, Saldanha da Gama, insinuated that his acquittal was due to his clever defence and to judicious bribery of witnesses; but the verdict was duly confirmed by the highest Tribunal at Lisbon after a delay of some years. Locally his prestige does not seem to have suffered, as he was again elected *Provedor* of the *Misericórdia* in 1742; whilst some years previously he had held the responsible position of presiding alderman in the city council or Senate.

In this capacity he was responsible for the repair of the ruined chapel of Saint Catherine, founded in 1550 to commemorate the conquest of the city from the Adil Khan forty years previously, but otherwise nothing is recorded of his activities. He took the field for the last time in 1740 when he was appointed commandant of a district near Mormugão during the Mahratta invasion which

invariably maintained. In 1644, we find King John IVth reprimanding the Brotherhood at Macao for refusing to admit Chinese Christians to their ranks and enjoining them to do so. Sixty years later, the Governor, Francisco de Melo e Castro, fell foul of the local *Misericórdia*, through forcing it to admit a heathen Chinese who was seriously ill, which, as Frei Joseph de Jesus Maria indignantly informs us in his *Azia Sinica e Japonica* (1745) was "an unheard of and quite impracticable thing, since this class of people was never admitted therein, nor had it been instituted for this purpose. And moreover if this one was admitted, innumerable others would seek admission, whilst if any of them died, the Mandarins would force the *Misericórdia* to pay up". These and other reasons were adduced by the *Provedor* to refuse the Chinese admission; but the Governor, nothing daunted, arrested that functionary and put in his protégé by brute force. Reference to the original *Compromisso* or Statutes of the Macao *Misericórdia*, as amended in 1662, shows that it was ostensibly instituted for the exercise of charity to all in need, regardless of creed and colour; albeit the preamble specified that charity began at home with fellow Christians as the principal beneficiaries. As a matter of fact, indiscriminate charity to the local Chinese populace would have been quite impracticable in view of the modest resources of the colony in the eighteenth century. In Goa, where the penniless proletariat were not quite so numerous proportionately, the colour bar seems to have been a good deal less rigid.

The *Provedor*, or President of the Board of Guardians as we would probably term him in English, was the authority who represented the establishment before the Viceroys, the Comptroller-General (*Vedor da Fazenda*) and all the other officials and ecclesiastics with whom it had to deal, and from whose rapacious clutches its coveted patrimony frequently had to be defended. The essential qualities which the 'Brothers' — as his fellow guardians were termed — had to find in the man of their choice, were defined according to the original statutes as being "a fidalgo or gentleman, honourable, authoritative, virtuous, of good repute and very humble, and a person whose character would inspire respect in

threatened Goa itself. The final notice relating to him is contained in a dispatch of the Viceroy Marquis of Castelnovo in January 1746, when he refers to Albuquerque in the course of giving a biographical sketch of the principal fidalgos at Goa:

"Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho, son of Antonio de Albuquerque who governed Angola and the Mines, aged over sixty years, a widower without issue. He has occupied various posts with distinction and courage, and governed Timor, Macao and Pate with the rank of General and with prudence and skill. He was finally General of Bardes, which post he resigned to live amongst the Franciscan Friars of the Province of the Mother of God, where he is now leading a devout and holy life. He is very clever, honest and truthful". No bad epitaph for a man of his antecedents; but one cannot help wondering whether his religious meditations in the quiet peace of that Franciscan monastery garden were occasionally interrupted by less edifying thoughts of those bygone days in Macao, when he and the fair Maria de Moura had ventured all for love, and found the World well lost in quite another sense.

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