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The population of Macao, 1770s–1820s*

Diana Cristina Teles Rato*

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Resumo

O estudo das tendências demográficas do século XIX esbarra-se, recorrentemente, com informação dispersa e de difícil manuseamento, o que dificulta o processo de análise da sociedade. O mesmo se aplica ao estudo de Macau durante o século XIX.

Este artigo representa uma primeira tentativa de elaborar uma síntese da informação demográfica produzida a mando da Coroa entre o período de 1770 a 1820.

Apesar de o artigo se apoiar fortemente em dados brutos, tentamos complementá-los com a contextualização e problematização histórica, dividindo a análise em categorias de crescimento populacional, relações entre religiões, sexo, população livre e escrava, e uma muito sumária representação de grupos etários.

Palavras-chave: demografia, grupos sociais, Macau, populações coloniais.

Data de submissão: 15/09/2015

Data de aprovação: 18/11/2015

Abstract

The study of nineteenth century demographic tendencies presents recurrent challenges, mainly because information is often scattered and difficult to handle, which interferes with the process of analyzing society. This applies to the study of Macao during the nineteenth century.

This article is an initial attempt to summarize demographic information that was produced by orders of the Crown between 1770 and 1820. Although this paper is based mainly on raw data, we have tried to complement it with a historical contextualization and problematization, dividing the analysis into categories according to population growth, relationships between religions, gender, free and slave populations, and a very brief representation of age groups.

Keywords: demography, social groups, Macao, colonial populations.

Date of submission: 15/09/2015

Date of approval: 18/11/2015

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The population of Macao, 1770s–1820s

Diana Cristina Teles Rato

This paper aims to bring new insights for the study of Macao's demography and society from 1770 to 1820. The study of colonial demography is challenged by several problems that range from sources credibility to its internal criticism. When the information comes from earlier historical periods, these problems can radically change the way the study is conducted and confine its possibilities. Making use of the most important contributions on Macao's population this paper assemble, for the first time, all the early Portuguese censuses of Macao housed at the *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* (AHU — Portuguese Overseas Archive), using a collection of data from a period ranging between 1773 and 1827.

António Vale has already studied the majority of the sources for the period 1745–1793.¹ This research, with a wider time frame will introduce information on the specific social categories, also presents reviewed estimations based upon different computing methodologies. Furthermore this demographic monograph aims to gather a set of standard demographic indicators, such as annual average growth rate, sex ratio, social composition and age structure. This will allow comparisons with different geographies of the Portuguese Empire within this period because for the majority of the settlements similar censuses are available.²

The article will start with a discussion on the Macao's population historiography. After, we will explain the process of analysis and data's organization, providing also a short synthesis of Macanese history during the late *Ancien Régime*. The next section provides an overview of population dynamics and population growth, where we present new data for the 1773–1791 period and, most importantly, between 1809 and 1816, which will fill the gaps in previous studies. Overall we assessed population lists and censuses covering 17 years, 12 of which were not previously presented.

¹ A. M. Martins do VALE, "Macao" in A. H. de Oliveira Marques (dir.), *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa*, Vol.5, tomo II ("O Império Oriental 1660–1820"), Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes, (coord.), Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 2006, 333–91; António M. Martins do VALE, *Os Portugueses em Macau (1750–1800): degradedos, ignorantes e ambiciosos ou fiéis vassallos d' El-Rei?*, Macau, Instituto Português do Oriente, 1997.

² Cf. P. T. de MATOS, "Population Censuses in the Portuguese Empire, 1750–1820: Research Notes" in *Romanian Journal of Population Studies*, Vol. VII, No. 1, Romania, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Jan.–Jun. 2013, pp. 5–26 (*maxime* 21–6).

Finally, we will deepen our analysis by presenting different society structures, from racial groups to sex ratio, concluding with a preliminary presentation of age structures. This paper also aims to cross statistic information with the economic, social and political conjunctures of Macanese society. This analysis, with innovative and more complete data, will allow a more in-depth study of the city's population. Thus, demographic characteristics, such as masculinity rates in both free and non-free population, as well as age structures and correlation between groups, will complement simple population growth rates. These results will forecast new relations between the key demographic figures of Macao and the ones available for other territories of the Portuguese Empire. For example we will observe a higher rate of enslaved population in Macao even though they remain a minority.

The historical demography of Macao

Research on the Macanese demographic evolution already benefit from a reasonable number of studies. In 1965, the Catholic priest and scholar Manuel Teixeira has provided the earliest attempt to put forward information on the main cycles of population evolution in this territory.³ Some collective works, namely the *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente* and *The Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa* included chapters on the economy and society of Macao and specific studies on its demographic trends.⁴ These contributions authored by A. M. Martins do Vale, Susana Miranda and Cristina Serafim (for the eighteenth century), and by João Oliveira (for the nineteenth century) can already provide a fair amount of data.⁵ Some new contributions have been made, especially by António Vale, who has collected a large amount of data concerning eighteenth and nineteenth century Portuguese censuses on Macao, housed at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon). This author published in 1997 a very detailed monograph, which is considered a reference for the historiography of this former Portuguese

³ Pe. Manuel TEIXEIRA, *Os Macaenses*, Macau, Imprensa Nacional, 1965.

⁴ Susana Münch MIRANDA, Cristina Seuanes SERAFIM, “População e Sociedade” in A.H. de Oliveira Marques (dir.), *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente*, vol. 2 (“Macao e Timor: o Declínio do Império”), Lisboa, Fundação Oriente, 2001, pp. 229–57; João Carlos OLIVEIRA, “Sociedade e quotidiano” in A. H. de Oliveira Marques (dir.), *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente*, vol. 3 (“Macao e Timor: o Declínio do Império”), Lisboa, Fundação Oriente, 2000, pp. 316–20; A. M. Martins do VALE, art. cit., pp. 333–91.

⁵ In the long-term demographic analysis it is also important to stress the study published by Custódio Cónim and Maria Teixeira. See Custódio CÓNIM, Maria Fernanda Bragança TEIXEIRA, *Macao e a Sua População 1500–2000: Aspectos Demográficos, Sociais e Económicos*, Macau, Serviços de Estatística e Censos de Macau, 2 vols., 1998.

possession.⁶ The second part of this study makes an effort to organize the several population maps available, while making use of an extensive corpus of printed sources. Even though information concerning the Chinese population is always difficult to systematize, António Vale was able to give the most complete study so far written on the subject. However, it remains to be done a more detailed research, capable of giving a perspective further beyond the basic population growth, the relation between sexes and the distribution of free and non-free population.

The sources and the research process

This paper uses primarily documents concerning Macao housed in Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino. The original documents were located through Isaú Santos' catalogue for the Macanese sources.⁷ The documents assessed range from 1773 to about 1832 and are mainly large tables with the population enumerations (known as «population maps» or «*mapas da população*»); in the case of 1773 data the enumerations come from an official letter. However, in this research, we will only use documents concerning the period 1773–1827, due to some gaps and missing years. The composition of this set of data is not consistent. The earliest population tables do not have an established model and the information provided was not yet standardized by the Crown's official decrees, though men, women and non-free population criteria are usually present.

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century counting colonial populations became an important practice in overseas territories. As Paulo Teodoro de Matos states “*Mapas*, required by royal order, were destined to measure the growth, the structure and, later on, the annual fluxes of these populations.”⁸ However, there was no scientific formula or procedures that assured the accuracy of the information. Frequently, the final values comes through guesstimates of a specific group. It is also important to note that the population tables concern only the Christian population and the inhabitants under the jurisdiction of the King of Portugal. Although some documents provide some information about the Chinese population, these values are often

⁶ A M. Martins do VALE, op. cit.

⁷ Isaú SANTOS, *Macao e o Oriente no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*, Macau, Instituto Cultural, 2 vols. 1996.

⁸ P. T. de MATOS, “The Population of the Portuguese Estado da Índia, 1750–1820: Sources and Demographic Trends” in Laura Jarnagin (ed.), *Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511–2011*, vol. 1, no. 1, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011, p. 172.

based on estimates that greatly change from one year to another. Foreign European population (English, Spanish, etc.) is also rarely mentioned.

Those population censuses are the result of the royal diplomas issued to the overseas governors with the purpose of estimating the empire's subjects. The emergence of a mercantilist system, especially during Marquis of Pombal consulate (1750–1777) lays in the idea that population is the most valuable resource of the State. Its measurement would be of crucial importance for military, tax payment and administration assessments.⁹ Once sent to the territories the royal diplomas were presented to the bishops, which were supposed to collaborate with the authorities gathering the information for each parish.¹⁰ In Macao it is possible that the administrative officials took the lead of this process in some of the years because the sources rarely gave information on births and marriages as normally prescribed for other parts of the empire. The only exception dates from 1774 because the *róis* (confession and communion lists prepared during Easter) were sent by the Macao's bishop, D. Alexandre da Silva Pedrosa Guimarães to the king D. José I. In this year the three *mapas particulares* (primary sources) were signed by the local priests.¹¹

The royal diploma of 1776—setting the census model for the majority of the colonies—prescribed a transversal age classification, but was vague in terms of social, ethical and religious categorization.¹² But, while in the colonies there was general tendency to comply with the given age structure, it was not the case in Macao.¹³ Rarely details on age classes are given (even distinguishing between < 7, > 7) and only for a latter period a more detailed age classification is implemented. Generally speaking the population categorization in Macao—either in age grouping or social groups—tended to show more similarities with the Portuguese Asiatic settlements, like Goa, Daman and Diu, where the religious classification tended to overlap the details based on race.

Due to the official nature of these sources we didn't find reasons to exclude for the demographic analysis any of the population tables. However less credit was given to the documents providing estimations, or to the bishop correspondence using these calculations to complement the

⁹ Cf. P. T. de MATOS, *op. cit.*, 2011, pp. 5–26.

¹⁰ Cf. P. T. de MATOS, *art. cit.*, pp. 14–5. Cf. Dauril ALDEN, “The Population of Brazil in the Late Eighteenth century,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 43, no. 2, 1963, pp. 173–205.

¹¹ These lists do detail etnical categories and broad age groups.

¹² Cf. Dauril ALDEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 196–7

¹³ The royal diploma of 21/5/1776 set the following age groups. Males: 0–7, 7–15, 15–60, over 60; females 0–7, 7–14, 14–40, over 40.

information given by the *róis*. Within the official *mapas* there are some cases where one or more categories could present erroneous data, thus we excluded the data for some years. In the sex ratio table the figures related to 1773 and 1774 were not taken into consideration. In the first date data regarding women was missing, while in 1774 the male figures were extremely low.¹⁴

Sharp variations over a short period of time were also taken into consideration. In 1823 the total number of enslaved population substantially decreased in relation to 1816. As there is not a plausible cause for this decrease it can be attributed to a scribe's error, as the global figure matches with the male enslaved population of previous censuses.

There is a clear distinction between the population maps, or tables, produced before and after 1800. The earliest have a wide range of information that varies annually. Some are elaborated and clear (like the 1791's table) and others disorganized or not well kept. Most of the documentation is in good condition, and thus legible, though the pattern of the information often differs between years. For example, the information before 1791 comes in the form of lists and one in the form of a letter. These lists do detail the different ethnic groups—mestizos, *nhons*¹⁵ and foreigners—as well as military and clergy. However they do not divide the population by neighbourhoods, gender or age, and greatly differ on the categories presented.¹⁶ While the maps for 1802 and 1809 continue with the same pattern from about 1810 onwards, the population maps became clearer and seem to adopt a standard model. One aspect that is worth noticing is the disappearance of the references to mestizos or *nhons*. After 1775 there is no distinction of origin, a change that is probably linked to the stressing of categories such as Christians and non-Christians. The later set of population maps is divided according to neighbourhoods (*bairros*) or parishes (*freguezias*), by free men and women, non-free male and female population, and by age criteria (normally below and above 10 or 12 years old).¹⁷ These last tables are readable, the information clear and we have no reason to think that the information is untrustworthy.

¹⁴ Men will be most probably distributed among other categories like “Portugueses” [Portuguese], “Nhons” and “naturaes da terra” [people of the land].

¹⁵ *Nhons* are mixed race people with a Portuguese father and Macanese mother. The term is very loose and may also refer to mestizos with Portuguese ancestry. See S. M. MIRANDA e C. S. SERAFIM, art. cit., p. 236.

¹⁶ One example is the list of 1773 that has diversified categories such as clergy, naturals, mestizos, slaves liberated man and many others. Another list for 1773 only presents Portuguese man, mestizos, naturals and slaves.

¹⁷ *Freguezias* were religious units where the majority of the Christian population was established.

From this point our work consisted of organizing the information and assessing its accuracy. One of the major difficulties during the analysis was to determine how to assemble different criteria. Population maps from the early nineteenth century are relatively clear (with established groups of men, women, children, both free and non-free population). However, the older tables display a variety of categories like mestizos, *nhons*, clergymen, religious orders (both masculine and feminine), free servants, military, among others. The objective was to join all this classifications into simple groups of free population (male and female), non-free (male and female) and Chinese (when possible).

During this research we came across with another problem related to age groups. The population charts of 1814, 1815 and 1816 present specific age groups, such as below and above 10 years, and below and above 12 years for both males and females and non-free population. Other tables occasionally mention the number of children or men below the age of confession; but in the case of the population maps of 1824 and 1827 there is no distinction between female and male children. This lack of information impairs the creation of broader age groups. Furthermore, it makes impossible to establish other points of analysis such as birth, death and migration rates. The most difficult point, however, was to gather information on non-Christian population. These tables were connected to the reinforcement of the political and jurisdictional authority of the Portuguese Crown. Christians were considered subjects, while non-Christian population had a different status, being mostly controlled in fiscal sources. This lack of information leaves a void in the overall study of Macanese society.¹⁸

Macao in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries

Located in the Chinese district of Guangzhou, 60 kilometres to the west of Hong Kong, in the south coast of China, Macao had been, since the early sixteenth century, the most important Portuguese settlement in the Far East.¹⁹ The city is flanked by the Pearl River (Zhu Jiang) and the West River (Xi Jiang) and its peninsula currently has an area of 21,5 km², though its territory has grown over the years.²⁰ Until the opening of Macao's port

¹⁸ In our collection of data we have also used information already published, namely in A. M. M. do VALE, art. cit., p. 360 and S. M. MIRANDA, C. S. SERAFIM, art. cit., pp. 229–57.

¹⁹ For further reading in the economic history of Macao, between 1770s and 1820s, see Fernando FIGUEIREDO, “Os Vectores da Economia” in A. H. de Oliveira Marques (dir.), *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente*, vol. 3 (“Macao e Timor: do Antigo Regime à República”), Lisboa, Fundação Oriente, 2001, pp. 95–296.

²⁰ C. CÓNIM e M. F. B. TEIXEIRA, op. cit., 2 vol., pp. 72–3.

to all foreign countries (1685), the Portuguese had a privileged position as brokers between the westerners and the Chinese. Macao was, and remained for centuries, a port. Its primary source of income was sea trade, and was mainly an intermediary sea city between the Far East and India, Africa, and later, Europe and Brazil. During the studied period, Macao contained several neighbourhoods or parishes. Sé, Santo António and São Lázaro were the most important. These were predominantly Christian parishes. But there were also neighbourhoods chiefly occupied by Chinese population. Of the three main ones, Sé has the highest population concentration rate, though, in a way, it is far-fetched to talk about an urbanized area in this period.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Macanese merchants regarded the recent past as the colony golden age, its most lucrative commercial period. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, trade with Japan flourished, generating high financial gains. After the closing of the Japanese ports in the mid-seventeenth century, Macao never reached again the same level of importance. By the 1700s and 1800s, the economy faced some problems, but one cannot speak of a period of crisis. In the late eighteenth century, the settlement faced a conjuncture that could either bring it once again to a central role in the Asian commerce or cease to exist as a Portuguese colony, as the English were particularly interested in the territory. They understood the value and role that Macao could have in the set of international trading networks connecting different parts of Asia and linking Asia, Europe and the Americas. During the Napoleonic Wars, and later the Peninsular War, Britain offered to defend Macao from a possible attack by the French. Indeed, it could be seen as a manoeuvre to occupy the colony and to establish in Macao, where British merchants had already an important role. However, Macao's Portuguese officials didn't grant the English ambitions, securing their position in the port while earning the respect and approval of the Chinese authorities.²¹ The increase of piracy in the Asian seas was other important factor that was in play at the time, harming commerce. It encouraged traders to take safer land routes rather than maritime ones. A general sense of crisis permeated Asian ports. However, Portuguese military action, in accordance with Chinese authorities, was able to minimize it.

²¹ Portuguese and Chinese relations had become tense due to an increase of conflicts. In the late eighteenth century, Portuguese authorities claimed that an illegal influx of Chinese population to Macao led to an increase in criminality, contraband and piracy, which they attempted to control. The Portuguese efforts to subdue piracy, with the support of Chinese authorities resulted in good relations that would prove profitable in early nineteenth century. F. FIGUEIREDO, art. cit., pp. 138–40.

The nineteenth century began with new opportunities. Advantages in the trading of tea and opium increased and, despite the Chinese ban on opium, this became one of the most lucrative businesses in Asia. After the suppression of the ban, Portuguese merchants started to trade the cheaper Malwa opium, which made Macao one of the interfaces in this commerce. With the departure of the Portuguese royal family to Rio de Janeiro (1808) and the subsequent opening of Brazil to international trade (1810), new opportunities were created for Macanese vessels that started exporting goods to Brazil. One central person of this time was the judicial officer (*ouvidor*) Miguel de Arriaga, who introduced fundamental reforms in the legislation. It allowed the transition from a mercantilist economy, introduced during the Marquis of Pombal consulate, to a more “free trade” stance. Despite the influx of foreign merchants, Macao witnessed a time of abundance, which would only cease in the late 1830s with the event of the Opium Wars and later with the cession of Hong Kong to the British (1842).

Counting colonial populations in Macao, 1770–1820

—Population evolution and growth rates

This study assembles information for a period of 54 years, ranging from 1776 to 1827, using the population maps available for a total of 24 years. The analysis aggregated the data per decade using all the scattered years that were accessible. Then, we made an average for each decade to deduce population change.²² These results only concern to Christian population and there is no information on migration movements. According to Graph 1, in a period of roughly 50 years there were only minor variations in the Christian population of the Macao’s peninsula. While for some years there is a population decrease, these are not severe enough to alter the general tendency. This trend was already observed in the previous decades, and more broadly since the mid-seventeenth century, as a consequence of the slow pace to which the population was adapting to new trading circuits that no longer included Japan.²³

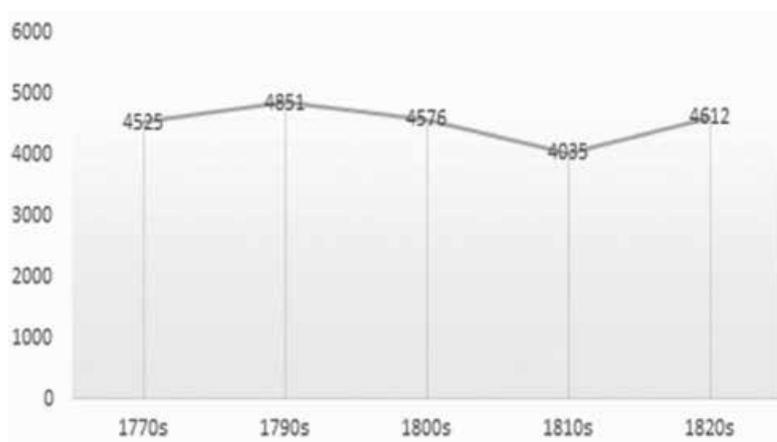
As we can deduce by the Graph 1 the population is situated between approximately 4,500 and 4,600 individuals, with a slight increase in the

²² Each decade is, thus, composed of about three years with the exception of the 1790s (which only presents one year available), and the 1810s (that has available six population tables).

²³ S. M. MIRANDA e C. S. Serafim, art. cit., p. 234.

1790s and decrease in the 1810s.²⁴ Unfortunately, there is only one population table available for the 1790's decade, which weakens the consistency of the data. Whether this is an actual increase or a one-year situation remains to be fully verified.

In the 1770s there is an annual average growth rate of about 0.07. In the last decade, the growth rate increased to 0.12. However, between the 1790s and the 1810s the negative value of -0.06 and -0.13, respectively, may be explained by the economic situation lived in Macao. The broad crisis in the Asian ports at the end of the eighteenth century may have helped to intensify some population movements among the city's Christian population, most of them Portuguese or from Portuguese origin or ancestry. Nevertheless, the rate is practically unwavering, so we can safely say that there wasn't a major overall change in this segment of the population between the 1770s and the late 1820s. These results don't exactly follow up the tendencies of the rest of Portuguese Asia in, roughly, the same period. For example, Goa was reporting a very small and slow annual average growth rate of 0.17 from 1794 to 1820 after a decrease in population between 1779 and 1793 of about 19.5%; even with this recuperation the territory was unable to go back to the values of 1720.²⁵



1 Christian Population average per decade, Macao (1770–1820)*

* For the data discriminated by years see Appendix 1.

Decade	1770–1790	1790–1800	1800–1810	1810–1820
Total	0,07	-0,06	-0,13	0,12

2 Population average growth rates per decade, Macao (1770–1820)

²⁴ The decade of 1810s is the one on which we have more information (we analyzed six tables). It is, thus, possible that this average is in fact closer to the truth than for other decades where we only dispose of two or three censuses to calculate an average.

²⁵ P. T. de MATOS, art. cit., p. 165.

– Ethnic and religious composition: free and unfree population

Identifying ethnic groups in Macao can be difficult, if not almost impossible. The lack of “white” women in the settlement made the mixed marriages a common event, an occurrence seen in other Portuguese colonies as well.²⁶ In the documents showing the number of Portuguese, and those of mixed heritage, Portuguese born in Portugal were few in number.²⁷ They were the ones who held the gross of the economic and political powers, although the Portuguese born in Macao were numerically dominant in the peninsula. Alongside these, there were a large number of other ethnic groups such as Malayans, Timorese and others.²⁸ With the data available it is safer to consider a Christian population and a non-Christian population, that comprised most of the Chinese. Within the Christian population a division can be made between free and non-free. Nonetheless, when compared to other Portuguese possessions such as Goa, and in the whole of Portuguese Asia, the toll of Portuguese population in Macao was reportedly low.²⁹

There are no sound and reliable data referring to the Chinese population. The only values we have are, at best, general guess estimates concerning the end of the eighteenth century. The figures available for the Chinese population are scarce and it is not possible to organize them per decade. The numbers estimated in these sparse sources range between 20,000 and 30,000 inhabitants. Despite that, it is possible, with the little information available, to give a general perspective of the role of the Chinese population within Macanese society. They were under the jurisdiction of the Chinese Empire and were the majority of the population, between 77% in 1773 and 87% in 1809, which makes an average of about 82% of the inhabitants of Macao between those years (Graph 2). They were organized in parishes alongside those of the Christian population. As any other resident of the peninsula, their primary source of income was commerce and the manufacture of goods. Houses in Chinese areas were in general of poor construction quality than those of the Christian neighbourhoods.³⁰ Portuguese sources allude to a strong illegal immigration. It is possible that there was this influx grew at the end of the eighteenth century, as a consequence of the conflict occurring in Cochinchina, where the Portuguese supported the Ngyuen kings.³¹

²⁶ FRANCISCO BETHENCOURT e Diogo Ramada CURTO (dirs.), *Expansão Marítima Portuguesa*, Lisboa, Edições 70, 2009, p. 199.

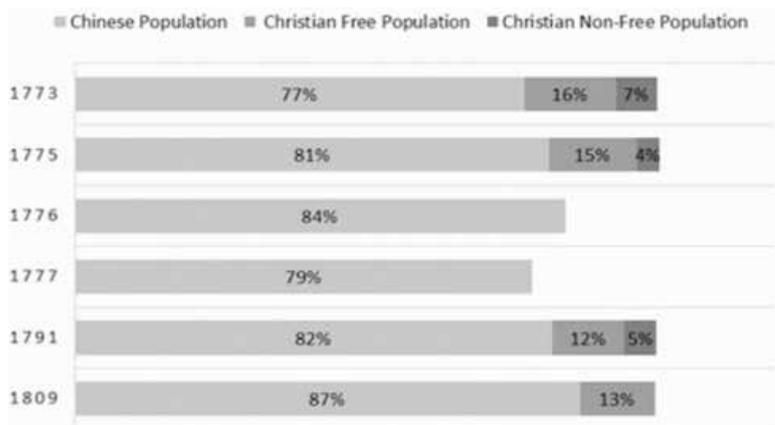
²⁷ In 1773 there is an account of 127 men born in Portugal.

²⁸ S. M. MIRANDA e C. S. SERAFIM, art. cit., p. 236.

²⁹ It is important to note, however, that the population maps often did not count the Portuguese military stationed in Macao. For a study of Portuguese population in Asia see P. T. de MATOS, art. cit.

³⁰ João Carlos OLIVEIRA, art. cit., pp. 322–4.

³¹ S. M. MIRANDA e C. S. SERAFIM, art. cit., pp. 234–5.



3 Chinese, Christian free and non-free Population in Macau (%) (1773–1809)

The overall Christian Macanese population represented, thus, a minority in the peninsula. Their percentage oscillated between 16% and 13% of the total in the same time period (Graph 3). Most of those who were free were descendants of Portuguese settlers.

Amongst the Christian population two groups should be considered: one is the free men and women and the second the non-free men and women, mainly domestic slaves. For these groups we, once again, organized the data per decades. The first group represented between 65% and 77%, or an average of 72% of the total of Portuguese (Graph 4). There seems to be a decrease in the number of free population in the 1810s, but it is not a drastic shift capable of changing the broad picture. The non-free group corresponds to the minority of the Christian population: they range between 23% and 35%. On average, of the total Christian inhabitants living in Macao, they represent little more than 28% of the population. This group remains mostly static, and does not necessarily follow the fluxes of Portuguese population, except in 1820s where it shows a tendency to drop. It is possible that there was an increase in non-free man and women between the 1790s and the 1810s, since slave trade was one of the main businesses between Goa, Macao and the Far East, a traffic that got more active in the beginning of the nineteenth century. These domestic slaves stemmed mainly from eastern Africa, from the colony of Mozambique and from Timor.³²

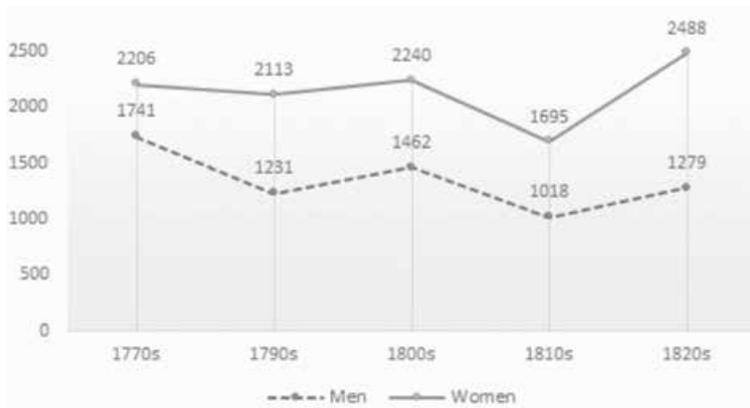
³² S. M. MIRANDA e C. S. SERAFIM, art. cit., p. 237.



4 Christian free and non-free population per decade, Macao (%) (1770–1820)¹³

Sex ratios

The analysis between sexes of Macao’s population was divided between Christian free and non-free groups, since there is data for both of them. One trend in Macao, that it is not unknown in other Portuguese territories, is the prevalence of women. However, there are periods where sex ratios for the free population are particularly low. Masculinity ratio ranges from 89.8, in the beginning of 1770s, to a steadily drop to 51.39, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. On average, for the period between the 1770s and the 1820s, there is a masculinity ratio of 64% for the free Christian population, which is a relatively low percentage.



5 Christian free men and women average per decade, Macao (1770–1820)³⁴

³³ The years 1809, 1812, 1822 and 1823 have been excluded for lack of values on the non-free population. In case of 1812 and 1823 the charts only presented values for the male non-free population.

³⁴ The population chart from 1773 was excluded since it didn’t have a figure for women. The years 1791, 1804, 1812, 1813, 1817, 1822 and 1823 have low counting’s for men. This could be due to the absence of children, military or clergymen in the total, or even if the census-taking was only done in one or two *bairros* (neighborhoods).

Christian free population	
Decade	Sex ratio-average
1770s	89.90
1790s	58.26
1800s	65.27
1810s	60.06
1820s	51.39

6 Christian free population sex ratios average per decade, Macao (1770–1820)

The evolution showed by the graph of free men and women reveals no increase in the number of women. In fact, it remains practically unmovable. On the other hand, the number of free men steadily decreases, even if we suspect that the data presented for the last decade of the eighteenth century is not totally accurate. This is also true for data on women, whose values can show great variations from year to year. Nonetheless, it is clear that women far outnumbered their male counterparts. Macao was a trading gateway. Women remained on land, while men travelled more. The growth in trading, that acquires new destinations by the end of eighteenth century, such as Rio de Janeiro, as well as the numerous shipwrecks in the area could account for this decrease.³⁵ These hypotheses grow stronger when we contrast the number of male and female children with the sex distribution among adults.³⁶ In this instance there are cases of similar values or more male children than females, which only become a majority when above 12 years of age. The decrease of free men is probably responsible for the very slow gradual decline of population in general, since there are no indicators that women were also being affected by this trend.

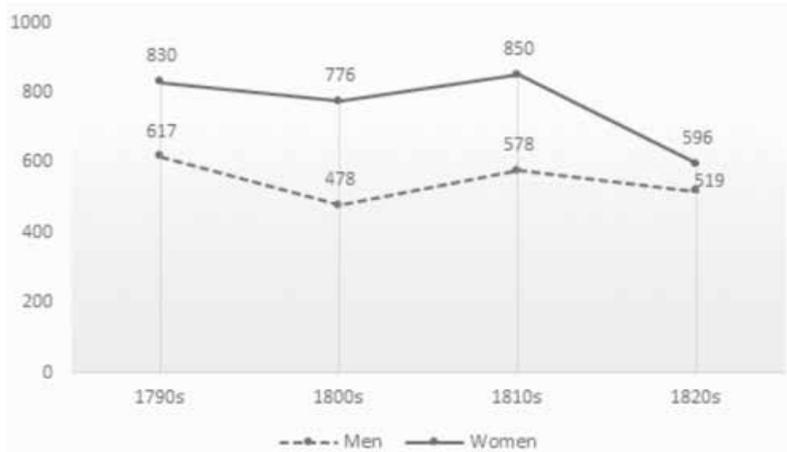
Concerning the non-free man and women the results appear more balanced, although it prevailed the tendency of more slave women than slave men, which was an usual occurrence.³⁷ At the end of the eighteenth century, masculinity ratios were 74.34 and by the end of the period, 86.91. On average, the sex ratio was about 73%, and in general it did not undergo radical changes. The variations between the 1800s and the 1810s accompanied the flux

³⁵ This could also justify the large number of widows accounted. For example in the year 1804 (the most complete chart with counting of widows) widows represented 20% of the women.

³⁶ The only charts with figures for all parishes or both men and women below the age of 10 are the ones referring to 1804, 1814 and 1815. For example sex ratios for the years 1814 and 1815 for children below 10 years of age are 170.63 and 132.21 correspondingly.

³⁷ In this study the 1770s were not included, because for 1773 there isn't a count of non-free population. In 1774 there is a very low count of 313 slave women, most probably only regarding the parish of Sé. For the years 1773, 1775, 1809, 1812, 1817, 1822 and 1823 there is no discrimination between men and women in the slave counting's. In the case of 1809 and 1822 the slaves data present unusually low values (for example, in the population map for 1822 only 537 slaves are mentioned). This led us to believe that these figures only concern the non-free male population. They were not included, as well, in the average per decade calculations.

of evolution in the slave population. There was no increase or decline of women. The two groups had a relative proportional development. However, there was a drop in number in the last decade. This follows the fall of the non-free population that, in turn, complements the general population movement.



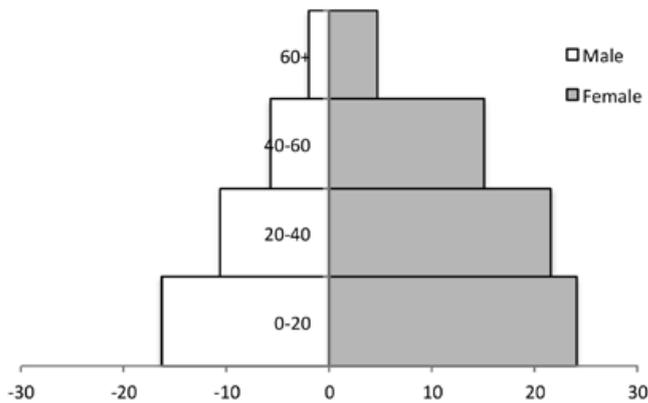
7 Christian non-free men and women average per decade, Macao (1770–1820)

Christian non free population	
Decade	Sex ratio-average
1790s	74,34
1800s	61,52
1810s	69,16
1820s	86,91

8 Christian non-free population sex ratios average per decade, Macao (1770–1820)

Age groups

The *Mapas* do not allow the population division in broader age groups. The only exception is the population table of 1804, making possible the construction of a simple age pyramid. While other of these old population tables have simple references to children or to those below 10 years, it is not enough to distribute them in other age groups. The results presented do not include the slave population. In the case of men and women above 60 years old, these were only counted in the parish of Sé. As such, the result should be regarded as approximate.



9 Age pyramid free Christian population, Macao (%) (1804)

Despite the unbalanced proportion between children and adults, it is a mostly young and active population, with 40% of population below 20 years, being the sex ratio 68.12%. In the older age groups 20–40 and 40–60 the sex ratio was even more skewed with 49% and 39%, respectively. Population over 60 only represented 6.6% and women once again were predominant, most likely due to the longer life expectancy.

Conclusion

Between 1773 and 1820, Macanese Christian population undergoes a stabilization of its numbers, after the steady drop occurring during the economic crisis during the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth centuries. The population thus becomes stagnant with very minor variations, which slightly deviates from other territories of Portuguese Asia territories, like Goa. But in the early nineteenth century Macao's population shows an increasing tendency linked to the economic development.

Racial classifications were an issue in Macao since there were a wide variety of ethnic and racial groups coexisting in this trading port. However, the point was counting the population under Portuguese jurisdiction. Racial divisions were not included in the production of *mapas da população*. It is possible, though, to make a religion distinction between Christians and Non-Christians. The Christian group was formed by free Portuguese men and women (both from Portugal or born in Macao, white or with mixed ancestry), and also by the non-free man and women (mostly slaves brought from Mozambique and Timor). All of these fell under the jurisdiction of the King of Portugal. The Non-Christian population comprised the Chinese that even without sound data we can assume as the largest group resident in the Macanese peninsula. The Christian population, organized in their *Bairros*, was a minority, like in other Asiatic Portuguese possessions, as Daman

and Diu. The flux of slave population is relatively unmovable in the period and remains the very minority in the region—if we count the Chinese population in the very few years that we dispose. Slave population does not represent more than 4%, but it would account more than 30% excluding the Chinese inhabitants. To note, the non-free population does not accompany the same tendencies as the free population, and a decrease in the latter does not result in the opposite or the same in the former.

Sex ratios in both free and non-free population show a predominance of women that is in accordance with other settlements of the period. However, amongst the free population, masculinity ratios were particularly low. Women remained in their domestic environments and were easier to count, while men were more likely to travel due to trade and warfare. The higher mortality rate of men can also be related to shipwrecks. The free female population remains stable, while the male population has a tendency to drop. Amongst non-free population women were in larger number because in Portuguese Asia slavery was mostly connected to domestic service. Nevertheless, both non-free males and females remain largely proportional in their evolution.

Using the population table of 1804 as a reference, one reaches the conclusion that free Christians are mainly composed of young population, most of them being in their active years. Numbers of free females and free males are always unbalanced, but aggravating over 20 years old. Women remain predominant, especially during active years and continue to be the majority in old age groups, mostly due to their longer life expectancy. Male population tends to decrease as they age. From these preliminary results we perceive that Macanese Christian population during this period is predominantly young and active, with some discrepancies in the male population.

The data we were able to gather, although enough to further this research did not solve all questions concerning Macao's population in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Topics such as the number of Chinese population, migration movements and rates, birth and death rates, life expectancy and age groups, as well as dynamics between Christians and Non-Christians, and racial and ethnic categories are still open. Further studies, especially considering micro-analytical data, such as parochial register of birth, marriage and deaths, must be carried on for a better understanding of Macanese population and society.

Demographic sources for Macao, 1773–1827³⁸

Year	Source	Type of Document
1773	AHU, Conselho Ultramarino, Macau, box 6 doc. 47	Population list
1774	AHU, Conselho Ultramarino, Macau, box 8, doc. 6	Population list
1775	AHU, Conselho Ultramarino, Macau, box 8, doc. 6	Correspondance with the Bishop of Macao
1791	AHU, Conselho Ultramarino, Macau, box 19, doc. 17	Population table
1809	AHU, Conselho Ultramarino, Macau, box 28 doc. 35	Population table
1812	VALE, A. M. Martins do Vale, «Macao», in Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa, Maria Jesus dos Mártires Lopes (coord.), Vol. V - Tomo II, Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, 2006, p. 360	Table by author; source not specified
1813	AHU, Conselho Ultramarino, Macau, box 35, doc. 39	Population table
1814	AHU, Conselho Ultramarino, Macau, box 37, doc. 79	Population table
1815	AHU, Conselho Ultramarino, Macau, box 39, doc. 8	Population table
1816	AHU, Conselho Ultramarino, Macau, box 40, doc. 36	Population table
1817	VALE, A. M. Martins do Vale, «Macao», in Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa, Maria Jesus dos Mártires Lopes (coord.), Vol. V - Tomo II, Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, 2006, p. 360	Author's table
1822	LESSA, Almerindo, História e Homens da Primeira República Democrática do Oriente, Macau, Imprensa Nacional, 1974, p. 154	Author's table
1823	AHU, Conselho Ultramarino, Macau, box 49, doc. 25	Population lists
1824	AHU, Conselho Ultramarino, Macau, box 61, doc. 25	Population table
1827	AHU, Conselho Ultramarino, Macau, box 58, doc. 34	Population table

³⁸ The sources presented here refer to documents with complete data. We have excluded all references to estimated numbers since those documents were the base of this research, and the ones we found most reliable.

Appendix

Years	Men	Women	Mestizos (Nhons)	Chinese Christians (naturais)	Clergy	Chinese (Chinas)	Unfree (Christian)	Total with Chinas	Total Christian
1773	127	-	1,325	1,008	-	12,060	1,100	15,620	3,560
1774	737	2,200	200	680	28	-	1,060	-	4,905*
1775	1,837	2,212	-	-	-	22,000	1,060	27,000	5,109
1776	-	-	-	-	-	16,000	-	19,000	3,000
1777	-	-	-	-	-	22,000	-	28,000	6,000
1780	-	-	-	-	-	18,000/ 20,000**	-	-	-
1784	-	-	-	-	-	30,000	-	-	-
1788	-	-	-	-	-	30,000	-	-	-
1791	1,231	2,113	-	-	96	22,000	1,447	26,851	4,851
1793	-	-	-	-	-	6,000	-	11,000**	4,000/ 5,000**
1794	-	-	-	-	-	6,000	-	10,000	4,000
1804	1,260	2,357	-	-	-	-	1,152	-	4,769
1809	1,641	2,579	-	-	88	30,000	-	34,598	4,590***
1810	1,227	1,784	-	-	-	-	1,359	-	4,370
1812	987	1,773	-	-	-	-	712	-	3,472
1813	928	1,738	-	-	-	-	1,333	-	3,999
1814	1,085	1,786	-	-	-	-	1,353	-	4,224
1815	857	1,368	-	-	-	-	1,573	-	3,798
1816	1,161	1,641	-	-	-	-	1,506	-	4,308
1817	1,087	1,862	-	-	-	-	1,522	-	4,471
1822	977	2,701	-	-	-	8,000	537	-	4,215
1823	1,256	2,701	-	-	83	-	537	-	4,577
1824	1,322	2,154	-	-	-	-	1,079	-	4,555
1827	1,559	2,394	-	-	-	-	1,150	-	5,103

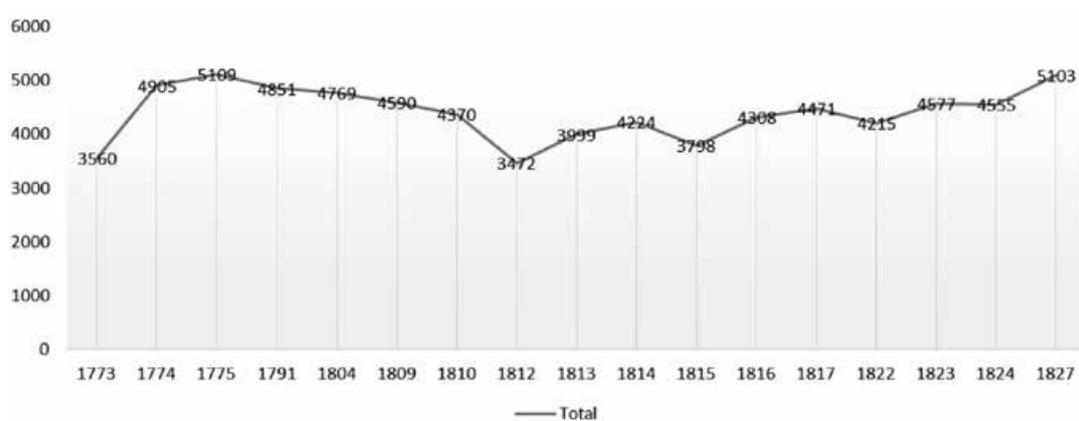
1 Population of Macao, 1773–1827

* The *Mapa* does not show a total, which would be 4,928, including the foreigners that we did not include in the table.

** Data taken from Susana Münch MIRANDA and Cristina Seuanes SERAFIM, “População e Sociedade” in A. H. de Oliveira Marques (dir.), *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente*, vol. 2 (“Macao e Timor: o Declínio do Império”), Lisboa, Fundação Oriente, 2001, pp. 229–57.

*** The total presented in the *Mapa* is 4598, which does not correspond to the real sum. We have included the total assuming the previous result was an error.

Sources: Documents housed at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU), Macau section (with correspondent years): Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino [AHU], *Conselho Ultramarino*, Macau, cx. 6, doc. 47 (1773–4); AHU, *Macau*, cx. 19, doc. 17 (1791); AHU, *Macau*, cx. 21, doc. 37 (1804); AHU, *Macau*, cx. 28, doc. 35 (1809); AHU, *Goa*, cx. 425; AHU, *Macau*, cx. 35, doc. 39 (1813); AHU, *Macau*, cx. 37, doc. 79 (1814); AHU, *Macau*, cx. 39, doc. 8 (1815); AHU, *Macau*, cx. 40, doc. 36 (1816); AHU, *Macau*, cx. 49, doc. 25 (1823); AHU, *Macau*, cx. 53, doc. 2 (1824); AHU, *Macau*, cx. 58, doc. 34 (1827). The years 1775, 1812 and 1817 were taken from António M. Martins do VALE, “Macao” in Joel Serrão and A. H. de Oliveira Marques (dirs.), *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa*, tomo 2 (“O Império Oriental 1660–1820”), Lisboa, Estampa, 1998, pp. 333–91. The years 1794 and 1822 comes from Almerindo LESSA, *História e Homens da Primeira República Democrática do Oriente*, Macau, Imprensa Nacional, 1974. For the years from 1776 to 1788 and 1793 cf. A. M. Martins do VALE, *Os Portugueses em Macau (1750–1800)*, Macau, Instituto Português do Oriente, 1997, pp. 117–2.



2 Christian population per year, Macao 1773–1827

Years	Non-free population		Total non-free pop.	Percentage (%)	Total (no.)
	Men (no.)	Women (no.)			
1773	-	-	1,100	31	3,560
1774	747	313**	1,060	22	4,905
1775	-	-	1,060	21	5,109
1791	617	830	1,447	30	4,851
1804	444	708	1,152	24	4,769
1810	512	847	1,359	31	4,370
1813	564	769	1,333	33	3,999
1814	545	808	1,353	32	4,224
1815	671	902	1,573	41	3,798
1816	532	921	1,453	34	4,300
1817	-	-	1,522	34	4,471
1824	501	578	1,079	24	4,555
1827	536	614	1,150	23	5,103

3 Christian non-free population per year, Macao 1773–1827*

* The years 1809, 1812, 1822 and 1823 have been excluded for lack of values.

** In this year population map female slaves were only counted in Freguesia da Sé.

It is probable that the number of female slaves would be far superior to the male slave population.

Years	Free population		Total free pop. (no.)	Percentage (%)	Total (no.)
	Men (no.)	Women (no.)			
1773	2,460	-	2,460	69	3,560
1774	1,645	2,200	3,845	78	4,905
1775	1,837	2,212	4,049	79	5,109
1791	1,231	2,113	3,344	69	4,851
1804	1,260	2,357	3,617	76	4,769
1810	1,227	1,784	3,011	69	4,370
1813	928	1,738	2,666	67	3,999
1814	1,085	1,786	2,871	68	4,224
1815	857	1,368	2,225	59	3,798
1816	1,163	1,641	2,804	65	4,300
1817	1,087	1,862	2,949	66	4,471
1824	1,322	2,154	3,476	76	4,555
1827	1,559	2,394	3,953	77	5,103

4 Christian free population per year, Macao 1773–1827

Years	Free population		Sex ratio
	Men (no.)	Women (no.)	
1774	1,645	2,200	74.77
1775	1,837	2,212	83.05
1791	1,231	2,113	58.26
1804	1,260	2,357	53.46
1809	1,641	2,579	63.63
1810	1,227	1,784	68.78
1812	987	1,773	55.67
1813	928	1,738	53.39
1814	1,085	1,786	60.75
1815	857	1,368	62.65
1816	1,163	1,641	70.87
1817	1,087	1,862	58.38
1822	977	2,701	36.17
1823	1,256	2,701	46.50
1824	1,322	2,154	61.37
1827	1,559	2,394	65.12

5 Christian free population sex ratio per year, Macao 1774–1827*

*The 1773 table was excluded since it doesn't present a number for women.

Years	Unfree population		Sex ratio
	Men (no.)	Women (no.)	
1791	617	830	74.34
1804	444	708	62.71
1810	512	847	60.45
1813	564	769	73.34
1814	545	808	67.45
1815	671	902	74.39
1816	532	921	57.76
1824	501	578	86.68
1827	536	614	87.30

6 Christian non-free population sex ratio per year, Macao 1791–1827*

*The years 1773, 1775, 1809, 1812, 1817, 1822 and 1823 were not included since they did not discriminate men and women.

Age groups (age)	Men (no.)	Men (%)	Women (no.)	Women (%)	Total (no.)
< 10	329	46	385	54	714
10–20	263	35	484	65	747
20–40	384	33	781	67	1165
40–60	210	28	542	72	752
60+*	74	31	165	69	239

7 Age groups christian free population, Macao 1804

*No data was given for Santo António and São Lázaro.

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