



The Huaisheng Mosque.

# Muslims in the Pearl River Delta, 1700 to 1930

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It is well known that Muslims have a long history of being involved in trade with China. During the Tang dynasty (618-905), Muslims came regularly to Canton. These exchanges have left an enduring influence and presence in the city. Today, Canton is still home to a small community of Muslim believers. The Huaisheng Mosque located there is one of the oldest in the world. In fact, it has the tomb of one of Prophet Mohammed's relatives, Abu Wangus, who died in 629.

The presence of Islam in Canton influenced Buddhist beliefs as well. Today you can go to the Temple of the God of the South China Sea at Whampoa, and pray to the image of an Arab merchant who was incorporated into the pantheon of Buddhist gods. He stands with his hand on his forehead and eyes set on the horizon, waiting in expectation for his fellow believers to arrive and carry him home.

Much has been studied and written about these early Muslim contacts with China, but little has been said about their subsequent activities during the Qing dynasty. One of the reasons for those omissions is simply because there are very few references available to research their history. The Portuguese records from Macao, for example, say very little about the Muslim presence in the delta during the eighteenth century, and we have no records from the Muslim traders themselves. The

Chinese records also provide very little information. Thus, if that were all we had to go by, there would be nothing to say for most of the eighteenth century. Fortunately, there are other sources that have survived.

Other language sources clearly show that Muslims were indeed involved with the trade in China. When a French ship and English ship arrived in Macao in 1698 and 1699, both of them recorded that Moors

Arab merchant incorporated into the pantheon of Buddhist gods.



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## MINORIAS CULTURAIS DE MACAU II

and Armenians were already coming to the delta to carry on trade with Canton. In fact, when the English ship *Macclesfield* arrived at Whampoa in the latter year, the captain found a private English ship from Madras already there lying at anchor. The French traders report that it was a “Moors” ship from Surat.<sup>1</sup>

The references to Muslims or “Moors,” as they were called at the time, are very few and far between for the eighteenth century. It is not always clear what exactly is meant by the term “Moors.” In some cases, the Moors appear to be Muslims, who were clearly distinguished as being of that persuasion by the persons writing the texts perhaps because of their dress (although their costumes are rarely mentioned). In other cases, however, the entries appear to be more general referring to persons with a dark skin such as is common in India, who were obviously not Europeans or of other Asian ethnicities. These persons were probably Arabs, but there is no way to say with any degree of certainty that they were indeed Muslims.

Sometimes the distinction seems to come from the type of vessels that were being used, which was thought to be one from India (meaning a non-European style and different from an Asian junk). In other cases, the distinctions come from the flag that the vessels were flying being one from the Malabar or Coromandel Coasts. In all of these cases, the traders might be referred to as “Moors,” whether they were Muslims or not. Because it is usually impossible to sort out what is actually meant by the term “Moors” in the documents, we will simply refer to those specific persons as “Moors” in this article, and not Muslims.

Regardless of the actual situation, all of the ships and persons mentioned below in the eighteenth century were private traders from India who were involved in the China trade. Surat is the city that they are commonly referred to as originating from so it is

assumed that they were centered in that port. Aside from being merchants aboard their own vessels, Moors also served as part of the crews of many of the European ships. These Indian Moorish sailors were commonly called “Lascars”, and they were often preferred over European sailors. In the early eighteenth century, the Englishman Charles Lockyer wrote that Lascars “are very good Sailors for the Climate” in Asia, and they worked “for small wages, and are Victual’d at a much cheaper Rate than our Ship’s Companies.”<sup>2</sup>

When Hamilton came to China in 1703, he made no mention of there being Moors present, but when Lockyer arrived a year later, he said “we found one of their [natives of Surat] large Ships in *Canton* River, that had been in the *Spanish* Service Twelve Months as a Man of War at *Luconia*; She was loaden and dispatch’d a great while before us, and was afterwards taken by the *Dutch* in the Straits of *Malacca*.” Lockyer also mentions that one of the great Moor merchants in Surat, Abdel la Ford, owned a fleet of about fifteen or sixteen ships, which ranged in size from 100 to 500 tons. The ship he saw in China was probably among the larger size, which was comparable to the French and English East India Companies’ ships at the time.<sup>3</sup>

In 1725 one of the Ostend General India Company (GIC) ships that was anchored at Whampoa Roads, reported that a “Moors Ship” arrived in August. In October, a ship from Manila arrived flying a Malabar flag, indicating that it was also a private ship from India. The next year, the Ostenders reported that there was a “Moors King Ship” at Whampoa, and one of the Ostend captains requested the Moorish captain to loan him a couple of his carpenters to help with the repairs of their vessel, which he consented to.<sup>4</sup>



*Lascar*, Calcutta, c. 1850. Painting on mica, 13.3 x 9.2 cm. Photograph courtesy of Peabody Essex Museum (E82002.33).

## MACAO'S CULTURAL MINORITIES II

Like all other sailing vessels at the time, these private merchants from India also suffered the hazards of sea. In mid-August 1727, the Ostenders reported a “Moors Ship” from Surat arriving at Whampoa. Upon approaching China in the early part of the month, the ship encountered a typhoon near the Ladrone Islands (Wanshan Islands 万山群岛), and suffered heavy damage. By the time they arrived upriver, they had lost their fore-mast, main-topmast, and bowsprit, but managed to save their import cargo of cotton. Despite these setbacks, the Moorish supercargoes were able to make the needed repairs, sell their import cargo and load with a return cargo by the end of November. A number of records actually record two Moorish ships at Whampoa in 1727, but the other one was suspected to be a Dutch East India Company (VOC) sloop sailing under the guise of a Malabar flag.<sup>5</sup>

The next reference to a Moorish ship comes from the logbook of the first Danish ship in China in 1731. The entry simply states on 31 October that “the Moors Ship set sail from here.” A few pages later in the journal is a list of 18 ships that were in Whampoa, and among them is “1 Morsk” (Moors). Private traders from India often left Whampoa fairly early in the season (October or November), while the East India Companies’ ships generally did not depart until later, usually December or January.<sup>6</sup>

In 1735, 1748, and 1764 we get more glimpses of how common it was for Moors to be coming to Canton as members of the crews of both company and private ships. In August 1735, the VOC ship *Alblasserdam* sank in the South China Sea “with man and mouse,” and there were two “Mooren” listed as survivors.<sup>7</sup> In 1748 the Dutch in Canton employed thirty-two Moorish sailors, to outfit their undermanned ship *Padmos*.<sup>8</sup> These men had apparently been misplaced due to the loss of their ship at sea. In 1764 the Moorish ship *Muxadavad* also sank on its way to China, and seventy-six Moors arrived in Canton in December from that vessel. One of the private traders in Macao, George Smith, had an interest in the *Muxadavad*, which was said to be consigned to the private account of the Governor of Bengal. These seventy-six survivors arranged to return to India aboard Portuguese vessels from Macao.<sup>9</sup>

On 14 September 1738 another ship from Surat with a “Moors Flag” arrived at Whampoa. It had also run into a typhoon in the delta a few days before, and

lost all of its masts. The other foreigners in Canton helped them to refit the ship. In December of this year all of the foreigners were requested to attend a ceremony in honor of one of the Chinese officials. Among the foreign officers that the Danes say attended this event were the “Morske” (Moors). These persons were probably the supercargoes and captain of the Surat ship, as it was common for the top foreign officers to attend these ceremonies. The Dutch report that the Moorish ship left China on 24 December bound for Malacca and Surat.<sup>10</sup>

In the Danish, Dutch and Swedish East India Companies’ records, we find references to Moorish ships at Whampoa in 1739, 1744, and 1752. In the latter two years, it is specifically mentioned that the vessels were from Surat.<sup>11</sup> The 1744 Surat ship, however, did not make it back to India. It was reported lost at sea, and that misfortune was attributed to a number of the sailors deserting. Getting a sufficient crew to man the ships coming to China was an ongoing problem for both the large companies and small traders throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and that affected the Moors as well.<sup>12</sup>

In July 1777 a private English ship, *The Cartier*, commanded by Captain Watson, arrived in China. The cargo was said to be consigned to the Moors, and there was a Moorish supercargo aboard. The cargo consisted of 600 to 700 bales of cotton, and a quantity of pepper and tin, all of which was for the Canton market.<sup>13</sup> In the same year, the Danes shipped freight from their factory in Tranquebar, India to Malacca for a Moorish merchant. The Moors coming to China often had connections in Malacca, as it was a good place to purchase sago and other items that were needed in China.<sup>14</sup>

It is unfortunate that we do not have more references to the content of the cargos in the Moorish ships. We at least know from the references above that the Moors were importing large amounts of raw cotton. The import cargos, however, were likely to have been much more diverse than this. Their exports from China probably consisted of tea, porcelain, and silk as those products made up the bulk of the cargos for both company and private ships.

In 1780 the Dutch tell us that the Moors in Canton were indeed purchasing raw silk, as would be expected. There is also a reference in this year to a private Englishman by the name of Leslie, who was said to have

## MINORIAS CULTURAIS DE MACAU II

several Moors in his employ. If we could obtain full transparency of all the private traders' activities in China, we would probably find many of them having Moors aboard their ships. The many scattered references above suggest that Moorish seamen were employed fairly regularly by all persons trading in China.<sup>15</sup>

In the 1790s, we have more references to private Moorish traders being active in China. In 1794, the Danes mention that one of the Hong merchants in Canton, who was in arrears on the customs duties, had been trading with a number of the foreigners including a "Mormænd" (Moorman). In the same year, the Dutch mention that Poankeequa (Pan Zhixiang 潘致祥) had also been trading with the Moorish merchants. On 9 June 1797, at three in the afternoon, two sampans arrived at Macao from Canton with several Moorish merchants aboard along with their servants. There were twenty-two of them in all, and they requested permission from the Portuguese governor to reside in Macao until the country ships arrived from India. They were apparently granted this freedom, because the Dutch report again on July 10 that the "Moors received permission to return to Canton."<sup>16</sup> They would not have been given permission to return to Canton unless they had a ship in Chinese waters, so it is assumed that their vessel or vessels had indeed arrived.

The Dutch list the foreigners who were holding debts from the failed merchant Monqua (Cai Wenguan 蔡文官) in 1797, and among them are two men who were probably Moors. The merchants Mahomed Hussein and Samsodeen are both mentioned as holding sizeable debts from Monqua, the former being 49,000 Spanish dollars (35,280 taels) and the latter 2,800 Spanish dollars (2,086 taels). A Parsee by the name of Edeljee Bwanjee was also carrying a debt of 10,269 Spanish dollars (7,394 taels) with Monqua, and there are a couple of Armenians listed as well as several private traders.<sup>17</sup>

The merchant Kiouqua (or Geowqua, Wu Qiaoguan 伍乔官) also failed at this time, and left behind considerable debts. In February 1798 the Moorish and Parsee merchants in Canton are noted as being the holders of part of Kiouqua's debt. In this year the Moors and Parsees appear to be trading together, which may have been the case in earlier years as well. In fact, the three debt holders mentioned above in 1797 were probably the same persons as in 1798. Kiouqua had apparently taken possession of all the tin

aboard the private Indian ship *Jehangeer*, but then did not pay for the cargo as was agreed. The Nacoda, Shumsodeen Abdul Razack, (who is probably the "Samsodeen" above) sought the help of the English company to recover the debt.

These references show that the Moors were advancing credit to the Chinese merchants, and other references show that they were actually loaning money out directly in both Macao and Canton. On 25 November 1798 the Dutch supercargoes in Canton arranged a loan of 10,000 Spanish dollars from the Moorish merchant Mahomet Dadaway. The interest rate was set at 18 percent per year (or 1½ percent per month), which was fairly high for foreigners to pay in Canton and Macao.<sup>18</sup> In 1804 the Danish Asiatic Company (DAC) also took out a loan from a Mr. Mohamed Ebram Parker in Canton to help finance the voyages of their two ships that year. The interest rate on these loans was also 1½ percent per month.<sup>19</sup> There appears to have been a shortage of capital in these years, because for much of the eighteenth century, foreigners in good credit standing in China could usually get loans for 10 or 12 percent interest per year.

On 21 December 1801 the Dutch in Canton mention that "at 8:30 in the evening there was a fire in the Moorish factory, which was quickly put out with the help of a fire engine." This is one of the few references we have to there actually being a Moorish factory in Canton. By this time, there were quite a few Moors in China, some of whom were now staying year-round, which was a good reason to have their own factory. In 1810 the Dutch also report Moorish supercargoes in Canton having an interest in an English private ship, so it is very likely they were renting a factory out regularly in these years. But even in previous decades, the Moorish traders needed a place to stay and take care of their trade, so it is likely they rented factories for many years. They perhaps did not fly their flag above the building, which may account for contemporary paintings not showing Moorish factories.<sup>20</sup>

However, another explanation is that they were simply sharing a factory with other private traders. The Americans did this regularly from 1784 onwards, but because there were so many Americans coming to China, they had several factories. In 1823 Robert Morrison recorded that the "Fung-tae Hong" (Fengtai Hang 丰泰行) was known as the "Chow-chow" factory

## MACAO'S CULTURAL MINORITIES II

(in this case meaning, “hodge-podge” or “miscellaneous”) because there was such a mixture of people living there, including Parsees, Moors and others.<sup>21</sup> Thus, it is possible that the Dutch reference above to the “Moorish factory” was perhaps a place where a number of private traders lived and not exclusively the Moors.

In December 1803 the first officer of the private ship *Fanny* arrived at Canton with “5 Moors.” Their vessel was stranded near Hainan Island due to much damage it had suffered in a storm. They came to Canton to purchase the necessary supplies to make their repairs. Then in 1807 there was another unfortunate incident where an English officer and six Moorish sailors were held for ransom in the delta by pirates. The English Cruiser *Discovery* helped to negotiate their release, which was said to cost between 4,000 and 6,000 Spanish dollars. These are more examples of how common it was for Moors to be employed by the China traders.<sup>22</sup>

From the late 1830s to the mid-1840s a few court cases appear in the Portuguese records in Macao concerning several Muslims that give us another part of their story. Because these are court cases, they only deal with problems, which when taken by themselves can give the wrong impression about the Muslim community. By reading between the lines, however, we get a broader picture of their lives and the role they played in Macao history. We will first present a number of these court cases below, and then use those examples to point out different aspects about the environment in which they lived.

One of the Macao court cases involved four *serangs* or *ghaut serangs*—persons who recruited lascar seamen for service on ships. The serangs acted as middlemen or brokers between captains, ship owners and managers, and the lascar seamen. Serangs sometimes also provided lodging, food and items for sale to the lascars. In this particular case, the four serangs in question were Shaik Moosdeen, Samadalay,

Ancient structure in Huaisheng Mosque.



## MINORIAS CULTURAIS DE MACAU II

Agi and Bahu. The first two had actually lived in Macao for a long time. Shaik Moosdeen is reported to have come to Macao in 1822 as a ghaut serang, and then moved to Hong Kong in 1842. Samadaly came to Macao in 1809, and prospered as a ghaut serang, as a lodging house keeper, and as an owner of a schooner, which he is reported to have purchased in 1833.

In an afternoon in 1839 Agi and a band of thugs approached Samadaly and Bahu on a small street in the S. Lourenço parish in Macao leading down to the Praia Feitoria. Agi's band of "soldiers," who were armed with iron bars, grabbed hold of Bahu in retaliation for his demanding one of the sailors to sign an IOU for six patacas. In order to prevent a public row, Samadaly stepped in and offered to cover the debt owed to Bahu.

Agi apparently took no heed to this remedial action by Samadaly, because he then ordered one of his "soldiers" to hit Bahu with his hand. The others then joined in with shoes and bars. This locality was notorious for its wine shops and the unruly behavior of seamen and slaves, but faithful Muslims were forbidden to drink alcohol, so these actions were probably not the result of too much liquor. Samadaly requested the Macao court to press charges against Agi, and later we find Agi serving time in the Macao prison.<sup>23</sup>

In 1841 Agi shows up again in the Macao court records concerning a debt that was owed. This time, however, Agi takes a different course of action than the one before, and requests the court to arbitrate in a debt of 178 patacas that Agi claimed the Muslim Mastram had owed him since 1839. Mastram had borrowed the money before embarking on the ship *Tranquilidade*, and he had apparently failed to repay the loan to Eusebio Vicente do Rozario, who was at Sulu in the Philippines. In the interim, Agi had been put in prison, which would have been a good excuse for Mastram not to repay the loan had he known about it.

The next year, Agi asked the court to arbitrate in another case involving a loan of 202 patacas that had been given to the Muslim Peru, who embarked on an English ship. The captain had paid Peru six months in advance to entice him to join his crew, but then Peru later deserted in consequence of harsh treatment. It is not clear whether the 202 patacas was connected to this advance, or whether it was a separate loan, but whatever the case, Agi was now out his money.

In 1841 there is another incident involving Samadaly, who shows up in the court records requesting a summons to be issued against António Ignacio Perpétua, a tavern keeper. Samadaly claimed that a Mr. António José Fernandes owed him money for freight that he had shipped on Lorch No. 24. The original debt had been 39 patacas, but Fernandes had paid 19 patacas, leaving an outstanding balance of 20 patacas. But in the meantime, Fernandes died. Perpétua submitted a receipt for the full debt of the deceased, but Samadaly claimed it was a forgery and that he had not received full payment.<sup>24</sup>

In 1843 the Muslim Mamoth accused the Chinese Achan of stealing his cap. He complained to the special Portuguese judge who heard cases against Chinese. Action was speedily taken and on the same day, the cap was returned to Mamoth. The culprit was sent to the Mandarin for punishment.<sup>25</sup>

In 1844 there are more court cases involving Muslims. In January the possessions of the Muslim Marcar were auctioned by order of the court to pay off a debt owed to the Muslim Miajan.<sup>26</sup> In the same year, a fight also broke out in Samadaly's establishment, which involved a certain Faqira, a native of Malabar, who had met two other Muslims in the street. The two had invited Faqira to a meal at Samadaly's. He accepted the invitation in good faith, but when Faqira entered the premises, he was suddenly attacked by a Malay, named Jeniba, and a Bengali, named Secasem, with a few accomplices. The Malay and Bengali had held a long-standing grudge against the Malabar man for reasons unknown. In the scuffle, Faqira was injured. This is why he turned to the Macao court for justice.<sup>27</sup>

In 1845 Achbar sued Agi Mahomed for payment of 200 patacas plus 7 percent interest on a loan made in 1843. The borrower had given Achbar a mortgage on a schooner. Achbar later found out that the mortgage was useless, because Agi Mohamed had sold the vessel to the ghaut serang Agi. He was thus seeking remedial action from the Macao court to intervene on his behalf.

These cases concerning Agi, Samadaly and the other Muslims mentioned above tell us several very important things about the wider environment in Macao. Samadaly had come to Macao as part of a long historical trend of Muslims participating in the China trade. He and his other serang companions were able to establish themselves in Macao because of the huge demand for Muslim labor

## MACAO'S CULTURAL MINORITIES II

aboard the China merchant ships. Those men had a good reputation for being dependable and hard working, and they could be hired and maintained for considerably less than European sailors.

The fact that four serangs were operating in Macao in the 1820s is proof in itself of the demand for Muslims at this time. When these sailors arrived at Macao, they needed a place to stay, because they were out of employment until another captain hired them. They were obviously being hired by the Portuguese ship owners in Macao, because prior to the 1840s, the Portuguese were the only ones legally allowed to trade there. Moorish sailors aboard any of the East India Companies would not have been permitted to go to Macao, unless they were on a mission for those companies. But Moorish sailors who were in Macao could go to a ghaut serang and arrange employment aboard any of the foreign vessels, including the East India Companies or other vessels that happened to be in the area.

If there were not enough sailors available for hire in Canton or Macao, which was often the case, then the companies were forced to rearrange the crews between the ships in order to even them out. It was better for all of them to be a little short than for one or two to be severely short. The small private traders with one vessel, however, did not have that option, and even with the redistribution efforts of the companies, some ships were still left with crews that were much too small to ensure the safety of their voyages.

Aside from common sailors, each ship needed to have carpenters, sail makers, and various other specialists who could care for the ship's needs, and many times there were not enough of these men to go around. As a result, there are many references in the records to captains pleading with other captains or with the Portuguese governor in Macao to have pity on them and spare them the men that they needed. Foreign captains also hired Chinese sailors from time to time, but that was forbidden by the Chinese government, so it had to be done secretly.

If these measures did not produce enough men to ensure the safety of the voyage, then there were still other ways to attract sailors. In a couple of the cases above, we find sailors being given advances on their future wages, before they were earned. This was an effective way to attract men, and we find many captains using this method, even among the East India Companies. But there was always the threat that the

men would desert before the contracts were fulfilled, as in the example above of the Muslim Peru.

There was one more drastic move that captains could employ in the event that they still could not get enough men for their ships. They could send a rumor around Canton and Macao that a reward would be given to every sailor who left his ship and joined their crew. This action, of course, would bring great anger and condemnation from other captains. But then all he had to do was to deny the charges, keep the new recruits out of sight while the ship was anchored in China, and then leave with a sufficient number of men for the voyage. This was indeed a tactic that was sometimes employed by captains in Canton to get the men they needed, and it caused much discontent among the foreigners in China.

Thus, considering the circumstances, the ghaut serangs played a very important role in the overall scheme of the trade. If the captains hired the sailors through them, then they did not have to resort to the extreme measures of bribing sailors to leave other ships, and they had the assurance of the serangs that the money that was advanced would not be lost. As far as hiring Chinese sailors was concerned, that was done by Chinese compradors who supplied provisions to the foreign ships.<sup>28</sup> But compradors had no control over Muslim sailors, just as the serangs had no control over Chinese sailors. Serangs were thus a vital component in making all of this work. Hiring sailors through them or the compradors was more expensive than doing it directly because there was a commission involved, but the captains then had the assurance of not being cheated out of their money in the event that the sailors deserted. And from the sailors' point of view, they also benefited in these arrangements. They received payment in advance for their services, which meant they could be assured that they would receive their full wages. It also gave them the wherewithal to make small investments of their own with those funds.

What these labor-brokering activities of the ghaut serangs and the compradors then meant to the commerce was more security to the owners' profits and greater safety to the ships by helping to provide sufficient crews to man them. These services also provided opportunities, more security to sailors' employment, and a means to help their families by forwarding the advances to them. All of these activities

## MINORIAS CULTURAIS DE MACAU II

reduced risk, which contributed to the trading environment in China becoming more secure over time. The reduction of risks, led to there being less need for large monopolies to control everything, and in turn is what gradually led to private traders taking over the China trade. After 1834 no more East India Companies' ships came to China, because they could no longer compete with the private traders.<sup>29</sup>

Thus, if we look at the wider environment, all of the examples above of Muslims in Macao are representative of a very important shift in international commerce. The Muslim sailors and *ghaut serangs* were at the center of that change. The Macao government also played a role by providing individual Muslims and others in Macao with legal protection in the event that their investments went awry or they were in some way mistreated. As a result, even the common Muslim sailor in Macao could get a loan from a *serang* at a reasonable rate of 7 percent interest, and credit is what is needed for commerce to expand. Therefore, these individual court cases are much more important than they may appear to be on the surface, because they represent a change in the trading environment.

Today, there are several monuments in Macao that represent the long Muslim presence in the delta. In 1854 Jeraz Manjee, the manager of the company of the Cojak Muslims in China (Companhia dos Moiros Cujar), purchased a country garden from Felipe António Ozorio in Macao. It was to be used as a cemetery and site for a small mosque. The lot was below the Fort of Dona Maria II, near the Estrada de Cacilhas, and not far from the Chinese village of Mongha. Mamot Goover witnessed the sale.

In 1859 the Muslim community in Macao gave a donation of 200 patacas to the Santa Casa da Misericórdia, with the understanding that from it, the Santa Casa would pay to the Macao Treasury the annual rent for the cemetery and mosque property. In 1926 the Santa Casa was officially released from this obligation. Today, the mosque is still the daily meeting and worship place for Muslims in Macao, and the cemetery is kept in good order.

In 1874 the Macao government built an impressive Moorish style building overlooking the Inner Harbor, to house the Muslim maritime police. The first contingent of forty-one Muslims recruited at Goa arrived at Macao on 27 July 1873. Muslims continued to play a role in the Macao police force in

the early 1900s as well. The cemetery, mosque and Moorish barracks are still being used today.

By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there were a number of Muslim shops established along the Rua Central in Macao. In 1880 the Kamisa family opened up a milliner and drapery shop. Later, another similar store run by the Moosa family was opened. Some of the Moosas later became contractors, brokers, shippers, insurance agents, and import and export dealers.

These establishments were followed by a succession of milliner and drapery shops opening up in the Rua Central district. The families of Abdoola, Carrim, Rama, Mahomed, Bachoo, Elias and Ebrahim all had similar types of shops at one time in this area. Some of these families now have descendants buried in the Muslim cemetery in Macao, and a number of them are still living in Macao and active in the community. There are many others as well who are keeping the Muslim faith alive.

## CONCLUSION

This brief account of Muslims in the Pearl River Delta show that they were involved in the trade from the beginning. They came from India with their own ships; they freighted goods to China aboard other vessels; and they manned the crews of many China traders. Muslims *serangs* provided services to help the commerce to become more secure, and as a result many families settled in the area. Muslims continue to play a role today and form an important part of the communities in the region. **RC**

## ABBREVIATIONS

- AM *Arquivos de Macau* Published in three series: Series 1 has three volumes (1929-1931); Series 2 has one volume (1941); and Series 3 has 15 volumes (1964)
- DAC Danish Asiatic Company
- GIC Ostend General India Company, Belgium
- JFB James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota, USA
- NA Dutch National Archives, The Hague, Netherlands
- NM Nordic Museum Archive, Stockholm, Sweden
- OIO Oriental and India Office Library, London, UK

## MACAO'S CULTURAL MINORITIES II

RAC Rigsarkivet [National Archives], Copenhagen, Denmark  
 SAA Stadsarchief [Municipal Archives], Antwerp, Belgium

UBG Universiteits Bibliotheek [University Library], Ghent, Belgium  
 UGS Utah Genealogical Society  
 VOC Dutch East India Company

## NOTES

- 1 H. B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China 1635-1834* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926. Reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1966), 1:91; and E.A. Voretzsch, ed., *François Froger. Relation du Premier Voyage des Français à la Chine fait en 1698, 1699 et 1700 sur le Vaisseau "L'Amphitrîte"* (Leipzig: Asia Major, 1926), 143.
  - 2 Charles Lockyer, *An Account of the Trade in India* (London: S. Crouch, 1711), p. 258.
  - 3 Lockyer, *An Account of the Trade*, p. 257-259; and Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East-Indies . . . from the year 1688-1723* (London: 1739; reprint, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1995). One of the officers of the Ostend Company also reported that the Moors' ships in Surat in the 1720s were about four or five hundred tons, which was said to be equivalent to the size of the English ships frequenting that port. Stadsarchief (Municipal Archive), Antwerp (SAA): IC 5922.
  - 4 Universiteits Bibliotheek (University Library), Ghent, Belgium (UBG): Ms 1839, 1840, 1847, 1923; and SAA: IC 5701, 5697.
  - 5 SAA: IC 5698, 5704, 5705, 5753. The other Moors ship was a sloop that arrived flying a Malabar flag (one report said an "Armenian flag"). But the foreigners in Canton suspected that this vessel was simply a scout ship sent by the Dutch in Batavia to check out the prospects of VOC ships coming to China. The English reported the following concerning this ship: "Yesterday arrived at Wampo a Dutch Sloop of about 70 Tons named the New: Mode Capt. Jacobus Van den Beake. She is said to be Freightd by the Chinese that live at Batavia, but it is thought she comes to try if the Chinese here will suffer the Dutch Bottoms to trade again into this Country." Oriental and India Office Library, London, UK (OIO): G/12/26. The first "official" VOC ship arrived in 1729.
  - 6 Kaptajn J. H. Schulz, ed., "En Dagbog ført paa en Kinafarer 1730-32 af Kadet Tobias Wigandt," in *Tidsskrift for Søvesen*, by G. L. Grove. (Copenhagen: Hovedkommissionær Vilhelm Tryde, Thieles Bogtrykkeri, 1900), 202, 206.
  - 7 Dutch National Archives, The Hague (NA): VOC 2346.
  - 8 It was very uncommon in Canton throughout the eighteenth century to find so many able-bodied foreign seamen available for hire.
  - 9 NA: Canton 10, 73.
  - 10 The coming of this Moors ship was recorded by the Belgians who were in the employ of the Swedish company, by the Danes, and by the Dutch. UBG: Ms 1928; Rigsarkivet (National Archives), Copenhagen, Denmark (RAC): Ask 999, 1118; and NA: VOC 2438.
- The Macao Pilot Atak approached the VOC ship *Hogersmilde* when it entered the delta in this year, and offered to guide it to Whampoa. He claimed to the captain that he had much experience in the past bringing European and Moors ship up the river. NA: VOC 2438.
  - 11 James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota (JFB): Charles Irvine Papers; RAC: Ask 880, 1005; and NA: Canton 3, 17, 70.
  - 12 JFB: Charles Irvine Papers.
  - 13 NA: Canton 43, 86; RAC: Ask 1178. *The Cartier* arrived in China commanded by Captain Watson again in 1779, but this time it is reported to have come from Bombay. RAC: Ask 1180.
  - 14 RAC: Ask 1178.
  - 15 NA: Canton 89; and Paul A. Van Dyke, "Port Canton and the Pearl River Delta, 1690-1845," (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 2002), 407-408.
  - 16 NA: Canton 56, 97.
  - 17 NA: OIC 197.
  - 18 This loan of 10,000 Spanish dollars was repaid with interest ten months later, which came to a total of 11,500 Spanish dollars. Morse, *Chronicles*, 2:299; Ch'en Kuo-tung Anthony, *The Insolvency of the Chinese Hong Merchants, 1760-1843* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1990), 311-312; NA: Canton 60, 61, 97; and Van Dyke, "Port Canton," Chapter Five.
  - 19 RAC: Ask 2260.
  - 20 NA: Canton 98, 100.
  - 21 Robert Morrison, *Notices Concerning China, and the Port of Canton. Also a Narrative of the Affair of the English Frigate Topaze, 1821-22. With Remarks on Homicides, and an Account of the Fire of Canton.* (Malacca: Mission Press, 1823), 15-16.
  - 22 NA: Canton 98, 99; and Morse, *Chronicles*, 3:63.
  - 23 This incident is mentioned in a Macao court case in 1839. Utah Genealogical Society (UGS), microfilm of Macao court records, Reel 1128001.
  - 24 UGS, microfilm of Macao court records, Reel no. 1128004.
  - 25 AM, series 3, vol. xxix, no. 3 (March 1978), p. 162; *Da Aurora Macaense*, vol. 1, no. 8, 4 March 1843.
  - 26 AM, series 3, vol. xxxi, no. 3 (March 1979), p. 174; *Da Aurora Macaense*, vol. 2, no. 54, 20 Jan. 1844.
  - 27 UGS, microfilm of Macao court records, Reel no. 1128008.
  - 28 Van Dyke, "Port Canton," Chapter Three.
  - 29 For a much more thorough analysis of the end of the companies and the rise of the private traders in China, see Van Dyke, "Port Canton," Chapter One and Conclusion.