

THE VOICES OF MACAO STONES



Lindsay and May Ride

Abridged with additional material
by Jason Wordie

Foreword

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Portuguese Voyages of Discovery



THE PORTUGUESE CITY of Macao stands on a promontory jutting out, like a water-lily as one of its Chinese names describes it, from the south-east corner of the large delta island of Heung Shan (Fragrant Mountains) which forms the outermost part of the western lip of the Pearl River estuary. It is built on the shore of a small harbour, which geographical features divide into inner and outer portions. For many centuries this harbour has been chiefly the home of fisher-folk and a port for river, coastal and even deep-sea trade, but it has also always been a haven for any craft seeking either shelter from the storms of the South China Sea, or refuge from pirates — when it was not itself a pirate stronghold. The coming of the Portuguese led to an increase in its local and regional trade, and also to the establishment of a new intercontinental trade, as other European maritime powers followed Portugal's lead and made Macao the terminus of their Asian trade routes as well.

Much of Macao's early history can be gleaned from her temples, churches, and civic buildings, while the personal history of those who contributed

to her establishment and development is preserved in her private memorials and public monuments. It is from these records in stone that we propose to reconstruct as much of the history of Macao and of her influence on the emergence of modern South-East Asia, as is necessary to enable readers to form their own opinions from the biographies in our later pages.

THE TEMPLE OF MA-KOK-MIU (媽閣廟)

THIS TEMPLE IS the building with which consideration of Macao's history should begin, both from the point of view of age and from the fact that it was from it that Macao derived its name.

The early boat people of south China, like most seafolk the world over, were highly religious, and invariably burned incense and made thank-offerings to their sea-goddess on their safe return from a successful venture afloat, or for their delivery from the dangers of any particularly perilous part of it.

Their *Noire Dame de la Garde* was Leung Ma (娘媽), one of the manifestations of T'ien Ho (天后), the Queen of Heaven, and shrines dedicated to her were to be found along the whole of the coast stretching from Fukien in the north-east, to far beyond Hainan in the south-west. Ma-Kok-Miu temple was one of these and it was built at about the end of the thirteenth century, according to some scholars, on the south-western tip of what is now the Macao promontory, just inside the rocky headland which separates the outer from the inner harbour. This is where, so legend has it, a Fukien trader was brought to safety by Leung Ma, who, in the form of a beautiful maiden, is supposed to have appeared on board his junk when it was in danger of sinking in a storm. This beautiful pilot steered the junk through the fury of the storm to the safety of a cove behind a rocky headland, thus saving the lives of all on board. It was not, however, until their rescuer went ashore and disappeared into the skies from the top of one of the nearby rocky outcrops that it was realized their benefactress was none other than the patron goddess of the Fukien boat people. Near this rock the trader built a shrine in her honour, and this later became the nucleus around which, by stages, the present temple was built. In it there used to be a model of a junk with the goddess at the helm; this no longer exists, but on rock faces nearby, there are numerous carvings of junks, reminders in stone of the event which led to the founding of the temple. Many centuries later, the Portuguese were to build their Barra Fort on this headland near the temple, and so, for centuries now, both have pointed the way to the haven beyond, the temple to boat-people seeking shelter from storms, the fort to those fleeing from the inhumanity of fellow men. Modern history has thus witnessed this haven change its name and its

nationality, but not its hospitable nature to which many members of a Hong Kong generation, only now growing old, can testify; they have cause to be ever grateful for the welcome and the hospitality which the people of Macao so freely — and with no little cost and danger to themselves — extended to those who sought refuge there from the terrors of the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong in 1941. It is estimated that during this period, the population of Macao rose at times to as much as 500 000, although it had normal accommodation and supplies for only 200 000 souls. This extra demand for food, medicines and the ordinary necessities of life had to come from Macao's own meagre resources, for although Japan did not occupy the Province militarily, she controlled all its lines of communication and therefore its imports. It was consequently not very easy for Macao to obtain extra supplies for those who had secretly fled from Japanese occupied territory. Even under these circumstances, no refugee of whatever race, creed or nationality was denied such hospitality as Macao could afford to give, and this was Macao's record too in 1937 when 170 000 Chinese fled there from Japanese-threatened Canton. May Macao ever remain a haven for the needy.

As the intimate and diminutive form of the name of the goddess Leung Ma was Ah-Ma, her temple naturally came to be called the Temple of Ah-Ma, and the nearby cove — now the Inner Harbour — became known as Ah-ma-(k)ao, meaning 'Ah-Ma Cove'; with this name in everyday use for the cove, it was inevitable that it should also be applied to the settlement that subsequently grew up on its eastern shore. The Temple of Ah-Ma which started this train of names is now known as Ma-Kok-Miu (媽閣廟) and its picturesque position and sprawling courtyards appeal to present-day

visitors no less than its sanctuary catered for devotees from the seas in earlier eras.

IBERIAN MARITIME EXPANSION

PORTUGAL'S DISCOVERY of the long route round the Cape of Good Hope and the establishment of her sea-routes to the orient were made in many stages by a succession of adventurous navigators who, throughout their voyages, were continually harassed by their European rivals and constantly confronted by the opposition of the local rulers of territories through which they travelled. One by one these obstacles had to be overcome and the new positions consolidated before the next stage could be undertaken. Each such stage in this progression was a triumph in itself, accomplished as it was in uncharted seas, without chronometers or telescopes, and with only the simplest of navigational aids, and the most meagre resources of men, munitions and supplies which were all that the small craft of those days could carry.

These progressive stages were numerous and varied, as were the reasons why each in its turn was undertaken. But there was one basic reason which underlay the general plan of attempting to establish Portuguese trade with China: it was Portugal's reply to the challenge of Marco Polo overland route, which he had blazed from Venice to Cathay, after the final failure of the Crusades to establish a safe land route from the Levantine ports on the Mediterranean Sea to those on the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Polo's route brought little material advantage to the people of the Iberian peninsula who were too far to the west of the Venetian terminal market to benefit from it, so, if Spain and Portugal were to share in the riches of the orient, it had to be by other than the established overland routes. These two countries accepted this challenge by turning the defence of their peninsula against the ceaseless pounding of the Atlantic into attack. Their ships would plough their furrows through the ocean lanes and establish sea routes to the orient. But instead of the common heritage of these two countries uniting them against their common

The Temple of Ma-Kok-Miu: Showing here the rock carving of the legendary junk. (Courtesy of Dr Christina Cheng)



difficulties, these neighbours allowed their common aims to turn them into hereditary enemies. This enmity was counteracted to a certain extent by the Spanish belief that the quickest and surest sea approach to the orient was via the western Atlantic, while the explorations down the west coast of Africa led the Portuguese further and further south in the hope of discovering an eastern approach to the same goal. The success of these latter voyages prompted Prince Henry, 'The Navigator', to petition the Pope for the concession of all lands discovered by the Portuguese 'beyond Cape Bojador to the Indies inclusive, especially submitting to His Holiness that the salvation of these people [the natives of these newly discovered lands] was the principle object of his labours in that conquest'. This petition was successful and a Papal Bull was issued to this effect. This concession to the Portuguese was not to the liking of the Spanish, so they, after the first voyage of Christopher Columbus, made a similar petition to the Pope for a concession of lands discovered by them in the south and west of the Atlantic. This too was granted by a Bull (4 May 1493), but foreseeing that these allocations of areas would only lead to more and worse trouble between the two rival nations unless their zones were clearly delineated, the Pope laid down a Demarcation Line between them. This line ran along the whole length of the meridian of longitude drawn '100 leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands'.

There were a number of weaknesses inherent in the Papal plan that made it impracticable to implement it. In the first place, no such meridian could be drawn because the Azores and Cape Verde Islands were not on the same north and south line; secondly, the Spanish could not reach their zone without violating that of Portugal, and thirdly,

even if the plan had worked in the Atlantic, it only transferred and postponed the reconfrontation of these rival nations to a later date on the other side of this round world. But in addition, the Pope's line was strongly opposed by the then King of Portugal, who feared that it allowed the Spanish to approach too close to the west coast of Africa. His protests to Rome meeting with no response, he took the wisest course of proposing that the two interested parties should meet around a conference table and decide the matter for themselves. As a result, an agreement was reached and embodied in the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, but Papal approval was not granted until the Bull of 24 June 1506. By this agreement, the line of demarcation was shifted to the meridian situated 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands; the treaty also gave the Spanish the right of navigation to and from their zone across that of Portugal. Its most important effect in the Atlantic was on the Americas; the line crossed the southern continent, dividing it so that Brazil came to lie mainly in the Portuguese sphere while the West Indies and the rest of South America were in the Spanish zone. It is this demarcation which accounts for the present day distribution of the two Iberian influences and languages on that continent. But the most far reaching and important effect of this Atlantic line was felt in the Pacific. This line enabled Magellan (a disgruntled Portuguese who had defected to Spain) to round The Horn from the Atlantic Spanish sphere and to open up Spanish trade from the eastern Pacific with the Spice Islands in the East Indies, and with the Philippines, Macao and Japan, where they met again their European neighbours and rivals.

The Portuguese, on the other hand, were free to develop the islands of the east Atlantic as staging posts and from these bases they eventually pushed

their explorations round the Cape of Good Hope, whence the winds of the Indian Ocean fanned them out to the fringes of Afro Asia; on those shores they built their trading settlements, which later were to form Portugal's empire in the orient. Thus while Spain was hewing her empire out of the seemingly limitless land mass of the American continents, Portugal was forming her maritime empire out of the numerous small settlement which she established on the shores of the large oriental oceans, stringing them on her long sea lanes like beads on a rosary. The simile of a rosary is apt, for throughout the establishment of their trade routes to China and Japan, religion was a major driving force with all Portugal's adventurers. All her pathfinders in their voyages of exploration went with the Vatican's blessing and, to no small extent, under its instructions; in addition, her priests went *with* the explorers and were not relegated to the status of flag followers, as was the case with later expeditions from Protestant countries. Vasco da Gama himself made this very clear when he stated that his dual reason for coming to India was 'Christians and spices'. As evidence of the importance of religion in the building of Portugal's empire, we need only cite the many churches and shrines, or their remains, which still lie along the routes of her expansion — and her regression; and of these memorials, Macao has excellent examples to show, both in the form of existing churches and of historic ruins.

ENGLISH ROYAL BLOOD

TO FOLLOW PORTUGAL'S overseas expansion from its beginning in the north Atlantic to its terminus on the shores of the China Seas, we must turn first to the late decades of the fourteenth

century. This period witnessed the arrival on the Iberian peninsula from England of a Lancastrian duke, and the subsequent decades saw the infusion of English blood into Portuguese royal veins, a consequence which had not a little to do with Portugal's ultimate maritime development.

The English royal personage was John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster, Edward III's fourth son, and in 1386 he landed at Santiago to lead an expedition against Spain in the belief that he was the rightful King of Castile. He was encouraged in this belief by his second wife, the ex Infanta Constance, a daughter of ex King Pedro the Cruel of Castile who had been dethroned and was later murdered. As was possible in those days, the Duke — who had already adopted the style of 'King of Castile and Leon' — took with him his Queen and his two daughters, and these, as we shall see, were in no way an encumbrance. The ladies played an important part in the preliminaries to the war, for John of Gaunt had no army to speak of and depended on persuading King John of Portugal to supply him with one for the invasion of Castile. The negotiations for this were based on the 1373 Treaty of Windsor in which England and Portugal agreed to help one another against all enemies, and the Duke of Lancaster's Castillian wife had much to do behind the scenes with the success of the negotiations. Part of the price paid to King John was the hand in marriage of Philippa, the Duke's elder daughter. She was the daughter of his first wife who was English, and thus in 1386 an English lady of royal blood became queen of Portugal.

John and Philippa had many children, among them being five sons who alternately were given English and Portuguese names. They have been described as 'a magnificent set of Infantes', extremely talented and greatly devoted to their mother who

brought them all up both strictly and lovingly with their future duties to their country and its people always in mind. The eldest, named Edward after his grandfather Edward III of England, was a philosopher and succeeded to the throne of Portugal as Edward (Duarte) I (1433–1438); then came Pedro, a man of letters, followed by the greatest of them all, Henry, named after his English uncle. He was born in 1394 in the Rua dos Ingleses in Oporto and became one of the greatest figures in astronomical, geographical and navigational discovery of the fifteenth century. The other two sons were John who became the Constable of Portugal and the Grand Master of the Order of Santiago, and Ferdinand, a monastic who became the Master of Avis and the Martyr of Fez.

Their father, João I, was an able and enlightened ruler who, by his victories on land over the Moors and the Spanish, had established for himself and his heirs the Avis dynasty — the greatest in Portugal's history — and for his country, a leading status among Europe's western kingdoms. After a struggle lasting for about twenty years, King John felt his country was so firmly established at home that he could attack the Moors' lines of communications and bases overseas. He chose as his first objective Ceuta, the African port on the Straits of Gibraltar one of the main supply bases supporting the Moorish forces that were still occupying parts of the Iberian peninsula. This war thus acquired in the eyes of the Vatican and of many of the crowned heads of Europe, the status of a crusade, and it won the active support of many of them, including Henry V of England. Queen Philippa saw in it too a glorious and chivalric crusade and she readily supported the King in his decision for three of his sons, Edward, Pedro and Henry, to join the crusade.

By the year 1415, the Portuguese army and fleet were ready for the expedition but just before it was due to sail, Queen Philippa was stricken with the plague then raging in the Peninsula, and fearing lest her illness or death might delay the departure of the expedition or even pass the sickness on to the King, she persuaded him to leave and make his final preparations elsewhere. She then sent for her three sons and to each she presented a sword which she had had specially made for the occasion and to each she gave her blessing and also advice suited to their future lives.

To Edward, the heir to the throne, speaking of dealing with his subjects with justice and pity, she said:

I give you this sword with my blessing and that of your grandparents from whom I descend. Though it be strange for knights to take swords from the hands of women, I ask you not to object, for because of my lineage and the will I have for the increase of your honour, I think no harm can come to you by it; nay, rather I believe that my blessing and that of my ancestors will be of great help to you.

To Pedro, having watched him from childhood honouring and serving women, she gave the charge of all 'ladies and damsels', but to Henry her favourite, speaking with the pride of a Plantagenet, she said:

This one [his sword] I kept for you, for I think it is strong like yourself. To you I commend the lords, knights, fidalgos and squires it often happens that kings, owing to false information and unfair petitions from the people, take measures against them that they should not.

It is reported that even before the Queen finished speaking to her sons, the wind rose; on being told it was from the north which she knew was favourable for the expedition, she unselfishly said she hoped that they would set forth on the Feast of St. James which was due in the next few days. Queen Philippa did not live to see the magnificent spectacle of the fleet's departure, for she died the day after taking leave of her sons. A year after her temporary burial at Odivel los, her remains were reinterred in the 'English looking Gothic Abbey' built at Batalha by King João to commemorate the Portuguese victory over the Spanish at the Battle of Aljubarrota on 14 August 1385. Here too the King's body was later laid to rest, and on their tomb, in the church which together they had watched being built, their stone figures also lie together, hand in hand.

King John's expedition against Ceuta was a complete success, but in addition, it was a source of personal satisfaction to him for his three sons all fought valiantly throughout the attack and were knighted on the field of battle for the valour they displayed during the capture of the city. But it was the younger brother Henry who really won his spurs there and as a result, in the courts throughout Europe his renown stood high and his name became a household word. On the other hand, these courts had no attraction for him. This was Edward's sphere and he toured them all, personally consolidating Portugal's newly won status among all the leading crowned heads of Europe. But from the victory at Ceuta, not only did the infusion of English Plantagenet blood in the Portuguese royal line emerge with flying colours, but so did the numerous English noblemen who took part in the crusade. Many of them remained in Portugal where they subsequently contributed much to the blending of these two seafaring races which helped the new

Portugal blossom into its fifteenth century maritime glory.

PRINCE HENRY, THE NAVIGATOR

MUCH OF THIS GLORY was due to the third son of John and Philippa, the studious and intelligent prince now known to history as Henry, the Navigator. He learned much more than methods of warfare from his experiences in the Ceuta expedition. He learned that most of the Moors' supply of gold came by overland caravans to Ceuta from the region of the headwaters of the Niger and Senegal rivers far to the south. On his return to Portugal, he eschewed all the usual social commitments of royalty, and, returning to the solitude of his observatory on the Cape of Sagres, he thoroughly immersed himself in the geographic, navigational, cartographic and astronomical problems that his plans for the exploration of the African Atlantic coast presented. He was made General of the Order of Christ and as such, was able to channel much of the enthusiasm and funds being misapplied on crusades, into the more useful fields of science and discovery. He devised navigational aids and trained officers in their use, and planned and dispatched expeditions down the north west African coast as well as to the islands in the west Atlantic. Prince Henry studied the information that each of these relays of explorers brought back to him, and incorporated it in his plans for future explorations. He was certain that these explorations would ultimately lead to the discovery of the sea route to India, for he firmly believed that to the south of Africa there was a cape that would eventually be doubled by his explorers.

Prince Henry, however, did not live to see his

confidence confirmed. He died in 1460, but it was navigators of his school, brought up in his tradition, following his prophesying plans and using charts and maps drawn up by him forty years previously,

who rounded the Cape of Good Hope and reached India by sea before the close of the fifteenth century. There remain only two reminders in Macao of Prince Henry's great achievement in preparing the way for Portugal's oriental empire — other than the existence of Macao itself — the street that bears his name, *Avenida do Infante Dom Henrique*, and a stone in front of the Liceu Nacional Dom Henrique, erected in 1960, five hundred years after his death.



Bust in the library of the Liceu Nacional Dom Henrique, commemorating Henry the Navigator, unveiled on 11 November 1960.



Macao street sign bearing the legend Avenida do Infante Dom Henrique.

PORTUGUESE EXPLORERS

PRINCE HENRY HIMSELF did not take part in any of these explorative adventures in the eastern Atlantic. This he left to those intrepid men of the sea more suited for that side of the work while he became the guiding scientific mind that planned and correlated all the expeditions that emanated from Portugal. It was his navigators who first explored the Madeiras in the years 1418–1420, although some of the islands had already been discovered by then.

In the late 1420s and the early 1430s, the Azores were discovered and explored by Diogo de Seville, but it took ten years of continued efforts to double Cape Bojador. This was eventually achieved in 1433–1434 by Gil Eanes and thereafter exploration down the coast became much more rapid and much more lucrative. Gold and slaves in plenty were brought back to Portugal but the slave side of the trade was soon forbidden by Prince Henry. In 1444, his Ceuta dreams began to come true when Nuno Tristram reached the mouth of the Senegal River and when a year later, Dinis Dias rounded Cape Verde. During the years 1455–1457, a Venetian — Alvise da Cadamosto — in the service of Prince Henry discovered the Cape Verde Islands and explored the Senegal and Gambia Rivers. With these explorations, practically the whole of Prince Henry's Ceuta dreams were fulfilled.

All these later voyages of exploration paid well in gold, ivory, slaves and souls. So satisfied was the Vatican with the progress made in the dual fields of commerce and religion that the Portuguese were granted by the Pope in his Bull of 8 January 1455, the monopoly of the trade with all the places they discovered on their expeditions provided that no

war materials were traded with people and places not of the Roman Catholic faith. The mercantile clauses of the Bull granting this Papal monopoly set the general pattern for all trade monopolies subsequently granted by European countries to their own chartered national East India companies during the next three hundred years.

Henry the Navigator's death in 1460 removed the brains and the driving force that lay behind these striking exploration activities of Portugal, and in the next decade or so under Afonso V, Henry's nephew, they underwent a marked diminution. But with Afonso's death in 1481 and the succession of his son John II, the Portuguese crown re-entered the field of exploration with greater energy than ever. In 1482 John II placed Diogo Cao in charge of an expedition which, from 1482–1484, explored the mouth of the Congo River and Cape St. Augustine, and from 1485–1486, then explored as far south as Cape Cross and Cape Negro. But John II, like Henry the Navigator before him, was even more inspired by the religious significance of the discovery of new lands and new peoples than he was by their commercial value, and so, mindful of the Vatican's hope of making contact with Prester John, King John dispatched two expeditions, one by land and one by sea, to visit India and *en route* to search for this mysterious figure of the East. The former expedition was organized by Pedro de Covilha and Afonso de Paiva, and in 1487 they reached India via Cairo and Aden. Later on their way back, they followed the east African coast as far south as the mouth of the Zambezi River without getting any information at all of either Prester John or the route round the Cape.

The other expedition was placed under the

command of Bartolomeu Dias and his instructions were that if he were able to discover a sea passage joining the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean to the south of the continent, he was to navigate it and then search up the African east coast as far as he could for evidence of Prester John's existence. The first part of his task was accomplished unknowingly, for from December 1487 to February 1488 he encountered almost continuous storms. When at last the weather cleared enough for him to determine his position and approach land with safety, he found himself sailing north east along a hilly shore. He had obviously rounded the southern tip of the continent, but when he reached as far north as what are now known as Morsel Bay and the mouth of the Great Fish River, trouble with his crew forced him to abandon the second part of his mission — the search for Prester John. Retracing his steps, he redoubled the Cape and brought his ship safely back to Portugal, thereby earning the distinction for his country of being the first European to round the Cape.

During the next few years, Portugal was beset with internal troubles and with disputes with Spain; much of her programme of exploration had therefore to be curtailed, but the study of the findings of the earlier expeditions continued, and especially after the return of the Dias and Covilhã parties, the belief in the existence of a sea passage around the south of Africa became more and more commonly held, and the despatch of an expedition for the purpose of proving this and of reaching India by sea became more and more justified. To authorize such an expedition was one of the early decisions taken by Manuel I after he ascended the Portuguese throne in 1495.

VASCO DA GAMA (1469–1524)

THE HONOUR OF BEING APPOINTED to lead this expedition fell to Vasco da Gama, the son of the Comptroller of the Household of King Afonso. While full recognition must be given to the achievements of his many predecessors, including Dias, his success and the subsequent results of his epoch making discoveries cause his achievement to rank first among those of all his compatriot maritime explorers.

Vasco da Gama sailed from the Tagus in command of a flotilla of four ships on 8 July 1497 and had an uneventful voyage until he rounded the Cape in the following November. Here, like Dias a decade before him, he encountered terrible storms and his success in the face of these difficulties was made immortal in the poem *Os Lusíadas* by Camoens who, when he was going to India as a soldier in the Portuguese army more than half a century later, followed Vasco da Gama's route round the Cape of Good Hope. Camoens had by then already started writing his epic and it was his experiences on his voyage to India that led him to make Vasco da Gama's historic voyage the central theme of his poem. His pen picture of the difficulties encountered by da Gama when rounding the Cape of Good Hope has led other artists to depict them also, each in his own medium. Two examples of these — one by a sculptor and the other by an artist — were to be seen in Macao, but now only the former of these remains. It is carved in low relief on a marble panel on the western face of the Vasco da Gama monument in the Vasco da Gama Gardens.

The other was a picture in blue and white tiles which until the 1970s graced a wall in the house of the late Dr P.J. Lobo on the Praia Grande. A photograph of it can be seen below.



The Vasco da Gama memorial in the gardens and avenue of the same name, at the foot of Guia Hill. On it is carved in relief, a scene from the epic poem 'Os Lusíadas' by Camoens, depicting Venus leading the Portuguese ships into the Indian Ocean despite fierce opposition from the monster Adamastor.



Azulejos of the monster Adamastor, formerly on the wall of Dr P.J. Lobo's house on the Praia Grande since demolished.

After rounding the Cape of Good Hope, Vasco da Gama led his ships north, visiting a number of East African ports on the way. He was in Quilimane in January 1498, Mozambique in March, and then continued north as far as Mombasa and Malindi. At this latter place, he stopped to take stock of the situation and from the information gathered concerning Indian Ocean trade, he decided to go straight to its centre — to Calicut on the Indian Malabar coast. This was a stroke of genius; many a lesser man would have searched the Indian Ocean for a port from which to challenge Calicut. Vasco da Gama, however, engaged an Arab captain as his pilot and sailed direct to Calicut where he immediately made a favourable impression on the authorities and established friendly relations with them. From this centre of oriental trade, he was able to observe how the merchandise from the Far East and from the Spice Isles, from the East Indies and Ceylon, was channelled at Calicut through Muslim hands across

the Arabian Sea to the Persian Gulf or to the Red Sea, and thence overland to the Mediterranean. He also saw that by capturing this trade he would be both enriching Portugal and striking a blow for the Cross against the Crescent.

When he returned to Portugal with this information, he was able to report also that further east than India were wealthy countries peopled by races belonging to civilizations more ancient than any in the West. As evidence of their achievements, he took to his Queen gifts from ‘The Land of the Chins’: utensils and ornaments made of porcelain, a material hitherto unknown in the West.

In 1502, he made a second voyage to India, this time in command of a merchant fleet of 20 vessels, and on his third voyage, in 1524, he returned to India, as Viceroy of Goa. But as he died soon after his arrival, it is not as an administrator that Vasco da Gama is remembered, but as a great commander of voyages of discovery. When he originally arrived in India, he found two professions already well organized for dealing with oriental merchandise: the carrying trade and pirate trade. Regarding these, the Portuguese policy in the eastern seas at that time was to capture the trade and to subdue the piracy, and this was accomplished in the amazingly short time of a decade and a half, mainly due to the efforts and ability of two men — Dom Francisco de Almeida and Afonso de Albuquerque; but even these men and their companions could never have achieved this had it not been for the foundations so well laid by Vasco da Gama.

In estimating the importance to the world of this achievement, we are prone to recognize and consider only the effects that such achievement of the West had on the East. But to assess the true value of Portugal’s overseas discoveries, we must also compute the reverse effect which the discovered

orient had on the occident, and this was just as phenomenal and far reaching culturally, philosophically and theologically, as it was in mercantile and political affairs. The main Christian countries of the West found they had to reorientate — in more senses of the word than one — their thinking when they ‘discovered’ civilizations with treasures of art, music, literature, philosophy and civil codes of behaviour, not based on Christian principles, and yet comparable with those of the west. Macao, and Hong Kong later, played a significant part in this opening of the occidental mind to the civilizations of the East. For two centuries or more, Macao was the only avenue of approach to China’s learning that was open to Westerners and, unlike Marco Polo who arrived by an overland route some centuries earlier, most of those using Macao were missionaries. But like Marco Polo, many of them also used their writings to introduce and interpret the East to the West. Of the missionaries, first came the Portuguese under their *padroado*, then the Jesuits of many nationalities, Italian, French, Belgian and German as well as Portuguese. Of these, the greatest was undoubtedly Matteo Ricci, an Italian Jesuit, who after some years in Goa and Cochin, arrived in Macao in 1582 with the intention of entering China. In this he was finally successful and after working long years in Shiu Hing, Nanchang and Nanking, he eventually reached Peking in 1601. By the time of his death in 1610 he had compiled and sent back to Europe what remains to this day a standard work on Chinese life, institutions and philosophy. More than two centuries after the arrival of the Roman Catholics came the Protestants, and they also used Macao as their China base. First came Robert Morrison (and later his son J.R. Morrison, not a missionary), then Milne, Medhurst (and also James Legge in Hong

Kong), all from Britain. Gutzlaff came from the continent of Europe, and Parker, Wells Williams and Speer from America, and all wrote to ensure that the treasures of Chinese thought and philosophy might become more readily available to the scholars of the West.

In European mercantile and political spheres, the initial Portuguese contacts with the East resulted in shifts of trade and power centres from the eastern Mediterranean, Levantine and mid European states to the cities of the Atlantic seaboard. Lisbon, and later Antwerp, Amsterdam and London, all became world market centres and remained so for centuries. The coming of cottons and cheaper silks changed habits and fashions in dress throughout western Europe while the introduction of spices and new fruits, plants and vegetables revolutionized cuisine, diets and pharmacopoeias. The trade rivalries they engendered led to the rise of many Western nations — Spain, Portugal, Netherlands, France, Britain and the United States of America — and in their turn, to the fall of most of them as imperial world powers. Each strove for world supremacy in trade through supremacy at sea, and through the acquisition of the territories whose trade they had captured. All this worldwide change arose as the direct result of the link between Europe and India forged by Vasco da Gama at the end of the fifteenth century, and made his discovery of the sea route to India one of the greatest historical events that occurred between the beginning of the Christian era and the onset of the modern age of science. The Spanish historian Gomara was blessed with prophetic sight when in 1553 he described the Spanish and Portuguese discovery of the ocean routes to the East and West Indies as ‘the greatest event since the creation of the world, apart from the incarnation and death of him [sic] who created it’.

At the time of Gomara’s writing, the full impact of the Iberian discoveries had hardly even begun to effect the rest of Europe, but now we know that it was the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope, together with that of The Horn and the circumnavigation of the earth, that made it possible to contemplate the human race as essentially one, and the eastern and western ends of the earth as coincidental points.

Macao’s recognition of Vasco da Gama’s major role in the discoveries leading to its own settlement was expressed by its citizens when they named an avenue and one of their public gardens after him, and in the latter, erected to his memory a stone monument surmounted by his bust in bronze.

ALMEIDA AND ALBUQUERQUE

PORTUGUESE POLICY EAST of the Cape was, in the early stages, decided by King Manuel himself and its execution was entrusted to the leaders of missions sent out from time to time to implement specific portions of this policy. But during the first decade of the sixteenth century an overall policy began to emerge which called for implementation by an official resident in the area over a longer period than just one voyage. When the post was established the appointee was variously called Viceroy, or Governor, or Captain General or Governor General, of Portuguese India, but later, when Goa became the centre of Portuguese activity in the East, he was generally known as the Viceroy of Goa. The first appointment was made in 1505 when Dom Francisco de Almeida became Viceroy; his immediate task was to wrest from the Moorish control, the oriental trade to Europe which was using the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf routes to



The bronze bust of Vasco da Gama on his Macao monument.

the eastern Mediterranean. He sailed from Lisbon with a fleet of twenty-two ships on 25 March of that year to assume his duties. Almeida's main contributions to the Portuguese cause were the founding of a number of trading settlements on the African and west Indian coasts and his victory over the Moslem fleet at Diu in 1509. However, he did not realize the importance of fortifying these bases, nor did he appreciate the efforts of those who did. This particularly applied to Afonso de Albuquerque who, in spite of his difficulties with Almeida, later became the architect of Portugal's maritime empire in the orient.

When Afonso de Albuquerque left Lisbon on 18 April 1506 as Chief Captain of six ships, he carried with him a letter from King Manuel

appointing him as Almeida's successor as from 1508, the end of the latter's three-year appointment. This situation, plus the fact that the two men did not see eye to eye on plans or policy, inevitably led to friction between them, and it in turn gave rise to the atmosphere that conspirators thrive in. At the end of his term of office, Almeida refused to hand over to Albuquerque and it was not until 1509 that the latter became Governor. While waiting, Albuquerque had time to review the situation and his conclusion was that Portugal needed not only a portion of Asia's trade with Europe, but its complete control. Only by this means could the Moslem enemies of Christendom be subdued. To accomplish this Portugal needed fortified bases, not just trading bases, at strategic points throughout the African,

Indian and Arabian coasts of the Indian Ocean. These Albuquerque set up and operating from them, he freed the Arabian Sea of major threats from both pirates and Moors, and, when Goa was captured and fortified in 1511, it became Golden Goa, the centre of this new empire. Albuquerque then turned his attention to what we now know as the Far East.

In the eastern region of the Indian Ocean — often then referred to as Further India — Portugal ultimately adopted a policy similar to that pursued by them in the Arabian Sea. Briefly, it was to establish their control over the China and Spice Islands trade operating from a base such as Malacca. The first move to implement this policy was made in 1508 when Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was commissioned by King Manuel to proceed to the island of S. Lourenço (Madagascar) in search of spices — especially cloves — which Tristão da Cunha had reported grew there in abundance. If these and medicinal plants were not available there, he was to continue on to Malacca. Here he was to investigate the spice trade and was specifically instructed to follow up Vasco da Gama's report and to seek full information concerning 'the Chijns', their country, their merchandise and their religion. Diogo Lopes did not find his visit to S. Lourenço very rewarding so he sailed with his four ships for Malacca, arriving there on 11 September 1509. He informed the King of Malacca that he had come to trade and, if possible, to negotiate a trade treaty, and these proposals were so favourably entertained that the Portuguese were given permission to land and to begin trading. The King also made some houses near the shore available to them for use as a factory, but this generous treatment soon aroused the jealousy of the Moors who warned the King that these apparently peaceful merchants were really there to capture his city and enslave his people. The

Moors were successful in arousing the King's suspicion and he planned to capture and massacre all the Portuguese. When his plans were almost completed, a Malayan woman, friendly with one of the Portuguese, warned them of their danger, and enabled the ships to escape although all the factory staff were overpowered after a stubborn resistance, and were taken prisoners. After making unsuccessful attempts to rescue them, Diogo Lopes and his ships sailed for Colombo whence he himself eventually returned safely to Lisbon, arriving there in 1510. He gave a glowing account to King Manuel of the riches of Malacca, but apart from reporting having seen a few Chinese junks in its harbour, he brought back no information concerning China or its trade.

In spite of this setback, Malacca remained the keystone of the Portuguese plans for their trade expansion in Further India. It lay athwart the routes to the East Indies in the south and to China and Japan in the north, and so Albuquerque in Goa decided to take a hand in retrieving the situation himself. With this object in view he arrived in Malacca on 1 July 1511. His first task to effect the liberation of those of Diogo Lopes's men who were still alive in Malacca prisons, but, when it became evident to him that he was not going to achieve the release of his compatriots by negotiations only, he resorted to force. On 15 August 1511 he captured the town and added it to his country's growing list of eastern fortresses. By chance, some Chinese traders were in Malacca at the time, and Albuquerque's action won their admiration and support to such an extent that they assisted him in sending a trade envoy to Siam. Siam was chosen by Albuquerque as his first step to China because it had direct trade and political associations with Malacca, the King of Siam having been largely responsible for its establishment as a port early in the fifteenth century.

The success of this mission to Siam convinced Albuquerque of the trade potential of that part of Asia which appealed to him all the more when he found it was not, like Malacca, an area dominated by Moslems. So, after firmly establishing his administration in Malacca, he began to plan further expeditions to other parts of the Far East, reserving for himself the command of a mission to the land of his newly found friends — China. But the completion of his China plan was to fall to the lot of another. First he had to return to India where he found that his long absence at Malacca had given some of his rivals the opportunity of continuing their conspiracy against him. Immediately on arrival he dealt decisively with this situation and then proceeded to complete the first part of his Arabian Sea plans by capturing Ormuz. The next phase of these plans included the capture of Aden, but the preparations for this operation had to be made in India. He therefore sailed for Goa, but while en route, when near Muscat, he received a dispatch from Lisbon informing him of his replacement as Governor of Goa. Where all his enemies throughout

the orient had failed, a few conspirators at the Lisbon court had succeeded. 'In bad repute with men because of the King, and in bad repute with the King because of men. It were well that I were gone' was his comment, and apparently his resolve. The rest of his trip to Goa he spent putting his personal, his official and his spiritual affairs in order, and, after spending the night of 15 December 1515 at anchor outside Goa near the bar, he did not live to cross it, but instead crossed life's bar, brokenhearted, an hour before the next sunrise.

Albuquerque's success in setting up Portugal's overseas empire was due to his strong and endearing personality and to his talents for administration, displayed in both peace and war. Although he has no stone memorial of his own in Macao, spiritually he shares that of Vasco da Gama which no one could look upon without also being reminded of Almeida and Albuquerque, and those others of da Gama's immediate successors, without whom there could not have been a Portuguese Macao. In recognition of this, one of Macao's streets proudly carries the name: *Rua de Afonso de Albuquerque*.



Street sign bearing the name of Afonso de Albuquerque.

JORGE ÁLVARES

MACAO'S PUBLIC MONUMENT to Jorge Álvares is the work of a leading Portuguese sculptor, Euclides Vaz. It stands at the junction of Avenida Dr Mário Soares and Avenida da Praia Grande, facing the Government Departments Building. That statue was unveiled on 16 September 1954. On 3 December 1966, during the disturbances that convulsed Macao, the statue was attacked and damaged by rampaging youths. Following the restoration of public order to Macao, the statue was repaired. It is still in place, though now overlooks the new reclamation, unlike, as formerly, the beautiful curve of the Praia Grande.

Both its artistic composition and its orientation are historically significant, and these, combined with the achievements of Álvares himself, make it the most locally important of all Macao's monuments. Nevertheless, it owes its presence here to a misunderstanding, to be described in more detail later.

Álvares had his first introduction to the Far East when, as a junior officer with Albuquerque, he arrived in Malacca in 1511. It is not known whether he took part in the mission which Albuquerque sent to Siam, but it is evident that he quickly rose in the esteem of his senior officers because when the first Governor of Malacca decided to carry on with Albuquerque's plan of sending a mission to China, Álvares was appointed to its command. His amicable dealings with the Chinese were subsequently to prove the wisdom of placing Álvares in charge of this first official visit of the Portuguese to China.

He sailed from Malacca in May 1513 and his China landfall was at an island in the Pearl River estuary known in English as Lintin and in Cantonese as Ling Ting (伶仃), meaning 'Solitary Nail'. This

island had long been known by the Portuguese and the Malays by various names, meaning in their respective languages, the Island of Trade, in addition to which it was the only port in south China at that time where the mandarins were known to connive at foreign trade. The anchorage between the island and Nam Tau (藍頭) on the mainland was called by the Cantonese Tuen Mun (屯門), while to the Portuguese it was known as Tamão or Ta-meng. (Map 1) Álvares commemorated the completion of his outward journey — as was the custom of Portuguese explorers — by erecting a 'King's mark' or *padrão* at the site of his landing on the island. This token also marked life's journey's end for Álvares's young son who was accompanying him. He died while the mission was on the island and he was buried at the foot of his father's *padrão*. Eight years later, the same *padrão* was used to mark the father's own final resting-place.

At the end of his first mission in April or May 1514, Álvares left Lintin with a valuable cargo of merchandise for Malacca where the success of his expedition was immediately recognized. In some ways, this proved to be unfortunate as it provoked a number of visits of Portuguese ships to China, some under less disciplined control than others, and many attempting to use other ports along the coast than those recognized unofficially by the Chinese as possible trading posts.

For two or three years after his return to Malacca, Álvares seems to have been engaged exclusively on local administrative affairs; but his personal knowledge of China, its customs and its people was soon again in official demand. In 1517 he sailed with Fernão Peres de Andrade whose squadron was given the assignment of taking as far as Canton, Portugal's first envoy to China, Tome Pires. The fleet called at the Tuen Mun anchorage off Lintin



The monument to Jorge Álvares, standing on Macao's Outer Harbour reclamation as it appeared after the riots of 1–2–3 December 1966.

and then, when all the entry formalities had been completed, it proceeded up river where Tome Pires disembarked. Álvares then returned to Malacca with the fleet, arriving there in September 1518, but this time he remained for a short period only. In 1519 he was again en route to China, but now as an officer in Simão Peres de Andrade's unfortunate mission, unfortunate because Andrade's behaviour

and that of his men led the Chinese to place credence in the rumours they had heard of the 'ferocious and predatory' way the Portuguese had treated the Moors and the Malays in Malacca. When therefore, Fernão Peres de Andrade left China to return to Malacca, he and his men left behind them such a bad reputation with the Chinese officials and with the people of Canton that it took the Portuguese many years to repair the damage done to the good relations already set up with the Chinese by Álvares during his first visit. But worse was to follow. It was reported to Peking that Andrade himself had assaulted a mandarin official at Lintin and this, on top of the other rumours resulted in a complete change of relations between the Portuguese and the Chinese. The mission of Tomé Pires was evicted from Peking before negotiations were concluded, and on arrival back in Canton in September 1521, all the members of the embassy were imprisoned and those who were not executed forthwith, ultimately died there as prisoners.

Fortunately Álvares arrived back safely in Malacca just in time to distinguish himself in another sphere of service — the defence of the city against the Malays. But it was not long before his experience was required again in China, and this time he was in charge of the mission, which arrived at Lintin early in 1521. Yet, but before he had time to repair the damaged relations with China, his visit ended tragically with his death in Lintin on 8 July of that year. He was buried near the *padrão* which he himself had erected eight years earlier.

Jorge Álvares never, at any time as far as we know, set foot on the Macao peninsula itself, but it was his work in the area that made Macao's subsequent foundation possible. His record of discovery, and his powers of fostering good relations between different peoples, merit the position his

monument has been given in the city that was built on the foundations of his early labours. It also explains why he is depicted in his memorial with a replica of his *padrão* at his back and his right arm upraised in the direction of his first China landing and his last resting place, a mere twenty-five miles away in distance but now four hundred and fifty years away in time.

The setting up of this Álvares monument, however, did not signify the end of his participation in the making of Macao's history. In December 1966, the riots which shook Macao almost to its foundations, began at this monument. The picture above shows that in his tussle with those who 'vapour and fume and brag', he lost merely his right forearm and hand, his nose and the toes of his left foot. But his page in Macao's history is indelible and indestructible, thanks to the camera and the printing press, and all the rioters achieved was to draw further attention to his achievements by passing into the class with the other one-armed Macao history makers: Ferreira do Amaral and António de Albuquerque de Coelho.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY SINO-PORTUGUESE-JAPANESE RELATIONS

THE STORY OF the dealings between the Chinese and the Portuguese during the next thirty years is not a happy one. The piratical behaviour of Simão de Andrade resulted in a complete change of Chinese relations, and in addition to the action taken by the Chinese as already outlined, all dealings with Portuguese 'adventurers' were henceforth officially forbidden by Peking, and further Portuguese

attempts to reopen trade with China were, for some time to come, resisted by force. Eventually, however, sporadic trading attempts (still officially illegal according to Peking, but treated with a blind eye and an open palm as far as the local mandarins were concerned) were made at various places along the Kwangtung, Fukien and Chekiang coasts. At two such places off the Kwangtung coast, these attempts achieved a definite measure of success and they ultimately assumed considerable importance in the future development of Macao. They were the islands of Sheung Chuen (上川) and Lampacao (浪白澳). These trade attempts were mainly small separate ventures based on Malacca, and were made by junks which sailed along the China seaboard in search of a chance to trade. The trade breakthrough eventually came in an unexpected way through Japan.

One of these Portuguese junks from Malacca happened to sail much further north than usual (whether purposely, or due solely to bad weather is hard to say), and was wrecked on a Japanese island during a gale. The stranded Portuguese were well treated ashore and were quick to take advantage of this chance contact by establishing as friendly relations as possible with all the Japanese, both official and private, whom they met. The members of the shipwrecked crew eventually returned safely to Malacca and since Japan had not yet closed its doors to foreign trade, the Portuguese followed up this chance contact with other trading visits. These private efforts proved successful, and the Portuguese officials regularized this advance in their prospect of trade with Japan by replacing the haphazard ventures with a monopoly system that they had already found to work successfully in the development of their trade in the Indian ocean, the Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf.

The essential feature of this system was that the monopoly of all Portugal's trade in any one area was vested in one man, generally as a reward for his services to his sovereign. The appointment was made annually and carried with it two distinct responsibilities, a personal mercantile one, and an official civil one. The former gave him the opportunity to make or recoup his fortune, while the latter gave him the official status and authority without which the former could not really be successful. In this Pacific region, the title of the appointment was Capitão Mor (Captain Major of the Voyage of China and Japan), and the civil responsibility of the holder extended beyond the personnel on board the ship or ships under his command, to all Portuguese citizens in temporary or permanent settlements ashore in his area, and this responsibility included being the official Portuguese representative to the nearby foreign countries, in this case, especially to China and Japan. If, as sometimes happened, the voyage was not completed within twelve months owing to unfavourable weather or trading conditions, the appointment continued until the voyage terminated; in such cases it might well happen that two or more appointments overlapped in any one area and then seniority in the settlement in that area was determined solely by the date of the commission from the King, or from the Viceroy of Goa in his name. Continuous records exist concerning the holders of this post in the China seas from 1550 to 1640, and to Professor Boxer we are indebted for a clear exposition of the contribution made by these men to Macao's early development.

The voyage from Malacca was a long one in both time and distance, and the route traversed the transitional belt between the regions of the north

east and the south west monsoons. In the days of sail, this transition area was often the scene of a long hold up awaiting favourable winds, but if by any chance water and food supplies or anchorages where ships could be careened or repaired were also available there, the enforced stop over was turned to some advantage. On the route between Malacca and Japan, this transition area is situated along the Kwangtung coast, which is also about the mid point of the journey. The Portuguese were therefore forced to seek the use of suitable offshore islands in the area where their presence could more easily go unofficially unnoticed or conveniently ignored by the local mandarins, than if they landed on the mainland. The islands of Sheung Chuen and Lampacao just referred to were two such islands.

ST. JOHN'S ISLAND, LAMPACAO AND AH-MA-KAO

ST. JOHN'S, ECHOING the Cantonese name for the island, is what the first English seafaring visitors to the island of Sheung Chuen (𨋖𨋖𨋖) called it. It is also variously called Shang Chuen, Shan Chuan, San Chun, or San Chuang, sometimes written as one word, sometimes as two. It is situated just off the China coast about 60 miles south west of Macao, and was frequently used by the Portuguese trading ships as a temporary makeshift stopping place on their way to and from Japan during the trading season of August to November of the years around 1550. One of its claims to a place in history is that Francis Xavier, 'The Apostle of the Orient', after introducing Christianity to Japan, died on the island in 1552 while waiting for permission to enter China. Although his remains were removed the

following year to Malacca, the island continued as a place of Christian pilgrimage until China was again closed to foreigners in recent years.

St. John's Island, in spite of its use in the trading season, was not a very safe anchorage during a strong monsoon or a typhoon for either the unwieldy Portuguese carrack or *nao* or even for the large junk so universally used on the China coast. For this reason this island was abandoned about 1554–1555 as an annual place of call in favour of Lampacao, 20 miles nearer the mouth of the Canton or Pearl River; this island, originally called Lam-pac-kao by the Portuguese, was known to the Cantonese as Long Pak Kong (浪白江). However, it was not found to be a completely satisfactory stopping-place either, for its anchorages were shallow and increasingly so due to the continuous silt deposits from the neighbouring Pearl River estuary; as it is but a step from Lam-pac-kao to Ah-ma-kao, it is not surprising that within a very short time the Portuguese were frequenting the latter anchorage in preference to the former.

There are various accounts of the actual circumstances which led to the change from the unsatisfactory international situation in the early 1520s, to the amicable one in 1557 when the Chinese transferred Ah-Ma-Kao and the surrounding peninsula to the Portuguese. The most commonly accepted version of the reason for this transfer is that the poor economic conditions prevailing in the area at the time had forced larger numbers than usual of the inhabitants of the coastal area to turn to piracy for a living, and that Ah-Ma-Kao had become the headquarters of a pirate band too strong for the local Chinese authorities to subdue or even to control. When much of the river and sea trade between Canton and its provincial coastal

ports became thus endangered, the mandarins appealed for help to the Captain-Major at Lampacao whose armed vessels were believed to be more than a match for the pirate junks.

No precise information appears to exist concerning the negotiations carried out between the mandarins and the Captain-Major, nor does there seem to be any authentic record in existence of the armed action subsequently taken against the pirates, but this one thing is certain that when this coastal area was finally freed of its scourge, Ah-ma-kao had become the first permanent and internationally recognized European foothold in China. While the exact conditions of the agreement may be a matter of dispute among twentieth-century politicians and historians, there can be no doubt that it was accepted as being true and binding at that time by the local official representatives of both the Emperor of China and the King of Portugal.

The advantages to the Portuguese of having a permanent and fixed settlement on the Kwangtung coast instead of a temporary and movable one is obvious, even if it was not a recognized port for Chinese trade. Ah-ma-kao had better deep-sea port facilities, better shelter for its shipping from both the south-west and north-east monsoon and at the same time providing a reasonably safe anchorage during typhoons. Having easy river access to Canton and its international and coastal trade routes, Ah-ma-kao was ideally situated to participate in this trade if ever China relaxed her rigid veto, and this is exactly what happened.

As Portuguese ships began to call regularly on their way back to Malacca laden with merchandise that was denied to the Chinese only because Japan closed her doors to trade with China, it was but a matter of time when it was realized that Ah-ma-

kao was not China and that there was no Japanese impediment to China buying Japanese goods from the Portuguese, if they wished to have them. China needed silver, and Japan at that time wanted silk, so China only had to release her silk to the Portuguese and she was paid in silver, while Japan obtained what she wanted through one easily controlled channel without having to open up her country to trade from all China's ports. This trade triangle was doubly valuable to the Portuguese because the Chinese silk they sold in Japan paid handsomely for itself as well as for the Japanese merchandise bought there; they also commanded good prices in the markets of Malacca, India and Europe. Their Japanese trade was thus not undertaken by the Portuguese to the detriment of their own trade but as a supplement to it. It was also beneficial to the Chinese since it provided them with an outlet for their merchandise and at the same time was a source of the silver they so much needed; it freed them from the pirate threat to their trade and their sovereignty — a threat which they were incapable of dealing with

themselves — and the permanent occupation of Ah ma kao by the Portuguese ensured against the return of the pirates to power in the area. Agreeing that Portugal could occupy Macao was far from being an unequal treaty for China; rather was the resulting Japanese trade an unforeseen bonus to her and a continuing one as long as Ah ma kao was not Chinese, and as long as Japan's prohibition of trade with China remained. It also proved to be of great long term value to Macao because when rival European maritime powers later cut her lifeline to India and Europe, it was this trade plus the regional trade that developed along with it, which ensured her survival as a foreign port through to the early nineteenth century, when other saving factors began to operate. But before considering that later aspect of Macao's story, we turn back to sixteenth century Ah ma kao and consider what effects this heightened opportunity for mutual prosperity, and a more friendly atmosphere for international relations, had on the development of this young settlement.

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