

# Education and Change in Macao's Portuguese Community

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Does it make sense to speak about a single formal educational system in Macao? Is it possible to underline one educational system specific to the Macanese or Portuguese born in Macao? Is it possible, even, to speak of a single "Macao territory"? In studying the history of education in Macao, we must take into consideration the different roles played by the territory's Portuguese-speaking population, different representations of the territory of Macao, and the different goals of the respective educational systems.

This paper explores the formal educational institutions serving that sector of Macao's population claiming Portuguese descent or identity who were born in or concerned with Macao and who followed a formal course of education in Portuguese, English or, more rarely, Chinese, in Macao or elsewhere, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. The text considers the formal education designed for that Portuguese community – promoted by missionaries and other clergy, the Portuguese government, or even the local community itself – as an expression of the changing goals of the Western presence in China and, more broadly, in Asia.

In understanding the role and purpose of the formal educational institutions in Macao, we must first come to grips with three fundamental geopolitical roles played by the territory: 1) as a centre of missionary activity for the entire diocese; 2) as a commercial settlement that played an initially central, though (after the establishment of the treaty ports) an increasingly peripheral role; and 3) as an initially small, precarious

settlement of Portuguese and other European merchants that was later understood to be a province of the Portuguese empire.

Macao has been, since the settlement of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, a point of both arrival and departure. This has resulted in a rather complex demographic mix. As residents of the only settlement of foreign merchants and missionaries on the China coast until the nineteenth century, Macao's cosmopolitan population arose from the convergence of European and Chinese interests in the trade in silk, tea and other Chinese products.

Relations between Europeans, Portuguese and Chinese or other Asiatic groups was thus a feature of both professional and daily life; success in professional relations required a solid basis of mutual confidence. That confidence, in turn, had to be based on mutual understanding and knowledge, in which Chinese Christians and those born of mixed parentage played a crucial role. Without discussing the dynamics of ethnicity among the Macanese, or Macao Portuguese (most of whom were Catholic and local-born), we may say that their grasp of languages and the conventions of social intercourse created for them specific privileged roles, and it was the formal education of this group that was a major purpose of the *Padroado* [exclusive patronage of missionary activity in an area granted to the crown by the pope] missionaries and other Portuguese institutions.

I

The establishment of the Portuguese in Macao in 1555 joined the mercantile interests in the silver, gold and silk trade with the missionary interests of Christian proselytism.<sup>1</sup> On the one hand, the Jesuits had interests in commerce, especially between Japan and China; and on the other hand, Portuguese merchants, whether moved by their faith, their need for interpreters, or their need for better knowledge of China, often contributed to efforts to consolidate missionary institutions.

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Saint Joseph's Seminary (top view), one of the first institutions to provide education to the local Portuguese community. Photo by Mica Costa-Grande, 1998 (IC Archives).

The *Capitão-mor* of the Japan voyage was initially in charge of the government of the Portuguese settlement. Although this trade was later subordinated to control by Goa, it remained the axis of Macao's commercial relations with Japan between 1560 and 1638, following the development of trade with Manila. Aside from the diplomatic activities between Portugal and China, local merchants and Macanese residents soon developed their own regional diplomatic strategy, which sometimes diverged quite radically from the interests of the crown, and which reinforced the municipal tendencies of the resident Portuguese community. These tendencies were formally recognized in 1583 with the creation of the Senado da Câmara of Macao.

The first formal educational institution for the Portuguese-Catholic population, founded seventeen years after the establishment of this population in Macao, was the Jesuit School of Reading and Writing (*Escola de lêr e escrever*)<sup>2</sup> in 1572, which became a University College in 1594.<sup>3</sup>

The Portuguese bishopric of Macao, created in 1576, had jurisdiction over China and Japan and served

as the centre of missionary work, emphasizing a broad strategy of conversion and recruitment of educated natives to act as future missionaries.

Despite the travel restrictions that the Chinese authorities placed on the Portuguese in Macao in 1573, these latter were granted permission to dock in Guangzhou twice a year. During the second quarter of the seventeenth century, however, a number of factors—among them the expulsion of the Portuguese from Japan by Iemitsu in 1639 and the Dutch capture of Malacca two years later, which disrupted Portuguese maritime routes in the Pacific—led to a sharp decline in Macao's trade. This decline, in turn, led to demographic changes in Macao, of which the most significant, for the purposes of this paper at least, was a change in the main place of origin of the non-Chinese population.<sup>4</sup>

Ships from other European countries were granted access to the port of Guangzhou in 1715 and started to settle there after 1717. Until 1723, China required that all trade with Europeans be mediated by the Portuguese, which revitalized the territory's

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economy for a short period. Despite the advent of direct trade between China and other Western countries,<sup>5</sup> Macao remained the main settlement for foreign merchants, including the English (the East India Company was based there starting in 1664), the French, Dutch, Armenians, and other Asians.

During the two centuries between the founding of the first Jesuit school in 1572, and the first expulsion of the Jesuits from Portuguese territories, in 1759, responsibility for the formal education of both Portuguese Catholics and Asian converts in Macao was kept exclusively in religious hands. This educational monopoly can be explained partly by the extent of the *Padroado* missionary project, but also by the fact that, even in Portugal, education was mostly a matter for the Church, and especially for the religious orders.

Although it was an explicitly Portuguese project, the *Padroado* hired both Portuguese and other European teachers (French, Italian, etc.), and accepted students of other nationalities (Japanese, Korean, Chinese and metropolitan Portuguese, many of whom were from the Azores) as well as local-born students. Studying in a Portuguese cultural setting meant that this cosmopolitan community of students and teachers took on several aspects of Portuguese identity and became more closely involved with local institutions. For these reasons, decisions about the content of the

which were placed under the control of the Hoppo (Ho-Pu) in 1688, and in the payment of the *foro-do-chão* or ground rent.

The often rival relationship between the Senado and the governors, led, after 1783, to a series of initiatives to limit the power of the Senado and to transfer those powers to the governor. The Senado, however, became the Câmara Municipal [Urban Council] by royal decree on 9 January 1834.<sup>8</sup>

In short, since the establishment of the Portuguese in Macao placed responsibility for the education of Portuguese-speakers firmly in the hands of the *Padroado*, this system had to try to satisfy both the needs of the missionaries of the diocese and the needs of the local and regional residents, which were mostly tied to commerce. As a result, this educational initiative resulted in the emergence of a small but cosmopolitan community that adopted Catholic values and thus developed ties to Portugal.

## II

The 1759 decree expelling the Jesuits from Portuguese territory (which only took effect in Macao in 1762), resulted in the closing of the St. Joseph Seminary and St. Paul's College, and passed the responsibility for religious instruction to Goa and

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curriculum and about which languages should be studied were made in response to the local demands of commercial and other professional activities.

The *Senado* represented a limited set of residents determined by the Portuguese crown.<sup>6</sup> It operated from a decidedly commercial and pragmatic standpoint, especially vis-à-vis its relations with local Qianshan (Tsin-Chan) and regional (Guangzhou) authorities. According to Bocarro, “*A paz que temos com o Rey da China he conforme ele quer...*” (“The peace we have with the King of China is at the mercy of his desires”).<sup>7</sup> This much was clear in the matter of customs duties,

Manila. In October 1784, the seminary returned to its ecclesiastical endeavours under the administration of Lazarists,<sup>9</sup> who made several changes, including the introduction of Chinese language study into its curriculum and the acceptance of lay students.

Meanwhile, in 1775, the first *professor régio* (royal professor), José dos Santos de Baptista e Lima, arrived in Macao, to take up the post of lay teacher in charge of elementary education (*primeiras letras*). He was followed in 1804 by his son, José Baptista de Miranda e Lima.<sup>10</sup> This school, along with the Convent School of São Domingos<sup>11</sup> and the Pilots' School, which was

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reopened in 1816, would become the core of Macao's Portuguese language education. By 1820, Macao had a School of Primary Education, with classes taught by Bishop Chacim (O.F.M.); a Military and Naval Academy, as well as some parish classes (*aulas paroquiais*).<sup>12</sup> Beginning in 1814, Ouvidor Miguel de Arriaga established a system of scholarships to send students from Macao to study in Coimbra.

In the period between the second expulsion of the Jesuits (the Decree of 28 May 1834 effectively extinguished the *Congregação da Missão* as of 1836) and the arrival in Macao of governor Ferreira do Amaral in April 1846, a series of events occurred that once again brought fundamental changes to the territory: the Opium War, the establishment of the British in Hong Kong (in 1841, confirmed by the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842), and the opening of the treaty ports.<sup>13</sup> This turn of events jeopardized the dominant role that had been granted to the religious orders in educating Macao's youth, radically altered the economic role of Macao, and changed its demographic composition, as many companies and their employees, both foreign and local, relocated to Hong Kong.

The Colonial Administration Reform (*Reforma Administrativa Colonial*)<sup>14</sup> of January 1834 sought to formalize the status of Macao as a province of Portugal—transferring many of the powers of the *Senado* to the governor—and, in a gesture of autonomy that anticipated the new tenor of relations between the European powers and China, prohibited Chinese authorities from collecting taxes in Macao and required the withdrawal of Chinese customs officials from the territory. The resulting conflict culminated in the assassination of Ferreira do Amaral on 22 August 1849, but negotiations with the Chinese government over the question of Portuguese sovereignty in Macao continued.<sup>15</sup>

Thanks to Great Britain's status as a "most favoured nation," customs regulations in Hong Kong were far more favourable to traders than those in Macao. The diplomatic measures that José Vicente Jorge proposed in a meeting with the *daotai* (circuit commissioner) Yi Zhongfu in November 1841 at the Linfong Pagoda<sup>16</sup> did not result in an equilibrium that could prevent Hong Kong from supplanting Macao as the main hub of commercial activity in the region. Consequently, Macao became a free port, abolishing all customs duties in 1845. Aside from some revenue

from the "coolie trade" and the opium trade, for some years thereafter, Macao's public funds came from the granting of an exclusive *fantan* franchise in 1849.

Faced with a labour market dominated by ethnic Chinese, a limited number of available posts in the civil service, and their own expectations of a relatively high standard of living, Macao's Portuguese-speaking population responded to Macao's economic subordination to Hong Kong by emigrating in large numbers to Hong Kong and Shanghai. This pattern of emigration soon became a structural feature of the Macanese community, and has remained so ever since.<sup>17</sup>

The large concentration of these emigrants in the destination cities was reflected in the organizations and associations they created (witnessed by reports in the local press), in the professional niches they occupied,<sup>18</sup> and in the patronage of community events and celebrations, and of schools, classes, libraries and cultural institutions by public figures. In Hong Kong and Shanghai, these were generally Macanese businessmen or particularly successful metropolitan Portuguese.<sup>19</sup>

The situation of public education in Macao twenty years after the establishment of the British in Hong Kong revealed a dire need for qualified teachers and for training Macao's youth to compete in the labour market. A report by the governor of Macao on 22 January 1861 mentioned the establishment of a public boys' school in the St. Joseph Seminary, lamented the lack of teachers, and turned responsibility for girls' education over to the Convent of Santa Rosa de Lima.

In 1865, an essay on the condition of education in Macao was published in the *Compendio da Historia e Chorografia Portuguesa* by António Lopes Pereira. In his essay, he highlighted the creation of the Escola Nova Macaense: "...in January of 1862, with private funding. And it is run by three capable European teachers, who teach Portuguese, the history of Portugal, arithmetic, etc., Latin, English, French, geography, etc. There are some 50 students in attendance, all of them day-students."<sup>20</sup>

He also mentioned the restructuring of the diocesan seminary in 1862 and the creation of another educational institution for girls, the Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Conceição, "as well as a few English private schools."

In 1871, a new decree expelled all foreign missionaries from the territory of Macao. This created

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another crisis in education,<sup>21</sup> jeopardizing the operation of the seminary and the Commercial School, which prompted the Macanese community to take charge of the education of their own children.

In Macao, the emigration of the Macanese community exacerbated the problem of early school-leaving—students would attend school only until the first opportunity for employment presented itself—which further devalued any certificate system. The study of English grew in importance, especially with the emergence of a Chinese middle class qualified to occupy that niche of the labour market previously occupied by emigrants from Macao.

The demand for training in English, which effectively transformed the commercial classes in the seminary and the Commercial School into training grounds for the Hong Kong labour market, should be understood in light of three main points: 1) students stopped attending school as soon as they were able to emigrate; 2) in Hong Kong, after 1875, schools with large numbers of Portuguese students—most of which were Catholic schools—were increasingly made eligible to receive grants-in-aid from the British government,<sup>22</sup> which made them a more viable alternative to schools in Macao; and 3) the study of English was already an essential part of the education of Chinese students from Hong Kong: “the boys leave as soon as they can perform the duties of compilers or copying clerks.”<sup>23</sup> Once the prestige of grant-in-aid schools enticed more ethnic Chinese students to participate in the European-style system of education, they began to compete ever more fiercely with the Portuguese students for jobs in the public sector. Conditioning students to pursue their studies in English raised and normalized the standards of certification<sup>24</sup> and of English-language proficiency necessary for a graduate to be competitive in the Hong Kong labour market. By the end of the century, not only had emigration led to a marked decrease in the population of Macao,<sup>25</sup> but Macao’s financial activity was for all intents and purposes regulated by the British colony—especially by the dependence of many Macanese families upon the remittances sent by family members who had emigrated.<sup>26</sup>

Formal education for girls only began to be professionalised in the twentieth century. With the exception of the novitiate, and of certain specific cases in which female teachers were recruited, most girls in

Macao only received training that would prepare them for their duties as homemakers—training that was occasionally augmented by instruction in needlework, music, and so on.

In understanding the relatively large number of female students compared to male students in Macao’s schools in the second half of the nineteenth century, we must take into consideration the fact that early school-leaving was an established practice among boys, as well as the growth of institutionalised orphanages, which combined guardianship with basic education. It should be added that while education for girls was usually seen as a way of improving their chances for a good marriage, it appears that the possibility of female emigration may also have been a motivating factor for some, especially for girls adopted by Portuguese and Macanese families, whose status expectations in Macao were limited.

It is clear that, for logistical and pedagogical reasons, the growth of lay education often benefited from the support of the seminary and parochial schools or, alternatively, that it surged at moments when the seminary was not functioning normally. The *Nova Escola Macaense*, created in 1862, was, as Pedro Mesquita remarks, the “first local initiative in the field of education; [it] was born in response to the decline of the St. Joseph’s Seminary. Five years later, it was precisely due to the revitalization of the seminary that the ‘Nova Escola,’ having lost its reason for survival, was closed.”<sup>27</sup> With the expulsion of the foreign missionaries in Macao, mentioned above, local elites took the initiative to create the Association for the Promotion of Macanese Education (*Associação Promotora da Instrução dos Macaenses*, or APIM).<sup>28</sup>

In 1872, APIM donated funds to the seminary to subsidize instruction in arithmetic, bookkeeping, banking and Chinese (Cantonese and Mandarin)<sup>29</sup>—disciplines that were clearly crucial for technical and vocational training. A few years later, APIM hired William Pereira and João Leonardo Hart Milner; the contract of the latter included the compilation of a manual on bookkeeping,<sup>30</sup> as well as of Portuguese and English grammars.<sup>31</sup>

At the end of the century, on 13 August 1899, a proposal was made to the rector of the seminary for the creation of a Commercial Institute, “to improve and develop the second section of the course in commerce.”<sup>32</sup> This was to be developed with the

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support of teachers from the seminary. The Bishop opposed locating the proposed institute physically in the seminary, so it was set up instead on the grounds of the Liceu, to which it was later annexed. This school failed in its main objective, however, because it simply did not attract enough students; it was closed a few years later. Of particular interest to the present paper, however, was its curriculum—which, as M. Teixeira remarks, included not only Portuguese language, mathematics, geography, natural sciences and Portuguese history (all of which were already taught in the Liceu) but also Chinese and English, world history, bookkeeping, commerce, commercial law, and political economy: a course of technical-vocational instruction adapted to the languages and the working environments of Hong Kong and Shanghai, where Eurasians could best profit from their role as intermediaries working for Western businesses.<sup>33</sup>

In sum, changes in the system of commercial affairs and the unbalanced power relations between the West and China in the first half of the nineteenth century, as well as the opening of the treaty ports and the establishment of the British in Hong Kong in the wake of the Treaty of Nanjing, fundamentally altered the *status quo* of Macao. The activities of Macao's schools were also compromised by the expulsion of the religious orders, whence came most of Macao's teachers. The new economic order led to a new set of goals and, in turn, to demands for a more pragmatic curriculum from the Portuguese community, which was increasingly faced with the phenomenon of structural migration to the treaty port cities.

## III

We may identify three major interest groups that were involved in providing education to Macao's Portuguese-speaking youth, corresponding to three distinct modes or perspectives on the encounter with China:

The missionary perspective of the Church and of the religious orders combined the project of the *Padroado*—namely, ecclesiastical education oriented towards mission work (an orientation that was clear in the content and goals of instruction, as well as in the curricular structure)—with the educational needs of the Portuguese population of Macao.<sup>34</sup> These latter involved, at different times, linguistic instruction and

even technical-vocational instruction that could support the diaspora. This perspective was embodied in the later period by the St. Joseph Seminary.

The cosmopolitan perspective—that of the local Portuguese and Eurasian community and of the treaty port cities—was centred on commercial activity and on the needs of a foreign community whose presence was tolerated and monitored by China. In response to the phenomenon of emigration that resulted from the establishment of Hong Kong, these needs focused on pragmatic vocational training in the English language, with strategic knowledge of Chinese as well. This perspective was embodied in the *Escola Nova Macaense* and, later, in the *Escola Comercial Pedro Nolasco*.

The metropolitan perspective—that of the crown and later of the Portuguese Republic—increasingly came to view Macao as a province of Portugal, and thus implemented a more homogeneous program of education, based in Portugal and represented in Macao by the system of scholarships, by institutions providing primary-level lay education, and, above all, by the Liceu de Macao, which strictly followed the curriculum used by Liceus in Portugal.

## IV

Portugal's transition to a Republic in 1910 did not bring about an immediate change in the political life of Macao. The governor accepted the reforms proposed by Portugal, but had little desire to implement them; in fact, he had to be forced to execute the decrees issued by the new regime.<sup>35</sup> The first governor nominated by the Republic, Álvaro de Melo Machado, sought without much success to institute a model that would, on the one hand, better integrate the Macanese population into the Portuguese nation and, on the other, encourage local schools to provide education to the ethnic Chinese population of Macao under the authority of the administration.<sup>36</sup>

During this period, a recurring theme is the association between the dangers of the loss of national identity and the abandonment of the Portuguese language and of Portuguese-medium education. The Portuguese-speaking communities of Shanghai and Hong Kong, which were numerically more significant, were the main target of Melo Machado's fears—a fact that serves to underscore the weakness of the political voice of a community that was treated unequally, *vis-*

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Young Macanese in the classrooms of the Escola Comercial Pedro Nolasco da Silva, in the 1920s. The school was then housed in a building at Calçada do Gamboa, restored in the 1990s. Photos from the APIM Archives (first published by "Macau" magazine in 1994).

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*à-vis* the metropolitan Portuguese, when it came to employment in the civil service in Macao.<sup>37</sup>

In addition to these causes, one other external factor led to the progressive loss of opportunities for the local Portuguese community: The conditions created by the relocation of businesses to Hong Kong and Shanghai in the mid-nineteenth century began to disappear. This was due in part to the emergence of a Chinese middle class that competed with the Macanese for jobs in Asia's port cities, and in part to the changes in education in China itself, which between 1895 and 1905 abandoned the system of imperial examinations and adopted an educational model more in line with the demands of the market created by the foreign presence there.

The economic marginalisation of Macao had taken on a definitive character by the end of the nineteenth century. Due to the influence that communities of Macanese working in Asia's port cities still had in Macao, consumer expectations and work patterns in the territory became more cosmopolitan. The economic growth of Shanghai and Hong Kong tied

Macao's economy tighter and tighter to the financial system based on large-scale businesses and investment. The link between private and public investment on the Hong Kong Stock Exchange (Bourse) was responsible, thus, for the financial bankruptcy that Macao experienced during World War I.

The growth and diversification of religious instruction in Macao after the establishment of the Republic suffered from the expulsion of all religious orders from the territory. There was a marked growth of the role of lay education, on the one hand, and of secular religious education on the other, in providing instruction to the Portuguese population and to those ethnic Chinese who, for whatever reason, did not find a place in Macao's Chinese educational system.

The state's involvement with Chinese schools was limited to general supervision and financial subsidies; there was no intention of unifying pedagogical models, curricular content or language of instruction (especially Chinese or English). At most, during this period, there was an attempt to introduce into some of these schools some optional classes in the Portuguese language.

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The normalization of relations between the Church and the state in Macao were reflected in the figure of Governor Rodrigo Rodrigues, who succeeded Paço d'Arcos (Henrique Correia Monteiro da Silva) in the wake of the turbulence between the Portuguese administration and the Chinese community in 1922. The role of the Church in education corresponded to that of the Leal Senado which, due to the centralizing tendencies of the *Estado Novo* [1926-1974] (which were embodied in the figure of Governor Tamagnini Barbosa), saw a decline in its importance vis-à-vis the government, as the latter began to take a more active role in the administration of local education.

With the establishment of the *Estado Novo* in 1926, the period of compulsory education was reduced from four years (in 1927) to three years (in 1930), which meant that education was restricted to the most elementary levels—reading, writing and arithmetic. Only in 1956 was this period extended to four years, and, in 1964, to six years. According to Decree 925 of 1946, compulsory education included basic instruction, for both sexes, from ages 7-13. The law governing overseas education (Decree 41472, issued on 23 December 1957) called for a census of all individuals eligible for compulsory education, which was, as of 1964, provided free of charge for children between the ages of 6 and 12. The inclusion of private schools in the network of free and compulsory education happened only in 1991, with the Reform of the Educational System of Macao (*Reforma do Sistema Educativo de Macau*).

The growth of Portuguese-language instruction in state-funded schools accompanied the decrease in emigration among families based in Macao, which obviated the need for English-language vocational training in Macao. Macanese families that were already based in other cities found that a basic education in Macao was no longer adequate or necessary for the working conditions they encountered overseas. They preferred instead to establish their own schools, or classes for Portuguese students in existing schools, in Hong Kong and Shanghai.

The Liceu de Macau had begun as an institution adequate for Macao's small elite, comprised mostly of metropolitan Portuguese or the children of the local elite who planned to continue their studies in Portugal. As more Macanese began staying in Macao and finding work in the public sector, however, the

number of students grew. Yet the Liceu shared the stage with a considerable number of private schools: the Escola Comercial Pedro Nolasco, whose curriculum increasingly came to be modelled on that of the national Technical-Commercial Course (which had been approved in 1953); the Colégio D. Bosco, which was founded as an industrial school; and the Colégio de Santa Rosa de Lima (which had once been an orphanage for girls, but was turned into a school and located in the Convent of Santa Clara in 1875, then secularised its administration after the 1910 expulsion of religious orders, and finally was taken over once more by the Franciscans of Mary in 1932 by arrangement of Bishop D. José da Costa Nunes). It is telling that, in 1940, Portuguese-medium instruction followed the official government model, while Chinese-medium instruction followed the model used by schools in Guangzhou, and English-medium instruction followed the curriculum used in Hong Kong—and that enrolments in English-language schools included as many Macanese students as Chinese.

In the period just prior to World War II, a number of schools moved from mainland China to Macao, to escape the encroaching Japanese. Among these were Yuet-Wah College, which was later taken over by Salesians, and Pui Cheng, which was originally a Protestant school. During the war, a number of Hong Kong schools also moved to Macao. The St. Joseph Seminary (where boarders accounted for one-third of total enrolments, and where more than half of the students were following the commercial course) began to experience, on the eve of World War II, a steady decline in enrolments that by 1969 led to its closure. As the curricula of private and public schools began to be regulated and standardized—namely with a view to providing qualified public servants to the government, or encouraging access to tertiary education—Macao's Portuguese schools had to adapt to the curricular model used in Portugal. Macao's student population came to be distributed among these schools and a few others that used English as the language of instruction.

The labour market was reinvigorated after the war, first by the development of the tourism and gambling industries, and later by the expansion of the civil service stimulated by the process of localization prior to the handover, which partially counteracted the

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effects of another surge in emigration by the local Portuguese community.

The development of higher education in Macao has assured more autonomy in the creation of a highly educated workforce, lessening dependence on the academic qualifications of returning emigrants and on local scholarship students sent to Portugal, Hong Kong or China. A hypothetical first proposal for the establishment of an institution of higher education in Macao was due to Governor Rodrigo Rodrigues in the 1920s. A more realistic (but unsuccessful) initiative came in 1949, when the Macao government proposed establishing an alternative campus for Shanghai's "Aurora" University in the territory. However, Macao did not get its first modern institution of tertiary education until Hong Kong investors established the University of East Asia in Macao. This was later acquired by the Macao government (after which it

changed its name to the University of Macao), which also established the Macao Polytechnic Institute soon thereafter.

The greater part of the foregoing analysis concerns a historical period that may seem to be far removed from Macao's contemporary concerns. However, two questions arise from this analysis that may be relevant not only to the historiography of education in Macao, but also to the sociology of education in Macao today:

1. Is the analysis of different models of education in terms of "interest groups" pertinent to the analysis of the diversification of education in contemporary Macao?

2. Should an understanding of the institutions of formal education in Macao take into consideration variables that transcend the territory in an attempt to understand their "geographies of reference?" **RC**

## NOTES

- 1 As Jorge Santos Alves remarks, these two expansionist models were associated with two parallel diplomatic channels. The first was an extension of the Portuguese crown, "conceived by Lisbon or Goa, and represented by embassies to the Emperor of China," and the second "had a view only to safeguarding the interests of the Macanese *emporium*," although both made use of what we now call 'liaison officers': the Jesuit fathers. In "Natureza do primeiro ciclo de Diplomacia Luso-Chinesa (séculos XVI a XVIII)", pp. 186-187.
- 2 "In Macao, [the Jesuits] began with an *Escola de Ler e Escrever*, in 1572 ... Some years later, they added a class in Latin. The number of students rose rapidly. In 1592, the school had some 200 students, mostly the sons of residents of Macao and the *meninos cativos* that they brought with them as servants." In Domingos Gomes dos Santos, "Macao: Primeira Universidade Ocidental do Extremo Oriente" *Revista de Cultura*, 2 (21), 1994, p. 7.
- 3 In 1592, during the Third General Consultation of the missionaries in Nagasaki by Alexandre Valignano, Jesuit authorities were reminded of the need for a college outside of Japan for Japanese Jesuit students. Cf. Gomes dos Santos, "Macao: Primeira Universidade Ocidental do Extremo Oriente", p. 8. About St. Paul's College, see also Rafael Ávila de Azevedo (1984), *A Influência da Cultura Portuguesa em Macau*, pp. 13-22; and M. Teixeira (1974), *A Educação em Macau*, pp. 181-206.
- 4 In 1564, Macao had a population of approximately 600 Portuguese among a community of 1500 foreigners, including other Europeans and Eurasians.
- 5 Despite mounting pressure on the Chinese authorities to abolish restrictions on foreign trade in Guangzhou, it would be a long time before this Canton trade system, in which the Co-hong merchants had exclusive rights to trade with licensed foreigners, was formally dismantled: "By 1793, most of the Europeans had been trading for nearly a century for profit without submission or tribute bearing and the commercial frontier at Canton was virtually permanent ..." [Cheong, W. E. (1997). *Hong Merchants of Canton*, pp. 331-332]. This pressure finally resulted in the Chinese government granting European traders relatively free access to the China market: "Despite the dismantling of the Co-Hong in 1771 – the one part not legally constituted by the court – the whole system had been officially restored in 1780 and tightened up in the last two decades. The Europeans had brought their political frontier nearer by sending embassies, hoping to dismantle their respective systems or break out of them by seeking other concessions ..." [ibid., p. 332]
- 6 On the composition and behavior of the Senado, cf. Charles R. Boxer, *O Senado da Câmara de Macau*.
- 7 "Macao's situation between 1557 and 1849 was essentially that which Bocarro described in 1635: "A pas que temos com o Rey da China he conforme elle quer porque como esta tão desviado da india, e tem hum poder tão avantajado a todo o mayor que os Portugueses poderão la ajuntar em no de gente, nunca que por mais escandalos que tivessemos dellas ouve um pençamento de chegarmos a rompimento porque só com nos tolher o mantimento consumira a nossa cidade por não haver parte ne com os ir buscar," in C. R. Boxer, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
- 8 Cf. Beatriz Basto da Silva, *Cronologia da História de Macau*, vol. 3, p. 73.
- 9 By 1800 under the name of *Congregação da Missão*.
- 10 On Miranda e Lima, cf. António Aresta, *José Miranda e Lima: Professor Régio e Moralista*.
- 11 Established by the Congregation of S. Domingos, by order of the Prince Regent, on June 16, 1814.
- 12 These were closed in 1823, with the imprisonment, expulsion or

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- departure of their instructors, in the wake of political conflicts. cf. Leôncio Ferreira (1872), *Um Brado pela Verdade...*, reproduced in *Documentos para a História da Educação em Macau* (I), DSEJ: Macao, pp. 15-31.
- 13 Cf António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, *Estudos sobre as Relações Luso-Chinesas*, especially Chapter III, “Um estabelecimento a refundir e a criar de novo,” pp. 49-404 and, by the same author, the first volume of the *Colecção de Fontes Documentais para a História das Relações entre Portugal e a China*, [Fundação Macau: Macao, 1996]. Also A. Gomes Dias, *Macao e a I Guerra do Ópio*. For an understanding of the sentiments expressed by Lisbon regarding the actions of Ferreira do Amaral, see the *Introduction* by Jorge Santos Alves to the first volume of the new edition of the *Revista Ta Sai Yang Kuo*, [DSEJ: Macao, 1995, pp. I-XVI].
- 14 Whose implementation led to the dissolution, on two separate occasions, of the Câmara Municipal: in 1835, by Soares de Andrea, and in 1847 by Ferreira do Amaral, clearly the result of a struggle for power.
- 15 The Province of Macao, Timor and Solor was administratively separated from Goa in 1854. In 1862, with the Treaty of Tianjin, Portuguese sovereignty over Macao was recognized by the Qing government; this recognition was confirmed in the protocol of 1887 and reconfirmed in 1888.
- 16 About the diplomatic measures proposed at the Linfong Pagoda meeting, cf. “Relatório do Procurador da conferencia havida com o tau-tai,” mentioned by António V. Saldanha, *Estudos sobre as Relações Luso-Chinesas*, p. 56.
- 17 The migratory flow persisted throughout the twentieth century, and was often referred to in the local press: “No dia 9 do corrente sahiram de Macau com destino a Shanghai tres jovens ... vão procurar em Shanghae um meio de vida que lhes é negado na sua terra natal, onde nem os empregos públicos de cathegoria inferior podem os macaenses hoje alcançar.” [in *O Patriota*, 1903.01.14: 116]; “Se não puzermos um dique a este exodo, Macau tornar-se-á, am breve, uma terra de chinas com auctoridades portuguezas.” in *Vida Nova*, 1909.01.17, 1 (3): 1.
- 18 For example, the substantial number of Macanese staff working at the *Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank*.
- 19 For example, in Hong Kong, the “Club Luzitano” and “Bibliotheca Lusitana,” and the “Associação de Socorros Mútuos”; in Shanghai, the “Associação Macaense de Socorro Mútuuo de Shanghai,” the “Club Lusitano de Shanghai,” and the “Fundo Lutuosa.”
- 20 “... em janeiro de 1862, a expensas de particulares. E é dirigido por tres habéis professores europeus, que ensinam portuguez e accessorios, a saber – história e chrographia de Portugal, arithmetica, etc., latim, inglez, frances, geographia, etc. É frequentado por uns 50 alumnos, todos externos ... alem de algumas escholas particulares de inglez.” In António Lopes Pereira (1865). *Compendio da historia e chorographia portugueza: para uso dos alumnos do Seminário de Macau*. Typographia do Seminário: Macao.
- 21 Cf. Leôncio Ferreira, *Um Brado pela Verdade...*, e Beatriz B. da Silva, *Cronologia da História de Macau*, vol. 3, p. 232.
- 22 The number of schools joining the *grant-in-aid* system grew from one Catholic school (of about 110 students) in the period 1875-1879 to 4 schools (about 366 students) in the period 1880-1884, and to 22 schools (about 1840 students) by the end of the century. [Cf. Vikner, David W. (1987). “The role of Christian missions in the establishment of Hong Kong’s system of education.”, p. 281.] Cf. also Anthony Sweeting (1990). *Education in Hong Kong pre-1841 to 1941: fact and opinion*. Hong Kong University Press: Hong Kong, Chapter. 4: Consolidation, conflict and control, 1865-1913, pp. 195-339.
- 23 In Fok Kai Cheong, *Lectures on Hong Kong History*, The Commercial Press: Hong Kong, 1990: pp. 17, “Late Nineteenth-century Hong Kong: A Centre of Cultural Interchange between China and the West.”
- 24 Established in 1886, the “Cambridge Local Examinations” were replaced in 1889 by the “Local Oxford Examinations,” which became a reference point for the English curricula in Macao (Cf. *Vida Nova*, 1910.02.20, 2 (60): 1-2.).
- 25 The population decreased from about 85,000 in 1860 to about 60,000 in 1878, and grew again to about 75,000 by the end of the nineteenth century. These changes were the result of internal growth, Chinese immigration to Macao, and Portuguese and Macao Chinese emigration, mainly to Shanghai and Hong Kong.
- 26 “Calculamos que de Hong Kong vem annualmente mais de cem mil patacas para Macau, sôb a forma de dividendos de varias companhias e emprezas que ahí têm a sua séde, de juros de capitaes em depósito nos bancos, de alugueis de casas cujos proprietários vivem em Macau, e de mesadas dos empregados de commercio para os seus parentes.” [In *O Macaense*, 1889.07.27, 2.1 (1): p. 1].
- 27 Cf. Pedro Mesquita, (2000). “Ensino e cultura”, pp. 503.
- 28 Created on September 17, 1871. Cf. *Boletim da Província de Macao e Timor*, (40) [P. não Oficial], 1871.10.02, p. 162.
- 29 “Na aula de escrituração commercial, ultimamente creada com a aprovação do conselho d’estudos, hão de estudar-se as seguintes materias: 1º Arithmética; 2º Arte de guarda-livros; 3º Operações bancárias,” cf. *Boletim da Província de Macao e Timor*, 1872.08.31 (18.36): p. 158.
- 30 Cf. Fr. Manuel Teixeira, *A Educação em Macau*, p. 89, quoting Pedro Nolasco da Silva.
- 31 Milner, J. L. Hart. *Resumo da gramática ingleza: Segundo o programa do Liceu* (2. ed). Typographia de Souza e Ca: Hong Kong; in 1883: *Grammatica prática da língua portugueza: orthoepia*. Typografia “Popular”: Macao. Fr. Manuel Teixeira [*A Educação em Macau*, p. 87] refers to a booklet of 32 pages (1883). *Esboço de História antiga, 1ª parte. Desde a criação do mundo até ao fim da independência da Grécia*. Typographia Popular: Macao; and in 1884: *Practical and Inductive Book-Keeping: Adapted for the use of Schools and for Self Tuition*. Kelly and Walsh: Hong Kong & Shanghai.
- 32 Cf. Fr. Manuel Teixeira, *A Educação em Macau*, p. 89.
- 33 Cf. Fr. Manuel Teixeira, *A Educação em Macau*, pp. 89-91.
- 34 We may take as an example a quotation from *Noções de Hygiene e de medicina prática: Para uso dos alumnos do Seminário Diocesano de Macau, por um professor do mesmo Seminário* (1899). Typographia do Seminário: Macao, which reads like a primer on nutrition, hygiene and medicine that maps the geography of the Macao Diocese: “Os cereas ou grãos de gramíneas commummente usados na China, em Malaca e em Timor são o trigo, o arroz e o milho; o trigo, consumido pelos europeus, o milho, base da alimentação dos timorenses, o arroz usado por todos os residentes e indigenas d’estas regiões e constituindo muitas vezes o alimento quasi exclusivo do proletariado chinez.”
- 35 The transition to a republican system occurred during the administration of Governor Eduardo Augusto Marques, who did not enact the republican decrees until a military uprising forced him to. Those decrees included the expulsion of the religious orders, which compromised the status of a significant number of teachers.
- 36 This happened with the establishment of the “República” schools in 1911, which were founded at the initiative of the governor but were privately run and funded, primarily by the Misericórdia. They became government schools in 1927 with the establishment of the “Estado Novo”, and were integrated into the “Luso-Chinês” system in 1947 (D.L. 924). The Luso-Chinese schools, created in 1919 at the initiative of the Senado, merged in a single campus in 1951, the Sir Robert Ho Tung School, which had already been a government school since 1946.
- 37 Melo Machado made his regrets clear in *Coisas de Macau* (1913): “Todos os macaenses que teem alguns meios para educar seus filhos,

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manda-os para os collegios inglezes de Hong-kong e de Shanghai, ou fa-los frequentar as escolas inglezas de Macau, creadas e subsidiadas por elles proprios. É tal a desnacionalização, que mesmo

muitas das crianças nascidas em Macau, e ali educadas, fallam mais facilmente inglez do que portuguez.” [Cf. Álvaro de Melo Machado (1997). *Coisas de Macau* (2a ed.). Kazumbi: Macao, pp. 65-66].

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