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MACAU'S AUTONOMY IN PORTUGUESE HISTORIOGRAPHY (19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES)*

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Abstract

Macau's status has never been a pacific topic even inside Portuguese historiography.

Departing from Montalto de Jesus (1863-1932)' controversial proposal to submit Macau's administration to the League of Nations in the revised edition of his *Historic Macao*, 1926, the author aims to discuss the construction of the discourse on the autonomy of Macau, identify the roots of this concept, and explore its different meanings in works of some of the most relevant Portuguese and Macanese historians and authors on the topic during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The article shows the relevance of the establishment's historical, political, economical and geographical contexts to Macau's present autonomous status and how the city's self-government praxis assumed by the municipal government since its creation is deeply interiorized in Portuguese Macau's collective memory.

Focusing in the context of the Portuguese imperial and colonial systems, Macau's claims and aspirations during the periods of major Liberal political radicalism, e.g. 1822-1823 and 1834-1844 are examined, while special attention is paid to the emergence of a Macanese ethnic affirmation and to the use of the *patoá* [patois] in the moments the group fears for its survival.

Resumo

O estatuto de Macau nunca foi um assunto pacífico, mesmo considerando apenas o universo da historiografia portuguesa.

* This article is a revised, enlarged and updated version of the paper presented to "Encounters and Dialogues: An International Symposium on Cross-Cultural Exchanges between China and the West in the Late Ming and Early Qing Dynasties", organized by the Institute of World Religions of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and The Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History of the University of San Francisco and held at Beijing, 14-17 October 2001. The author is grateful to Prof. António Vasconcelos de Saldanha and to Prof. George Bryan Souza for their critical readings and comments to this article.

Tendo como ponto de partida a controversa proposta de Montalto de de Jesus (1863-1932) formulada em 1926 – aquando da reedição do seu livro Historic Macao – de submeter a administração de Macau à Liga das Nações, a autora propõe-se discutir a construção do discurso da autonomia de Macau; identificar as raízes deste conceito e explorar o seu diferente significado nas obras mais relevantes para o tema dos historiadores e autores portugueses e macaenses dos Séculos XIX e XX.

O artigo mostra a contribuição dos contextos histórico, político, económico e geográfico para o estatuto de autonomia de que Macau goza ao presente e como a praxis de auto-governo, adoptada pela câmara da cidade desde a sua criação, está profundamente interiorizada na memória colectiva da Macau de matriz cultural portuguesa.

Centrando a análise nos contextos imperial e colonial portugueses, são equacionadas as reivindicações e aspirações de Macau formuladas nos períodos de maior radicalismo político durante o liberalismo, nomeadamente em 1822-1823 e em 1834-1844, prestando ainda especial atenção à emergência de uma atitude de afirmação identitária por parte dos Macaenses e ao recurso ao uso do patoá [patois] em momentos nos quais o grupo receia pela sua sobre-vivência.

要約

マカオの位置づけというテーマは、ポルトガルの歴史書誌研究の観点だけから見ても、統一見解の得られるものであったことはかつて一度もない。1926年にその著書Historic Macauの再版を契機としておこなわれた、マカオの行政を「ポルトガル国家の一部」として問うモンタルト・デ・ジェズ（1863-1932）による転換点ともいべき問題提起を出発点として、筆者はマカオの自治に関する問題についての議論を再整理するよう試みる。同時にそこでは、ジェズによる提起の背景を探り、それが19世紀～20世紀のポルトガル人やマカオ人研究者による、同テーマに対する研究と異なる点を明らかにする。

本稿では、今日までの「習慣としての」マカオの自治の実態に関する歴史的、政治的、経済的、さらに地理的な研究成果を分析する。その自治とは、マカオの黎明期以来、市当局を通じておこなわれてきたもので、ポルトガル文化の原型をとどめるマカオの集約的な記憶の中に深く内包されているものである。

ポルトガルの帝国主義的かつ植民地主義的な研究の中でおこなわれてきた分析に関して言えば、それらの研究はとくに1822年～23年と1834年から44年にかけての自由主義の中で登場した政治的急進主義の時代に形成されたマカオの再編成に影響されたものである。本稿ではとくに、マカオの存在意義が危ぶまれた時代の、マカオ人アイデンティティの再確認傾向が顕著化した事実と、パトゥワ語使用に対する保護策の問題に焦点を当てる。

Keywords:

Macau's Autonomy. Macau History. Macau's Portuguese Historiography. 19th and 20th centuries. Municipal government [*Senado*]. Liberalism. Ethnicity. Identity. Macanese. *Patoá* [*patois*]. Sino-Portuguese relations. Macau question

Autonomia de Macau. História de Macau. Historiografia portuguesa de Macau. Séculos XIX e XX. Governo municipal [Senado]. Liberalismo. Etnicidade. Identidade. Macaenses. Patoá [patois]. Relações sino-portuguesas. A Questão de Macau

マカオの自治,マカオ史,マカオのポルトガル史,19-20世紀,市議会,リベラリズム,民族アイデンティティ,マカオ人,パトゥワ語,中葡関係,マカオ問題

Macau's status has never been a pacific topic even inside Portuguese historiography, and became a fundamental issue since the late 18th century onwards when the Portuguese Crown intended to clarify its rights over the establishment. The description of this process, already studied mainly in its politico-diplomatic aspects in António V. de Saldanha's several works to be mentioned afterwards, is beyond the scope of this article. My purpose is to discuss the *construction* of the discourse on the autonomy of Macau, identify the roots of this concept, and explore its different meanings in works of some of the most relevant Portuguese and Macanese historians and authors during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

I am aware of the different theoretical and legal definitions of the concept of autonomy and it deserves further analytical exploration facing its theoretical and legal definitions. The concept of "autonomy" that I considered and used to support my analysis of Macau sources depends on the context of enunciation, e.g., the Portuguese imperial and colonial systems, the Chinese empire – leaving aside the currently accepted version of self-determination. Autonomy in this article refers mainly to the municipal council [*Camara*]'s self-government praxis inside the context of the Portuguese imperial and colonial systems.

Considering that until the middle of the 19th century Macau's Portuguese and non-Catholic Chinese communities were subject¹ to different jurisdictions and administrations, the autonomic affirmation, seen from this article's perspective, was not a matter of concern to the Chinese, at least in the

1 António M. Hespanha, *Panorama da História Institucional e Jurídica de Macau*, Macau, 1995, pp. 42-45; 57-68.

first two periods under analysis. This is the reason why that issue will not be examined here.

One of the most important contributors to the formulation of a local idea of autonomy in the early 20th century was Montalto de Jesus (1863-1932), a Hong Kong born Macanese,² who proposed³ to submit Macau's administration to the League of Nations in the revised edition of his *Historic Macao*,⁴ published in 1926. This opinion – that got some echo in the Hong Kong press – gave rise to a strong controversy and to some persecutions to this quite enthusiastic man, leading to the seizure and destruction of the book in Macau. However, it is important to mention that a reasonable amount of copies⁵ escaped the fire as referred by Eduardo Brazão's (1907-1987)⁶ and that almost all Macau authors quote this edition. That shows the influence of Montalto's ideas and their dissemination either among the experts or his Macanese compatriots.

Leaving aside a review⁷ of the book, its seizure⁸ and the very sensitive context which led to Montalto's proposal, one shall emphasize that the idea of autonomy, formulated by this author in a most radical way, had always been present in the historiographical discourse produced by Portuguese and Macanese authors despite the concept's different formulations.

2 Macanese, in this article, shall be understood in its ethnic (Luso-Asians), religious (Catholic) and cultural (Portuguese) dimension, as defined by João de Pina Cabral and Nelson Lourenço, *Em Terra de Tufões. Dinâmicas da Etnicidade Macaense*, Macau, 1993. João de Pina-Cabral authored an English revised version of this book, *Between China and Europe: person, culture and emotion in Macao*, London/New York, 2002.

3 Montalto's quotations refer to the facsimile of the 2nd ed., Hong Kong, 1984. For this issue see, pp. 508-515.

4 *Historic Macao. International Traits in China Old and New*, by [...], 2nd ed., Macau, 1926. The 1st ed., just *Historic Macao*, Hong Kong, 1902, went out of press very quickly. The book was strongly acclaimed by Macau's municipality [*Senado*] in 26 November 1902 and recognized by the authoritative Henri Cordier (1849-1925) as «le meilleur travail d'ensemble qu'on ait écrit jusqu'à présent sur l'établissement portugais de la Chine méridionale». *T'oung Pao*, 2nd S., Leide, Vol. IV, 1903, p. 259 (rep. Nendeln/Liechtenstein, 1975).

5 In Macau, at least one copy is found at the Historical Archive.

6 In *Macau. Cidade do Nome de Deus na China. Não Há Outra Mais Leal (Apontamentos Para Uma Monografia de Macau)*, Lisbon, 1957, p. 122, Brazão states that the 2nd ed. of the book was easier to find than the 1st, at least at the time he served as Consul of Portugal in Hong Kong, from 1946 to 1951. See also, Manuel Teixeira, "Montalto de Jesus, o Maior Historiador Macaense", *Boletim Eclesiástico da Diocese de Macau*, afterwards *BEDM*, Macau, Vol. LXX, Numbers 823 and 824, Abril and May 1973, pp. 248-256 and 333-339, respectively.

7 For more see, Tereza Sena, "Montalto de Jesus: Da Polémica à História", *Macau*, Number 28, October 1990, pp. 54-58 as well as "History of Macao. Some Contributions Towards a General Approach", *Review of Culture*, afterwards *RC*, 2nd S., Macau, Number 19, April-June 1994, pp. 111 and 120 n. 2.

8 More details are found in Manuel Teixeira, *Vultos Marcantes em Macau*, Macau, 1982, p. 136.

1. Modern historiography

The question raised by Montalto de Jesus is strictly connected with the city's self-government praxis assumed by the municipal government since its creation in the 1580s and was already brought to historiography at least two centuries before Montalto's formulation, by Fr. José de Jesus Maria, OFM. I refer to his *Azia Sinica, e Japonica, Macao conseguido e perseguido [...]*, written between 1740 and 1745, however only published, though still incomplete, by João Feliciano Marques Pereira (1863-1909) in the *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo*⁹ (1899-1904). It was necessary to wait until mid 20th century for C. R. Boxer (1904-2000)¹⁰ to edit the complete work.

This issue is the dominant topic in Macau's official correspondence with the imperial political- administrative centers of power in Portugal and India, mainly after the centralistic regulations of 1783-1785 and during the discussion on the legitimacy of the Portuguese sovereignty over Macau. Since the late 18th century, the Portuguese Crown attempted and was determined to find evidence and/or a solution to legitimize its interests over Macau. According to A. V. de Saldanha,¹¹ this goal was only partially achieved in 1849 under the mentoring and execution by Governor (r. 1846-1849) Ferreira do Amaral (c. 1803-1849)¹² with the unilateral Portuguese decree over Macau's autonomy from China, leading to its self-exclusion from the Chinese imperial order.

However, at the Macau level would remain the idea – and the praxis shall be said – of the validity of the traditional practices and local diplomacy¹³ in Sino-Portuguese relations. The argument used in its support was the positive results of the daily experience of more than two centuries that had guaranteed a privileged and go-between status to Macau in China, even though this meant the entrepôt's integration in the Empire's internal rule.

9 *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo. Arquivos e Anais do Extremo-Oriente Português*, afterwards TSYK, facsimile ed., Macau, 1984, 1995, Vol. I, Série I, Vols. I-II, pp. 203-212; 265-273; 327-337; 389-401; 461-473; 621-627 and Vol. II, Série II, Vols. III-IV, pp. 147-170; 701-722; 781-790 (original, Lisbon, 1899-1904).

10 In 1941 and 1950. The work was reprinted in facsimile, 2 vols., Macau, 1988.

11 See, among others, "Um Estabelecimento a Refundir e a Criar de Novo. Macau e a Política Externa Portuguesa na China (1842-1853)", in *Estudos Sobre as Relações Luso-Chinesas*, Lisbon, 1996, pp. 161 *et seq.*

12 This Governor was assassinated by a group of Chinese on 22 August 1849. See *infra*.

13 On the dichotomy conventional/traditional practices in Macau diplomacy see, A. V. Saldanha, "O Significado e a Importância das Práticas Convencionais nas Relações Luso-Chinesas", in *Estudos...*, pp. 15-23, developed, in its *longue durée*, by Jorge Manuel dos Santos Alves, "Natureza do Primeiro Ciclo de Diplomacia Luso-Chinesa (séculos XVI-XVIII)", in António Vasconcelos de Saldanha and Jorge Manuel dos Santos Alves (eds.), *Estudos de História do Relacionamento Luso-Chinês. Séculos XVI-XIX*, Macau, 1996, pp. 179-218.

This formula¹⁴ had proved to be congenial with the city's life, not very interested in the affirmation of the Portuguese sovereignty over the territory, not even when international competition began to affect its market.

Dreaming of the restoration of the "old privileges once given to Macau", the Macau *moradores* [citizens]¹⁵ fought as strongly as they could against the regulations and increasing normative impositions received from Lisbon, the metropolitan power, and their intermediation and influence upon them by Goa. It resulted in the well known structural local contentiousness¹⁶ with the representatives of that power and policy, at the same time that the Macau's citizens developed an exhaustive autonomic argumentation of con-

14 I refer to the "Macau Formula", an expression coined by Kai C. Fok to describe the official Ming strategy by means of which the Chinese authorities accepted and controlled Macau, thereby reconciling what had been irreconcilable as far as the tributary system, foreign trade and domestic defence were concerned. It is contextualized in its *longue durée* since Macau's origins by Jin Guo Ping and Wu Zhiliang and, in a certain way, by Jorge M. S. Alves, "Natureza...", pp. 191-193. For Fok see, "The Ming Debate on How to Accommodate the Portuguese and the Emergence of the Macao Formula. The Portuguese Settlement and Early Chinese Reactions", *RC*, Macau, 1st S., Numbers 13/14, January-June 1991, pp. 328-344 and *Estudos Sobre a Instalação dos Portugueses em Macau*, Lisbon, 1996. For Jin Guo Ping and Wu Zhiliang's critical approach to Fok work, see, *The Chinese Imperial Court and the Origins of Macao - I and II*, Macau, Macau, 3rd S., English Edition, Number 14, June 2003, pp. 68-81 and Number 15, September 2003, pp. 102-113, further developed in "Tentativa de uma Nova Abordagem às Origens Históricas da Presença Portuguesa em Macau", *RC*, Macau, 3rd S., International Edition, Number 8, October 2003, especially pp. 93-96 (<http://www.icm.gov.mo/RC/TextPE.asp?No=8&ID=472>) visited in 27/07/08, also found in the comprehensive but poorly edited collectanea, *Revisitar os Primórdios de Macau. Para uma nova abordagem da História*, Macau, 2007.

15 In the absence of a survey either on the *Senado* or on those men who handled the municipality since its institution in c. 1583 see, Joaquim Romero de Magalhães "Uma Estrutura do Império Português: o município", in *Ciclo de Conferências Portugal e o Oriente*, Lisbon/Macau, 1994, pp. 67-97, also useful to stress the singularity of Macau's case, as well as the classic work by C. R. Boxer, *Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macau, Bahia and Luanda (1510-1580)*, Madison, 1965, pp. 42-71. Partial studies such as George Bryan Souza, *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea, 1630-1754*, Cambridge, 1986; António M. do Vale, *Os Portugueses em Macau (1750-1800). Degredados, ignorantes e ambiciosos ou fiéis vassallos d'El-Rei?*, Macau, 1997 and Ana Maria Amaro, "1842 Elections For the Macao Senado and the *Homens Bons* [«Good Men»] of the Territory", *RC*, Macau, 2nd S., Number 19, April-June 1994, pp. 17-31 are also helpful.

16 I agree with Jorge Manuel Flores' criticism on the recurrent use of that idea that deserves temporal, political and economic-social contextualization. See, "Macau: De surgidouro a cidade", in A. H. de Oliveira Marques (dir.), *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente*. I Vol., Tome II - *De Macau à Periferia*, Macau, 2000, p. 248. See, Flores' summary of his position in "The Portuguese Chromosome. Reflections on the Formation of Macao's Identity in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", *RC*, Macau, 3rd S., International Edition, Number 3, July 2002, pp. 83-95 (<http://www.icm.gov.mo/RC/TextPE.asp?No=3&ID=257>) visited in 27/07/08.

stant self-legitimation¹⁷ around a “founding legend”,¹⁸ conducting to the notions of: city-state [*cidade-estado*],¹⁹ a republic of good men [*república de homens-bons*], senatorial administration [*administração senatorial*],²⁰ free city [*cidade livre*],²¹ urban republic [*república urbana*]; even the claim of having been the first *democratic state* in all Asia [*primeiro estado democratico de toda a Ásia*]²² or, more recently, a civic island [*ilha cívica*],²³ utopia city [*cidade da utopia*],²⁴ imaginary city²⁵ or municipal republic [*república municipal*],²⁶ notions that would be fixed by historiography and literature, not necessarily only Portuguese.

In this context, I shall emphasize the thesis of the voluntary creation of Macau's municipality, well summarized by António Manuel Hespanha:²⁷

17 See, the memory on Macau's origins addressed by the *Senado* to the national Parliament and to Governor of India in the 5th December 1837: “Origem do Estabelecimento Portuguez de Macáo e suas actuaes circunstancias, extrahido de um Memorial, que a Camara Municipal daquella cidade dirigió ao Governador Geral da India, Barão de Sabroso, em data de 5 de Dezembro de 1837, publicado em os numeros 8, 9,10 e 11, do «Observador», jornal impresso em Goa na Typographia do Governo, anno de 1839”, *Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes*, nº 8, Lisbon, July 1841, pp. 353-370. Cf. A. V. de Saldanha, “Um Estabelecimento...”, pp. 170-171, *ns.* 345-346 and p. 192 for details and excerpts.

18 As already noted by Jorge Flores, “The Portuguese Chromosome...”, pp. 93-94. Cf. Luís Sá Cunha, “The Sacred Topos: The Mythography of Macao”, *RC*, 2nd S., Macau, Number 36-37, July-December 1998, pp. 5-18.

19 Beatriz Basto da Silva, *Tradição Municipal Portuguesa, o Modelo de Macau* [Macau], 1990 (*Photostat*), quoted by Avelino Rosa, *Os Municípios em Macau*, Macau, 1999, pp. 30-31 and Geoffrey C. Gunn, *Encountering Macau. A Portuguese city-state on the periphery of China, 1557-1999*, Boulder, Colorado, 1996.

20 Almerindo Lessa, *Macau - Ensaio de Antropobiologia Portuguesa dos Trópicos*, Lisbon, 1996, p. 154.

21 Luís Gonzaga Gomes, “Os Inícios da Cidade de Macau,” *Boletim do Instituto Luís de Camões*, afterwards *BILC*, Macau, Vol. III, Numbers 3 and 4, Autumn and Winter 1969, p. 280.

22 Almerindo Lessa, *A História e os Homens da Primeira República Democrática do Oriente: Biologia e sociologia de uma ilha cívica*, Macau, 1974, p. 254 and Carlos Estorninho, *Macau e os Macaenses. Divagações e Achegas Históricas*, Lisbon, 1962, pp. 7-8. The concept of democratic government, adopted from the Portuguese classic historian Jaime Cortesão (1884-1960) (*Os Factores Democráticos na Formação de Portugal*, 1930), was already present in António da Silva Rego, *A Presença de Portugal em Macau*, Lisbon, 1946, p. 77 and in C. R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550-1770*, The Hague, 1948, pp. 9-10.

23 Almerindo Lessa, *Macau - Ensaio...*, p. 157.

24 Joaquim Palminha da Silva, “Macau. Cidade da Utopia?,” *História*, Lisbon, Number 4, [1987], p. 19 and Arata Isozaki, “The Mirage City - Another Utopia”, in Arthur H. Chen (ed.), *Culture of Metropolis in Macau. An International Symposium on Cultural Heritage, Strategies for the Twenty-first century*, Macau, 2001, pp. 19-33.

25 Jonathan Porter, *Macau, The Imaginary City: Culture and society, 1557 to the present*, Colorado/Oxford, 1996.

26 Joaquim Romero de Magalhães, “Uma Estrutura...”.

27 *Panorama...* Translated from p. 17.

“The creation of Macau’s municipality at the end of the 16th century (1582/1583) came from the desire of self-government of the merchant Portuguese community established in the city, representing, at the same time, a way to guarantee a permanent political-administrative institution to rule a place only occasionally visited by a Crown officer (the Captain of the China and Japan voyage).

More than a guarantee of the city’s political integration in the complex policy of the Portuguese Crown in the Far East, the municipal organization of Macau has been the support for autonomist and centripetal proposals of the city’s oligarchy that, according to this, always defended, at least until the end of the 18th century, a mercantile republic status.”*

A mercantile republic [*república mercantil*] status,²⁸ dominated by the local elites, civil – organized in the *Camara* and in the *Misericórdia* (1569)²⁹ – and ecclesiastic – led by the Jesuits – that would manage Macau’s self-government and the city’s relationship with the central power until very late.

In my opinion,³⁰ there seems to be a little explored relation of close causality between the Portuguese submission to a Spanish monarch in 1581 (only known in Macau in May/June, 1582) and the foundation of Macau’s municipality, the *Camara*.³¹ The explanation generally offered by traditional Macau historians does not go far beyond nationalistic argumentation around of the settlement’s fidelity or infidelity to the Portuguese party and of Macau’s relations with China. The remaining question is to determine, as far as it is possible, how collective memory interfered in the historical process, what is historiographical construction, serving national affirmation or autonomic purposes, and reality.³² It is also necessary to take into account the fact that

28 Luís G. Gomes, “Os Inícios...”, p. 276; Almerindo Lessa, *A História e os Homens...*, pp. 246-248; Luís F. Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor*, Lisbon, 1994 (repr. 1985, 1988), pp. 231; 433, and Joaquim R. de Magalhães, “Uma Estrutura...”.

29 On Macau’s oldest Catholic welfare association run by a corpus of lay brothers chosen among the city oligarchy, serving the group’s interests see the unpublished PhD dissertation by Isabel Leonor Seabra, *A Misericórdia de Macau (Séculos XVI a XIX): Irmandade, Poder e Caridade na Idade do Comércio*, Porto, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2007. For the institution in the Asiatic space, details are found in *RC*, Macau, 3rd S., International Edition, Number 14, April 2005 (<http://www.icm.gov.mo/rc/indexI.asp?no=14>) visited in 30/07/08.

30 Tereza Sena, “Implications of the Portuguese-Spanish Relations on Macau’s Western Historiography and Autonomic Construction - Some Topics for Further Research”. Paper read at the International Symposium “The First Encounter Between China and the West: The Spanish Link”, Hong Kong, City University of Hong Kong, May 21, 2004.

31 From the 17th century onwards also called *Senado da Camara* or simply *Senado*.

32 See, Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, Oxford/New York, 1992 (from the French, 1988) and for a more recent collective reflection, *History and Memory: Present reflections on the past*

the concept of nationality³³ was then rather different from its present formulation, an idea that not all Macau historians seem to be aware of. At that time, the commitments of economic interests and trade networks, political, religious and private strategies, individual, elites and other groups³⁴ were much more relevant than national ideals, something that need to be studied in detail. In fact, that much forgotten epoch deserves a monograph study³⁵ able to examine that problem in the light of Macau's double political context: the Dual Monarchy and the settlement's relations with China.

Assuming a more official administrative structure according to the municipal model and formalizing its status as a Portuguese territory, Macau was avoiding the Philippines' menace by granting protection under the Portuguese overseas structure, the *Estado da Índia*, thus preventing any hegemonic dream from its Spanish³⁶ neighbour. That strategy was not detached from Macau's real scenario, e.g., its progressive integration in the Chinese imperial order.³⁷

In formal terms, the *Camara's* voluntary creation does not have any relevance inside the Portuguese municipal tradition, as the system, adopted for internal territorial organization since medieval times, served either to organize pre-existing communities or to create new ones. The relevant question here is not the adoption of the Portuguese pattern in such a distant place – as this was the model familiar to its institutors – but its maintenance according to a self-government municipal practice. It should also be mentioned that this excessive self-government praxis was never fully accepted nor uniformly³⁸ understood by the Portuguese authorities. However, considering limitations such as the distance from Portugal and from Goa, com-

to build our future. International Symposium organised by the Macau Ricci Institute, Macao, December 1st-3rd 2005, Macau, 2008.

33 See my discussion on this in "The Question of *Foreigners* Entering Macau in the 18th Century: Macau, a *Metropolis* of *Equilibrium*?", in Arthur H. Chen (ed.), *Culture of Metropolis...*, pp. 162-163.

34 See, among others, the interesting article by María Fernanda García de los Arcos, "Una Propuesta de Reestructuración del *imperio* Español en el Siglo XVII", *Revista de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades*, Mexico, Vol. X, Number 29, January-June 1992, pp. 24-32. For Macau's case refer to Elsa Penalva, "Contradictions in Macao", in *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, Lisbon, Vol. 14, June 2007, pp. 7-20.

35 Elsa's Penalva unpublished PhD Dissertation, *Lutas Pelo Poder em Macau (c. 1590-c. 1660)*, Lisbon, Universidade de Lisbon, 2005 (*non vidi*) might be a relevant contribution.

36 See, Manel Ollé, *La Empresa de China. De la Armada Invencible al Galéon de Manila*, Barcelona, 2002, especially pp. 90-97.

37 For a synthesis on Sino-Macanese relations including that period see, Wu Zhiliang, *Segredos da Sobrevivência - História política de Macau*, Macau, 1999, namely Chap. II, pp. 63-120.

38 See, Joaquim Romero de Magalhães, "Uma Estrutura...".

munication difficulties and delays, as well as Macau's peculiar geo-political situation on the border of the Chinese Empire and its external (economic and alimentary) dependence, what else could the metropolitan power do against that excessive autonomy other than aiming to control it according to the symbolic and representative canons? And this was not a minor issue, neither in the *Ancien Régime* nor in Asiatic societies.

That situation was neither assumed, not even understood at times, by the Portuguese authorities nor by Macau's oligarchy, which used to play an ambivalent role and acted independently in the Portuguese name. To avoid Western competition – the Spanish included – and Chinese pressure were the city's arguments in its support. It may not be important to know whether *patriotism* or strategy – or both – dictated this attitude. What matters is that this ambivalence was used to keep Macau's independent status both from China and Portugal, providing a unique example of survival, adaptation, memory preservation and self-defence as an organized *corpus*, despite all the tensions, conflicts and rivalries that characterize its history. And even the changes resulting from the *Camara's* elective structure – even if among a small and endogamic universe – of those who handled the power. On the other hand, this shows in full the versatility of the municipal system.³⁹

2. The fundamentals of autonomy

I have been revising Macau's autonomy in the context of its administrative, jurisdictional and political connections with Portugal. It is time however to summarize the fundamentals and persistence of that autonomy, ultimately determined by Macau's origins as a mercantile port-city; its regional, commercial and diplomatic insertion and its external complete dependence. To that shall be added its atypical⁴⁰ form of territorial fixation, as a "spontaneous sub-colony", both in the context of the Portuguese expansion and in the internal logic of the Chinese empire.

Macau's origins as a port city⁴¹ lay in a private Luso-Asian project strongly directed towards the lucrative but forbidden trade between China

39 *Ibid.*

40 Luís F. Thomaz, *De Ceuta...*, pp. 224-233; A. M. Hespanha, *Panorama...*, pp. 19-24; A. V. Saldanha, "Um Estabelecimento...", pp. 169-170, n. 343; Jorge M. Flores, "Macau: De surgidouro...", pp. 237-238 and 246 *et seq.* Cf. following note.

41 It is impossible to enumerate here all the bibliography on such a relevant and cyclically revisited issue, see the most recent and comprehensive contributions by Luís Filipe Barreto, *Macau: Poder e Saber. Séculos XVI e XVII*, Lisbon, 2006 and the above quoted works by Jin Guo Ping and Wu Zhiliang.

and Japan.⁴² This *project* involved multiple interests and brought together high-ranking Chinese officials and authorities, Jesuit priests, and Western and Eastern merchants linked to transoceanic routes and involved in Asian mercantile networks.

Depending entirely of its external relations for survival, and even for food supply,⁴³ Macau's geopolitical vulnerability had major implications in the daily life, policy and diplomacy and was always used by China as a powerful form of pressure towards its intents and policies. The *Portas do Cerco* border gate, built c. 1573, terminating free communication between the Macau Peninsula and the continent is a clear indication of China's interest in keeping that trading post even if it was tightly controlled.

The city that has been able to keep its links to the South China Seas, Southeast Asia as well as to the Indian, the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, was perfectly aware of how important it was to remain flexible vis-à-vis the Middle Kingdom's contradictory and fluctuating external trade policy and ambivalent enough to perform a dual commitment: gradually entering the empire's economic and administrative structure while keeping its status as a Portuguese municipality.

However, Macau's role from the late 17th century onwards, turned out to be substantially different. China committed the city to open its doors and to accommodate within its own hearth its very Western competitors. By enhancing its role as a "metropolis of equilibrium" at a time China decided to centralize external commercial contacts at Canton⁴⁴ and to make it a major

42 Contextual analysis is found in Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *O Império Asiático Português, 1500-1700. Uma história política e económica*, Lisbon, 1995, pp. 141-149 (from the English: *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700. A political and economic history*, London/New York, 1993) and Roderich Ptak, "An outline of Macao's economic development, circa 1557-1640", in Tilemann Grimm *et al.* (eds.), *Collected papers of the XXXIth Congress of Chinese Studies*, Tübingen, 1988, pp. 169-181, but the renowned Charles Boxer remains the prime historian on Luso-Japanese trade. For more on initial contacts and cultural aspects see the thesis by João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *A Descoberta da Civilização Japonesa pelos Portugueses*, Macau, 1995.

43 Despite the existence of sources and descriptions, a comprehensive analytical essay on food's supply policy, commerce, taxes and strategic recourse markets demanded by Macau's inhabitants in moments of pressure, famine or lack, as happened in the 1640's and during the World Wars, waits still to be done. For more on that see my article "Connections Between Malacca, Macao and Siam: An Approach Towards a Comparative Study", *Portuguese Studies Review*, Durham, Vol. 9, Numbers 1-2, Winter 2001, pp. 84-139.

44 The vital relationship between Macau-Guangzhou was explored by Jorge M. Flores, "Macau e o Comércio da Baía de Cantão (séculos XVI e XVII)", in Artur Teodoro de Matos and Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz (eds.), *As Relações Entre a Índia Portuguesa, a Ásia do Sueste e o Extremo Oriente. Actas do VI Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa (Macau, 22 a 26 de Outubro de 1991)*, Macau/Lisbon, 1993, pp. 21-48. This is an excellent and stimulating reflection on Macau's early relations with its *hinterland*, revising models proposed for the Asian port cities that shall be extended to latter periods. Partial contributions are also found in George Bryan Sousa, *A Sobrevivência...*

regional metropolis, Macau opted for its immediate survival thus refusing to participate in Portuguese national projects engaged in China trade.

The constant recriminations and warnings Macau received throughout the 18th century and the beginning of the following from agents of the Portuguese Crown such as ministers, viceroys/governors of India and governors of Macau were strongly motivated against this backdrop. They explicitly accuse Macau's residents of being the first to block the *entrepot's* commercial development due the competition amongst themselves. Consequently, attempts to include Macau in Portuguese trading companies⁴⁵ failed. Nevertheless, those were short lasting⁴⁶ projects, namely the *Companhia das Índias* (1628-1633) and the *Companhia do Comércio* (1687-1699). Further unsuccessful efforts were made to improve the city's lot by Viceroy (r. 1725-1732) João de Saldanha da Gama (1674-1752) and the Governor of India (r. 1786-1794) Francisco da Cunha e Menezes (1741-1812) and even local projects were destined to fail. That was the case with the *Companhia de Macau* which lasted a decade from 1710 to 1720 as well with the famous *Casa do Seguro de Macau*, a project involving Macau's oligarchy approved in 1810⁴⁷ due to the efforts of the wealthiest *morador*, Januário Agostinho de Almeida (1759-1825), future Baron of S. José de Porto Alegre (1825), and of his son-in-law, the most powerful *Ouvidor* [High Court Judge] Miguel de Arriaga (1776-1824). Despite all the expectations and the fact of dealing in Calcutta, British India, since 1820, the company only lasted from 1817 to 1826 when it declared bankruptcy.

Rejecting, in turn, the Chinese proposals to centralize Western trade, Macau adopted a go-between role in both regional and international trade contexts that was especially relevant during China's interdictions to navigation, as occurred in the early 18th century.⁴⁸ It cost Macau a strong criticism, and even some attempts, from the newly arrived Westerners and their powers. Motivated by economic and territorial domination intents, and full of an authoritarian ethnocentrism, they dared to deny Portuguese claims over Macau.⁴⁹

and in Paul Van Dyke, *The Canton Trade. Life and enterprise on the China Coast, 1700-1845*, Hong Kong, 2005, mainly pp. 143-160.

45 See, George Bryan Souza, *A Sobrevivência...*, pp. 213-229.

46 See, Jorge Borges de Macedo, "Companhias Comerciais", in Joel Serrão (dir.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, 4 vols., [3rd] ed., Porto, 1990, Vol. II, pp. 122-130.

47 Rio de Janeiro, 18 May 1810. See, "Sobre a izempção dos Direitos de entrada nas Alfandegas de Brazil", in *Arquivos de Macau*, afterwards *AM*, 3.^a S., Macau, Vol. XI, Number 5, May 1969, pp. 263-264.

48 Tereza Sena, "Macau, a metropolis of the equilibrium...".

49 See A. V. Saldanha, "Um Estabelecimento...", especially pp. 225-259 for the implications of that attitude and for the Portuguese reaction.

At the heart of this ambivalent attitude kept by Macau either with Portugal or China lays the need to manage the city on a day-to-day basis, providing its subsistence and economic survival sought by both Portuguese and Chinese trading communities. This took the form of on-going and often personal negotiations in total disregard of the instructions issued by central authorities (which were often notoriously distant from local reality and needs) and in allowing the territory to rule itself and solve⁵⁰ its problems, disputes as well as local and regional conflicts, or settle its alliances.

Similarly, and despite all the internal discussion on the subject,⁵¹ from the early 17th century onwards the Chinese Empire followed a strategy and coherent policy towards Macau, a fact not always taken into account by Western historiography, which tends to concentrate excessively on events and small successes achieved by Westerners on the China coast.

Nevertheless, the situation only changed when a more assertive Portuguese policy was implemented by Governor João Maria Ferreira do Amaral⁵² in the 1840's, leading to territorial, administrative and fiscal reforms, such as territorial expansion, taxes, expulsion of Chinese officials, submission of the Chinese population to the Portuguese jurisdiction and ultimately to the abolishment of Chinese customs, the *Hopu* created in around 1685.

The previous efforts in this respect such as Prime Minister (1755-1777) Pombal (1699-1782)'s suppression of the Crown's monopoly barring private individuals from trading, decreed in 1757, combined with the creation of a Portuguese customs in 1784 – one of the measures aimed at reforming Macau's administration by the Portuguese Overseas Minister (r. 1770-1795) Martinho de Melo e Castro (1716-1795) on 4 April 1783⁵³ – were not enough to change Macau's status and to fully revitalize its economy. It was necessary to wait until the following century for a Royal decree issued on 20 November

50 There were occasions, however, when Macau had to apply to Portuguese diplomacy requesting embassies to solve disputes and impeachments, which went beyond the scope of their Jesuit allies in the Court at Peking. See, Jorge M. S. Alves, "Natureza..." and Eduardo Brazão, *Apontamentos para a História das Relações Diplomáticas de Portugal com a China: 1516-1753*, Lisbon, 1949.

51 For a summary see, Wu Zhiliang, "The Establishment of Macao as a Special Port City and the Ensuing Debates", *Chinese Cross Currents, Macau*, Vol. 4, Number 4, October 2007, pp. 100-114.

52 Refer to M. Teresa Lopes da Silva, *Transição de Macau para a Modernidade, 1841-1853: Ferreira do Amaral e a Construção da Soberania Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 2002. For more on this relevant issue see, apart from the highly politicised bibliography, A. V. Saldanha, "Um Estabelecimento...", pp. 161-223 and J. K. Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast. The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842-1854*, rep., Stanford, 1969 (1964), pp. 325-328.

53 "Providencias dadas pela Rainha Nossa Senhora, para o porto e cidade de Macau em 4 de abril de 1783", in *AM*, 1.^a S., Macau, Vol. II, Number 2, February 1930, pp. 99-111. Cf. Manuel Múrias (ed.), *Instruções Para o Bispo de Pequim e Outros Documentos Para a História de Macau*, facsimile ed., Macau, 1988 (1943), including other related relevant sources.

1845 opening Macau's ports (Inner Harbor, Taipa and Rada) to free trade as duty-free ports – not before Chinese approval⁵⁴ – and to the abolishment of anti-foreigner laws.

That much desired reform was, as mentioned, only partially achieved thanks to Ferreira do Amaral, at a time China had already suffered a hard blow with the signing of the Nanjing Treaty (1842) and Macau was starting to face Hong Kong's competition.

3. From self-government to autonomy

Returning to the aim of identifying Macau's most significant autonomic formulation periods, and bearing in mind the links between political radicalism and ideological-social debate, criticism, hope and idealism, I will explore those almost ignored and neglected moments⁵⁵ of Macau's history.

Having verified, broadly speaking and counting on the usual communication delays, the coincidence of the periods of major political radicalism between Portugal and Macau during the 19th and early 20th centuries, we found, according with the periods they lasted in Macau:

- The first *Constitutional Government* (1822-1823);
- Liberal Restoration and Overseas reforms (1834-1844);
- The 1st Republic (1910-1926).

In my research I have mainly drawn on the *Senado* sources:⁵⁶ especially the records of regular sessions and the general councils; the official correspondence books including that of kings, viceroys and governors of India, governors and other Macau civil and ecclesiastic authorities, as well as citizens. Some lack of information, due to censorship,⁵⁷ and even documental destruction⁵⁸ exercised in the *Senado's* archives by the political order that

54 See, *Colecção de Fontes Documentais para a História das Relações entre Portugal e a China*, afterwards *CFD*, ed. by António V. de Saldanha, 8 vols., Macau, 1996-2000, Vol. I - *Documentos Relativos às Conversações do Comissário Adrião Acácio da Silveira Pinto com o Comissário Imperial Qi Ying (1843-1846)*, Macau, 1996, especially the sources published under the nrs. 86 to 95, pp. 337-364 and nrs. 97 to 100, pp. 369-384.

55 Macau's Liberalism is a topic that still waits for a comprehensive study.

56 Found in *Arquivos de Macau's* sources collection, *AM*, mainly in its 3rd Series, issues of January/March 1973; January 1966; October and November 1969; September/December 1972 and October/December 1975, *passim*.

57 Vd. *AM*, 3.^a S., Macau, Vol. XVIII, Number 5, November 1972, pp. 309-310.

58 Lisbon, 1 September 1823. See, "Acerca da Ordem de S. Mag.^e, q' seião aspados os Livros dos Arquivos das diferentes repartiçoens", in *AM*, 3.^a S., Vol. XXIV, Number 5, November 1975, p. 244 and *ibid.*, Number 4, October 1975, pp. 232-234.

followed the 1822 revolutionary moment was felt. Press⁵⁹ and historiography are also useful for identifying some of the most prominent moments of autonomic expression and their relevant protagonists.

In fact, those were times of freedom of expression, so we have Macau's first newspaper, *A Abelha da China* published from 12 September 1822 to 27 December 1823, that almost coincide with the first *Constitutional Government*. In the 1830s/40s – another period of civil war and political radicalism in Portugal with repercussions in Macau, – a boom of newspapers is noticed, a phenomena that reappeared during the Republican regimen (1910), especially from 1914 onwards. Attention shall also be paid to the foreign press published in Canton and Macau, before Hong Kong, and mainly to that produced by the Macanese settled in the Far East's cosmopolitan cities.

Future research will pursue the study of the autonomy's agents paying more attention to their different ideological, social, economic, educational and cultural backgrounds while contextualizing their diverse political and civic contribution as well as elites and group strategies in the largest scenarios of Macau's, Portugal's and Western Liberal movement.

As our purpose is to identify in its *longue durée* the persistence of that early autonomic idea in Macau's historiography and collective memory, Ferreira do Amaral government and the subsequent "fight for and adequate treaty" with China were purposely left aside, as they represent special moments of rupture, both directed towards other contexts, e. g., autonomy from China, and conducted from others than the city's oligarchy. On the other hand, space and research limitations determined the focus on the first of those identified periods, e. g. the first *Constitutional Government* (1822-1823).

As everywhere, Liberalism did not only change politics in Macau, it also brought to the surface unaccepted laws, unsolved problems, old aspirations and new claims while there was a renewal of policies, institutions and elites. Even prior to the 1820's Revolution, in the beginning of the century, the struggle for autonomy became stronger in Macau, being sustained by the merchants-citizens' interests and traditional practices, as well as by members of the growing Portuguese and Macanese local elite such as the military, officials, teachers, priests and journalists.

That was in strong contradiction with the actions of agents of the metropolitan power – settled in Brazil since 1807 – as was the case of Governor (r. 1808-1810) Lucas José de Alvarenga (1768-1831), a Liberal born in Brazil, who tried to impose the new administrative rules presiding to the *Senado*, in which he had the Crown's support. Alvarenga generated such profound local

59 Refer to Manuel Teixeira, *A Imprensa Periódica Portuguesa no Extremo Oriente*, facsimile ed., Macau, 1999 (1965).

opposition⁶⁰ that it is not surprising to see that he was never invested in his second mandate in 1814, even if allegedly⁶¹ due to Chinese pressure.

The polemic involving him and the merchant José Ignácio de Andrade (1779-1863), concerning Macau's fights against the *pirates*⁶² – in alliance with the Chinese –, and the British attempts over the establishment in 1802 and 1808, fixed by historiography some years later,⁶³ is a good example.

Not being Macau born but involved in China's trade with local associations since 1815, Andrade defended the *Macanese party's* positions in his historiographical construction. There he made a clear apology of the self-government virtuosities, whilst defending the thesis of the *Camara's* voluntary creation and furnishing documental support for the autonomic party. Against Alvarenga's position,⁶⁴ Andrade condemned the political intervention of the captains-general and governors in general, and finally, the centralistic measures limiting the *Senado's* powers signed by Martinho de Melo e Castro in 1783. Since their reception in 1784, they generated strong local opposition,⁶⁵

60 See, among others, *AM*, Macau, 3.^a S., Vol. XI, Number 5, May de 1969, pp. 264-265; 266-267; 280-281 and 287-288; Number 6, June de 1969, p. 349; Vol. XVII, Number 6, June 1972, pp. 332-334 and 347; Vol. XVIII, Number 1, July 1972, pp. 35-36; Number 2, August de 1972, pp. 76-77; 79-80 and 87; Vol. XXIV, Number 3, September de 1975, pp. 199-201.

61 This statement is based in a letter sent on 4 October 1814 by the Mandarin of Xiangshan, named Ma, to the Macau's Procurator. See Manuel Teixeira, *Os Militares em Macau*, 2nd ed., Macau, 1984 (1975), p. 294 for a Portuguese translation. Isaú Santos and Lau Fong, *Chapas Sínicas. Macau e o Oriente nos Arquivos Nacionais Torre do Tombo (Documentos em Chinês)*, Macau, 1997, nrs. 1462 and 1645, p. 283 and 281, for details on that and another letter sent by the mentioned magistrate on 29 August on the same issue.

62 On this polemic question see, Víctor G. Rodrigues, "A acção «concertada» das autoridades de Macau, China e Goa na luta contra os «piratas» dos Mares do Sul da China em finais do século XVIII, princípios do século XIX", in A. V. Saldanha and Jorge M. Santos Alves, eds., *Estudos de História...*, pp. 235-276.

63 See Andrade's "Memoria", first published anonymously in *Jornal de Bellas-artes, ou Mnemosine Lusitana. Redacção patriótica*, Vol. II, Number 4, 1817; *Memoria sobre a destruição dos piratas da China de que era chefe o celebre Cam-Pau-Sai; e o desembarque dos inglezes na cidade de Macao, e sua retirada*, Lisbon, 1824, later revised and enlarged: *Memoria dos feitos macaenses contra os piratas da China; e da entrada violenta dos inglezes na cidade de Macao, [...]*, Lisbon, 1835. In turn, Alvarenga answered with: *Memoria sobre a expedição do Governo de Macao em 1809, e 1810 em socorro ao Imperio da China contra os insurgentes piratas chinezes, principiada, e concluida em seis mezes pelo Governador, e Capitão Geral daquella Cidade, Lucas Jose D'Alvarenga. Authenticada com documentos justificativos. Escripita pelo mesmo L. J. A. Em Dezembro de 1827*, Rio de Janeiro, 1828; *Artigo Adicional á Memoria*, Rio de Janeiro, 1828 and *Observações à Memoria de [...] com as suas notas e hum resumo da sua vida escrito pelo mesmo [...]*, Rio de Janeiro, 1830.

64 See Alvarenga's, *Memoria...*, pp.12-15, as well as *Observações à Memoria...*, pp. 25-28.

65 *Senado's* protest of 30 December 1807. See, "Sobre os Adventícios", in *AM*, 3.^a S., Macau, Vol. XVII, Number 5, May 1972, pp. 297-298. Contextual analyses are offered by A. V. Saldanha, *A "Memória sobre o Estabelecimento dos Portugueses em Macau" do Visconde de Santarém (1845). Os Primórdios da Discussão da Legitimidade da Presença dos Portugueses em Macau*, Macau, 1995, pp. 9-80 and António Vale, *Os Portugueses...*, pp. 59-67.

still alive when he visited Macau and later on. Having never been fully respected, despite Prince Regent (1792-1816) D. João (1767-1826)'s recall in 1810,⁶⁶ they were temporarily abolished in 1822-1823, as well as in 1835 in times of Liberal Restoration, as seen later.

In his *Cartas da Índia e da China*⁶⁷ – an interesting, sometimes quite apologetic book on China,⁶⁸ written between 1815 and 1835 and published six years after his last trip to the Orient (1837) –, Andrade presents a documented synthesis of the history of Macau⁶⁹ (using some of the material previously included in his quoted *Memórias*). Based on a historic analysis he could observe:

“Once, I supposed this small isthmus as Lusitan’s (Portuguese) propriety; however, today I am convinced of the contrary. The executive power of the poor Portugal is undoubtedly less convinced of the same mistake”* (XXXII: 88).

Andrade’s argumentation was based on the 1614’s famous five restrictions imposed by Wanli Emperor (1563-1620) (r. 1573-1620) to Macau. Once written in stone, they were affixed at the *Senado*’s entrance, which Andrade was able to testimony, leading him to conclude:

“As the Chinese government is unique, either must be the government of this city, which depends from China to everything”* (XXX: 88-9).

Despite his business connections with Macau’s oligarchy for over twenty years, what is relevant in Andrade’s position is that, being Portuguese, born in Azores and with responsibilities in Lisbon’s municipal policy,⁷⁰ he was able to show a non-ethnocentric posture quite admirable for the time when

66 Rio de Janeiro, 30 May 1810. See, “Sobre as Antigas Providencias dadas por Gen.^l de Goa.”, in *AM*, 3.^a S., Macau, Vol. XI, Number 5, May 1969, pp. 268-280.

67 *Cartas Escripitas da Índia e da China nos Annos de 1815 a 1835 por [...] a sua Mulher D. Maria Gertrudes de Andrade*, Lisbon, 1843, 2 vols. All quotations refer to the 3rd ed., Macau, 1998.

68 Reviewed by Tereza Sena, “A Propósito da Reedição das *Cartas* de José Ignácio de Andrade. ‘Só a experiência faz conhecer a verdade’”, *RC*, 3rd S, Macau, International Edition, Number 1, January 2002, pp. 116-129 (<http://www.icm.gov.mo/RC/TextPE.asp?No=1&ID=201>) visited in 27/07/2008. See also, Alfredo Dias, “Retratos da China. As Cartas de José Ignacio de Andrade”, *Macau*, 3.^a S., Number 1, Macau, June 2000, pp. 78-88.

69 Especially developed in the letters XXX-XXXIII, *Cartas...*, pp. 80-95.

70 Andrade was engaged in Lisbon municipal government during six mandates - from 1834 to 1839 and in 1846 -, becoming even it’s President between 1837 and the end of the following year.

testifying his own experience. The *Senado*⁷¹ and the Macau *moradores*⁷² expressed their gratitude to Andrade either in an official or in a literary way. In turn, Alvarenga and a latter Governor (r.1837-1843), Adrião Acácio da Silveira Pinto (1793-1865), aimed to destroy those symbols of Chinese imperial authority and of Macau's adhesion to this "treaty in stone or behaviour code" *⁷³ – including the 1749 proclamations of Qianlong (1735-1796) emperor (r.1711-1799) – another move that deserved to wait for Ferreira do Amaral to be concluded.

4. Construction of autonomy

Not entering into the "animosities, passions, hates and parties that troubled that establishment since the Great Portuguese Family's Liberty and the Regeneration echo has sounded" * – as stated by the Governor of India (r.1822-1825), D. Manuel da Câmara (1789-1825) in a letter to the *Senado* dated 11 April 1823⁷⁴ – it is important to mention that, even temporarily, the *Senado* was able to re-establish the existing situation prior to the Crown's Provisions of 1783. The first Macau's *Constitutional Government* later called *intrusive government* ruled the city from 19 August 1822 to 23 September of the following year under the guidance of Lt. Col. Paulino da Silva Barbosa,⁷⁵ a *Brazilian* and fervent Liberal. That locally proclaimed

71 See, the letter of 16 November 1826 published by the author in his *Memoria dos feitos macaenses...*, p. 161.

72 Namely Pedro Feliciano d' Oliveira e Figueiredo (?-1838), a Portuguese merchant, married in Macau in one preeminent family, that served in the *Senado* for several times and replaced the late Arriaga in the post of *Ouvidor* in 1825. See, José Ignacio de Andrade, *Cartas...*, p. 9.

73 António V. de Saldanha already emphasized the relevance of Andrade's testimony to the contradiction of one of the supportive arguments of the thesis of Macau's imperial donation. See, "Autoridade Imperial e Simbólica da sua Contradição - A Propósito dos Códigos de Wan Li e de Qianlong em Macau," *RC, Macau*, 3rd S., International Edition, Number 1, January 2002, pp. 106-115 (<http://www.icm.gov.mo/RC/TextPE.asp?No=1&ID=200>) visited in 27/07/08 and, for the *Codes*, Wu Zhiliang, *Segredos...*, pp. 75-82.

74 "Officio ácerca da chegada á Capital dos Officiaes que tentarão contra o Governo, que foi installado aos 19 d'Agosto de 1822; da prizão que soffreo o Major Paulino dando providencia a este respeito", in *AM*, 3^a S., Macau, Vol. XII, Number 4, October 1969, p. 227.

75 By the time of the creation of the *Real Escola de Pilotos* [Macau Royal Pilots School], Lt. Col. Paulino da Silva Barbosa was appointed a teacher by letter of the Prince Regent, dated Rio de Janeiro, 3 August 1814 and then moved to Macau. Having been arrested and sent to Goa in the day of his government deposition, he later managed to return to Canton, aiming to conduct his political activities in Macau from there. At least that was Governor (r. 1825-1827) Joaquim Mourão Garcês Palha (1775-1850)'s testimony in a letter, dated 14 December 1825 addressed to the Portuguese Overseas Minister demanding the capital penalty for Barbosa and his companions, quoted by Manuel Teixeira, *Miguel de Arriaga*, Macau, 1966, p. 117. See, by the same author, "Documentos para a História do Movimento Lib[er]al de 1822-1823", *BEDM*, Macau, Vol. LXXII, Number 841, December 1974, pp. 861-866. More on Paulino da Silva Barbosa, on the School and

Liberal government dismissed the Governor (r. 1817-1822), at the time Joze Ozório de Castro Cabral e Albuquerque (1779-1857), of all the powers he was invested on, except the military ones. The same happened to the most powerful and dynamic *Ouvidor*, Miguel de Arriaga, a Portuguese associated, as mentioned, through business and family links to the wealthiest Macau merchant, Januário Agostinho de Almeida.⁷⁶ Since his first investiture in 1803, Arriaga was Macau's central public figure, managing almost all the aspects of the city's life, as well as its external commercial and diplomatic connections. Even dismissed, but "accomplishing his duties as a citizen"* , Arriaga offered his services⁷⁷ to the *Senado*, namely to mediate with the Chinese. In that same letter⁷⁸ of congratulation to the new *Senado*, he observed

"that institution [Corpo, i.e., Body], after having been recognized during centuries, has been able to recuperate its former attributions."*

In a letter, ordering the government's resignation, dated Goa 24 April 1823,⁷⁹ the above-mentioned Governor of India, doing the apology of the 1783 reform, is peremptory:

"This Government cannot approve the Revolution of 19 August of the last year, that, with the erroneous pretext of establishing a Constitutional Government, nothing had done more than contradict and openly disobey the Royal Orders, which had provided that salutary reform, kept for almost forty years."*

on Macau's opposition to it is found in *AM*, 3^a S., Macau, Vol. XIX, Number 1, January 1973, p. 34; Vol. XXIV, Number 4, October 1975, p. 196, 200; 210-214 and 217-218.

76 A relevant Macau political figure however only partially studied. See Acácio de Sousa, "Arriaga: o homem e a época (1800-1814)," *Revista de Estudos Luso-Asiáticos*, Macau, Number 1, 1992, pp. 35-70, an article that updates Manuel Teixeira's, *Miguel de Arriaga* but does not reach the Constitutional period. It also seems to be the case of António Graça de Abreu's, "Macao, Miguel de Arriaga and the Chinese: a note on the failed British occupation of Macao in 1808", in Sabine Dabringhaus and Roderich Ptak (eds.), *China and her Neighbours. Borders, Visions of the Other, Foreign Policy. 10th to 19th Century*, Wiesbaden, 1997, pp. 184-198 (*non vidi*).

77 Nevertheless, due to their involvement in counter-revolutionary activities, the Governor, already dismissed from his remaining functions, and Arriaga, were ultimately arrested in 17 November and 14 September 1822, respectively.

78 Macau, 20 August 1822. See "Carta do Conselhr.º Arriaga ao L. Senado offerecendo seos Serviços, mesmo estando fora dos seos Encargos", in *AM*, 3.^a S., Macau, Vol. XVIII, N.º 5, November 1972, p. 314.

79 See, "Officio em que continha as providencias p.^a a mudança do Govêrno de Macáo, em consequência dos assumptos politicos & &", in *AM*, 3.^a S., Macau, Vol. XII, Number 5, November 1969, pp. 237-240.

He went further, wondering what happened during the assembly of 19 August 1822, which resulted in the establishment of the afore-mentioned government:

“they have immediately declared do not admit any other Authority besides the Senado, what is to say – we don’t want the Minister [Judge] and the Governor to be heard when the Senado discuss business concerning the Chinese; much more, we don’t want the first to be present and the second to preside when dealing with matters concerning the Administration and the Collecting of the Treasury, as Our Majesty Ordered; [...] in such a word, we don’t want to obey Our Majesty concerning what she ordered in those matters.”*

Following the enumeration of all the *irregularities*, D. Manuel da Câmara concludes that all those attitudes have been performed as

“if a Democracy have been established there; and if a similar practice could find any example in Portugal or in any other Overseas Possession, where such meetings are only in use to nominate Electors, Deputies, Juries and Administrative Chambers, and nothing more.”*

In fact, the Constitution approved on 23 September 1822, following a quite uncommon equalitarian postulation, consigned the principle of unity and indivisibility of the Portuguese possessions and consequently did not establish any special regulations for the overseas possessions.⁸⁰ It led to a political centralization and uniform assimilation that would determine the tone of Portuguese policy towards Macau and its sovereignty claims in the subsequent decades.

Back to the local scenario, another member of the new *Constitutional Government* was the *Professor Régio* [Crown’s Teacher] José Baptista de Miranda e Lima (1782-1848), who, almost probably,⁸¹ soon after Macau’s adhesion to the Constitutional principle, defended that the establishment should be ruled by Macau-born people. That petition to the Parliament

80 Jorge Noronha e Silveira, *Subsídios Para a História do Direito Constitucional de Macau (1820-1974)*, Macau, 1991, pp. 17-24.

81 According to António Feliciano Marques Pereira, *Ephemerides Comemorativas da História de Macau*, Macau, 1868, p. 8. As it was one of the censored documents, no copy is found in Macau’s archives. See also, *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, afterwards *GEPB*, Lisbon/Rio de Janeiro, Editorial Enciclopédia, Vol. XV, n. d., p. 89.

[Cortes], dated 22 January 1822, demanding obviously the former municipal system, also required the dissolution of the *Batalhão do Príncipe Regente*, e.g., the military force established in 1810⁸² after the *pirates* and the British incidents, and its replacement by a municipal force; the exemption of Macau's monetary compensations to Goa and Timor; and the exclusive fulfilment of civil and military posts by local people.

They were not all new aspirations, at least regarding the previous government (not the *intrusive* one) protest to the Governor of India, also presented to the King, e.g. Macau's reaction to the Liberal Revolution proclaimed in Portugal on 24 August 1820. That representation of 31 October 1821⁸³ focused on the implications of the central measures – especially administrative, military and educational – in Macau's Treasury. Keeping the usual posture, the *Senado* argued with its weak economic situation enabling it to afford and menaced with the consequences of such policy:

“unless to destroy it [the Senado], and after it this establishment, to accomplish the fate, as tradition says, that Macau itself may come to an end.”*⁸⁴

Leaving aside the exemption of payments to other Portuguese dependences and the local animosity against the military force, surely seen as an instrument at the service of metropolitan policy, namely that concerning Macau's autonomy from China,⁸⁵ let us center on the demand to employ local people. From now onwards, a new element against ethnic discrimination was added to Macau's autonomic pretensions, e.g., the traditional self-government's claim, opposing the *Senado* and the agents and mechanisms of the Portuguese Crown's centralistic measures. In those equalitarian times, it was naturally not an exclusive desire felt by Macau where that pretension also brought to surface a residual feeling of ethnic affirmation, latent in local society.

That discrimination survived some opposite measures, such as Pombal's abolishment of those distinctions on 2 April 1761 and Prince Regent D. João's

82 See the Royal orders sent from Rio de Janeiro, 13 May 1810 published in *AM*, 3.^a S., Macau, Vol. XI, Number 5, May 1969, pp. 262-263. For those appointed to serve on the new military force, see, p. 286.

83 “Representação a S. Ex.^a, acerca da R.^l Caixa desta Cid.^e e suas Despezas Ordinar.^{as} e Extraordinar.^{as}”, in *AM*, 3.^a S., Vol. XIX, Number 1, January 1973, pp. 2-6.

84 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

85 As observed by the *Batalhão's* former commandant, appointed in 1824, José de Aquino Guimarães de Freitas in his *Memoria Sobre Macau*, Coimbra, 1828, pp. 47-49. Freitas was another *Brazilian* and Liberal.

recall⁸⁶ in 1810 against the discrimination among the Macau-born Portuguese and the Europeans regarding those to be appointed to the *Senado* and other public posts. Four years later, in 1814, he would peremptorily state that those who had distinguished themselves in the *pirates'* fights should be preferred for the municipal posts and “benefit from a certain preference in the distribution of the Senado’s annual loans to support maritime trade [...]”.^{*87} Financially rewarding his *loyal vassals* – identified in a list of names – the King also distinguished⁸⁸ the *Senado* with the honorific title of *Senhoria* [Lordship] in 1818, being its loyalty [*Leal*] already recognized since 13 May 1810,⁸⁹ after the same victory over the pirates.

José Baptista de Miranda e Lima (1782-1848)⁹⁰ was a well educated man, due to the efforts of some ecclesiastics and of his own father, the Latin Crown Teacher, José dos Santos Baptista e Lima (1750-1816), to whom he succeeded in 1804, teaching Latin and Portuguese Grammar at St. Joseph’s College. Coming from Portugal to serve the above-mentioned post, José dos Santos reached Macau in 1775, where he married a local woman. Born in Macau, José Baptista de Miranda e Lima was the first generation of a new Macanese family, also connected with the maritime trade, and became an important contributor to Macau’s ethnic and autonomic construction.

He wrote a moral and civil manual for use by the young Macanese males, which is enough to understand the importance Miranda e Lima gave to education and pedagogy in promoting moral, social, religious and civic values, as well as self-confidence. In this context, *Maximas Moraes e Civis Offerecidas Aos Jovens Macaences* [Moral and Civil Maxims Offered to the Macanese Youth] – that circulated anonymously as a manuscript⁹¹ dated

86 Rio de Janeiro, 20 May 1810. See, “Sobre os Naturaes de Macáo”, in *AM*, 3.^a S., Macau, Vol. XI, Number 5, May 1969, p. 266.

87 Rio de Janeiro, 20 July 1814. See “Carta Regia mandando que fosse’ preferidos alguns Naturaes de Macau, asi’ para os cargos da Governança, como na ditribuição dos dinhr.^{os} a Risco &”, in *AM*, 3.^a S., Macau, Vol. XXIV, Number 4, October 1975, p. 197-198. Other copy is found in Vol. XI, Number 6, June 1969, p. 334.

88 Rio de Janeiro, 6 February 1818. See, “Alvará do Tratamento de Senhoria ao Illmo Leal Senado de Macáo”, *Ibid.*, pp. 214-215.

89 See “Sobre o novo Titulo do Leal Senado”, in *AM*, 3.^a S., Macau, Vol. XI, Number 5, May 1969, p. 285.

90 The reference work on this author is still Manuel Teixeira’s biography in *Galeria dos Macaenses Ilustres do Século Dezanove*, Macau, 1962, pp. 18-97. Some reflections on his pedagogical, philosophical and cultural background are presented by António Aresta, *José Miranda e Lima. Professor Régio e Moralista*, Macau, 1997, pp. 33-49. This is a book to be read with caution for its contents rather than the useful anthology of works by Miranda e Lima - completing that already published by Manuel Teixeira - and including the transcript of some relevant political sources related to the Macau’s first *Constitutional Government*.

91 First published by Manuel Teixeira, *Galeria...*, pp. 79-97.

1832 – was not only adequate to Miranda e Lima's mentioned proposal but surely motivated by the reputation the group had among the metropolitan Portuguese. The issue is fully documented since an early period either in official correspondence, historiography or memorialist literature, including that produced by foreigners visiting the enclave.⁹² From the 1840's onwards that criticism increased and a new argument was added to the Macanese *denationalization*, e.g. their *Anglicization*,⁹³ due to the group's massive emigration to Hong Kong and other cities in the Far East to serve as middlemen in Western companies. This option had obvious reflexes on the educational strategies of Macau's youth towards an "education for the diaspora", to use a successful expression coined by Rui Simões.⁹⁴ It was the case of our already known Montalto de Jesus and of Filipe Miguel de Lima (1823-1901),⁹⁵ a nephew of José Baptista de Miranda e Lima, who satirized well that situation in 1895. If Miranda e Lima's father, while reporting to Portugal his teaching difficulties, observed that

"the Portuguese language was totally ignored by Macau nationals, who spoke a mixed idiom from corrupt Portuguese and Chinese, in such a way that he often needed an interpreter to understand his disciples,"*⁹⁶

it is really interesting to note that his son was precisely one of the first Macau authors to write in that dialect, the *patoá* [*patois*], an attitude that seems to

92 For a compilation of non-Portuguese Macau visitors' accounts, published in the original language with a Portuguese translation see Cecília Jorge and Rogério Beltrão Coelho (eds.), *Viagem por Macau. Comentários, descrições e relatos de autores estrangeiros (Sécs. XVIII a XIX)*, 2 vols., Macau, 1997-1999. A violent reaction, more national than ethnic, to the afore-mentioned foreign criticism on the Macanese is found in José Pedro Braga, *The Portuguese in Hong Kong and China. Their Beginning, Settlement and Progress during One Hundred Years*, Macau, 1945, pp. 68-78.

93 See, for instance, Álvaro Cardoso de Mello Machado's 1913 description, *Coisas de Macau*, Macau, facsimile ed., 1999 [1997], pp. 67-68 (1913).

94 "Uma Educação para a Diáspora: Os discursos sobre a instrução em Macau em finais do Séc. XIX", *Administração. Revista de Administração Pública de Macau*, Macau, Vol. 6, Number 22, December 1993, pp. 821-829. See also, "Education and Changes in Macao's Portuguese Community", *RC*, Macau, 3rd S., International Edition, Number 3, July 2002, pp. 164-175 (<http://www.icm.gov.mo/RC/TextPE.asp?No=3&ID=263>) visited in 29/07/08.

95 And surely not José Baptista de Miranda e Lima, who died in 1848, when the colony of Hong Kong has only around seven years old, as claimed by João Reis, *Trovas Macaenses*, Macau, 1992, pp. 63-68. He also mistakes the source. In fact, this very interesting "Diálogo entre Augusta de 15 Anos de Idade e seu Primo João Fernandes de 18 Anos" [Dialogue Between Augusta, aged 15, and Her Cousin João Fernandes, aged 18], was reprinted from the original published in Hong Kong in 1895, possibly in the *Novo Almanach Luiz de Camões...*, by Danilo Barreiros, "Dialecto Português de Macau", *Renascimento*, Macau, Vol. III, Number 1, January 1944, pp. 88-92 and not in *TSYK*.

96 *Apud* Manuel Teixeira, *Galeria...*, p. 22.

have been followed by that family, regarding at least Filipe Miguel de Lima's works. José Baptista de Miranda e Lima specially used the *patoá* for social and political satirical purposes in works such as "Ajuste de casamento de Nhi Pancha cô Nhum Vicente" [Agreement of Marriage of Miss Pancha to Mr. Vicente],⁹⁷ on Macau's life, and "Diálogo entre 2 Pacatos Na Rua Direita Na Noite de 13 de Maio de 1824" [Dialogue Between Two Peaceful Citizens at *Rua Direita* [street] during the night of 13 May 1824],⁹⁸ dealing with the post-revolutionary political situation in Macau. As shown in the

"Oração de Acção de Graças Recitada na Igreja Cathedral de Macau [...] No Dia 13 de Maio Por Ocasião da Pompoza, e Festiva Solenidade, em que o Leal Senado de Macao Rendeu Graças a Deos Omnipotente pela Prodigiosa Maneira, com que sua Magestade Fidelissima o Mui Alto e Poderoso Rei D. João VI Havia Reasumido o Pleno Exercicio dos seus Reais e Inauferíveis Direitos Magestáticos,"⁹⁹

that was the occasion for local commemoration of the *restoration* of (1816-1826) D. João VI (1767-1826)¹⁰⁰ and the end of the first Constitutional period, occurred in Portugal in June 1823.

Without mentioning Lima's controversial politic attitudes and affiliations, and leaving aside other literary works, classic, encomiastic and intimate, as well as his historiographical projects, he was the introducer of a Macanese attitude of identity construction and defence and, accordingly, made use of the dialect known among the group. Not discussing here other potential strategic reasons for writing those criticisms in *patoá*, it then achieved both a status as a language of transgression and a role on the construction of the group's identity. Its use created a *free* communication space in the presumption that it would either only be understood by the Macanese or with

97 The *TSYK*, Série I, Vols. I-II, pp. 57-66 reproduces a copy sent from Macau in 1886.

98 The dialogue was found with two more texts in a manuscript booklet, 19 pages, according to the preeminent ethno-philologist José Leite de Vasconcelos (1858-1941) who sent it for publication in the *TSYK*, Série I, Vols. I-II, pp. 778-780. "Dialogo entre duas Mulheres antes de 10 de Mayo de 1824 em que sahio o Bando" [Dialogue Between Two Women Prior to May 10, 1824, when the Public Announcement was Published] and "Conversas antes (sic) as mesmas" [Talks Before the Same (Women)] were the other texts presumably also authored by Lima and dealing with the same question, unfortunately neither reprinted in the *TSYK* or in any other anthology.

99 Macau, 1824.

100 Refer to the discussion against the generalized idea of D. João VI's restoration as an absolute monarch at that time, presented by Isabel Nobre Vargues and Luís Reis Torgal, "Da Revolução à Contra-Revolução: Vintismo, cartismo, absolutismo. O exílio politico", in José Mattoso (dir.), *História de Portugal*, 8 Vols., Vol. V - *O Liberalismo*, coordinated by Luís Reis Torgal and João Roque, Lisbon, [1993], pp. 68-72.

difficulty followed by the Portuguese metropolitans, who might always, even if it was not the case, pretend that they really did not understand it.

In the following decades one witnessed the progressive development of the Portuguese public educational system as well as of politico-administrative, associative¹⁰¹ and cultural institutions – not forgetting the growing influence of the press – all leading to the affirmation of the Portuguese language and to the subalternation/depreciation of the *patoá*.

Kept more or less alive in the domestic sphere, the recourse to this dialect (or to its recreation) assumes more dynamism in those moments the group fears for its own survival or feels being subalternate. So, it has been often used to exercise the community's criticism and for identity preservation through numerous *pasquins* [lampoons], as observed by the ethnolinguist Isabel Tomás.¹⁰² Despite having left Macau in the childhood and his initial ethnographical-romantic motivations,¹⁰³ it was the case of João Feliciano Marques Pereira that, from Lisbon, transformed his *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo* in the “propagandistic organ of his views for the external Portuguese policy towards the Chinese empire and the so called 'Macau question'”*, as observed by Jorge M. dos Santos Alves.¹⁰⁴ And it has been surely that of the more recent José dos Santos Ferreira (1919-1993) (*Adé*).¹⁰⁵ It would to be followed, after his dead, in the eve of Macau's transition to China by the drama group *Docí Papiaçám di Macau* and especially by its director Miguel de Senna Fernandes (b. 1961),¹⁰⁶ the son of the Macanese contemporary writer Henrique de Senna Fernandes (b. 1923) who always wrote in Portuguese.

Presently, one decade after Macau's hand over, at the end of the first Chief Executive's last mandate, fearing some incertitude on Macau's political future, the Macanese community is promoting recognition of the *patoá* as World Intangible Cultural Heritage¹⁰⁷ to commemorate the 10th anniversary

101 See, Rui Simões, “A Língua Portuguesa na Dinâmica Associativa da Comunidade Macaense”, in *Encontro Português - Língua de Cultura. Actas*, Macau, 1995, pp. 218-228.

102 Isabel Tomás, “Makista Creole,” *RC*, 1st S., Macau, Number 5, April-June 1988, pp. 33-46.

103 See, *TSYK*, Macau, 1984, 1995, Vol. I, Série I, Vols. I-II, pp. 7-18.

104 See his “Introduction” to the above-quoted facsimile edition of the magazine, Vol. I, p. II, also useful for bio-bibliographical details on Marques Pereira.

105 For his biography, see mine, “Ferreira, José Inocêncio dos Santos (Adé)”, in *Dicionário de História de Macau (Contributos)/The History of Macao Dictionary (Sample)*, coord. by António Baptista, Macau, 2000, pp. 125-127.

106 He co-authored with Alan Norman Baxter, *Maquista Chapado, vocabulary and expressions in Macao's Portuguese Creole*, translated by Marie Imelda MacLeod, Macau, 2004, giving continuity to a work on the *patoá*' vocabularies that had stopped with Graciete Batalha (1925-1992)'s death.

107 An agreement was signed in 2007 by the centenary (1871) Association for the Promotion of the Macanese Education [Associação Promotora da Educação dos Macaenses, APIM] and

of the Macao Special Administrative Region, MSAR. Facing its double ethnic identification, the group is assuming new projects¹⁰⁸ to preserve its culture and to build its symbolic identity.¹⁰⁹ It allows us to support Isabel Tomás' assumption of 1988 in favour of a theory of decreolization of the *patoá* – apparently the *modern patoá* mentioned by Miguel de Senna Fernandes¹¹⁰ – rather than of its extinction, supported by the “use of creole for selective communicative functions”¹¹¹ that she was able to observe during her field research.

5. The *independence* of Macau

As regards Macau's insertion in the Portuguese political and administrative structure, the strategy formulated by the city in the first two Liberal periods was a recurrent battle to escape from Goa's dependence then more sustainable by the existence of a national parliamentary power [*Cortes*], where the establishment was directly represented¹¹² together with Timor.¹¹³

the University of Macau to prepare the dossier to be submitted in 2009. Workshops to teach and improve the use of the Creole, especially among the community members were promoted in Macau in mid 2008 by the Associação dos Macaenses, also presided by the dynamic Miguel de Senna Fernandes. That appeal is finding some echo in the Macanese communities of the Diaspora.

108 Namely the renovation of the kindergarten D. José da Costa Nunes to install a Museum of the Macanese communities; the office of the APIM and that of the Associação da Gastronomia Macaense (2007). See, Fernando Sales Lopes, “Encontro de sabores e memórias”, *Macau*, 4.^a S., Number 6, March 2007, pp. 28-37 (<http://www.revistamacau.com/rm.asp?id=006051>) visited in 19/07/08, for the relevance of Macau's gastronomy in the group symbolic identity, summing up his M.A. dissertation (Macau, Universidade Aberta Internacional da Ásia, 2000).

109 See Isabel Tomás, “O Papel do Crioulo Macaense na Construção de uma Etnicidade Simbólica”, *RC*, 2.^a S., Macau, Number 37, October/December 1998, pp. 163-173 and Wong Chon, “Sons of Macau: Cultural identity in Macanese literature as viewed through patois dramas”, in Rufino Ramos, José Rocha Dinis, Rex Wilson and D. Y. Yuan (eds.), *Macau and Its Neighbors Toward the 21st Century. Proceedings of the International Symposium organized by the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities at the University of Macau, 2-3 June 1997*, Macau, 1998, pp. 333-341. Cf. Miguel de Senna Fernandes, “Nôs-Sa Cultura-I” and “A Malfadada Língua Maquista”, *Jornal Tribuna de Macau*, 20/06/08, p. 12 e 18/07/08, p. 13, respectively.

110 See, Harald Bruning, “Patua. À procura do reconhecimento internacional”, in *Macau*, 4.^a S., Number 6, March 2007, especially pp. 22-25 (<http://www.revistamacau.com/rm.asp?id=006031>) visited in 26/07/08.

111 “Makista Creole”, p. 35.

112 Macau's representation in the Portuguese national Parliament is another topic that deserves to be studied.

113 To obtain an independent Deputy would be other Macau's claim the city presented to the Constitutional *Cortes* through the former Governor Andrea. See *infra*. Cf. Macau, 17 April 1837, “Pedindo a S. M. q' esta Cid.^e p.^r si, e independete de Timor desse 1 Deputado p.^a as Cortes Gerais &”, published in *O Senado. Fontes Documentais para a História do Leal Senado de Macau*, António Aresta and Celina Veiga de Oliveira (eds.), Macau, 1998, pp. 372-373.

It is clearly stated in the protest¹¹⁴ of the Rector¹¹⁵ of St. Joseph College's, Fr. Joaquim José Leite (1762-1853), CM, on 21 October 1823, when denying the legitimacy of the counter-revolutionary municipal government, established in Macau by the armed force sent by Goa the previous 23 September. An identical opinion was *freely* expressed on the same occasion by his Lazarist confrere, Fr. Francisco da Silva Pinto e Maia (1785-1850), the founder of the Portuguese Mission in Singapore to where he escaped in 1825. Useless is to say that both ended in prison.

The desired independence from Goa appeared on 20 September 1844¹¹⁶ with the creation of the Province of Macau, Solor and Timor, however in the eve of a colonial assumption over Macau that arose during Governor Ferreira do Amaral's mandate, regarding that more political and diplomatic duties were committed to the Governor's office, limiting the *Senado's* powers. In fact, he applied the fatal coup in the senatorial political and diplomatic hegemony (and in the Chinese influence in Macau's government) with the definitive submission, proclaimed on 27 March and approved by Lisbon on 20 August 1847, of the *Procurador* [municipal attorney],¹¹⁷ to the government's sphere, an aim already present in Martinho de Melo e Castro's regulations.¹¹⁸

Going a little bit further, we find that in the middle of the 19th century, during the period of the Liberal Restoration, the *independence* concept was associated to that idea of self-government in historiographical texts. That

114 See, Manuel Teixeira, *Miguel de Arriaga*, pp. 107-116.

115 Fr. Leite served the post, not continuously, for the long period that lasted from 1804 until his death in 1853. Interruption seems to have occurred in 1811, 1822, 1823-1824 and 1828, according to Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, afterwards *MEASD*, 16 Vols., Vol. III - *As Ordens e as Congregações Religiosas em Macau*, Macau, 1956-1961, pp. 711-717. See also, Fr. Leite's presumable undated account on the political changes after the arrival of the *Salamandra*, "Exposição verídica dos principaes factos acontecidos em Macáo desde o dia 23 de Setembro de (1822 [e.g., 1823]), em que desembarcou a tropa da Fragata Salamandra, athe o fim do mencionado mez, e de algumas anedoctas havidas nesse tempo", a document found by Benjamim Videira Pires (1916-1999), S.J. in the Ecclesiastical Archives and published in *Religião e Pátria*, Macau, Year and Vol. XLVIII, Number 20, 27/05/1962, pp. 314-316. M.Teixeira, *Miguel de Arriaga*, pp. 118-126 reprinted a more complete and annotated version of the same account.

116 A transcript of the Decree is found in António Manuel Hespanha, *Panorama...*, pp. 142-143.

117 The *Procurador* was the *Senado's* member in charge of the Chinese matters and Macau's official accredited by the Chinese to deal with their authorities himself accorded the grade of a junior mandarin. He was the vehicle for the relationship between Macau's Portuguese institutions and China until the middle of the 19th century.

118 For the relevance of that attitude towards the Portuguese centralistic purposes and Macau's *autonomization* from China, see A. V. de Saldanha, "Um Estabelecimento...", p. 192 *et seq.*

attitude is explicit in Captain Joze Manoel de Carvalho e Souza (1807-1860)'s incomplete *Historia de Macao*, published in 1845:¹¹⁹

“Macao – today being one of the most florescent Overseas Portuguese Possessions, where some Portuguese established, having themselves, in consideration to their love to Motherland and to their King, requested to be submitted under the King’s dominium, when they could have created an independent nation, this is to be remembered by the Nation’s memory and desires a adequate Legislation to its peculiarity” *

Souza was a Goa-born Infantry man who came to Macau to serve in the *Batalhão do Príncipe Regente* in 1838. He reached the city in the middle of an inflamed discussion that had re-started in 1837 opposing the *Senado*, the Governor and the *Ouvidor*.¹²⁰ It related to the separation of powers proclaimed by the Constitution of 1822 (re-established in 1836-1838), e.g. the definition of the limits of the different legislative, judicial and executive instances, including those reducing the *Senado*'s sphere of intervention, implemented by the newly appointed Liberal Governor, Adrião A. da Silveira Pinto, a discussion where men like Miranda e Lima got involved.¹²¹

Accordingly, a party defended that the city’s exceptional status – legitimated by History and by its “voluntary and always loyal” submission to the Portuguese Crown –, deserve special legislation and should result in Macanese’s pride, an opinion found in Souza’s work.¹²² It was, in fact, dedicated to the Macanese, bearing on its cover a quotation of the author’s possibly acquainted Miranda e Lima exhorting his countrymen to labour and awareness.¹²³ Souza’s intents aimed in turn, to promote the group’s¹²⁴ unity making

119 *Recopilada de Authores Nacionais, e Estrangeiros, com acrescentamento de varias noticias collegidas de Documentos Officiaes, e manuscriptos antigos. Prespectivas, e Plantas de todos os seus Edifícios publicos. Varias Pinturas curiosas sobre o costume Chinez, Por [...], Capitão d’Infantaria do Batalhão Príncipe Regente*, Macau, 1845, rep. in *BILC*, Macau, Vol. VII, Number 4, Winter 1973, pp. 327-393. Quotation refers to p. 336.

120 See the protest of 31 May 1837; the assents of the *Senado*'s subsequent meetings and others documents on the issue, found in “Copia do Concelho Geral sobre huma Representação de 84 Cidadãos activos ao Illmo Govd.^{or} desta Cidade”, in *AM*, 3.^a S., Macau, Vol. V, Number 2, February 1966, pp. 63-80. Refer to the also helpful press and, among others, to *O Macaísta Imparcial, e Registro Mercantil*, Macau, Number 107, 12/07/1837.

121 *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

122 *Historia de Macao...*, p. 336.

123 “Ora sus! Acordai homens occiosos;/ Aprendeí a manter-vos trabalhando;/ Suor do rosto custe o vosso pão;/ Não sabeis que sentença teve Adão?” *Ibid.*, p. [327].

124 *Historia de Macao...*, pp. 335-338, 357, 370-372 and 386-387.

use of Macau's historical legacy. A vague suggestion of Macanese blood¹²⁵ is invoked to grant him authority to teach them their own history. That purpose seems to have failed as the work, which Souza planned to publish monthly by public subscription, did not go beyond the third fascicule due to lack of reception.¹²⁶

Not being a *morador*, traces of Souza's involvement in local political debate are hardly found, an absence that might be explained by his commitment to military and administrative duties. However, he was somehow involved in local politics regarding the fact of had served as Secretary¹²⁷ to Governor (r. 1843-1846) Jozé Gregório Pegado (?-1846), and, for a short period in 1844,¹²⁸ to the ex-Governor Adrião Acácio da Silveira Pinto's Commission.¹²⁹ Pinto initially appointed in 1843 as a *Senado's* envoy to negotiate with China over some political-economic claims on Macau later became a Portuguese Crown Commissioner able to generate a strong local opposition, if not competition, from the *Senado* and from his successor, Jozé Gregório Pegado, resulting in the almost complete failure of his mission.

Despite the support Souza gave to the Macanese discourse, what we find in his *Historia* is an apology of Macau's autonomization from China and of its transformation into a real commercial entrepôt.¹³⁰ Even with the use of arms – an indispensable instrument in support of policy¹³¹ – if it is required to do so. That position was starting to gather more and more adepts and would determine the tone of metropolitan policy towards Macau in the following years.

It is not surprising to hear such an opinion from a man who was a career soldier that had closely experienced one of the most aggressive moments of Sino-Western relations¹³² and had been involved in Silveira Pinto's failed mission. China's context after the first Opium War (1839-1842), the British

125 *Ibid.*, p. 338 and 370.

126 *Ibid.*, especially pp. 370-372 and 357.

127 At least from November 1843 to October 1844, according to the documents published in *CFD*, I, pp. 102, 104-106, 114-115, 117, 125, 128, 149, 151, 153, 155 and 204. Souza might have kept the post until the end of Pegado's mandate in 1846, being then appointed Commander of the Barra Fortress, a position he occupied until c. 1848 when he returned to India. Carvalho e Souza, who spent the rest of his life there serving other military posts and committed to diplomatic missions, performed a quite exemplar career that got public recognition. Cf. *GEPB*, Vol. XXIX, n. d., p. 808.

128 From 7 June presumably until 30 September 1844. See, *CFD*, I, pp. 220, 222 and 327-328.

129 See, A. V. Saldanha, "Um Estabelecimento...", especially pp. 51-168 and 364-384 for related sources, as well as *CFD*, I and Manuel Teixeira, *Os Militares...*, pp. 397-400.

130 *Historia de Macao...*, pp. 386-387.

131 *Ibid.*, p. 338 and 387.

132 See Alfredo Gomes Dias, *Macau e a I Guerra do Ópio*, Macau, 1993.

occupation of Hong Kong (1841) and the signing of the Nanjing Treaty in 1842 seemed favourable to Portuguese demands of a similar treatment of parity when dealing with the Empire as that achieved by the British. There we found the option for a rupture with the traditional and secular policy of Sino-Portuguese relations followed by some political and administrative measures and the beginnings of an international discussion on the legitimacy of the Portuguese rights over Macau. It was to be implemented during Amaral's consulate, starting exactly one year after the publication of the first fascicule of Souza's *Historia* in 1845. Resorting to History as part of that new Portuguese strategy to deal with the question of Macau would, precisely in that same year of 1845, produce the most relevant historical text¹³³ in support of that new formula in Sino-Portuguese relations. I refer to The Second Viscount of Santarém, Manuel Francisco de Barros e Sousa de Mesquita de Macedo Leitão e Carvalhosa (1791-1856) and his *Memória sobre o Estabelecimento dos Portugueses em Macau* [Memory on the Establishment of the Portuguese in Macau]. Setting aside the former thesis either of conquest or of donation it defends – as emphasised in a memorial sent by the *Senado* to the Governor of India in December 1837¹³⁴ – that of the cession, e.g. “the continuous occupation and perpetual government”. That would be recognized by China in the Treaty of 1887 and would remain the historical argument for the Portuguese presence in Macau until our own times. Making use of historical evidence, the Viscount also argued that Macau was considered by the Chinese as an independent place and consequently not included in the imperial territorial domains.¹³⁵

All of that considerations mentioned above led Portuguese politicians to decide on the need of Macau's regeneration: “Macau é um estabelecimento a refundir e criar de novo inteiramente” [Macau is an establishment that deserves to be *recast* and newly created], – as Governor Ferreira do Amaral was instructed in 1846 by the Portuguese Ministry of Navy and Overseas (r. 1842-1846), Joaquim José Falcão (1796-1863), when he was invested in the post.¹³⁶

Going back to Carvalho e Souza's ambiguous use of the concept of *independence*, it does not exclude, in my opinion, its classic formulation, at least as an ideological postulation in an era when such a solution was increasingly

133 Only published in Lisbon in 1879 by Júlio Firmino Júdice Biker (1814-1899). See A. V. de Saldanha, *A “Memória...”,* pp. 38-41, for the details.

134 *Ibidem*, p. 29 n. 47 and pp. 32-33.

135 “§ IV. FUNDAMENTOS PELOS QUAES PARECE EVIDENCIAR-SE QUE A CIDADE DE MACAU É CONSIDERADA PELOS CHINEZES COMO INDEPENDENTE E FÓRA DOS DOMÍNIOS TERRITORIAES DO IMPERIO”, *ibidem*, pp. 91-100.

136 See A. V. Saldanha, “Um Estabelecimento...”, pp. 52 and 165.

successful both in the American and the European political scenarios, not forgetting the case of the formerly Portuguese Brazil in 1822. Not as a political program to be followed by Macau *nation* but as a retroactive argument to be used by it towards its desired autonomous status, to be achieved inside the Portuguese system. While appealing, accordingly with the Liberal ideals, for unity in turn of a Portuguese national project able to regenerate Macau, Souza defended the establishment's political emancipation from China and its economic self-sufficiency as the requirements it needed to achieve a really independent status, while reviving its origins as a new "mercantile republic".

If during the *Ancien Régime*, in times of particularity, the argument of Macau's voluntary submission to the Portuguese Crown was compatible with the self-government praxis inside the municipal regime, under the constitutional system, in times of national egalitarianism and centralization, the recognition of that voluntary submission only could led to an independent, almost federative, status or that *Democracy* referred by D. Manuel da Câmara in 1823.

That is something that Macau's *moradores*, even those who followed the Liberal ideal, took some time to understand, having fought until very lately in the 19th century to restore the "old privileges" according to the municipal system prior to the centralistic reforms. Suffice it to say that taking advantage of the initial political confusion of the Liberal Restoration, they refused to follow Mouzinho da Silveira (1780-1849)'s structural administrative reform,¹³⁷ reducing the *Senado* powers under the political direction of the Governor, and, once again, reinstalled the situation prior to the famous measures of 1783-1785. That resulted in the *Senado*'s dissolution on 22 February 1835¹³⁸ by Governor (r. 1833-1837) Bernardo José de Sousa Soares Andrea

137 Decree of 16 May 1832 organizing the municipalities according to principles of the Constitutional Chart of 1826, complemented in 9 January 1834 with the *Nova Reforma Administrativa Colonial* [New Colonial Administrative Reform]. Cf. António Pedro Manique, *Mouzinho da Silveira. Liberalismo e Administração Pública*, Lisbon, 1989.

138 See Andrea's manifest, *Manifesto (dos motivos que teve para dissolver a camara em 22 de Fevereiro de 1835)*, Macau, [1835] including the public announcement he made in the same day with the regulations of 1832 to be observed by the new *Camara*; "Macao" and other texts on the city's adhesion to the Constitutional Chart and on that election, *Chronica de Macao*, Macau, Number 11, 09/03/1835, pp. 49-52. Details on that and other related manuscript sources are found with some useful bio-biographical data in the literary section of the *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo. Semanario Macaense d'interesses publicos locais, litterario e noticioso*, Macau, 2nd Year, Number 25, 23/03/1865, pp. 329-330 (*TSYK*, Macau, 1995, Vol. III, facsimile ed., 1863-1866).. The article was written by António Feliciano Marques Pereira (1839-1881), the father of the already mentioned João Feliciano Marques Pereira, who gave continuity to his father work and adopted the same title of the newspaper to which his father had so much contributed for his own publication. For more on both, see Jorge Manuel dos Santos Alves's introductions to Vols. I and III of the above-quoted 1995's facsimile edition of the newspaper and of the magazine.

(1795-1844);¹³⁹ in the election of a new *camara* with José Baptista de Miranda e Lima as one of its members, and in its progressive, however always difficult, submission to the new *status quo*.¹⁴⁰

On the other hand, Macau's *autonomization* from China and its integration into the Portuguese nation, achieved by Amaral, paradoxically brought with it a new possible solution to Macau: its alienation. In fact, a difficult and menaced Portuguese colonial situation led to the creation of a party defending the abandonment of Macau in the years to go vis-à-vis the formulation of several proposals to obtain it by Western powers including Great Britain, Spain, France and even the USA, something that helped to underline its independent and autonomous status.

Conclusion

To secure Macau's quite exceptional but ambiguous status in China had been the main concern of Macau's municipality and the support for its persistent struggle towards self-government. A main duty always felt, respected and kept in the city's memory that resulted in the progressive construction of its autonomy.

In the first two Liberal periods, local political demands were the restoration of the old privileges, self-government, independence from Goa and the abolition of the centralistic political and administrative measures of 1783-1785 and 1834-1844, respectively. During the first Republic, the aim was focused on an autonomic solution – economical rather than political – for the city, it being more or less explicitly accepted, that early sooner or later Macau's separation from Portugal's direct rule was inevitable. This feeling subsisted as a kind of spectrum in the Macanese collective memory until the quite recent resolution of the question in 1987 with the signature of the Joint Declaration between Portugal and China, which led to Macau's transferal to the PRC in 1999.

In turn, Macau's cession was supported by an exceptional logic inside the frame of the external relations of the Chinese empire that persisted even in moments of international pressure when, through diplomacy, Portugal

139 However, the new *Senado* seemed to be in more agreement with the Liberal policy regarding that it either appointed Andrea as Macau's representative to the Portuguese *Cortes* at the end of his mandate, in early 1837; distinguished him with several honors or, and specially, registered his image as an incorruptible Governor; despite he had suffered some local opposition from a different party. Cf. *supra* and Artur Levy Gomes, *Esboço da História de Macau: 1511 a 1849*, Macau, 1957, pp. 335-336.

140 See, António Manuel Hespanha, *Panorama...*, pp. 54 *et seq.*

was determined to achieve a treaty legitimating its aspirations over the territory. Even then, the Chinese answer made use of the old formula in a new internationalized language. In fact, the 1887 Sino-Portuguese Treaty, whilst admitting Macau's cession to the Portuguese, kept part of its sovereignty, specifically stating a clause forbidding Macau's alienation and postponing the definition of its limits, a question that remained unsolved until our days – even after its return to China –, aspects deeply explored in works of António Vasconcelos de Saldanha.

The recognition of Macau's special status, as regards for its history, is present in the 1987 Joint Agreement and in the MSAR political definition. The proclamation of the Region's autonomy, the principle of self-government by the Macau people and the right of citizenship for all its residents with no-ethnic or group discrimination, is the recognition of the city's difference and the preservation of its historical cosmopolitanism in an extraordinary coincidence to a solution, formulated one hundred years before to solve the same question. Trying to take advantage of the tremendous internal and colonial crisis that Portugal was facing, that led to the proposal of the alienation of Macau for several times in the Portuguese Parliament, China proposed to buy Macau, or, more properly, to reimburse Portugal from its investment there.¹⁴¹ The *Emily's Project*, attempted in 1868 and 1891, was undoubtedly a pragmatic solution to solve the old differendum concerning the Territory's sovereignty. Prince Gong (1833-1898)'s words in 1868 state clearly China's intentions towards the city:

“[...] we will recover Macau, sending officials there to administrate it under the condition that, under the payment of an agreed amount, the fortress, the public services, as well as the defensive apparatus, the bridges and the roads will return to China. Portugal will take back home its public services and the military force. The Portuguese living in the city until then could remain as its residents.”*¹⁴²

That is the context that generated Montalto's solution towards a kind of *self-determination* of Macau,¹⁴³ as it would be called today. Based on the old

141 See once more A. V. Saldanha, “Aproximar Portugal e a China num Entendimento Amistoso”. As ofensivas diplomáticas chinesas para a compra de Macau - Contributo para o estudo das missões do Zongli Yamen ao Ocidente (1868-1891)”, in A. V. Saldanha and Jorge M. dos Santos Alves, eds., *Estudos de História...*, especially pp. 324-392 as well as “Um Estabelecimento...”, pp. 298-300 and 324-330.

142 Translated from A. V. Saldanha, “Aproximar Portugal...”, pp. 347-348.

143 For the Chinese and Portuguese consensus against that solution see A. V. Saldanha, “Alguns Aspectos da ‘Questão de Macau’ e o seu Reflexo nas Relações Luso-Chinesas no Âmbito da Organização das Nações Unidas”, in *Estudos ...*, namely p. 702.

idea of Macau's autonomy, his proposal was formulated on the presumption of Portuguese incapacity to deal with its possessions. In fact, the country was failing to defend its overseas interests among the Western powers¹⁴⁴ for almost a century and it took almost fifty years¹⁴⁵ to obtain an *adequate* treaty with China to solve the Macau question. On the other hand, Montalto was writing after the struggle of the Portuguese Republic, that he had so welcomed, as well as after having experienced all the violence, fears and instability of World War I, in an era when the first steps of the affirmation of anti-colonist nationalisms in Asia could be observed.

To finalize, it is interesting to mention that Montalto's solution, although kept in silence for over almost eight decades, remained in Macau's collective memory in such a way that, even when the establishment was ready to close its more than four hundred and fifty years under Portuguese administration, this idea has been recovered by a Macau's Chinese preeminent figure, who proposed the city's transfer to the United Nations' administration.

In short, Macau's "foundation legend" and the remembrance of its golden age and its pioneer, unique and privileged status in China prior to the Treaty System, will never disappear from Macau's collective memory, identity discourse and even historiographical production.

* Author's translation.

144 Montalto himself assisted in 1922 the Portuguese Envoy to the Washington Conference, where the idea of the League of Nation's mediation to defend the Portuguese claims over Macau was recovered. In fact, an identical proposal was expressed in 1909 though then referring to Hague Tribunal. See Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Macao...*, pp. 444-445; A. V. de Saldanha, "As Conferências Inter-Governamentais de 1909 para a Delimitação de Macau e o seu Significado nas Relações Luso-Chinesas" and "A 'Questão de Macau' na Conferência de Washington", in *Estudos...*, pp. 606-609 and 621, 634-645, respectively.

145 See A. V. de Saldanha, *O Tratado Impossível. Um exercício de diplomacia luso-chinesa num contexto internacional em mudança, 1842-1887*, Lisbon, 2006.