

Manila, Macao and Canton

The Ties That Bind

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INTRODUCTION

After Macao (1557) and Manila (1571) were established the Portuguese and Spanish became intricately connected to and influenced by developments and events in the wider South China Sea. From that time forward, the history of the Pearl River Delta developed very much as an ongoing interaction between those two ports, Canton and South China. Recent scholarship has brought out some of the connections between the delta and the Philippines. In this article, we will start with a brief summary of the historical connections in the 16th and 17th centuries, then bring out some new information about the 18th century connections, and conclude with a few comments about the ongoing relationship that continue to bind these regions one to the other.

Activities in the South China Sea often affected Manila, Macao and Canton in similar ways, and to some degree, tied their futures together. Even today, we cannot explain or understand social, political or economic developments in Hong Kong or Macao without taking into consideration the tens of thousands of Filipinos who provide a substantial part of the workforce in the region.

For centuries, Manila has been closely connected to South China, which, in its broader contexts, is a

shared history of all people involved. Dr. Balmis' arrival to China in 1805 is significant to all parties, including Chinese, Portuguese, Spanish and others who lived here at the time. In order to bring the commonalities between these regions closer into view, we shall retrace some important historical connections that united the interests and concerns between the Philippines and the delta, which brought them into a wider, common sphere of interaction.

JAPAN: TRADE, RELIGION AND WAR

From the start, Macao and Manila have had a close connection that at certain times in history was characterized more as a love-hate relationship than a congenial one. In the early years, Spanish in Manila were very jealous of Macao-Portuguese connections with Japan. By the late-16th century, Macao had become an intricate part of an international network that tied Europe, India, China and Japan into one interdependent market. Fabrics from Europe and India were brought to East Asia, where they were exchanged for Chinese silk and Japanese silver, with the latter two commodities also being exchanged for each other. But the exchanges were not only commercial. Jesuit missionaries in Japan were very successful, with thousands of Christian converts, and many of them became allies and trading partners with Portuguese and Spanish merchants.¹

As has been shown in past studies, there was much opposition in Japan to religious propagation, but also much acceptance. By the early seventh century, Portuguese and Spanish missions were firmly rooted

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in Japan. With the arrival in the early 17th century of the English and Dutch, both of whom were Protestants, the commonalities and connections between Macao, Manila and South China came more into focus. The Protestants threatened Macao and Manila equally, on both commercial and religious fronts, and they caused many problems for South China, so their appearance was a common threat and problem to the entire region.

Having been under control of the Spanish empire itself, and broken away in 1581, the newly founded Dutch Republic openly proclaimed its intentions to destroy the Portuguese and Spanish trade in Asia. In their efforts to upset those empires, the ships of the Dutch East India Company launched several attacks on Macao from 1603 to 1607. They also attacked and defeated the Portuguese bases in the Spice Islands in 1605; attacked the Portuguese in Mozambique in 1607 and 1608; and assaulted the Spanish in the Philippines in 1610.²

In the year that followed, English and Dutch merchants worked through their political connections in Japan to disadvantage the Portuguese and Spanish missions and trade there. But the two Protestant nations were also fighting between themselves, which kept them from being effective foes against the Iberians. From 1613 to 1619, the English and Dutch nations held a series of talks to figure out a way to end their animosities. In 1619 an accord was finally reached that brought the two nations into alliance to damage the Spanish and Portuguese presence in Asia.³

The failed Dutch attack on Macao in 1622 is a well-known event, which needs no explanation here. But the attacks on Manila and Macao in the two years preceding this event are little known and deserve some attention. After assembling in Batavia in 1620, the Anglo-Dutch Fleet of Defence launched a concerted effort to blockade and attack Iberian concerns in the entire region from Manila to Japan. The fleet was made up of ten ships, five English and five Dutch. They removed to Japan during the monsoon season, where they blocked Iberian interests there as well.

After the winds changed the Anglo-Dutch Fleet set out from Japan with the specific objective to hunt down and capture all vessels in the South China Sea that were suspected of trading with the Spanish or Portuguese in Macao, Manila, Japan and elsewhere. It did not matter whether there were any Spanish or Portuguese aboard, only that the cargo was destined to

the Iberians. These military activities brought the entire region under attack, which by 1622 had pushed those economies into deep depression.

In August 1622, the English pulled out of the joint-alliance owing to the heavy costs they endured, and left East Asia. The Dutch then took over the effort, and launched the unsuccessful attack on Macao. They set up a base in the Pescadores where they could continue their attacks against vessels going to the Portuguese and Spanish settlements. The Ming government finally brought the matter to an end by surrounding the Dutch fleet, and opening negotiations with them. In 1624, an agreement was reached whereby the Dutch removed to Taiwan, where they were allowed to trade conduct trade with China. The Dutch then tried their best to divert trade from Manila and Macao to their base in Taiwan, which kept the two cities focussed on their common enemy.⁴

In 1637, the English returned to the delta with another fleet in hopes of opening trade. When they failed to gain access to Macao, they went upriver to Canton and tried any means they could to persuade Chinese officials to open negotiations. In the end they were unsuccessful, and were forced to leave. Macao was now temporarily relieved of the menace, but the city was still under severe constraints owing to the catastrophic loss of the Japan missions and trade.

In 1635, Shogun Iemitsu issued a decree forbidding Japanese from going abroad, which left many overseas Japanese stranded in Macao, Taiwan, Siam or wherever they happened to be living at the time. By 1639, the Spanish and Portuguese missionaries had all been expelled and their missions closed. Macao lost its access to Japanese silver, and now Manila became more important to it for that supply. St. Paul's Church in Macao was built with the help of Japanese converts, and now stands as a memorial to the importance of Japan as one of the unifying factors in the region at the time.

A final blow came to the Portuguese Asian network when the Dutch captured Malacca in 1641, which greatly upset the commercial network between Goa and Macao. This event marks the end of the era that was held together by the unifying factors of trade, religion and war, with Japan as the centre of focus. Manila, Macao and South China then entered a transitional period where their common interests went through major reshuffling until a new equilibrium emerged, which saw Taiwan as the centre of focus.⁵

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TAIWAN: TRADE, POWER AND CONQUEST

The Dutch in Taiwan continued to draw as much trade away from Macao and Manila as they could. The Spanish, who had established bases in the north of the island, were eventually driven off the island by the Dutch. But as the Qing armies continued to take over one Chinese province after another, until all of South China was under its wing, the unification of Taiwan now became the focus.

After the Dutch were expelled from Taiwan in 1662 by the Zheng regime, Manila continued to be affected by the events that were unravelling in the South China Sea region. With trade links between that port and China being upset due to war, Manila became more open to encouraging private (non-East India company) trade with India. Armenians, Muslims and European private traders began to arrive, and gradually new commercial networks emerged.

Macao merchants also experimented with establishing trade in various Southeast Asian ports. Foreign ships began visiting Macao and ports along China's coast to try out the possibilities, but with only marginal success. The Manila-Macao exchanges were renewed, but on a small scale. In 1680, missionaries from the Philippines came to China via Macao, and new trade networks emerged.⁶

The English also re-entered the region and established an inconsistent trade with China via a base in Taiwan which they held from 1670-1685. From this outpost they established loose links to southern Chinese markets. The Dutch tried to re-establish direct trade with China, but in the end, decided to attract Chinese junks to Batavia instead.

After Taiwan was brought under Chinese rule in 1683, China became more open to the idea of encouraging maritime commerce. As was pointed out, Manila and Macao were already exploring new options for trade, and after China shifted its policy, a new environment emerged, with Taiwan no longer in the picture.

Hearing of the successful trade some of the private India traders were now engaged in the region, the English and French East India Companies decided to try their luck. Manila and Macao were not interested in opening trade with these companies, but other Chinese ports were now experimenting with these commercial contacts. At the same time, Chinese junks increased their trading activities between China's

southern harbours, Macao, Manila, and ports throughout Southeast Asian.

From 1685 to 1700, these trading activities continued to increase. Taiwan was swept aside, and gradually Canton emerged as the most attractive destination for foreign merchants. As Spanish, Chinese and other private traders from Manila extended their operations to Macao, they gained links into the huge market upriver. Chinese merchant family networks were established between Manila, Fujian, Macao and Canton, which kept trade flowing regularly and smoothly. A new era emerged where Canton became the unifying focus of the region.⁷

CANTON: TRADE, CAPITAL AND INFLUENCE

By the mid-18th century close connections had been established between several Spanish, Portuguese and Chinese firms and families who were involved in trade. In the 1730s, a Chinese merchant in Macao by the name of Tan Honqua was organizing much of the trade to Manila. When he died in 1738, the Dutch mention that he was 10,000 taels indebt to the Spanish in Manila and 5,000 taels to Manuel Vicente in Macao. These collaborations between Chinese, Spanish and Portuguese grew deeper roots as the trade developed.⁸

The Pan and Chen families intermarried and between them, they had numerous relatives and associates living and working in Fujian, Canton, Macao, Manila and other harbours. The famous hong merchant Poankeequa (Pan Zhencheng 潘振承, but more commonly known as Pan Qiguan 潘启官), who set up shop in Canton in 1751, was partially responsible for bringing Manila, Macao and Canton closer together. Poankeequa spent part of his childhood in Manila where he learned to speak Spanish (Illustration 1). His extended family was based in Fujian, where they participated and invested in the junk trade to Manila and other ports in Southeast Asia.

Poankeequa had worked in a Chen family trading house in Canton. Poankeequa was related to the Manila merchant, Gregorio Chan, and also to a Manila captain, Tan Matay. Both of these men sailed regularly between Manila and Macao in the mid- to late-18th century. Their junk *Quim Contay* operated out of the Xieshun Gongsí 协顺公司 in Manila, which was run by Jorge San Clemente (Illustration 2). Clemente, Gregorio Chan and Captain Tan Matay spent several months in

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Don Juan Grill

Mi Señor mis me alegro mucho q' al resi-
uo de esta, logre Vmd. perfecta salud, en compa-
ñia de las Honrras de Vmd. Otraz

Excusei estas insignias Lineas, supli-
cando a Vmd. de buscareme Cevir Paros de poles
Coco, de los mas grandes q' ay, o vino hubiere
de parte de Vmd. me haxa favor de dizen, al
Sr. D. Sargen, M.^o Ano, de buscareme dho
Paros de poles, p.^a q' yo se q' Vmd. anda siemp.
enfazado de las Honrras, q' no dexaron de
teorer, y de aqui algunas dias, vendra
personas de migasa, para sacar: estas las
necesito p.^a Embiar, a mi Madre en mi
tierra. y con esto Dios le guarde. Vmd.
m.^o Amos. Canton, 8: de Mayo, de 1766.

De Vmd. afectuoso.
y Amigo, servidon.

Juan Kagua

潘啟官

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Cuenta y lista del Dinero, que el Sr. *Famataray Capm del.*
Champan nombrado *Quimcongta*, y vino del Puerto de
 Canton alar *Island Philipinas*, por cuenta Tercera, o de com-
 pania entre los *Srs* *Phua Hequa*, *Don Miguel Guio*, *Don*
Juan Abrah Guill, y *Don Jorge N. Clemente* *Resuio* en
 la Provincia de *Ilocos*, y en la Ciudad de *Manila*, para
 pagar los gastos causados por dho *Champan*, y carga, ma-
 nutencion de su tripulacion, y composicion de dho *Champan*.
 Sumamente *Quinientos* *quarenta* y *seis* p. 8.
Resuio dho *capm* en *Ilocos* 0546.
 Fto. *Matro* mill *veis* *cientos* *noventa* y *tres* p. 10
is reales y *veis* p. 10 en *Manila* 4069396. 6.
 Fto. *Gasto* *Don Jorge N. Clemente* *emba.*
descarga, y *carga* *quese hizo* en *Ilocos*, *Ca*
maxines, *guardia*, y *despachos*, de los qua-
 les *gastos* fue *tercio* dho *capm* *Famataray*, 073584.
 Todas lasquales partidas *axuila* *Expre* 5097582. 6.
ivadas *importan* *Cinco* mill *nuevecientos* *setenta* y
cinco p. 10 *xx* y *veis* *quienos*. *Para* *q.* *contra* *lofirmo* *di*
cho *capm* *Famataray* *en* *caracteres* *chinos*, y *rehuieron*
do *al* *honor* *de* *esta*, *para* *q.* *cumplido* *el* *Pro*, *el* *oco* *no* *s*
valga. *Manila* y *Mayo* 8. de 1765. 2.

恒
 公
 司
 印

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Illustration 3: Invoice in Spanish dated 1766 concerning the financing junk *Quim Contay's* (Kim Cong tay) voyage from Manila. Persons involved in these shipments included Swedish supercargoes Michael Grubb and Jean Abraham Grill, Spanish merchant Jorge San Clemente, and Poankekqua (Pan Qiquan), who signed and chopped the document. Nordic Museum Archive, Stockholm. Godgärdsarkivet Archive, F17, T1_05225

Manuscript exp.

Lista de lo que ha sobrado de la venta de los efectos que se han vendido
que el soma Kim Cong tay ha traydo de Manila llevando los gas-
tos y mediciones por la entrada de la soma quedo en mi poder doce
tael dos mas tres cond. y tres cafes. — — — 0012:23:3 cas
Th. por los gastos que gasto de menub. la soma 0009:15:2:
Th. rebajando los 5 tael 1 m. 5 c. y 2 cas de devo 0007:08:1 cas
P. La recibida de la soma pague a la
tripulacion y casco de la soma. — — — 2572 tael
Rebajando los 7 tael 8 cond. y 1 cas. resta — — — 2564:9:1:9 cas
Th. por los 1453 pedasos de Cuero que pague p. que
D. Jorge no le ha pagado 1407 p. d. x. y 9 gran.
reducidos a tael. — — — — — 1013:46:7 cas
Las dos partidas suman 3578:39:6

Recivi a D. Grill el dia 6 de la Luna quinta
el año 6511 123 p. 2 m. y 3 cond. reducido apeso — — — 0088:8:1:
Th. recivi en la sexta luna 820 tael reducidos
a balanza — — — — — 4407:4:
Entrego las dos partidas suma 0496:2:1 cond.

Rebajando de los 3578 tael 3 m. 9 c. y 6 cas, la
cant. de los 896 tael 2 m. 1 c. que me entrego 3082:17:6 cas

De partidas entre los tres dicho cant.
le vale a cada uno 1027 tael 3 m. 9 c. y 2 cas,
las dos partidas de D. Grill y D. Grill deve
2054 tael 7 m. 8 cond. y 4 cas fuera de este no es-
ta puesto la ganancia a costumbre de la tie-
rra que son 20 por ciento al año, Comensando
desde el año de 1766 y su producto v. m. d. sabe
bien hacer la Cuenta vale. Deve 2054 t. 7 m. 8: 4 cas



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Macao each year in the 1760s taking care of the commerce. They coordinated everything with Poankeequa, and conducted their trade through the Chen trading house called the Dafeng Hang 达丰行. In his younger years, Poankeequa had worked in this firm, where he learned the trade. He probably knew the Chens from his childhood, because both families had extended business dealings in Manila and Fujian.⁹

Poankeequa's example is one of several that show the close relations and interactions between Chinese, Spanish, Portuguese and other merchants involved in the Manila trade. At the time of Balmis's arrival in Macao, many of the Portuguese and Spanish ships were being freighted and financed by Chinese merchants. Poankeequa's successor, Pan Youdu 潘有度, was managing that family's trade with the Philippines in 1805.

On 5 September 1802, for example, the Spanish company ship *Urcá Ferrolina*, Captain Joa Zerauz, left Manila bound for China. The cargo was consigned to Pan Youdu, but unfortunately, the ship sank on 15 September near Grand Lema Island. Forty-eight persons drowned, and 900,000 piasters of silver went down with the ship.

The Spanish supercargo, J. M. Issaguirre, hired the English company ship *Coromandel*, for 12,000 Spanish dollars to salvage the wreck. They returned to the site on October 4 with 40 Chinese divers. With great risk to the lives of the divers, they managed to fish up 70,000 piastres, but the rest of the cargo had already been stolen by local Chinese.

The Spanish supercargoes Battesteros, Morales and Urros pleaded with the Mandarins in Canton to help them recover the stolen property, but to no avail. In the end, the Spanish refused to be held responsible for the loss. Pan Youdu had no recourse to recover his investments. This example shows how closely the Pan family was involved in the trade to Manila, and other hong merchants were doing the same.¹⁰

After the smallpox vaccine arrived from Manila in 1805, Pan Youdu and several of his relatives helped to launch the inoculation programme. Besides promoting Chinese vaccinations, they also gave financial support. Other Chinese families were involved as well, but owing to a lack of documentation, we have only general and brief references to those exchanges.¹¹

Sometimes the names in the records are misleading. Recent studies have shown that many Chinese converts in Macao and Manila adopted Portuguese or

Spanish names. Some of these men were involved in the trade so we cannot necessarily correlate those names with ethnicities. Jorge San Clemente, for example, signed one of his invoices with both his Spanish name and his Chinese name Chen Xieshun 陈协顺 so was he Spanish or was he Chinese? José dos Santos was involved in the trade in Macao in the 1770s and 1780s, and he was a Chinese Christian so the names can be deceiving.¹²

There were others involved in these interchanges as well such as Armenians, Muslims, Parsees, other private traders, and officers of the East India Companies (Illustration 3). Some of these privateers were captains and merchant aboard the ships, while others served as commission merchants, brokering services in Manila, Macao and Canton to keep trade moving. And some of these men also adapted Portuguese, Spanish, French or other foreign names. The private agents provided funds to both foreign and Chinese involved in the Sino-Manila exchanges, and they consigned cargo space aboard those vessels to anyone who wanted it.¹³

One of the items that was shipped regularly from China to Manila was silk. Manila processed raw silk into fabric, which was then re-exported. Silk was a much sought after commodity at this time, and had strong demand in markets throughout the world. Manila played a special role in these trade links: silk fabrics were exported from Manila to the Spanish colonies in the Americas, in exchange for silver, much of which ended up in Macao and Canton. This trade was a continuation of the old silk-silver exchanges that were so popular in the 17th century, and represents the long and enduring connections between these regions and markets.

In addition to the silk-silver connections, the Philippines also supplied South China with rice. From the 1780s onward, many private ships went to Manila to obtain a cargo of rice before going to China. The Americans were especially active in these exchanges, but English, Spanish and others were as well. Rice ships paid reduced port fees in Canton, which was a big benefit to small private traders. They could avoid the high port fees, and still purchase a cargo of tea for the return passage to Europe, India or the Americas. By the 1830s, there were twenty to thirty ships carrying nothing but rice to Canton each year, and much of that product came from Manila.¹⁴

By the time Balmis arrived, there were other elements operating in the delta that had a huge impact on the region, pirates, opium and warships. Together,

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these aspects shifted the focus of attention to the South China Sea as a whole, and this wider region then became the common unifying factor.

SOUTH CHINA SEA: WAR, PIRATES AND CONTRABAND

In the late-18th and early-19th centuries, the South China Sea was a very dangerous place for all vessels. War between the Europeans often spilled over into Asian waters, with warships attacking and capturing enemy vessels wherever they could be found. Vessels bound for enemy ports, regardless of whether or not they flew under an enemy flag, were targets of this aggression. As we saw early, military encounters had long been a threat to peace in Manila, Macao and South China, and it was no different in the 18th and early-19th centuries.

All foreigners were welcomed to China to trade so there was no need to use force to gain access that market (as the Dutch and English had done previously). But enemies of traders did not want to allow their foes those privileges because trade produced profits, and profits were what were needed to finance military operations. In order to see how prevalent these encounters were, we need only look a few examples.

In the early 1730s, the Ostend General India Company ships were forced out of East Asian commerce because of English and Dutch threats of attacking them; in the mid-1740s, French ships were prevented from arriving to China because of the ongoing war with the English; In the 1760s, French and Spanish ships were threatened by English ships patrolling the waters from Manila to the delta.¹⁵ From 1762 to 1764, the English attacked and occupied Manila, which greatly upset the commerce to South China. Some Spanish officers fled to Macao for refuge, and Chinese merchants in Canton, Macao and Fujian had their trade stopped.

War often strained available silver resources to the point that foreign merchant ships arriving to China would not have enough silver to purchase their export cargos. In the early 1760s, for example, there was a great deficiency in the capital supply in Canton. Strong demand for money, in turn, led to higher interest rates for Chinese merchants, which was a direct result of the situation in Manila. Merchants who struggled to stay afloat were, in turn, attracted to the contraband trade such as opium. All of these events were interactive,

which means we can no longer look at such things as the opium trade as simply being a problem developing independently in South China. It had much wider influences and effects.¹⁶

In the early 1780s, some of the merchants in Canton were very hard-pressed owing to the Dutch ships being attacked by the English and thus not arriving to China. The Yifeng Hang 义丰行 was one of the largest merchant houses, and was run by the Cai 蔡 and Qiu 邱 families. It had been in existence since the early 1730s, and played a major role in the growth of the foreign trade as well as the junk trade to Southeast Asia. This depended heavily on Dutch capital to finance the trade and when those ships failed to arrive in 1781 and 1782, owing to war, the firm was forced into bankruptcy. Because the Canton merchants were so closely connected to Macao, and to the junk trade, their failures had a broad impact that often affected Manila.¹⁷

When Dr. Balmis arrived in 1805, the region was embroiled in the Napoleonic Wars, with English warships cruising neighbouring waters, on the look out for French merchant ships and their allies. There was no way the indigenous powers in Asia could prevent these naval activities. But piracy was also a problem.

Since the arrival of the Portuguese and Spanish in Asia, there had been a problem with piracy in the South China Sea. The inability to control those elusive elements has often been pointed out by historians as one of the main reasons the Portuguese were allowed to establish a base in Macao. When Balmis arrived in 1805, piracy was pandemic owing to the thousands of displaced people from the wars in Vietnam. Vietnamese refugees left in droves and moved about the South China Sea looking for whatever means they could to sustain themselves. Many were driven to the delta, where they attacked whoever they could to gain the necessities of life.

Macao, being the southern most port open to the sea and the gateway to the riches of the Canton trade, had to remain on guard constantly to keep the pirates from taking over. Portuguese ships, such as the *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* and *Sta. Cruz*, were outfitted as cruisers to hunt for pirates. These and other Portuguese cruisers escorted Chinese junks to and from destinations all along China's southern coast to protect them against pirate attack.¹⁸

When Balmis arrived in Macao, there were upwards of 20,000 to 30,000 people moving about in 800 pirate junks of all sizes. They sailed in groups

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surrounding and attacking small vessels and pillaging villages. They took control of several islands around Macao. A major campaign was launched by the Chinese government, in conjunction with Portuguese in Macao, to rid the region of this menace. Many small merchant vessels, such as the one *Balmis* arrived on from Manila, were extremely vulnerable to these attack.¹⁹

Chinese junks coming from Southeast Asian ports stopped in Macao to hire a Portuguese escort, to protect them against attack. The Chinese navy was greatly expanded at this time as well, to cope with the problem. These were very precarious years for anyone travelling through the region. Merchants in Canton, Macao and Manila coordinated their efforts, as best they could, in order to minimize the risk of attack from pirates or foreign warships.²⁰

The flow of information was vital to their protection, which helps to explain why people in the delta learned of the arrival of the smallpox vaccine to Manila, long before *Balmis* landed in Macao. War and piracy were not the only threats facing the region. Diseases such as smallpox swept through villages creating fear and leaving much damage behind. It was thus in everyone's common interests to curb any spread of smallpox, and get the vaccine as quickly as possible. These wide reaching elements have continued to the present-day, which has now shifted the focus to specific economies and their regional interactions and influences.

SUMMARY

We have retraced some of the commonalities and connections that have influenced and impacted life in South China and Manila. Although these areas have been controlled by different governments, there were other factors that brought the two places together to provide regional security, wealth and protection. The quest to establish trade and missions in Japan created common interest in the late-16th century. The loss of those Japanese connections put strain on the entire region. The threat of English and Dutch attacks affected Manila, Macao and South China at the same time, and the threats of English establishing trade in the delta in 1637, the establishment of a Dutch base in Taiwan in 1624, and the Dutch capture of Malacca in 1641 continued to pressure and strain commerce in Manila, Macao and the delta.

The region then shifted its focus onto Taiwan. As an example of the influence the island continued to have, we only need to look at the stability that emerged after Taiwan was brought under China's control in 1683. Once this was accomplished, China became more interested in establishing and encouraging maritime commerce, which coincided with Manila and Macao's parallel efforts to find a new equilibrium. Private traders from India spearheaded the opening of trade, and then the foreign East India companies soon followed suit. The interests of the region then shifted to focussing on Canton and the booming trade there, which developed vast and intricately connected regional networks.

By the time *Balmis* arrived, the connections between Manila, Macao, Canton and Fujian had grown very deep roots. Chinese in Canton and Macao had relatives in Manila and Fujian who were taking care of different parts of the exchanges. There was much interaction between all parties, and it is not always easy to know the identities or ethnicities of everyone, because some Chinese Christians adopted Spanish and Portuguese names, as did others. But the important issue is that whatever happened in one market, at this time, often had a corresponding effect in another market in the region.

South China and Manila suffered together when war and piracy threatened their trade, safety and stability. War between foreigners in Asia affected the entire region, with warships cruising about looking for vessels trading in enemy ports. Silver shortages owing to the heavy costs of war in Manila in the early 1760s, resulted in a lack of silver to finance trade in Canton. The lack of silver, in turn, pushed interest rates up for loans taken out by Chinese in Canton, which lowered profits. The capital market had no borders and reacted very quickly to a change in another location. Piracy also affected the region, when trade was attacked, interrupted and diverted between the Philippines and China, and diseases, such as smallpox were regional concerns that required cooperation on many levels.

Some of these influences and threats continue today to pull the communities together. Macao, Hong Kong, Canton and the wider delta are now focussed on their individual economies, but still maintain close connections with the Philippines. Piracy continues to be an ongoing problem that can only be dealt with effectively on a regional and international level. International crime and terrorism could now be added

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to the list of influences that bring communities in the region together to keep the peace and harmony of all places. Environmental issues such as air pollution, the transport of toxic chemicals and water contamination continue to be common problems that require joint efforts by everyone in the region.

On this anniversary of Balmis's arrival from Spain, we remind ourselves of how closely related our destinies are one to the other. It is only through shared and forward-looking efforts like Balmis's mission that we are able to overcome these foes that threaten all of the people and societies in the region. These adversaries

pay no heed to national boundaries so they require a like reactionary response to fight them effectively.

And the economies in the region are more linked today than they have ever been. The delta would be put to severe straits if the tens of thousands of Filipinos working in Hong Kong and Macao would all of a sudden decide to pack up and go home. The connections between South China and the Philippines are just as important today as they were 200 years ago. We continue to need and rely on people with a broad outlook like Balmis, to bring peace, health, wealth and welfare to the region. **RC**

NOTES

- 1 For a summary of the religious connections between Manila, China and Japan in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Victor Gomes Teixeira, "Missions from the Philippines to Portuguese Territories in Southeast Asia during the 16th and 17th centuries", *Review of Culture*, International Edition No. 7 (July 2003): 68-79.
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- 3 Paul Van Dyke, "The Anglo-Dutch Fleet of Defense 1620-1622", unpublished paper presented at the University of Minnesota (June 1991).
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