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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>SOME EARLY PORTUGUESE BILLS OF LADING, 1625-1708.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Captain, C. R. Boxer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Citation</td>
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<td>Issue Date</td>
<td>1937-10-10</td>
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</tbody>
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SOME EARLY PORTUGUESE BILLS OF LADING, 1625-1708.

By

CAPTAIN C. R. BOXER

Professor Chozo Muto in No. 14 of his Bibliography of Anglo-Japanese Relations makes some interesting references to English Bills of Lading mentioned in the Diary of Richard Cocks, and other contemporary sources dealing with the English trade in Japan during the early seventeenth century. His observations remind me of some old Portuguese Bills of Lading of about the same period which I acquired in Lisbon some time ago, and which are perhaps not without interest to students of economic history. For, as Professor Muto notes, the economic influence exercised by the Portuguese during their colonial activities of that period had a far-reaching effect on the commercial development of the areas in which they operated. The learned Professor's observations remind me of some old Portuguese Bills of Lading of about the same period which I acquired in Lisbon some time ago, and which are perhaps not without interest to students of economic history.

The great influence exerted by the Portuguese on the commercial life and methods of the East during the days of their greatness is at last beginning to be recognized by modern historians. For, until recently, attention has been concentrated almost exclusively on their political and religious activities. The virtual exclusion of their economic activities from such works is at last beginning to be recognized by modern historians.

The learned Professor's observations remind me of some old Portuguese Bills of Lading of about the same period which I acquired in Lisbon some time ago, and which are perhaps not without interest to students of economic history.
After the surviving ships had finally sailed for Goa on the 27th March, the luckless Vossa Senhora da China again resulted in the loss of three vessels viz.—the carrack 'São Francisco,' the galleyon 'São Diná' and the prauce 'São Braz.' On the eve of departing for India, a sudden storm arose during the night of January 21st, 1644, which blew up. On the eve of departing for India, a sudden storm arose during the night of January 21st, 1644, which blew up. On the eve of departing for India, a sudden storm arose during the night of January 21st, 1644, which blew up.

It being too late in the season to continue on to Goa, the fleet was forced to winter in the harbour of Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique.

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Of the bills of lading with which this essay deals, only two are of Portuguese origin, the others being of English. Of the bills of lading with which this essay deals, only two are of Portuguese origin, the others being of English. Of the bills of lading with which this essay deals, only two are of Portuguese origin, the others being of English. Of the bills of lading with which this essay deals, only two are of Portuguese origin, the others being of English. Of the bills of lading with which this essay deals, only two are of Portuguese origin, the others being of English.

The annual India fleet which left Lisbon for Goa in the spring of 1623 consisted of the carracks 'São Francisco,' 'São Diná' and 'São Braz,' as well as two prauces, 'São Jorge' and 'Vossa Senhora da China.' The outward voyage was a disastrous one, the only the galleyon 'São Diná' arriving at Goa in October of the same year. The squadron left the Tagus on the 25th March; the line was passed on the 1st June and the Cape rounded on the 25th July. The prauce 'São Jorge' fell in with the outward-bound English East-Indiaman 'Coaster,' in the latitude of the Cape and was taken after a doubtful twelve-hour action. However, her captors found the vessel so spoiled in the fight that she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique, where she was allowed to proceed to Mozambique.
parted company, and was wrecked on the coast of Arabia. It was thus with only three sail (Sr; o.1 of the fleet)

as follows (the initialised portions are in MS in the original) :

The tardy appearance of the survivors of the ill-fated 1623 fleet, was somewhat compensated for the safe arrival of the eight sail composing the 1624 fleet in September of that year. This last squadron chiefly consisted of war-galleons destined to proceed to the Persian Gulf against an Anglo-Dutch force which was expected there in connection with the operations off Ormuz. Only three vessels, the carracks \( \text{Ct'71CO CYzag,} \) (Five Wounds of Christ), and \( \text{Nossa Senhora da Conceição,} \) together with the galleon \( \text{Sao Joao,} \) came under the orders of the Admiral Joao Pereira Corte-Real as Captain-Major for the return voyage in the spring of 1625.

This brings us to the raison d'être of this article, namely the \( \text{Concertação,} \) or Bill of Lading, from the Carrack \( \text{Conceição,} \) which is reproduced in facsimile herewith. The translation of this remarkable document may be read as follows:

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Concluido o Bilo de Ladra do Portuguese Carack Rossa Senhora de Conselha, Goa, 1625.
addressed to the confessor of the latest letter, in which I am taking in 171)"' calnil all well wrapped up & in good condition, & clearly marked on the outside, and I bind myself by these presents duly signed that, God bringing me in safety with the said Carrack, I will give and deliver it thus and in the condition in which I received it, in the India House to senhor Ant O Suches or to his true assignees, without my being paid anything for this, since I was paid the freight thereof at the time of signing this, & to certify the truth thereof I have signed "bills to this effect, one of which being fulfilled renders the others null and void, & for the performance whereof I pledge my person and goods, both present & future. Witnesses who were present those who signed below in Goa the 15 of February of 1625.

Portuguese handwriting:

The document is endorsed on the back, "Conceição, 1625. Bill of Branco Gonçalves, second pilot, for a deck and an Oriental which he is taking to deliver in Sora Anna Maria de Pires."
1 It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the origin and development of the bill of lading, but a few words may perhaps be devoted to similar Portuguese documents of the same period, which have come to light in recent years.

2 With the important exception of seaworthiness. For an interesting discussion of the Bill of Lading and its terms, see pp. 81-85 of Douglas Owen's Ocean Trade and Shipping, Cambridge, 1914. The Bill of Lading is there referred to as a document of very great antiquity, but unfortunately no XVII century specimens are reproduced to enable a comparison to be made with the Portuguese conocimento described above. The following example, from the terms of the following typical bill of lading, is of interest.

3 For a discussion of these Luso-Japanese Responsecia Bonds and facsimile reproductions of some of the most interesting, see the two following articles by the present writer:--Notes on the Portuguese Trades in Japan during the Reign of the XVII Century, pp. 86-95 of Documents on Ocean Trade and Shipping, Cambridge, 1914. The bill of lading is there referred to as a document of very great antiquity.


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6 Mr. Kentaro Shiba (新田黒敏) contributed a most interesting and detailed article to a Japanese Journal entitled "Observations on Responsecia Bonds," (Vol. XXII, Nos. 1 and 2) entitled "Organization of Portuguese and English Companies," (Studies in Economic History, Vol. XXI). pp. 40-49, wherein will be found a facsimile of the 1668 bond reproduced above.

7 For a discussion of these Luso-Japanese Responsecia Bonds and facsimile reproductions of some of the most interesting, see the two following articles by the present writer:--Notes on the Portuguese Trades in Japan during the Reign of the XVII Century, pp. 86-95 of Documents on Ocean Trade and Shipping, Cambridge, 1914. The bill of lading is there referred to as a document of very great antiquity.
I, Pero Fernandez de Carvalho, Factor of the City of Macau, hereby declare that I have borrowed four thousand taels of bar silver from Suyetsugu Socotu (=Sotoku), merchant of Hakata, at twenty-five per cent, on behalf of the said City of Macau.

And the said Suyetsugu Socotu declared that this sum of four thousand taels is to go from here to Macau divided in equal amounts on board the two ships Nossa Senhora da Conceição, which is the flagship, and Nossa Senhora do Rosario e São Gonçalo. From Macau to this city (next year) the amount is to be returned (in goods) equally divided amongst the ships of the voyage which sail first; and in case only one is sent, it will take only one third of the whole; in the event of the voyage being cancelled, another 10% must be paid. This silver bullion with the profits earned thereon will be repaid by the Factor who succeeds me, for and on behalf of the City of Macau. Nangassaqlle (Nagasaki), sixth of October of sixteen hundred and thirty-eight.

(Signed) Pero Fernandez de Carvallho.
Above, a Respondencia Bond, that is to say, a receipt for money borrowed upon the security of a vessel's cargo.

The Respondencia Bond, that is to say, a receipt for money borrowed upon the security of a vessel's cargo, or even on the vessel itself, rather than a Bill of Lading in the modern sense of the term, yet the Portuguese used the same word Conhecimento for both kinds of receipt. It seems probable that at this period there was no very clear distinction between the two, but in the case of the 1638 Respondencia Bond, the Japanese shipper is afforded more protection against certain risks than is the shipper of the goods in the 1625 Bill of Lading.

Another point of difference is that the latter document is a printed one and signed by several witnesses, whereas the surviving Luso-Japanese Respondencia Bonds, though drawn up in the same phraseology, are all in manuscript, and the majority have the signature of the borrower or ship-owner only. Nevertheless, in the course of fairly extensive researches amongst the Portuguese Archives for details of the Indo-Portuguese maritime trade, I have never come across another such one. Even the 1625 Conhecimento is a printed form, it seems clear that there must have been thousands of them in common use at the time.

It would be interesting to know whether the forms were printed in Lisbon or Goa. If the latter, then we have another point of difference is that the latter document is a printed one and signed by several witnesses, whereas the surviving Luso-Japanese Respondencia Bonds, though drawn up in the same phraseology, are all in manuscript, and the majority have the signature of the borrower or ship-owner only. Nevertheless, in the course of fairly extensive researches amongst the Portuguese Archives for details of the Indo-Portuguese maritime trade, I have never come across another such one. Even the 1625 Conhecimento is a printed form, it seems clear that there must have been thousands of them in common use at the time.

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the carrier mentioned therein, as will be seen from the story of the fate of the carrack Vossa Set/lionl da C()llcei~ao.

Before resuming the thread of this tale, a few words may be devoted to the personages named in the Bill of Lading, or to such of them as can be identified.

Before resuming the thread of this tale, a few words may be devoted to the personages named in the Bill of Lading, or to such of them as can be identified.
With the remaining personages, we are on firmer ground. Bartolomeu Sanches Correa, the shipper of the goods, was a wealthy Christao JlloZJo, or converted Jew, who was a prominent trader in Goa. In later years, during the Viceroyalty of the Conde de Linhares (1630-1636), who was a noted protector of this class, he was farmer of the Customs at Goa, in which his enemies accused him of introducing illicit practices to the detriment of the Royal Exchequer.

It was likewise alleged that he was concerned with the Viceroy in shipping forbidden goods to Pegu; but these and other stories are probably mainly inspired by the malicious Jew-baiting which was one of the chief occupations of both secular and ecclesiastical dignitaries at the time. (8) The persons to whom the goods were consigned are easily identifiable. The Call/adm'or desk (writing bureau?) was destined as a present for the Conde de Olivares, the famous Minister and favourite of King Phillip IV of Spain; whilst the oratory (or praying-stool?) was sent to the Royal Conessor, the Dominician Frey Antonio de Soutomayor. Obviously the Watched Israelee—de O livres, the famous Minister and Favourite of King Phillip IV of Spain, was desirous of a present for the Conde consigned are easily identifiable. The contador or desk (writing bureau?) was destined as a present for the Conde in shipping Forbidden goods to Pehu; but these and other stories are probably mainly inspired by the malicious Jew-baiting which was one of the chief occupations of both secular and ecclesiastical dignitaries at the time.

The years 1622-1626.

A large number of documents signed by him, and dealing with the appointments of various ecclesiastical dignitaries in which he was kindly lent me by Professor Prestage. It is an anonymum, and for the most part highly scurrilous. Production.
Lisbon, that no persons of Hebrew extraction were to be appointed to any positions of authority in the Portuguese
Indies—though these orders, like most Iberian Royal decrees, remained a dead letter in so far as the authorities at
Goa were concerned.' (10)

Antonio Sanches and Jerónimo Fernandes Aires, to whom the goods were to be
delivered at the India House in Lisbon for transmission to Madrid, were presumably relatives or
friends of Estevão Sanches—the first-named being perhaps his brother, and probably identical with
Antonio Sanches, who flourished at Lisbon circa 1621-1641.

The story of the homeward voyage of the Indian-bound Dutch Indiaman Hollandia bore in sight of the anchorage on the 14th
March, and her consorts, though a romantic and eventful one, is not germane to the subject of this essay and must be
summarised in a few lines. The squadron cleared the bar of Goa on March 4th, and had an uneventful voyage as far as the Cape
where bad weather was encountered. The Crôsctô COllcifao sprang a leak as a result of the buffeting she received, and all efforts to render her
seaworthy by throwing overboard part of the cargo proving unavailing, it was resolved to beach her at St. Helena.

Here the carrack was warped close inshore off Chapel valley on the north-west side of the island, some of the cargo
being unloaded and distributed amongst her consorts. These in their turn left the crew of the Crôsctô on land,
boating back to the beach to render aid. The consorts then made a landing of a few lines. The squadron
who landed at St. Helena on 1621-1641.
the cargo of the *Conceição*, or such of it as had not been lost in all these vicissitudes, came safely home.

The remainder reached the Tagus early in May, and thus at last responsible for the loss of several of the convoy. The remainder reached the Tagus early in May, and thus at last departed for Lisbon at the end of September, 1636. A violent storm off the Azores on the 11th April, was re-

The Portuguese however succeeded in beating off the Hollanders' attack after a brisk cannonade in which both sides suffered some loss, but the *Conceição* was so badly hit in the action that she was finally rendered unserviceable for good and all. The remainder of her guns however succeeded in being 

June, and promptly attempted to capture the half-stranded carrack. The Portuguese however succeeded in beating off the Hollanders' attack after a brisk cannonade in which both sides suffered some loss, but the *Conceição* was so badly hit in the action that she was finally rendered unserviceable for good and all. The remainder of her guns however succeeded in being 

The Englishmen mounted on a battery defended by packs of Indian cotton and piece-goods. Enough of the ships' masts were salvaged to enable the carravages to build a small schoon which they sent to Pahia in Brazil to ask for aid, which was not long in coming, but before his arrival they had to repel another attack made by a combined Anglo-

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\textbf{SOME EARLY PORTUGUESE BILLS OF LADING, 1625-1708.}

Whether the desk and oratorio mentioned in the correspondence of the Sota-Pototo, Bento Coelho, were amongst the goods which reached the persons to whom they were addressed, we shall never know, but it is permissible to hope so. This particular correspondence was presumably not on board the Conceição, but in one of her consorts, which had reached Lisbon in October, 1625, just missing a combined Anglo-Dutch fleet of over one hundred sail, under Wilmendon and Haultain, which was off the Portuguese coast on its way to attack Cadiz. Incidentally, it will be seen from the wording of the form that six copies were made out: evidently one for each of the six vessels which had reached Lisbon in October, 1625, but minus a combined Anglo-Dutch fleet of over one hundred sail, which was off the Portuguese coast on its way to attack Cadiz. The goods which reached the persons to whom they were addressed, we shall never know, but it is permissible to hope so. Whether the desk and oratorio mentioned in the correspondence of the Sota-Pototo, Bento Coelho, were amongst...
Conhecimento or Bill of Lading from the Portuguese ship Assa Senhora da Espanha.
This form is slightly longer than the 1625 version as regards the printed portion and reads as follows (hatched portions are in italics, the original):

"..."
The third COllhecl1ffor of Lading which we have under consideration, likewise hails from Pernambuco, and was signed by Joseph Gonçalves Rocha, Captain of the pink Nossa Senhora da Praia e São Roque. It is dated 30th May 1708, and in form and wording is practically identical with the earlier Brazil one just transcribed. Virtually the only difference is that it has an official stamp of the Portuguese Royal Arms on the top left-hand corner, and is headed with the line: "Com Privilegio de S. Majestade, para uso exclusivo de estes Bilhetes." In size it is a little larger than the other specimens, and the privilege is neither better done, but otherwise it approximates to the former examples so closely that it is not worth transcribing here.

Finally, it may be mentioned that a Fill of Lading dated 1776 in the present writer's collection is worded in exactly similar terms to the last-mentioned example, thus proving that the forms of these contemporary remitted exactly similar terms to the last-mentioned example, thus proving that the forms of these contemporaneous remained unchanged throughout the XVIII century. These forms in their turn closely approximate to the early XVII century example from Goa, and given this unbroken continuity of nearly two hundred years, it seems probable that in this article "bring such things to light" it will not have been written in vain.

In order to examine some early English, Dutch or French bills of lading for purposes of comparison, and if this article were in so many other spheres—it was the Portuguese who were the pioneers, it would be interesting to examine from Goa, and given the unbroken continuity of nearly two hundred years, it seems probable that in these forms in their turn closely approximate to the early XVII century example from Goa, and given this unbroken continuity of nearly two hundred years, it seems probable that in this article "bring such things to light" it will not have been written in vain.

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