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The Macanese in British Hong Kong, 1841-1941

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**'Empire' Drifters:
The Macanese in British Hong Kong, 1841-1941**

Catherine S. Chan

**A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the
requirements for award of the degree of PhD in History in the Faculty of Arts,
July 2019**

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Abstract

This thesis adopts the approach of 'collective biography' and follows the journey of Luso-Asian migrants, also known as Macanese, from Portuguese Macau to British Hong Kong in exploring a century of Macanese activity in colonial Hong Kong. It focuses on the transformations of the Macanese community and the diverse and creative ways middle-class Macanese individuals strove to recreate their social positions by merging aspects of Macau, Hong Kong, as well as selective 'Portuguese' and 'British' cultural markers. Through a series of individual Macanese narratives, this thesis reveals colonial Hong Kong as a transnational world of possibilities, manipulations, decisions and freedoms. The three themes that thread through this thesis, migration from one 'empire' to another, 'race' as a contested narrative and the colony as a 'transnational' arena aim to reveal the normative realities of colonial life as an experience beyond colonialism and reconsiders the use and manipulations of 'race,' 'class' and 'identity' as individual and communal responses to life challenges.

Chapter one examines connections between Macau and Hong Kong and considers the role of 'class' in establishing the social positions of the Macanese. Chapter two focuses on the experiences of Macanese individuals in the workplace and highlights the limitations of using 'race' to understand the restricted career advancement of Macanese men. The third chapter analyses associational life in Hong Kong, particularly emphasising how middle-class Macanese established themselves as respectable 'bourgeois' men in the setting of the colonial port-city. Chapter four explores the emergence of Hong Kong-born Anglophile Macanese individuals and examines the ways the Macanese used the English-language press and political roles to fight for the under-privileged in Hong Kong. The final chapter sheds light on the cultural nationalistic discourses that emerged in inter-war Hong Kong. Ultimately, this thesis seeks to address more overarching questions on the nature of human society, multicultural communities and global interconnectedness through the themes of continuity, collaboration, associational life, urbanism and print culture.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's *Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes* and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: DATE: 05-July-2019

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Introduction: Colonial Kaleidoscope

My father was Transmontano, My mother a Chinese Taoist, I am, therefore, a Eurasian/ One-hundred percent *Macaísta*. My blood has the bravery/ Of Portugal's bulls, Temper mixed with the softness/ Of South China.

Leonel Alves, 'Sabem quem sou?' (Do You Know Who I Am?), 1953¹

This thesis maps the activities of the Macanese for over a century in colonial Hong Kong to reveal a narrative of transnational networking, racial tension, class differences and practical survival linked to imperialism and migration. I focus on the Macanese, which I define as Macau-born subjects and their descendants that self-identified, in varying degrees, as 'Portuguese,' either in nationality, ethnicity or culture, due to their long history of movement and the ambiguity of their racial backgrounds. For three centuries, Luso-Asians drifted between empires before settling down in Macau and thereafter, Hong Kong. In Macau, they lived in a culturally diverse society, resulting in cultural exchange, union with Asian subjects and the birth of the 'Macanese.' In Hong Kong, the racial identification of the Macanese, particularly of the middle-class, as 'Portuguese' and later, as 'British' hardened due to the British colony's social circumstances. They did not fall into the category of the 'Eurasian,' a term usually reserved for Anglo-Chinese subjects, and were neither native nor European. Yet, they stood at the fringes of the colonial government's racial policies, which were directed largely at the Chinese population to safeguard European privileges.² I explore the freedoms the Macanese received in Hong Kong to manoeuvre and their various ways of social mobility, particularly in relation to 'class' and 'race.'

This thesis thus shows how Macanese settlers negotiated their lives around Hong Kong's normative reality. In the face of Macau's lack of social mobility, they

¹ Transmontano refers to the northernmost region of Portugal. Leonel Alves, *Por caminhos solitários* (By Lonely Ways; Macau: Edição do Autor, 1983), 29.

² See, for instance, Peter Wesley-Smith, 'Anti-Chinese Legislation in Hong Kong,' in Ming K. Chan (ed.), *Precairous Balance: Hong Kong between China and Britain 1842-1992* (London: Routledge, 1994), 93-98.

seized available resources in the British colony and many took up clerical positions, thanks to their knowledge of the English language and spoken Cantonese. Most Macanese did not read nor write Chinese, but their ability to converse in Cantonese made it easier for Britons to deal with lower-ranking Chinese staff. With advantageous linguistic skills, some Macanese negotiated with European employers whilst middle-class men entered the social worlds of bourgeois Europeans. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Hong Kong-born Anglophile Macanese subjects helped orchestrate the emergence of a civil society. New Macanese migrants, on the other hand, sought to counter the Anglicisation of their peoples through nationalistic advocacies that transgressed the borders of Hong Kong, Macau and Portugal. These snapshots of a century of Macanese activity in colonial Hong Kong depict a transnational world of possibilities, manipulations, decisions and freedoms. Macanese individuals were transnational by their own means, and cosmopolitan in thinking, existing within a web of cultural 'contact zones' beyond the framework of the 'nation' and the 'colony.'³

Migration transformed the urban terrain of colonial societies, creating polyglot migrant worlds out of neighbourhoods, workplaces and public spheres.⁴ Within colonial spaces, settlers reimagined themselves and their lives *vis-à-vis* emerging racial perceptions of ruling 'whites' towards them. Racially mixed subjects of European and Asian descent, in particular, made colonisers anxious by challenging the 'colour lines' that demarcated rulers from the colonised population in accordance with 'whiteness.' As a response, colonial governments devised exclusionary tactics to manipulate and control the positioning of 'mixed race' subjects through the lines of race, class, gender, marital status and/or age.⁵

³ 'Transnationalism' here and throughout the thesis refers to the flow of people, ideas, capital, culture and goods across national borders, with an emphasis on 'contact zones' and networks beyond the 'nation.' Katherine Pence and Andrew Zimmerman, 'Transnationalism,' *German Studies Review* 35, no. 3 (2012), 495.

⁴ The term, 'polyglot migrant world' comes from T.N. Harper, 'Globalism and the Pursuit of Authenticity: The Making of a Diasporic Public Sphere in Singapore,' *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 12, no. 2 (1997), 263.

⁵ See, for instance, Ann Stoler, 'Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34, no. 3 (1992), 520, 522-524; Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and The Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995).

Since the sixteenth century, the ruling class under the Portuguese empire had perceived Luso-Asians as a degenerate version of their European counterpart. In India, the government categorised the Portuguese population into metropolitan Portuguese (*reinois*), Asian-born 'pure' Portuguese (*castiços*) and 'half-bred' *mestiços*.⁶ The authorities in Lisbon appointed and sanctioned metropolitan Portuguese as chief administrators and clerics in India.⁷ When Portuguese rule in Malacca collapsed in 1641, only the metropolitan Portuguese, wealthy merchants, priests and some young 'local Portuguese' had the opportunity of sailing out of the harbour and onto new destinations.⁸ A change of colonial rule, or a change of 'space,' however, always posed as an opportunity for Portuguese Eurasians to reconstruct themselves according to the needs of new rulers. The succeeding Dutch administration appointed Malacca's Portuguese Eurasians as intermediaries and trade envoys because of their 'European' cultural characteristics and knowledge of Malay culture and language.⁹ In other circumstances, leaving for far away destinations allowed 'bastard sons,' or the illegitimate children of colonial administrators and 'mixed-bred' women to freely re-establish their networks to nobility and ascend to prominent financial and political positions. Migration was a key to new opportunities, which, at its best, brought fame and fortune through the right networks and strategies, such as finding richly dowered women in Macau.¹⁰

⁶ Miguel Vale de Almeida, 'From Miscegenation to Creole Identity: Portuguese Colonialism, Brazil, Cape Verde,' in Charles Stewart (ed.), *Creolization: History, Ethnography, Theory* (London: Routledge, 2016), 110.

⁷ Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India: A Study of the Portuguese Country Trade 1770-1840* (New Delhi: Ashok Kumar Mittal, 1994), 51-52.

⁸ Ronald Daus, *Portuguese Eurasian Communities in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1989), 6.

⁹ Dennis De Witt, 'Enemies, Friends and Relations: Portuguese Eurasians during Malacca's Dutch Era and Beyond,' in Laura Jarnagin (ed.), *Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511-2011, vol 2* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010), 261-262; Daus, *Portuguese Eurasian Communities*, 8.

¹⁰ One example is António de Albuquerque Coelho, a 'bastard son' from Brazil of a '*fidalgo*' (Portuguese nobleman) colonial administrator and a '*mulatto*' woman from Pernambuco. Through migrating to Macau, Coelho established himself. He served as Macau's Governor from 1718 to 1719 owing to his father's noble position and his richly-dowered Macanese wife. For Coelho, see Charles R. Boxer, 'A Fidalgo In The Far East, 1708-1726: Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho in Macao,' *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 5, no. 4 (1946), 388; Charles R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East 1550-1770* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1968), 203.

While existing studies on mixed-race communities in the Asian colonial context have centered on the dynamic negotiations between colonial authorities and mixed-race subjects, the narratives have been predominantly linked to the shaping of mixed-race communities in relation to the process of colonialism and policies of colonial states, and vice versa. 'Mixed race' individuals and families laid the racialised foundations of British India by generating colonial anxieties that influenced the policies and discourses of British rule.¹¹ In French Indochina, French civilians and the government made attempts to neutralise the threat of abandoned Eurasian children to the authority of 'whiteness.'¹² The lives of Anglo-Indian men evolved around restrictions the British colonial government imposed on their careers.¹³ Responses to repressive colonial practises shaped the racial identities of Eurasian communities.¹⁴ Through deconstructing colonial rule along the lines of race, class, gender and age, scholars have identified patterns in the ways that the colonised responded to restrictions imposed by colonial rulers. Such interactions between the colonisers and the colonised maintained and shaped empire, as well as colonised communities themselves.¹⁵ This thesis looks beyond wider patterns that have highlighted the impact of colonialism on racial communities, but narrows down the scope to examine individual and communal experiences in the fluid context of colonial port-cities. It explores the normative realities of colonial life and the role of the Asian port-city on the formation of a multicultural community. Rather than perceiving colonialism as a paramount factor that dictated the lives of colonised subjects, I argue through the Macanese experience that migrants freely navigated the realms of Hong Kong society. The port-city provided the Macanese with a liberal atmosphere and the opportunity, through engagement with foreign cultures and the press, to expand their worlds

¹¹ Durba Gosh, *Sex and The Family in Colonial India: The Making of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

¹² Christina Firpo, 'Crises of Whiteness and Empire in Colonial Indochina: The Removal of Abandoned Eurasian Children from the Vietnamese Milieu, 1890-1956,' *Journal of Social History* 43, no. 3 (2010), 587-613. See also, Ann Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (London: Duke University Press, 1995).

¹³ Christopher J. Hawes, *Poor Relations: The Making of a Eurasian Community in British India, 1773-1833* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

¹⁴ Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994); Alison Blunt, *Domicile and Diaspora: Anglo-Indian Women and the Spatial Politics of Home* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005).

¹⁵ Stoler, 'Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers;' Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and The Colonial Order of Things*.

beyond Hong Kong. While colonial practises and British culture did influence certain aspects of Macanese life, colonial policies did not singularly dominate the decisions and activities of the Macanese. Instead, pre-existing networks, associations to Macau and imaginations of Portugal also contributed to the shaping of the Macanese community in colonial Hong Kong.

I position the story of the Macanese in colonial Hong Kong, which I see as a transnational crossroad of trade, culture and migration. Scholars who have engaged with British Hong Kong have revealed the porous, multicultural, cosmopolitan and transnational characteristics of the colony. One strand in the literature on Hong Kong has focused on wider implications of interaction between the colonial government and the Chinese community. The collaboration of Chinese leaders and the Hong Kong government revealed a colony on the edges of China and British imperialism.¹⁶ The rise of Chinese elites showed the permeability of colonial rule.¹⁷ Educational policies directed at Eurasian children shaped prominent figures out of wealthy Chinese Eurasians, who the government perceived as a threat to the 'ideal' dominance of Europeans.¹⁸ In revealing the multicultural feature of the colony, scholars have extended their scope beyond the focus of China and Britain through the lens of Hong Kong's foreign communities.¹⁹ This work has shown that colonial Hong Kong was a product of multicultural connections, collaborations and conflicts but has yet to trace the ways foreign communities used global connections and ideas to transform themselves within the colony. This thesis grounds the history of colonial Hong Kong in a transnational terrain and questions how the transnational characteristics of the colony helped in the historical shaping of the

¹⁶ John M. Carroll, *Edge of Empires: Chinese Elites and British Colonials in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007).

¹⁷ Elizabeth Sinn, *Power and Charity: A Chinese Merchant Elite in Colonial Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2003), 15-16.

¹⁸ David M. Pomfret, *Youth and Empire: Trans-Colonial Childhoods in British and French Asia* (California: Stanford University Press, 2016), 243-276.

¹⁹ Elizabeth Sinn and Christopher Munn (eds.), *Meeting Place: Encounters across Cultures in Hong Kong, 1841-1984* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2017); Ding Xinbao 丁新豹 and Lu Shuying 盧淑櫻, *Feiwo zuyi: zhanqian Xianggang de waiji zuqun 非我族裔: 戰前香港的外籍族群* (Not of My Kind: Foreign Communities in Pre-war Hong Kong; Xianggang: Sanlian shudian, 2014); Cindy Yik-yi Chu (ed.) *Foreign Communities in Hong Kong, 1840s-1950s* (London, Palgrave MacMillan, 2005).

'Macanese,' a migrant community suspended between the British and Portuguese empires that had been categorised largely in Hong Kong's narratives as neither European nor Eurasian, but simply as 'Portuguese.' Job advertisements in local newspapers often read, 'Wanted: Portuguese or Eurasian Clerk' or 'Wanted: Young Attractive GIRL, Portuguese or Eurasian; light labours and easy hours.'²⁰ Adding to this was the distance the Macanese kept between themselves and the Chinese communities of Hong Kong, despite the fact that the Macanese had widely intermarried with Chinese women in Macau.²¹ In Hong Kong, Macanese-Chinese Eurasians are not mentioned in existing literature. According to António Jorge da Silva, the Macanese married within their own community, with the exception of, quoting, 'some Chinese and a few Europeans' marrying into the Macanese community.²²

Macanese letters and diaries rarely touched on the colony's Chinese communities, making it difficult to build a wider understanding of Macanese perceptions of the Chinese, except for the fact that the Macanese saw themselves as independent of Hong Kong's 'Eurasian' category. As the term 'Eurasian' was usually deployed in referring to people of mixed European and Chinese descent in Hong Kong, the Macanese did not prefer to be classified as 'Eurasian.' When war tensions heightened in 1940, a Hong Kong resident under the name 'Macanese' found it important to correct another writer for writing 'Portuguese and Eurasian women' in a discussion on evacuation. 'Macanese' wrote, 'I have to remind [the writer named Portuguese Woman] that there is no classification of "Eurasian" by the Portuguese.'²³ As will be discussed in chapter four, middle-class Macanese politicians were more concerned with Hong Kong-born non-Britons, including the Macanese, Eurasians and the Chinese, and their rights in the colony. It would only be decades later that Hong Kong Macanese writers

²⁰ 'New Advertisements,' *South China Morning Post*, 15 August 1905; 1; 'Want Ads,' *South China Morning Post*, 24 March 1908, 5.

²¹ For Macanese union with Chinese women, see Charles R. Boxer, 'Macao as Religious and Commercial Entrepôt in the 16th and 17th Centuries,' *Acta Asiatica, Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture* 26 (1974), 66; Manuel Texeira, 'The Origin of the Macanese,' *Review of Culture* no. 20 (1994).

²² António M. Pacheco Jorge da Silva, *The Portuguese Community in Hong Kong* (Macau: B.D. Designer House, 2011), 9.

²³ Macanese, 'Registration & Evacuation (To the Editor, S.C.M.Post),' 20 July 1940, 7.

began to acknowledge the community as 'Eurasian.' Quoting Frederic 'Jim' Silva in his 1990 publication, 'Racially, most of us [Macanese] are Eurasians. It is an anthropological fact.'²⁴

Following the evolution of the 'Macanese' allows us an opportunity to look beyond the notion of colonialism and the geographical border of Hong Kong, in order to gain a better understanding of the fluidity of colonial space and the migrant experience in colonial society. This approach also allows us to understand the actions that people and communities make as pragmatic responses to everyday challenges and social transformations. Inconsistent colonial policies towards naturalisation, for instance, resulted in varying responses from Macanese subjects. Hong Kong's Naturalization Ordinance emerged in 1845, but remained dormant until 1880.²⁵ On August 31, 1880, the Naturalization Bill was enacted for the first time, under the initiation of a 'radical' Governor who championed racial equality, John Pope Hennessy. Those who successfully naturalised as British subjects in Hong Kong enjoyed, only within the colony, 'all the rights, advantages and privileges of a British subject' upon taking an oath of allegiance under the provisions of the 'Promissory Oaths Ordinance' of 1869.²⁶ The colonial government subsequently revised the Ordinance: in 1902, it was stated that to be naturalised, the term of residence must not be less than five years, and that the grantee shall continue to reside permanently in Hong Kong. If the grantee ceases to reside in the colony, the certificate would be revoked.²⁷ This was, during the inter-war years, amended to give the colonial government the power to revoke previous cases of naturalisation if the naturalised subject was found disloyal to Britain, engaging in trade with Britain's enemy in times of war, or had been sentenced by any court in Britain's dominions to imprisonment for twelve months.²⁸ Chapters two and four will show the different ways Macanese subjects perceived naturalisation. In

²⁴ Frederic A. Silva, *Todo o nosso passado: Os filhos de Macau, sua história e herança* (All Our Yesterdays: The Sons of Macao, Their History and Heritage; Macau: Livros do Oriente, 1996), 25.

²⁵ The Naturalization Ordinance (Ordinance No. 10 of 1845), allowed foreigners to apply and become British subjects in Hong Kong.

²⁶ *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 21 August 1880, 629.

²⁷ 'Methods of Naturalization,' *South China Morning Post*, 30 August 1915, 6.

²⁸ 'Naturalisation: Colony Follows Imperial Procedure Amending the Law,' *South China Morning Post*, 6 February 1928, 11.

chapter two, Macanese clerk Leonardo d'Almada e Castro saw naturalisation as a last resort in bargaining for career advancement, whereas in chapter four, the availability of British naturalisation shifted the meaning of becoming a 'British' subject, particularly for middle-class families looking to secure their children's future and social status in British Hong Kong.

Three themes thread through this thesis: migration from one empire to another, 'race' as a contested narrative and the colony as a transnational arena. Although colonies provided possibilities for settlers, the colonial space was highly competitive, discriminative and unequal. The unique ways that people and communities struggled for progress and survival have often been retold in narratives of colonial collaboration and/or anti-colonialism within racially rigid contexts. As a result, the individual migrant experience and the dynamic ways in which communities competed and strove for resources, mobility and power have been overlooked. Whilst some people sought to challenge unequal patterns of colonial authority, migrants who identified with more than one identity and pledged allegiance to more than one government had the option to look elsewhere in establishing themselves and their community. As I will show, the migrant's constant negotiation, choices and decisions in the face of colonial reality, thus, reveal not only the freedoms the colonial structure offered, but also the personal and communal tension arising out of this freedom to negotiate and manipulate one's racial identification.

Drifting 'empires'

The histories of migration and empire have been knotted together in several aspects. The migration of people from all over the world to colonies created a web of cultural and economic interaction within and beyond the borders of empire.²⁹ Susan Bayly has referred to colonial interaction as a two-way encounter between Western and Asian institutions, which was marked by debate,

²⁹ Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, vol. III: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Marjory Harper and Stephen Constantine (eds.), *Migration and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

exchange and resistance.³⁰ Existing work on migrants in the colonial context has highlighted the process of identity construction and transformation at a personal, racial, national and global level. The British empire, for instance, helped to construct new and broader forms of 'Britishness' amongst Britons in colonies, which were exported back to the metropole.³¹ As non-Britons living under the British empire explored and incorporated British culture into native practises, empire legitimised transnational ties and created 'mixed race' and/or multicultural communities. This paved the way for the construction of unprecedented multiracial categories such as British Indian, British Malay and Anglo-Chinese and subsequently, the colonised subject's deployment of 'Britishness' in asserting social and political claims.³²

The first stage of *Macaense* 'diaspora' took off in 1842 with the British colonisation of Hong Kong. Until the Second World War, Hong Kong served as a 'home' for Macanese migrants and their descendants.³³ Some took the British colony as a stepping-stone, moving to Shanghai, Manila or Japan when better career opportunities arose. Hong Kong's Macanese made up 15% of Shanghai's new Macanese cluster in the mid-nineteenth century, while the rest originated from Macau.³⁴ Throughout the 1930s, 225 Macanese children were born in Hong Kong, 288 in Macau and 138 in Shanghai, making Hong Kong and Macau the two

³⁰ Susan Bayly, 'The Evolution of Colonial Cultures: Nineteenth-Century Asia,' in Porter, *The Oxford History*, 447-469.

³¹ Robert Bickers, 'Shanghaianders: The Formation and Identity of the British Settler Community in Shanghai 1843-1937,' *Past & Present* 159 (1998), 161-211; Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich (eds.), *The British World: Diaspora, Culture and Identity* (London: Frank Cass, 2003); 5; Kent Fedorowich and Andrew S. Thompson (eds.), *Empire, Migration and Identity in the British World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Marie-Paule Ha, *French Women and the Empire: The Case of Indochina* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

³² Lynn Hollen Lees, 'Being British in Malaya, 1890-1940,' *Journal of British Studies* 48, no. 1 (2009), 77; Syed Muhd Khairudin Aljunied, 'British Discourses and Malay Identity in Colonial Singapore,' *Indonesia and the Malay World* 37, no. 107 (2009), 1-21; Valerie Anderson, *Race and Power in British India: Anglo-Indians, Class and Identity in the Nineteenth-Century* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015).

³³ For an extensive study of the *Macaense* diaspora, see Alfredo Gomes Dias, *Diáspora Macaense: Macau, Hong Kong, Xangai (1850-1952)* (The Macanese Diaspora: Macao, Hong Kong, Shanghai (1850-1952)) (Lisboa: Centro Científico de Cultura de Macau, 2014).

³⁴ Alfredo Gomes Dias, 'The Origins of Macao's Community in Shanghai, Hong Kong's Emigration (1850-1909),' *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies* 17 (2008), 199.

dominating Macanese settlements in the world.³⁵ The Japanese occupation of Hong Kong sent more than one thousand Macanese subjects to the Portuguese Consulate of Hong Kong, asking for refuge in Macau. The post-war period witnessed the second stage of the *Macanese* 'diaspora.' Instead of re-settling in the British colony, Hong Kong's Macanese families migrated to various parts of the world, including the United States, Portugal, Canada, Australia and the Philippines. Already 'mixed' in terms of cultural and racial background, the *Macaense* experimented with new cultures upon arriving in a new settlement. Their complex background and repeated migration have complicated what constitutes 'homeland' and 'identity' in the context of the Macanese 'diaspora.' In view of the dispersal of Macanese families all over the world after the end of the Second World War, Barnabas Koo raised the question of whether Macau should be considered as an 'adopted home' for the Macanese under the concept of 'diaspora.'³⁶ This thesis reconsiders the *Macaense* 'diaspora' and uses Hong Kong as a framework to explore how the idea of 'home' shifts over time and subsequently, how scattered diasporas lead to differing interpretations of what it means to be 'Macanese.'

In light of the practical usefulness of adopting new identities, several studies have explored the tension and negotiation between coloniser and the colonised that spiraled out of the ambiguous positioning of subjects belonging to more than one racial category.³⁷ This colonial tension, at its height, evolved into new nationalisms and the imagination of new nation-states that were opposed to colonial authority.³⁸ Scholars have paid particular attention to the emergence of nation-states in Southeast Asia and its connections to colonial constructions and anti-colonialism. Siamese elites cultivated a sense of Thai nationalism in the

³⁵ Alfredo Gomes Dias, 'Diáspora Macaense, Macau, Hong Kong, Xangai (1850-1952) (Macanese Diaspora: Macau, Hong Kong and Shanghai (1850-1952)), PhD diss., University of Lisbon, 2011, 234.

³⁶ Barnabas H.M. Koo, 'The Survival of an Endangered Species: The Macanese in Contemporary Macau,' PhD diss., University of Western Sydney, 2004, 49.

³⁷ Edgar Wickberg, 'The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History,' *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 5, no. 1 (1964), 62-100; Stoler, 'Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers,' 520, 522-524; Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds.), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in A Bourgeois World* (London: University of California Press, 1997).

³⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

process of responding to the challenges of official censorship and state control over publication through the Siamese public sphere.³⁹ Of Ceylonese nationalism, Mark Frost highlighted the roles of Colombo elites in generating new discourses of anti-colonial identity amongst non-European communities in British Sri Lanka.⁴⁰ In the Spanish Philippines, elite Chinese ‘*mestizos*’ propagated the ‘Filipino’ identity and participated in the Philippine Revolution of 1896 against Spanish rule.⁴¹ Individual and communal identities, thus, were shaped by urban settings, cultural tension and sentiments that existed within the colonial system.⁴² While this work revealed dynamic interaction between colonial authority and colonised subjects, exploring historical developments through the colonial framework overshadows the potential of perceiving the human experience from a wider and more pragmatic lens.

Richard Reid, in a reappraisal of narratives in African ethnic identity, argued that the ‘colonial imagining[s]’ of race obstructs our fuller understanding of identity as a continuous process that began in the precolonial past.⁴³ Migrant individuals and communities provide us with an opportunity to incorporate the roles of the precolonial past into colonial realities. Due to their physical, legal and cultural networks to more than one community and government, migrants looked for survival tools within and beyond colonial spaces. They imagined and re-imagined pre-existing cultural markers such as ‘race,’ traditional practises and communal belonging in responding to external forces of assimilation, ‘difference’ and change. Tony Ballantyne’s work on the history of the Sikhs documented the century-long transformations of Sikh culture in connection with the British

³⁹ Matthew Copeland, ‘Contested Nationalism and the 1932 Overthrow of the Absolute Monarchy in Siam,’ PhD diss., Australian National University, 1993; Thanapol Limapichart, ‘The Emergence of the Siamese Public Sphere: Colonial Modernity, Print Culture and the Practice of Criticism (1860s-1910s),’ *South East Asian Research* 17, no. 3 (2009), 361-399.

⁴⁰ Mark Ravinder Frost, ‘Cosmopolitan Fragments from a Splintered Isle: ‘Ceylonese’ Nationalism in Late-Colonial Sri Lanka,’ in Joel S. Kahn (ed.), *Ethnicities, Diasporas and ‘Grounded’ Cosmopolitanism in Asia* (Singapore: Asia Research Institute, 2004), 59-69.

⁴¹ Antonio S. Tan, ‘The Chinese Mestizos and the Formation of the Filipino Nationality,’ *Archipel* 32, no. 1 (1986), 141-162.

⁴² Susan Bayly, ‘The Evolution of Colonial Cultures,’ 447-469; Simon J. Potter, *British Imperial History* (London: Palgrave, 2015).

⁴³ Richard Reid, ‘Past and Presentism: the “Precolonial” and the Foreshortening of African History,’ *The Journal of African History* 52, no. 2 (2011), 147; See also, Daus, *Portuguese Eurasian Communities*.

empire but beyond the confines of the coloniser-colonised framework. Through moving from one British outpost to another, and finally into Britain, the Sikhs found new life opportunities but ‘destabilised’ accepted notions of Sikh authority in the Punjab and overseas.⁴⁴ Another type of ‘change’ came with change of colonial power, which exposed colonised subjects to new colonial experiences simultaneously shaped by old and new institutions. Dennis McGilvray’s study on Dutch and Portuguese Burghers in Sri Lanka, spanning three empires under the Portuguese, Dutch and British, concluded that although the Dutch Burghers were generally perceived as middle-class elites and the Portuguese Burghers as ‘mechanics,’ they eventually merged into one community to assert claims to Dutch racial and cultural ‘labels’ in contending with other communities by the twentieth century.⁴⁵ This work shows that the human experience in the colonial context unfolded through a series of dynamic responses associated with the past and multiple points of identification that transcended the colonial framework.

For three centuries, Luso-Asians drifted between the Portuguese, Dutch and British empires before settling down in Macau and thereafter, Hong Kong.⁴⁶ The ‘Macanese’ emerged back in the sixteenth century under the Portuguese empire when Portuguese Europeans and Luso-Asians ventured into Macau following the establishment of a Portuguese outpost. Identifying this community simply as ‘Portuguese’ obscures the fact that the ‘Macanese,’ in terms of history and cultural meaning, mushroomed from the Portuguese territories of Goa, Malacca and Timor and were shaped by generations of inter-racial marriage between European Portuguese and Chinese, Japanese, Indian, Malay and Eurasian people. In Hong Kong, the migrant experience of the Macanese was marked by a

⁴⁴ Tony Ballantyne, *Between Colonialism and Diaspora: Sikh Cultural Formations in an Imperial World* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006), 66.

⁴⁵ Dennis B. McGilvray, “Dutch Burghers and Portuguese Mechanics: Eurasian Ethnicity in Sri Lanka,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24, no. 2 (1982), 235-263.

⁴⁶ This resulted in emergence, between 1510 and 1558, of the Portuguese Burghers of Sri Lanka, the Kristang of Malacca in Malaysia, the Larantuqueiros of the Nusa Tenggara province in Indonesia and the Mestizos of East Timor. Luso-Asian communities that emerged but have become assimilated into larger communities include the Bayingyjs of Myanmar, the Luso-Siamese of Thailand, the mestizos of the Spice Islands in Indonesia, the Batavian Portuguese and the Mardijkers of Indonesia. For literature of these communities, see John Byrne, ‘The Luso-Asians and Other Eurasians: Their Domestic and Diasporic Identities,’ in Laura Jarnagin (ed.), *Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511-2011, vol. 1* (Singapore: ISEAS- Yusof Ishak Institute, 2011), 131-154.

continuous relationship with Macau and a constant negotiation of allegiance to the Macau, Portuguese and British colonial governments. The relationship with Macau, though consistently present in the construction of the Macanese identity, was not always physical. This was particularly true for Hong Kong-born Macanese subjects, whose lives revolved around the British colony and the employment opportunities it presented. While it was a usual practise for first-generation Macanese settlers, some of whom are mentioned in chapters two and four, to return to Macau for employment or for retirement, it was not common for Hong Kong-born Macanese subjects to physically keep contact with Macau.

The local-born Macanese mentioned in chapter four of this thesis did not make frequent visits to Macau, crossing the waters only for practical purposes. After the death of his grandfather led to his unemployment, J.P. Braga spent two years in Macau to take up a teaching position in 1900 but returned to Hong Kong and worked for the *Hongkong Telegraph*. His next visit to Macau was during the Second World War, when he and some members of the Braga family sought Portuguese nationality and took refuge in the enclave. The personal letters of Leo d'Almada e Castro to his family revealed the Macanese as a globetrotter, traveling across Europe. He did not mention going to Macau until the evacuation in 1942. Eddie Gosano, a Macanese doctor in inter-war Hong Kong, only made his way to Macau in the same year to serve as a medical officer for the British Consulate. Having spent three generations in Hong Kong, these Macanese migrant families had already taken root in the colony by the early twentieth century. During this time, there emerged at least three different 'categories' of being 'Portuguese' represented by first-generation migrants, Hong Kong-born Macanese and newly-arrived Macau-born migrants. These three groups showed different degrees of attachment to both Macau and Hong Kong, coalescing the two spaces through social and cultural interaction. Macau was always present in identity discourses that shaped these communities. The construction of the Macanese communities in Hong Kong, thus, embodied a transnational process tied to the act of migration between empires, extension of networks to Macau and the imaginative merging of Portugal, Macau and Hong Kong, as well as the British and Portuguese 'empires.'

Contesting 'race'

'Macanese' (in Portuguese, *Macaense*) is an umbrella term that encompasses yet simplifies the obscurity and ambiguity of the Luso-Asian community in Southern China. The 'Macanese' is interchangeably referred to as 'native-born Portuguese' (*tusheng Puren* 土生葡人) or *filhos da terra* (*dadi zhizi* 大地之子; sons of the land).⁴⁷ 'Macaísta' was used in earlier historical accounts and amongst the Macanese in nineteenth-century newspapers. However, the term was considered 'depreciative' and less widely used by the early twentieth century after Constâncio José da Silva, an editor of several Macanese newspapers, declared it offensive because it should be used in referring to objects and not individuals.⁴⁸ In general, the Macanese men and women identified in this thesis carry a number of features. They were devoted Catholics, spoke English, Cantonese and Patois (also Patuá or Maquísta), a creole Macanese language derived from Malay, Sinhalese, Cantonese and Portuguese and had incorporated Asian cuisine into their lifestyle. However, these features cannot fully define the Macanese, as cultural practises came to be replaced under the effects of time, migration, and historical transformations. Patois, for instance, evolved into a marker of the lower classes from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, when more schools emerged in Macau to educate Macanese children with continental Portuguese.⁴⁹ The use of Patois made its way to Hong Kong in the 1840s with the arrival of Macanese migrants. Although the creole language saw new developments in the colony with the addition of English words, first-generation Hong Kong-born Macanese children learned English as a first language in school. Some studied basic Portuguese, and Patois was a language children picked up from their

⁴⁷ Although the two terms are used interchangeably, *tusheng* suggests someone born in Macau whereas Macanese could simply mean multicultural people who identify themselves as Portuguese but speak the creole Patois (also Patuá) language, have the habit of eating Macanese cuisine and are accepted by the Macanese community as one of their own. The ambiguity between *tusheng* and *Macaense* is discussed in Deng Siping 鄧思平, *Aomen tusheng Puren* 澳門土生葡人 (Macaenses; Xianggang: Sanlian shudian youxian gongsi, 2009), 9.

⁴⁸ Teixeira, 'The Origin of the Macanese.'

⁴⁹ António M. Jorge da Silva, *Macaenses: The Portuguese in China* (Macau: Instituto Internacional Macau, 2015), 117.

parents and/or grandparents' conversations at home. Owing to their education and the practical advantages of knowing the English language in looking for employment, the Hong Kong Macanese concentrated on mastering the English language. By the 1920s, the use of patois had become uncommon among the younger generation. Manuel Texeira, in his work on the origin of the *Macaense*, wrote that while Macanese men and women born in nineteenth-century Macau usually spoke Patois, they raised their children to speak fluent English in Hong Kong. If Macanese parents taught Portuguese in their households, the children would speak continental Portuguese without a Macanese accent.⁵⁰ As opposed to Macau's common perceptions of Patois as a marker of the lower classes, the Hong Kong Macanese perceived those using the creole language as 'socially pretentious.'⁵¹ This difference between Hong Kong and Macau shows the complexities of the 'Macanese' and how shared cultural markers can, in reality, reveal heterogeneity within a community.

Anthropologists have debated on the racial composition of the Macanese. Some argued that only those of Portuguese fathers and Chinese Eurasian mothers should be considered Macanese, whilst others claim that Macanese could be a mixture of people of European Portuguese and Chinese, Japanese, Indian or Malay heritage.⁵² Nineteenth-century chief justice, teacher and Macanese writer José Baptista Miranda e Lima's poem *Ajuste de casamento de Nhi Pancha cô Nhum Vicente* (The Wedding Agreement between Maiden Pancha with Master Vicente) shed light on the multicultural practises of the Macanese. He used the term '*nhonha*,' Macanese Patois for young girl, and narrated the practise amongst

⁵⁰ Texeira, 'The Origin of the Macanese.'

⁵¹ Jason Wordie, 'The Hong Kong Portuguese Community and Its Connections with Hong Kong University, 1941-1941,' in Chan Lau Kit-ching and Peter Cunich (eds.), *An Impossible Dream: Hong Kong University from Foundation to Re-establishment, 1910-1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 166.

⁵² In 1897, for instance, Portuguese military man and later, governor of Portuguese Timor (1882-1883), Bento da França Pinto de Oliveira published a book about Macau. In it he described Macau's inhabitants as having Mongolian features, with European and/or Malayan physical appearances. In 1965, Jesuit Priest Manuel Texeira identified the Macanese as a product of intermarriage between Portuguese men and Chinese women. Ana Maria Amaro has written a detailed account of the various interpretations on the Macanese. For this, see Ana Maria Amaro 安娜·瑪里亞·阿馬羅, *Dadi Zhizi: Aomen Tusheng Puren Yanjiu* 大地之子——澳門土生葡人研究 (Filhos da Terra; Sons of the Land), trans. Jin Guoping 金國平 (Aomen: Aomen wenhua sishu, 1993), 10.

them of serving *cha* (Chinese tea) to visitors, the consumption of *arroz* (rice) as a food staple, and amongst women, the habit of wearing *qimão* (kimono).⁵³ Luis Andrade de Sá and Alfredo Gomes Dias have raised questions regarding the complexities of defining the Macanese from historical and sociological approaches. De Sá highlighted the tension between Anglophile Macanese and 'Portuguese' Macanese as a question of nationality whereas Dias discussed the Macanese in terms of nationality, culture and 'hybridity'.⁵⁴ This thesis does not debate who was considered 'Macanese,' but instead includes whoever considered themselves 'Macanese' as reflected, regardless of extent, in their social lives, everyday practises and communal activities. Whilst existing work explored the biological, nationalistic and cultural characteristics of the 'Macanese,' I suggest investigating the ways in which the Macanese participated in the conceptualisations of 'race' and 'mixed race.'

'Race,' in this study, takes on two specific meanings: first, 'race' is an 'imagined community' constructed through acknowledging the presence of other 'races' and kinship bound by cultural similarities and everyday practises.⁵⁵ Second, 'race' is a continuous construction that merges the past, the present and the future.⁵⁶ Under the idea that colonisers used 'race' to legitimise empire, scholars analysing 'race' in the colonial context have centred on themes of exploitation, prejudice, resistance and legacy, suggesting that colonised communities, even in their struggles, were a colonial construct.⁵⁷ Jean Gelman Taylor, from a

⁵³ 'Nhonha' is the Macau version of 'Nyonya,' which is used to refer to female descendants of Chinese settlers in the Straits Settlements. Both words originate from the Portuguese word *donha* (lady). For the poem, see J.F. Marques Pereira (ed.), *Ta-ssi-yang-kuo: Archivos e annaes do extreme-oriente Portuguez, vol. 1*, (Ta-ssi-yang-kuo: Archives and Annals of the Portuguese Far East, vol. 1; Lisbon: Antiga Casa Bertrand—José Bastos, 1899), 57-59.

⁵⁴ Dias, *Diáspora Macaense: Macau, Hong Kong, Xangai*, 102-116; Luís Andrade de Sá, *The Boys from Macau* (Macao: Fundação Oriente; Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1999), 47-54.

⁵⁵ Robert Miles, *Racism after 'Race Relations'* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

⁵⁶ Stuart Hall, 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora,' in Jonathan Rutherford (ed.), *Identity, Community, Cultural Difference* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), 222-237.

⁵⁷ See, for instance, Olindo de Napoli, 'Race and Empire: The Legitimation of Italian Colonialism in Juridical Thought,' *The Journal of Modern History* 85, no. 4 (2013), 801-832; Andrew B. Fisher and Matthew D. O'Hara (eds.), *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); Patricia M.E. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1999). Ann L. Stoler, 'Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in 20th-Century Colonial Cultures,' *American Ethnologist* 16, no. 4 (1989), 634-660; Catherine Hall, *White Male and Middle-class Explorations in Feminism and History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992). The idea of colonial construction of 'race,' is evident

sociological perspective, revealed how racial identities hardened under the Dutch empire and the ways social elites constructed and were shaped by an Indo-Dutch culture in Batavia.⁵⁸ In the Spanish Philippines, wealthy Chinese 'mestizos' astonished Europeans by becoming more Hispanic-European, and thus middle class, in culture. They lived in lavish houses situated in towns, dressed in European clothing and were identified by their gold necklaces.⁵⁹ These studies show that although 'class' penetrated racial barriers, colonised subjects structured their lives and responses around the colonial system. 'Postcolonial' scholars critiqued the colonial constructions of 'race' and highlighted the need to become aware of their continuous influence in postcolonial societies.⁶⁰ Frantz Fanon denounced the colonial construction of 'race' as a problematic fabrication of native identities that dehumanised colonised subjects.⁶¹ Edward Said suggested the significance of 'western' imagination in the making of Asian societies as imperial powers dominated and constructed colonised subjects by producing, interpreting and evaluating their knowledge of non-European communities.⁶² In questioning the possibility of locating the voices of the non-elitist 'subaltern' populations, Gayatri Spivak pointed out that our understanding of colonised communities has been largely based on the hegemonic vocabulary of the coloniser.⁶³ Partha Chatterjee, representing Subaltern studies, argued that colonised subjects actively sought to reshape and reform notions of 'difference' in an attempt to elude and resist the restrictions of colonial practices.⁶⁴

in sociological works on the 'Eurasian.' See, for instance, Justus M. van der Kroef, 'The Eurasian Minority in Indonesia,' *American Sociological Review* 18, no. 5 (1953), 484-493; Wickberg, 'The Chinese Mestizo.'

⁵⁸ Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: Europeans and Eurasians in Colonial Indonesia* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).

⁵⁹ Tan, 'The Chinese Mestizos and the Formation of the Filipino Nationality,' 150.

⁶⁰ Stuart Hall, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson and Brian Roberts, *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order* (London: Macmillan, 1978).

⁶¹ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Richard Phil (New York: Grove Press, 1952).

⁶¹ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (London: Penguin, 2001).

⁶² Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge, 1978);

⁶³ 'Subaltern' here is based on the postcolonial argument of men and women outside of the power hierarchy of colonial governments. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Can the Subaltern Speak?* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988).

⁶⁴ Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), 75.

This work paved the way for the emergence of literature approaching everyday life under colonial institutions from the gaze and experience of the non-elite populations, particularly through discourses of ambivalent ‘resistance.’⁶⁵ The social worlds of peasants, in this respect, were external to the state and forms of governance.⁶⁶ Whilst it is important to rethink the lives of lower class, oppressed, illiterate men and women away from the notion of colonialism, it remains a fact that the act of struggling reverberated across societies and was shared by people from all walks of life.⁶⁷ As Frederick Cooper stressed, ‘People could live with shadings—and continued to do so day by day,’ even under the circumstances of rigid political lines and inequality.⁶⁸ This thesis attempts to show, from the experience of middle-class Macanese migrants, the various ‘struggles’ of Macanese subjects and the dynamic ways to which they tried to overcome life challenges. It traces the paths more privileged Macanese men took to establish themselves and create a bourgeois Macanese community in colonial Hong Kong. Colonies provided spaces for the rise of new ‘middle class’ communities, a process that scholars have documented as a project of ‘self-fashioning’ linked to the adaption of foreign lifestyle and assertion of political power through nationalistic advocacies.⁶⁹ As migrants who were neither native nor European in a British colony, the Macanese cases in this thesis offer a different perspective of how ‘middle class’ identities were constructed by multicultural and transnational networks.

Notably, colonial inequalities were not the root of all problems. Rather, the colonial port-city of Hong Kong provided a space for new problems and in response, new developments to emerge. As opposed to an existing literature that has shaped Hong Kong’s Macanese as ‘victims’ of racialised practises, I see the

⁶⁵ Ranjit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983); Ajay Skaria, *Hybrid Histories: Forests, Frontiers and Wildness in Western India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999).

⁶⁶ Partha Chatterjee, ‘Interview with Manu Goswami,’ *Public Culture* 25, no. 1 (2013), 177-189.

⁶⁷ Christopher Bayly, *Recovering Liberties: Indian Thought in the Age of Liberalism and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 25.

⁶⁸ Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (London: University of California Press, 2005), 80.

⁶⁹ See, for instance, Sanjay Joshi (ed.), *The Middle Class in Colonial India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010); Margrit Pernau, *Ashraf into Middle Classes: Muslims in Nineteenth-century Delhi* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013); Ray Utsa, ‘Consumption and the Making of the Middle-class in South Asia,’ *History Compass* 12, no. 1 (2014), 11-19.

Macanese subjects as ordinary people and seek to understand what we can learn about the colonial structure and 'race' from their response to social challenges. Ultimately, the Macanese shaped their lives and constantly reconstructed their interpretations of being 'Portuguese' in relation to the fluid competition and transformations that emerged through time. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Macanese contested the meaning of being 'Portuguese' and Macau-born settlers started a project to revive Portuguese patriotism amongst the community. Such issues were linked to the realities of living in a British colony but were not dictated by the reins of colonialism.

Colonial space from cosmopolitan and transnational lens

Colonial cities provided spaces that served as conduits of new ideas.⁷⁰ The movement of people and dissemination of cultures within the colonial space created integrated social, commercial and cultural worlds beyond the colonial border. Existing studies have highlighted the cultural vibrancy of the colony in different frameworks. J.S. Furnivall described the Dutch and British colonies in Asia as 'plural societies,' with different sections of the community living side by side but separately under the colonial structure, wielded only by a dominant minority and common interests in the market place.⁷¹ Focusing on the notion of 'integration' rather than segregation, scholars have proposed exploring colonies as 'port-cities' through 'cosmopolitanism,' which expands the unit of analysis from that of the colony to regional 'maritime zones.' Comparative analysis of British colonial port-cities showed similar characteristics shared between Calcutta, Bombay, Singapore and Hong Kong with regards to Anglophone bureaucracy, new channels of discourse, English education and the emergence of non-British elitist societies.⁷² 'Cosmopolitanism' shaped broader ideas of 'home' for diasporic communities. While the 'Nanyang' (South Sea) commercial network served as the basis of a global Chinese community, diasporic Chinese

⁷⁰ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

⁷¹ J.S. Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), 304.

⁷² Bayly, 'The Evolution of Colonial Cultures,' 447-469. See also, Sugata Bose's argument that the British Empire did not destroy older patterns of maritime connection in the Indian Ocean but instead, created new transoceanic linkages. Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2006), 122-192.

communities imagined the 'Nanyang' as a 'home.'⁷³ Southeast Asia was regionally connected and globally interconnected by cosmopolitan civic societies and international civic organisations in port-cities.⁷⁴ The concept of 'cosmopolitanism' has pulled politically segregated colonial spaces closer, emerging as a domain where Asian literati wrote not only for their own people, but addressed region-wide publics through the use of English as a common lingua franca.⁷⁵

These studies have shown how flows of information, people, capital and culture across political borders blurred territorial and ethnic lines of separation. The integration of the world shifted the way individuals and communities perceived themselves under the colonial structure. Several works have argued that domiciled communities, particularly descendants of foreign settlers born in colonies, orchestrated the rise of new national identities. Domiciled Straits Chinese, born and raised within the territory of Malaya, formed the 'Malay' identity through the use of their educational background and availability of print media within the colony.⁷⁶ While 'cosmopolitanism' shows the process of creating a potentially integrated 'life world' marked by universal values, associational institutions and regional networks, it does not sufficiently capture the ways to which people interact with pre-existing national ties. Through cosmopolitan lens, perceptions of the self and communities expand with wider associational tags, possibly weakening national ties. This, however, does not make existing national identities, particularly of migrants, obsolete. Transnational perspectives shed light on how the 'nation' is 'lived' by different

⁷³ Mark Ravinder Frost, 'Emporium in Imperio: Nanyang Networks and the Straits Chinese in Singapore, 1819-1914,' *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 36, no. 1 (2005), 29-66. See also, Claudine Salmon, 'On the Track of the Straits Baba Diaspora: Liec Qingui and His "Summary Account of a Trip to the East" (1889),' *Chinese Southern Diaspora Studies* 5 (2011-2012), 116-145.

⁷⁴ Su Lin Lewis, *Cities in Motion: Urban Life and Cosmopolitanism in Southeast Asia, 1920-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

⁷⁵ Mark Ravinder Frost, 'Asia's Maritime Networks and the Colonial Public Sphere, 1840-1920,' *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 6, no. 2 (2004), 63-94.

⁷⁶ Ai Lin, Chua, 'The Domiciled Identity in Colonial Singapore: Understanding the Straits Chinese Beyond "Race," "Nation" and "Empire," in Leo Suryadinata (ed.), *Peranakan Chinese in a Globalizing Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Chinese Heritage Centre, Nanyang Technological University and Baba House, National University of Singapore, 2010), 145-154.

subjects in different ways outside of the framework of 'nation.'⁷⁷ Scholars have examined how 'transnational' actors such as mixed-race subjects or migrants have constructed their identities *vis-à-vis* ethnicity, nationality and other communities.⁷⁸ English-educated Chinese and Indians in colonial Singapore and Rangoon, for instance, simultaneously reaffirmed their ethnic pride and 'Malayan' and 'Burmese' sense of belonging.⁷⁹ Colonial settlers did not restrict their self-perception and activities to the nation or the colony, or the 'home' and the 'host.' Their lives were not shaped by such spectrums. Both the society of origin and settlement could be understood as part of a single social experience.⁸⁰ They existed within cosmopolitan and transnational worlds to feed needs, pursue ambitions, establish identities and harness survival resources.

In Hong Kong, the Macanese showed changing interpretations of being 'Portuguese,' shifting between 'Macau Portuguese,' 'British Portuguese' and 'Hong Kong Portuguese.' Being 'Portuguese' was constructed across local, cosmopolitan and transnational terrains. At different levels, the Macanese responded to Macau's social and political issues, Portugal's political instabilities and Hong Kong's social inequalities. Shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War, a group of Macanese men wrote to the Portuguese President, António de Oliveira Salazar. They pledged to fight in honour of Portugal should volunteers be needed.⁸¹ The leading Macanese association, Club Lusitano, represented Macanese who identified as more 'British,' while those who identified as more 'Portuguese' formed the Portuguese League of Hong Kong. Although every Macanese individual was distinctive, they all found different

⁷⁷ Katherine Pence and Andrew Zimmerman, 'Transnationalism,' *German Studies Review* 35, no. 3 (2012), 498.

⁷⁸ See, for instance, Patricia Mazon and Reinhild Steingrover (eds.), *Not So Plain as Black and White: Afro-German Culture and History, 1890-2000* (Rochester, N.Y.: Rochester University Press, 2005)

⁷⁹ Ai Lin, Chua, 'Nation, Race and Language: Discussing Transnational Identities in Colonial Singapore, circa 1930,' *Modern Asian Studies* 46, no. 2 (2012), 283-302. See also, Penny Edwards, 'Relocating the Interlocutor: Taw Sein Ko (1864-1930) and the Itinerancy of Knowledge in British Burma,' *South East Asia Research* 12, no. 3 (2004), 277-335.

⁸⁰ Linda Green Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc (eds.), *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (London: Routledge, 2005), 5.

⁸¹ 'La Liga Portuguesa to President of the Portuguese Republic,' 20 December 1940, PT/TT/SGPCM-GPC/0484/00003, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Lisbon.

degrees of attachment to 'Portugal.' As 'cosmopolitan' subjects, Macanese individuals became members of the Catholic community and participated in multiracial institutions and projects. By the twentieth century, middle-class Macanese men had begun to respond to global issues in the local arena. Through the Macanese community's associations with Macau, Hong Kong and Portugal, this thesis adopts the concepts of 'cosmopolitanism' and 'transnationalism' to rethink colonial Hong Kong as a space that sheltered diverse human and cultural flows between borders as a single social experience. The Macanese I encountered in the last three years of fieldwork have shown me that even in the contemporary world, they continue to exist in a world of selective cultural markers and acknowledge themselves as 'global' citizens.

A 'collective biography' of Hong Kong

This thesis adopts the concept of 'collective biography,' and builds on the idea that while every ordinary human being has an extraordinary story to tell, a collective study of individual biographies linked by common background characteristics contributes to our understanding of long-term social and communal transformations.⁸² 'Collective biography,' by the use of materials such as birth and death certificates, wills, census returns, letters, diaries and personal publications, has allowed researchers to form a coherent narrative out of otherwise scattered individual experiences.⁸³ Some historians have used 'collective biography' to understand, from a broader sense, what comprises a 'generation.'⁸⁴ These narratives have helped shed light on how individuals, some of whom have never met, came to be joined by a collective 'theme' or interest.⁸⁵ In her work on the importance of biography and autobiography as sources, Liz Stanley has suggested that 'biography' is better understood as a 'kaleidoscope' in the sense that each time we take a look, new patterns emerge from the same

⁸² Krista Cowman, 'Introduction: Collective Biography, What It Is and What It Is Not,' in 83-

⁸³ Cowman, 'Introduction: Collective Biography,' 89.

⁸⁴ Brian Harrison, *Prudent Revolutionaries, Portraits of British Feminists between the Wars* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

⁸⁵ For instance, see Sandra Holton, *Suffrage Days: Stories from the Women's Suffrage Movement* (London: Routledge, 1987).

elements.⁸⁶ In this thesis, I explore the collective biography of professional Macanese men who served as entrepreneurs, civil servants, clerks, associational members, intellectuals, politicians and nationalists to understand how three generations of middle-class Macanese communities were constructed within Hong Kong's colonial framework. Although these men shared a similar background of working as professionals in different areas, their experience in colonial Hong Kong conflated in terms of their shared interests of becoming prominently 'bourgeois' within a world dominated by Britons. This resulted in both cooperation and conflict. Through linking individual Macanese stories, I offer an opportunity of understanding how 'Hong Kong,' as a place and a port-city, and various historical transitions, led to the emergence of communal tension and inter-ethnic collaboration. This approach also reveals the diverse experiences of individuals situated within a shared social and political terrain and how they responded to being a part of a wider social, associational, colonial and transnational world.

Narratives of the social history of Hong Kong and its connections to the outside world have focused on the city's developments from the onset of British colonialism and on the local context. John Carroll's *Edge of Empires* suggested a 'Hong Kong' beyond the colony's geographical boundaries, situated between the 'edges' of China and British imperialism.⁸⁷ David Pomfret's *Youth and Empire* observed the interaction between colonial practices regarding Eurasian children within the British and French empires and race, whiteness and control.⁸⁸ 'British Hong Kong' meant something different and functional for its diverse foreign communities.⁸⁹ Chinese Eurasians made use of their 'hybrid' identities and shifted between Chinese and British worlds to achieve mobility and success.⁹⁰ Literature on the Macanese in Hong Kong, in particular, has been restricted to

⁸⁶ Liz Stanley, *The Auto/Biographical I: The Theory and Practice of Feminist Auto/Biography* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 6.

⁸⁷ Carroll, *Edge of Empires*.

⁸⁸ Pomfret, *Youth and Empire*, 243-276.

⁸⁹ Chu (ed.), *Foreign Communities in Hong Kong*.

⁹⁰ Victor Zheng, 'The Mystery of Capital: Eurasian Entrepreneurs' Socio-Cultural Strategies for Commercial Success in Early Twentieth Century Hong Kong,' *Asian Studies Review* 34, no. 4 (2010), 467-487; Emma J. Teng, *Eurasian: Mixed Identities in the United States, China and Hong Kong, 1842-1943* (California: University of California Press, 2013). Both works discuss the success of Sir Robert Ho Tung.

how the Macanese contributed, as a unit, to the shaping of British Hong Kong and how the racial rigidity of the colony resulted in the frustrations and disappointments of able Macanese men.⁹¹ While this work helped to reveal the multicultural characteristics of Hong Kong as a British colony, the focus has been on unearthing various facets of Hong Kong as a colony.

Recently, scholars of Hong Kong history have turned their attention to explore what global ideas, factors and networks relevant to the colony can tell us about Hong Kong beyond colonial lens. In *Meeting Places: Encounters across Cultures in Hong Kong*, a compilation of individual, familial and institutional narratives at the micro-level revealed the 'cosmopolitan' nature of Hong Kong.⁹² Vivian Kong's PhD thesis, which analyses the changing notions of 'Britishness' across the colony's non-British communities sheds light on the emergence of civil society and 'cosmopolitan' men and women in inter-war Hong Kong. Through individual narratives and communal experiences, my thesis attempts to examine colonial Hong Kong as a liberal space where Macanese men and women explored life at their own free will. Instead of perceiving human encounters as products of colonialism and their actions as responses to colonial structures, social actions could be understood as constant negotiation, manipulation and decisions in confronting normative reality.⁹³ By rethinking British Hong Kong beyond the colonial framework, we can come to appreciate not only the fluidity of the colonial structure but also the cosmopolitan and transnational characteristics of Hong Kong and its inhabitants.

Through the method of 'collective biography,' this thesis will further revolve around print culture as an important catalyst in the various constructions of the 'Macanese.' The wider discussions within and outside Hong Kong in the second and third chapters were made possible with the practise and technologies of

⁹¹ See, for instance, Stuart Braga, 'Making Impressions: The Adaptation of a Portuguese Family to Hong Kong, 1700-1950,' Ph.D. diss., the Australian National University, 2012; Barnabas H.M. Koo, *The Portuguese in Hong Kong and China: Their Beginning, Settlement and Progress to 1949*, vol. two (Macau: University of Macau, 2013); José Pedro Braga, *The Portuguese in Hong Kong and China* (Macao: Fundação Macao, 1998).

⁹² Vivian Kong, 'Multicultural Britons: Britishness, Diasporas and Cosmopolitanism in Interwar Hong Kong,' PhD diss., University of Bristol, 2019.

⁹³ Levi, 'On Microhistory,' 94.

writing and printing. The fourth and fifth chapters show how middle-class Macanese men deployed print culture to express their changing interests regarding communal, colonial, regional, national and global issues. Newspapers, significantly, acted as channels of communication not only between the Macanese and the foreign communities of Hong Kong, but also between the Macanese and other diasporic 'Portuguese' communities in Asia. As this thesis reconsiders various histories from the 'lived' experiences of the Macanese, the direct roles of the 'state' and the church will be less apparent but not absent. Instead of examining the impact of colonial practises and policies towards the Macanese, I focus on how three generations of Macanese communities 'lived,' 'felt' and responded to state policies, Catholic activities and historical events that took shape. This approach will allow us to explore the dynamic ways colonised subjects adjusted to life in a new society and coped with colonial rigidities and life challenges.

Thesis structure and approach

Snapshots of Macanese life in Macau and Hong Kong complete the five chapters of this thesis. The chapters are organised chronologically, but each chapter overlaps due to the thematic structuring of events that took place in converging time frames. As no one archive specifically houses historical materials on the Macanese community, locating relevant sources proved to be a challenge. My colleague, Tom Larkin, shared relevant letters he unearthed from the Collidge-Lowell Family Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston. These have been useful in strengthening my argument on foreign perceptions towards the Macanese in Macau. Apart from visiting government archives in Hong Kong, Macau and Lisbon, I looked for Macanese families who had personal collections and family archives to share. The Braga Papers at the National Library of Australia, Canberra, opened me to letters, diaries, newspaper cuttings and photographs related to three generations of the Braga family in Hong Kong. Through members of the Club Lusitano, I was fortunate enough to locate Ruy Barretto, who is a descendant of the first two men to be have been employed in the colonial government as clerks. The Barretto family papers have been

valuable to further understanding the self-perception and activities of third-generation settlers. This shortcoming and challenge of sparse sources, complemented by the availability of family papers, gravitated me towards adopting the method of 'collective biography' and the decision to focus on middle-class Macanese men in integrating the sources collected to my research interests.

The thesis, thus, makes use of official documents, letters, diaries, newspapers, wills, individual and organisational publications and photographs, to explore the changing worlds of the Macanese and global connections to Hong Kong society. It draws on archives in Boston, the United States; Europe, at the National Archives, Kew and Arquivo Histórico Diplomático, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo and Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino in Lisbon that house the official documents and some of the letters I used in understanding how the Macanese positioned themselves between the British colony and Portugal. In the Asian Collections and the Braga Collection in Canberra, I located valuable Catholic publications and personal diaries, documents and letters from the Braga family. These enriched what I knew about the social lives of the Macanese and the relationships they had with non-Macanese individuals. In Asia, the Arquivo de Macau held historic newspapers and official documents that were particularly useful in bridging Macau and Hong Kong's relationship. The official documents, wills, corporate minutes and publications held at the Hong Kong Public Records Office, Catholic Diocesan Archives, the Hong Kong Heritage Project, HSBC Archives and Special Collections at the University of Hong Kong provided the primary materials for the private and public lives of the Macanese, and the vibrant associational worlds of Hong Kong. On more than one occasion, I cited the Carl Smith Collection, an index of individuals, organisations, places and events related to Hong Kong held at the Public Records Office, in referring to marriage certificates and estate records that have been either inaccessible elsewhere or too expensive to purchase from the Land Registry. Finally, the kindness of Ruy and Karen Barretto brought me to the Ruy Barretto family papers at Girassol, Tai Po and allowed this thesis to use, for the first time, letters and documents that have traveled the world but had been kept private for almost a century.

The first chapter of the thesis examines the human and cultural connections between Macau and Hong Kong through engagement with foreign narratives regarding Macau and traces the initial establishment of a Macanese community in Hong Kong. It positions the 'beginning' of the history of colonial Hong Kong to circumstances, people, events and relationships which took shape in pre-1841 Macau. With the stunted growth of Macau acting as a catalyst for Macanese migration, the initial establishment of Catholic churches and missionary schools for Macanese children in Hong Kong prompted an inflow of Macanese men and women. The colonisation of Hong Kong also saw the decision of foreign firms to move their premises from the Luso-Chinese enclave to the British colony, bringing with them Macanese employees, agents and partners. The first chapter intends to show that Hong Kong was not built from scratch after the Opium War, but in important ways was a relocation and development of existing formations, and it provides a background to cross-border affiliations between Hong Kong and Macau, to situate early Hong Kong beyond the colonial framework and within a world of fluid interactions.

Chapter two focuses on the experiences of Macanese individuals in the workplace from the 1840s to the 1880s, highlighting their roles as administrative 'collaborators' and the challenges they encountered in career advancement. It emphasises that while the domination of European superiors in public and private enterprises was safeguarded by racial stereotypes, it remained a reality that the Macanese were, in terms of qualification and work performance, not as distinguished as their European counterparts. This chapter also examines the relationship between 'race' and 'class' within the framework of 'colonial collaborators,' and seeks to explain how the terms of collaboration between European employers and Macanese workers helped to keep the government and foreign companies running in the long term. By considering the realities of what the Macanese could provide in comparison with the native and foreign populations, I propose an alternative category of 'collaborators' who were positioned in the middle of the hierarchy. The Macanese served as the administrative backbone of the colony, and the majority of the community

quietly carried on with their lives without challenging why they could not be promoted to senior positions. The second chapter, thus, sheds light on the practical terms of 'collaboration,' stressing the fact that the majority of the Macanese in the colony willingly worked in subordinate positions in order to make a living.

The third chapter analyses associational life in Hong Kong from the 1860s to the 1880s and seeks to understand how middle-class Macanese established themselves as respectable 'bourgeois' men through the formation of their own gentlemen's club, Club Lusitano. It focuses on the functions of Club Lusitano as an exclusive platform for Macanese men to display their wealth and connect with prestigious European and Chinese figures. This chapter also highlights the 'transnational' characteristics of Hong Kong's urban spaces, which the Macanese engaged with imaginations of 'British' culture and the Portuguese nation. Club Lusitano's distinctive 'Portuguese' culture was built on imaginative constructions of the Macanese community's ancestral links to Portugal and simultaneously modeled after the British concept of club culture. Deviating from the idea that colonies had strict racial lines and class divisions, chapter three reveals how Club Lusitano worked to segregate the Macanese population by class differences and connect with non-Macanese subjects from the middle classes through shared social and commercial interests. The lives and activities of Macanese individuals show the importance of wealth in getting connected with the Europeans and the considerable extent of cross-cultural contact in nineteenth century Hong Kong. Notably, the Macanese at Club Lusitano did not hold actual political affiliation or interest to Portugal. They used selective Portuguese cultural symbols to gain the recognition of the British administration and the local press as the leading institution of Portuguese affairs in Hong Kong.

The next chapter explores the emergence of Hong Kong-born Anglophile Macanese individuals from the late nineteenth century to the 1930s. I use the term 'Hong Kong Macanese' to distinguish this group of colonial-born Macanese from the previous generation and Macau-born newcomers. This chapter examines the way the Macanese used the English-language press and political

roles to express their concerns and fight for the welfare of the under-privileged in Hong Kong. It starts with the life of Macau-born Lourenço Pereira Marques who published, in the Portuguese language, on Social Darwinism in hopes of persuading the Macanese population in Macau and Hong Kong to embrace progress through science. The chapter then moves on to the pursuits of two local-born and English-educated Macanese, José Pedro Braga and Leo d'Almada e Castro and considers the 'cosmopolitan' worldviews they proposed in improving Hong Kong as a city and a 'home.' I argue that these two Macanese individuals, benefitting from the relaxation of entry into the colony's Legislative Council, embodied a strong sense of 'Hong Kong' identity. While Marques tried to open a dialogue with the Macanese, the 'Hong Kong Macanese' reached a wider audience within the city and debated with other Anglophone Asians on local and global affairs.

The final chapter sheds light on the competing discourses of cultural nationalism and nationalistic activities in inter-war Hong Kong that contributed to the construction of the 'Macanese.' Instead of generalising the 'Macanese' as a single unit, it considers the way individuals and institutions interpreted what it meant to be 'Portuguese.' This is reflected in how Macau-born Macanese and Hong Kong-born Macanese responded differently to developments in Macau and Portugal. By the late 1920s, a Portuguese nationalistic movement had emerged in Hong Kong, but unlike anti-colonial nationalistic ideas that mushroomed in other Asian port-cities, the Macanese nationalistic consciousness was never anti-colonial, nor was it linked to notions of nation building. This chapter rethinks the Macanese community from the framework of Benedict Anderson's 'imagined community,' but suggests an alternative to understanding 'imagined communities' that were not shaped by anti-colonial sentiments. It emphasises that the 'Macanese' identity was built through piecemeal narratives, which encompassed the various circumstances and developments taking place between two empires and a distant fatherland. It ends with the conclusion that 'race,' identity and nationality are a set of responses that individuals make in the face of changing situations.

By exploring a century of Macanese activities in colonial Hong Kong, this thesis seeks to address more overarching questions on the nature of human society, multicultural communities and global interconnectedness. Through the themes of continuity, collaboration, associational life, urbanism and print culture, I situate the colonial realities of Hong Kong's Macanese within a wider world of cosmopolitan values and transnational urbanism. Documenting the gradual creation of the 'Hong Kong Macanese' provides us with an opportunity to rethink racial construction and migrant identity as continuous and creative processes that emerge in the face of normative realities. These processes are evolutionary, but not necessarily revolutionary or modern products of colonial institutions. Most of all, 'race' and 'identity' are not singular or absolute entities. As will be shown in this thesis, the long-term construction of the 'Macanese' reflects the fact that although the Macanese built their lives in Hong Kong, Hong Kong was certainly not all the Macanese had. Nevertheless, Hong Kong hosted the first Macanese diaspora and contributed significantly to the diversification of the 'Macanese,' particularly in the shaping of a bourgeois 'Hong Kong' Macanese community that gradually perceived themselves as 'different' from their Macau counterparts.

Chapter One

Echoes of Macau

Desire Leonardo [D'Almada e Castro] to send me up a copy of my *secret* letter to [Commander] Blake [of Her Majesty's Sloop 'Larne'] by the first safe hand. We want it for our dispatches. This was dated March 23rd 1839.

Charles Elliot to Clara Elliot, Canton, 4 April 1839

In April 1839, a tense atmosphere surrounded the South China coast. The Opium War was on the verge of outbreak. British Superintendent of Trade in China, Captain Charles Elliot, held hostage in Canton by Chinese authorities, wrote to his wife Clara in Macau with an instruction to have his Macanese clerk, Leonardo d'Almada e Castro, send him a copy of the secret letter he had written for Commander Blake.¹ In the letter, Elliot predicted his house arrest and advised Blake, '...if you shall not hear from me in some certain and assuring manner with the space of six days... I trust that you will proceed in Her Majesty's sloop under your command to the Bocca Tigris,' the naval gateway to Canton. Elliot also asked Blake to avoid any intercourse with British shipping, much of which had been engaged in the 'illicit traffic' of opium.² Five months later, the Opium War broke out, lasting for almost three years. The 1842 Treaty of Nanking concluded the war, and the British finally found a way to open up trade with China under British terms.³ The Qing ceded Hong Kong to Britain and in 1842, Castro sailed into the waters of Hong Kong as the Chief Clerk of the new colonial government. He had been a clerk at the office of the Superintendent of Trade since 1836 and Charles Elliot trusted he was a good fit for the newly established government of Hong Kong.

¹ Quoted in Susanna Hoe and Derek Roebuck, *The Taking of Hong Kong: Charles and Clara Elliott in China Waters* (Surrey: Curzon Press, 1999), 75.

² The lockdown took place seven days after the letter to Blake was written. For the letter, see *British and Foreign State Papers, 1840-41, vol. 29* (London: James Ridgway and Sons, 1857), 954.

³ The British took Hong Kong in January 1841 and hoisted the British flag at Possession Point. The war continued until the British, led by Sir Henry Pottinger, seized Amoy, Ningpo, Shanghai and finally, Nanking. China signed the Treaty of Nanking and on June 26, 1843, Hong Kong became a Crown Colony of the British empire.

In various ways, the history of British Hong Kong is intertwined with the narratives of Portuguese Macau. Captain John Weddell's first voyage to Macau in 1637 marked the start of Britain's tireless attempts to seek trading rights in China.⁴ For three centuries, the British sought to obtain equal trading rights in Macau but the Portuguese government, in line with the Qing dynasty's condemnation of increasing British activities in China, repeatedly avoided their demands. While some historians highlighted tension, conflict and negotiation between the British and Portuguese administrations in Macau as a 'prelude' to Hong Kong's acquisition, this chapter considers the roles of Macanese subjects as a constant feature of the dynamic linkage between Hong Kong and Macau in the set-up of the British colony between the 1840s and 1860s.⁵ Some of the Macanese men that arrived in Hong Kong had been tied to their foreign employers through family networks or pre-existing collaborations in Macau. Religious missions perceived Hong Kong as an escape from Macau's corrupt Catholic authorities, establishing more ambitious initiatives in the colony than they had in the enclave. By settling in Hong Kong, Macanese families benefitted from the educational provisions of Catholic missions while the colony gained from the availability of Macanese workers. The Macanese experience outlined in this chapter will reveal how British Hong Kong was built from pre-1840 affiliations, partnerships and difficulties borne out of Macau, and further argue that aspects of Macau were implanted in the colony, assisting developments in early colonial Hong Kong while providing better opportunities for the Macanese.

This chapter will thus situate Hong Kong in a wider network of human and cultural exchange. In order to understand why the Macanese moved to colonial Hong Kong, the first section will touch on Macau's social situation before 1840 and assess the push factors that perpetuated Macanese emigration to Hong Kong. In addition, this section will examine common foreign perceptions of the Macanese in Macau, not only to throw light on the Macanese community's

⁴ Austin Coates, *Macao and the British, 1637-1842: Prelude to Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1966).

⁵ For works that emphasise Luso-British tension in Macau as a trigger to the acquisition of Hong Kong, see Coates, *Macao and the British, 1637-1842*; Rogério Miguel Puga, *The British Presence in Macau, 1635-1793*, trans. Monica Andrade (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013).

identity transformations as a long-term historical process, but also to provide a framework in understanding racialised perceptions of the Macanese as 'different' from Portuguese Europeans, as well as the role of 'class' in shaping such perceptions. The second section will focus on the narratives of three Macanese men who bridged Macau and Hong Kong through pre-existing family networks, partnership and ambitions. João António Barretto was an agent of Jardine, Matheson & Co. in Macau and Hong Kong; his father, who occasionally had tea with the Governor of Macau, was an important broker for Jardines. My second case study is of Edward Pereira, who came from an affluent family with connections to foreign merchants in Macau. In Hong Kong, he was a partner of Dent & Co. and a member of the Royal Asiatic Society. Manuel Pegado, on the other hand, brought his ambition of establishing a liberal newspaper to Hong Kong after he became disappointed with Macau's press censorship. The third section will return to the 1840s to reveal the establishment of Macanese institutions in Hong Kong and show how the arrival of religious missions, frustrated by Macau's ecclesiastical abuse, helped shape the colony into a bustling place by the 1870s. In a nutshell, this chapter seeks to unravel the strings that connected Macau and Hong Kong by examining the transfer of humans, skills and ambition to the newfound British colony.

The approach of linking colonial histories with pre-colonial contexts has been overshadowed by literature focusing on colonial and postcolonial studies. A volume of literature has examined the colonial period as a crucial point of various beginnings and marked colonialism as a cradle of modern social, economic, political, cultural and ethnic transformations.⁶ Since the 1990s, scholars have further turned to explore 'postcoloniality,' revealing the formation of new societies, governments and communities as a 'colonial legacy' borne out of resistance and anti-colonial discourses.⁷ A number of academic works has

⁶ See, for instance, Arjun Appadurai, *Worship and Conflict under Colonial Rule* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1981); Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

⁷ See, for instance, Leander Schneider, 'Colonial Legacies and Postcolonial Authoritarianism in Tanzania: Connects and Disconnects,' *African Studies Review* 49, no. 1 (2006), 93-118; Beng Huat Chua, 'Southeast Asia in Postcolonial Studies,' *Postcolonial Studies* 11, no. 3 (2008), 231-240.

argued that these approaches are problematic and questioned their ethnocentric implications, particularly in undermining the existence, influence and continuity of indigenous factors.⁸ In addressing the issue, scholars have highlighted the connections between pre-colonial and colonial societies. A strand of studies that have taken this approach has been concentrated on African studies.⁹ In the Asian context, David Ludden wrote of an evolutionary history of South Indian peasants and argued that British colonial rule was only a chapter in this long narrative.¹⁰ In *Empire and Information*, Chris Bayly revealed the existence of a north Indian 'ecumene' prior to British colonialism and the selective 'integration' of a pre-colonial 'community' into the British institution.¹¹ Michael Charney, on the other hand, highlighted the influence of pre-colonial roads, overland transportation and attitudes regarding movement on the emergence of modern transportation in colonial West Africa and Southeast Asia.¹² These studies have shown that colonial studies can benefit from incorporating pre-colonial narratives, because the pre-colonial past offers us a better understanding of how and why colonial institutions were built the way they were.

Existing studies regarding the link between Portuguese Macau and British Hong Kong often highlight the decline of Macau as a consequence of the formation of a British outpost in China.¹³ That is, while Macau became a backwater, decreasing in political, diplomatic and commercial significance after the First Opium War,

⁸ Cooper and Stoler, *Tensions of Empire*, 33; Sugata Bose, 'Post-Colonial Histories of South Asia: some Reflections,' *Journal of Contemporary History* 38, no. 1 (2003), 137-139; David Washbrook, 'South India 1770-1840: The Colonial Transition,' *Modern Asian Studies* 38, no. 3 (2004), 481-487; Reid, 'Past and Presentism: the "Precolonial,"' 135.

⁹ See, for instance, David M. Anderson and Richard Rathborne (eds.), *Africa's Urban Past* (Oxford: James Currey, 2000), 5-14; Gareth Austin, 'Developmental Divergences and Continuities between Colonial and Pre-Colonial Regimes: The Case of Asante, Ghana 1701-1957,' paper presented at the 2nd GEHN Conference, Irvine, California, 15-17 January 2004; Jutta Bolt and Leigh Gardner, 'De-compressing History? Pre-colonial Institutions and Local Government Finance in British Colonial Africa,' paper presented at the Economic History Association meetings, Nashville, 11 September 2015.

¹⁰ David Ludden, *Peasant History in South India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985). See also, Pamela G. Price, *Kingship and Political Practice in Colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

¹¹ Bayly, Christopher A. *Empire and Information: Political Intelligence and Social Communication in North India, 1780-1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

¹² Michael W. Charney, 'Before and After the Wheel: Pre-colonial and Colonial States and Transportation in Mainland Southeast Asia and West Africa,' *HumaNetten* 37 (2016), 9-38.

¹³ Dan Waters, 'Hong Kong Hongs with Long Histories and British Connections,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch* 30 (1990), 220; Jonathan Porter, 'The Transformation of Macau,' *Pacific Affairs* 66, no. 1 (1993), 3.

Hong Kong emerged as a destination for the Macanese and foreign investors. Between the late 1830s and early 1840s, foreign enterprises like Jardine, Matheson & Co., Lindsay & Co., Gibb, Livingston & Co., David Sassoon & Co. and Dent & Co. moved their headquarters to Hong Kong.¹⁴ Chinese men who worked for the British in Macau moved to Hong Kong after the end of the Opium War, establishing new careers as compradors.¹⁵ These studies have shown British Hong Kong as a one-way journey for foreigners and Chinese to withdraw from 'decaying' Macau. This chapter and my thesis will argue otherwise, suggesting instead that Macanese subjects forged an interaction between Macau and Hong Kong through the extension of existing relations, physical movement and cultural dissemination.

Bigotry and indolence, Macau

Foreign narratives of late eighteenth-century Macau offer compelling descriptions of the Macanese that are often linked with the enclave's decadence, a process which had begun a century and a half earlier with the loss of Portugal's dominant position in the South China Sea.¹⁶ Joining a visit of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) to China in the late eighteenth century, Dutch-American merchant André Everard van Braam Houckgeest blamed Macau's poverty on the 'pride and grace of its first Portuguese inhabitants,' whom he called a 'still bastardised race.'¹⁷ In a memoir published in 1769, English traveler William Hickey described Macau's soldiers as 'wretches' and remarked that everything

¹⁴ Lin Guangzhi 林廣志, 'Wanqing Aomen huashang de jueqi ji qi shehui diwei de bianhua' 晚清澳門華商的崛起及其社會地位的變化 (The Rise of Chinese Merchants in the Late Qing Era and their Transforming Social Roles) in Wu Zhiliang, Jin Guoping and Tang Kaijian 吳志良、金國平、湯開建 (eds.), *Aomen shi xinbian-- diyi ce* 澳門史新編-- 第一冊 (A New History of Macau, vol. 1; Aomen: Aomen jijin hui, 2008), 223.

¹⁵ Abe Kaori, 'Middlemen, Colonial Officials, and Corruption: The Rise and Fall of Government Compradors in Hong Kong, 1840s-1850s,' *Modern Asian Studies* 52, no. 5 (2018), 1774-1775; Abe Kaori, *Chinese Middlemen in Hong Kong's Colonial Economy, 1830-1890* (London: Routledge, 2018).

¹⁶ Charles R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), 130-151.

¹⁷ André Everard Van Braam Houckgeest, *Voyage de l'ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes orientales hollandaises, vers l'empereur de la Chine, dans les années 1794 & 1795*, vol. 2 (Voyage of the Ambassador of the VOC, To the Emperor of China in the Years 1794 and 1795, vol. 2; Philadelphia: A. Philadelphie, 1797), 262.

around Macau ‘bespoke the acme of poverty and misery.’¹⁸ George Staunton, an Irish linguist, diplomat and politician, observed that the Portuguese, by birth or descent, mostly pursued commercial and navigation careers, and noted their unwillingness to work as labourers, artists or shopkeepers.¹⁹ From 1798 to 1817, Staunton served as head of the British East India Company’s factory at Canton, and it was during this time that he visited Macau and took note of the ‘striking contrast between the busy and unceasing industry of the Chinese, and the indolence of a Portugueze, sauntering about the square of the senate house in the intervals between matins and vespers.’²⁰ In reality, the decline was not as grave as these foreign visitors suggested. Macau benefitted from the opening of Canton to foreign trade in 1757, resulting in the establishment of foreign houses in the enclave. During the spring and summer months, foreigners, a significant proportion of them British, lived in Macau, under the Qing government’s policy that they leave Canton between the trading seasons.²¹ The enclave also engaged in the lucrative ‘coolie’ trade during and after the 1840s, exporting between a sixth and a quarter of ‘coolies’ from Chinese from the 1840s to the 1870s.²²

By the nineteenth century, foreign accounts revealed the multicultural characteristics of the Macanese and various aspects of their interaction with travelers, officials and merchants from Europe and America. Colonel José de Aquino Guimarães e Freitas, a Portuguese artillery officer stationed in Macau between 1815 and 1822, classified the enclave’s Catholics into three ‘classes.’ He situated Europeans as the leading group, placing ‘[sic] *mestiço-europeos*’ in the middle and ‘[sic] *mestiço-asiaticos*’ at the bottom. For Freitas, *mestiço*-Europeans were ‘too brown’ but rarely displayed the ‘defects’ of being interbred. *Mestiço-*

¹⁸ William Hickey, *Memoirs of William Hickey (1749-1775)* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1923), 196.

¹⁹ George Staunton, *An Authentic Account of An Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China* (London: G. Nicol, 1797), 586.

²⁰ Staunton, *An Authentic Account of An Embassy*, 588.

²¹ For the Canton trade and Macau, see Zhang Tingmao 張廷茂, *Ming Qing shiqi Aomen haishang maoyi shi* 明清時期澳門海上貿易史 (History of Macau’s Maritime Trade During the Ming-Qing Period; Aomen: Aoya kan chuban she gongsi, 2004); George Bryan Souza, ‘Merchants and Commerce in Asia and the Portuguese Empire over the Long Eighteenth Century,’ *Review of Culture* 34 (2010), 64-76.

²² W.G. Clarence-Smith, *The Third Portuguese Empire, 1825-1975: A Study in Economic Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 71.

Asians were the ‘most horrendous variety of the human species.’ Freitas described the Macanese as witty, sober, Orthodox and optimal citizens, but generally failing in life due to the Chinese blood that tainted their moral and physical nature.²³ Freitas’ description of ‘Portuguese’ racial hierarchy reflected a general practise of classifying Luso-descendants according to heritage and skin colour in Portuguese communities.²⁴ In Goa, ‘Portuguese’ categories included metropolitan-born *reinóis*, Goa-born *castiços* of Portuguese parents and *mestiços* of mixed-ancestry.²⁵ Foreign accounts like Freitas’s reveal an acknowledgment of the heterogeneity of the ‘Portuguese’ race in Asia, though wealth and class would overshadow the significance of skin colour in the positioning of individuals and families in nineteenth-century Macau.

Harriet Low, one of the first two American women to visit China, provided one of the most extensive descriptions of the Macanese through her diary. Low was a single woman in Macau and had various social engagements with the foreign communities and the Macanese. In general, Low despised the ‘Portuguese,’ particularly in terms of their religious orientation. She had low tolerance for Catholicism and predicted that ‘as the world [became] enlightened, [the] bigotry and superstition will be done away.’²⁶ Low remarked that Britons perceived Catholic priests as corrupt, collecting large dues from churchgoers and even the poor.²⁷ She referred to European Portuguese and Macanese subjects simply as ‘Portuguese.’ Apart from one entry where she called a Mr. Mendez ‘pure blood Portuguese,’ black but ‘above a half caste,’ Low mostly differentiated between

²³ J. de A. Guimarães e Freitas, *Memoria sobre Macáo* (Memories about Macau; Coimbra: Real Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 1828), 16.

²⁴ This practise began in the sixteenth century. Afonso de Albuquerque, who led the successful conquests of Goa and Malacca during the sixteenth century, though an advocate of intermarriage between Portuguese men and native women, believed that the resulting ‘half-caste population... tended to degenerate’ and did not carry the ‘virility of [the] European.’ For this, see Edgar Prestage, *The Portuguese Pioneers* (London: A&C Black Ltd., 1933), 299.

²⁵ Marta Vilar Rosales, “‘Our Lady of Carmo is the Patroness of our Family:’ Migration, Religion and Belonging of Portuguese-Goan Brahmans Converted to Catholicism,” in Ester Gallo (ed.), *Migration and Religion in Europe: Comparative Perspectives on South Asian Experiences* (London: Routledge, 2014), 196.

²⁶ Rosemarie W.N. Lamas, *Everything in Style: Harriett Low’s Macau* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006), 79.

²⁷ Harriett Low Hillard and Katharine Hillard, *My Mother’s Journal: A Young Lady’s Diary of Five Years Spent in Manila Macao and the Cape of Good Hope from 1829-1834* (Boston: G.H. Ellis, 1900), 176.

the 'Portuguese' populations by class difference.²⁸ For instance, she saw 'Portuguese caretakers' as unreliable and 'a great nuisance' to the household.²⁹ She also remarked on the resemblances between lower-class Macanese and the Chinese, pointing out that both communities tortured themselves with 'the most singular remedies,' burning their sore throats 'with hot cash.'³⁰

Low's attitude towards wealthy Macanese families varied evidently from her intolerance towards lower-class Macanese. She spoke highly of the Pereiras, a prestigious Macanese family which had at least two generations of contact with foreigners before Low's visit to their residency. The Pereiras were a rare manifestation of social connection between Macanese subjects and foreigners in Macau.³¹ Low admired the Pereiras and was invited to dinner parties at their luxurious home, the Casa Garden, which the American woman described as the 'perfect palace.'³² She adored Mrs. Antónia Vicência Baptista Cortela Pereira, the female head of the household and recounted admiringly that she was a 'pleasant' woman, 'splendidly dressed in a rich crimson velvet pelisse neatly trimmed, with a handsome white hat.'³³ From her various visits to the Pereira household, Low documented the Pereira family's multicultural characteristics and the recurring presence of British subjects. Low wrote, for instance, that the Pereiras had eighteen 'Caffres,' twelve sepoy and Chinese servants, and contrary to her dislike of 'eastern' practices, she admired how the image of 'Mr. Beale and Mr. Pereira ... smoking their Hookahs' made her feel like she was 'in the eastern world.'³⁴ Importantly, Harriet Low revealed the Pereira family's amicable relationship with the British community. Being wealthy made them a popular

²⁸ Harriet Low Hillard, *Lights and Shadows of A Macao Life: The Journal of Harriett Low, Travelling Spinster* (Woodinville, WA: History Bank, 2002), 96-97.

²⁹ Elma Loines and Harriet Low Hillard, *The China Trade Post-bag of the Seth Low Family of Salem and New York, 1829-1873* (Manchester: Falmouth Publishing House, 1953), 38.

³⁰ Hillard, *Lights and Shadows*, 638; Another example was: 'Portuguese & Chinese... I suppose never sit down to think except upon what they shall have for dinner.' Lamas, *Everything in Style*, 217.

³¹ Kendall A. Johnson, *The New Middle Kingdom: China and the Early American Romance of Free Trade* (Baltimore, M.D.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017), 104.

³² Lamas, *Everything in Style*, 219.

³³ Lamas, *Everything in Style*, 218.

³⁴ Lamas, *Everything in Style*, 218. British expatriates in India also adopted the habit of smoking the hookah. In another note, Mr. Beale's full name was Thomas Beale, a Scottish merchant who had by this time gone bankrupt. By Mr. Pereira, Low seems to be referring to one of Manuel Pereira's sons, potentially António Vicente Pereira.

family amongst the enclave's foreigners. On one occasion, Low and the Pereirases' youngest daughter, Maria Ana Josefa Pereira (Mariquita) were chosen as bridesmaids for the wedding of English surgeon Thomas Richardson Colledge and Caroline Matilda Shillaber.³⁵

What Harriet Low did not mention was the 'mixed' origins of the Pereira clan, a characteristic that she would have disgustingly termed 'half-caste' in the case of the lower classes. The Pereiras were certainly a rare manifestation of social connection between the Macanese and foreigners in Macau, particularly when the rest of the Macanese community was isolated from the social worlds of foreign merchants by class and religious differences. The Pereiras symbolised the exclusivity of Macau's bourgeois world, which had been restricted to the involvement and control of very few Macanese elite families. During the late eighteenth century, entering these families through marriage served as a key for ordinary men from Portugal to find fortune in Asia. Macau was a particularly popular destination, as many of the Macanese women from elite families were richly dowered.³⁶ It was exactly through this route that the prestigious Pereira clan emerged.

The head of the Pereira family, Manuel Pereira (Fig. 1) arrived in Macau as a commoner but successfully gained the trust of the wealthy Pires Viana through pursuing their daughter.³⁷ Pereira married Rosa Pires Viana and through her family's networks, subsequently made his way up the social ladder. He entered the 'brotherhood' of a supposedly 'charitable' organisation, Santa Casa de Misericórdia (Holy House of Mercy), a tight network of social and economic alliances amongst middle-class Macanese men.³⁸ These middle-class men held a tight grip over this charity, particularly because many of them left their

³⁵ Hillard, *My Mother's Journal*, 176.

³⁶ Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East*, 203; Ana Maria Amaro referred to these women as Macanese *nhonhonha* and noted that marriage took place between cousins in order to keep the fortunes of elite families concentrated within a contained circle. For this, see Ana Maria Amaro, 'Sons and Daughters of the Soil: The First Decade of Luso-Chinese Diplomacy,' *Review of Culture* no. 20 (1994).

³⁷ Jorge Forjaz, *Familias Macaenses*, vol. III (1st ed.; Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1996), 963-964.

³⁸ Rosa Pires Viana's father, Nicolau Pires Viana was also a member of the Santa Casa de Misericórdia.

illegitimate and often, 'half-bred' children in the orphanage. They also used the Santa Casa's capital for their own benefit, making investments and generating surpluses. Without the Pires Vianas, Manuel Pereira would not have integrated into the local bourgeois community dominated by local Macanese families.³⁹

Fig. 1 Portrait of Manuel Pereira



This portrait of Manuel Pereira is from the second edition of Jorge Forjaz's *Familias Macaenses vol. VI*.⁴⁰ It shows him with a Grand Cross star and sash, an insignia of the Order of the Immaculate Conception of Vila Viçosa.

By the late eighteenth century, Manuel Pereira had established himself as a prominent public figure. He was vice-president of the 'Casa do Seguro de Macau,'

³⁹ Ivo Carneiro de Sousa, 'Orfandade feminina, mercado matrimonial e elites sociais em Macau (século XVIII)' (Female Orphans, Mercantile Marriages and Social Elites in Macau (Eighteenth Century)), *Review of Culture* 22 (2007), 26, 22-39.

⁴⁰ Jorge Forjaz, *Familias Macaenses vol. VI*, sec. edition (Macau: Albergue SCM e Bambu - Sociedade e Artes Limitada, Macau, 2017), 72.

a commercial insurance company associated with the Santa Casa de Misericórdia, and served as an attorney and city councilor.⁴¹ During this time, he leased a part of his villa, Casa Garden, to the English East India Company, resulting in closer interaction with British merchants.⁴² Pereira was active in the opium trade with India. In 1805, a Portuguese vessel commanded by Goan Portuguese Antonio Jose Pereira carried ninety-six boxes of Malwa opium from Goa to Macau with a Bill of Lading instructing that the opium to be delivered to Vitorino Manoel do Loreto, Manuel Pereira or his partner, Januario Agostinho de Almeida upon arrival.⁴³ In addition, Pereira worked as a collaborator of the Spanish in the opium trade.⁴⁴ Viana died in the early nineteenth century and Pereira married two more times with the daughters of another prominent Macanese man, Inácio Baptista Cortela de Sousa e Albuquerque.⁴⁵ Albuquerque was a government official and nephew of Domingos Pio Marques, a Macau commander and Malwa opium trader.⁴⁶ Manuel Pereira died in 1826 but his descendants carried on the wealth, prestige and networks he had built in Macau. In 1830, Manuel Pereira's son from his first marriage, António Vicente Pereira, helped the EIC secure a small plot of land for a Protestant cemetery. Against the opposition of ecclesiastical authorities, Pereira bought the site for \$875 at an auction and transferred it to the EIC for an unrecorded amount of cash.⁴⁷ As will be shown in the next section, the Pereira family's connection to the British would continue in Hong Kong through António Pereira's son, Edward Pereira.

⁴¹ Forjaz, *Familias Macaenses vol. VI*, sec. edition, 68.

⁴² Austin Coates, *A Macao Narrative* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 102.

⁴³ Teotonio R. de Souza, *Goa to Me* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1994), 131.

⁴⁴ Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-1834, vol II* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), 162.

⁴⁵ Manuel Pereira's second wife was Esmeralda Lourença Baptista Cortela. She died shortly and Pereira married her sister, Antónia Vicência Baptista Cortela. Forjaz, vol. VI (second edition), 72. For the Cortela de Sousa e Albuquerque family, see Miguel Metelo de Seixas, 'Heráldica Portuguesa em Macau: as pedras de armas de Domingos Pio Marques e de sua descendência' (Portuguese Heraldry in Macau: The Coat of Arms of Domingos Pio Marques and His Descendants), *Lúsiada* 2, no. 8 (2011), 430-431.

⁴⁶ Lindsay Ride and May Ride, *The Voices of Macao Stones* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1999), 109; Amar Farooqui, *Smuggling as Subversion: Colonialism, Indian Merchants, and the Politics of Opium, 1790-1843* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), 238.

⁴⁷ Lindsay Ride and May Ride, *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macau*, Bernard Mellor (ed.) (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1996), 63.

The Pereiras' wealth and prestige were far from the reach of most Macanese men and women. The Macanese family elites took to marrying into each other's families to secure their positions. Harriet Low remarked of the practice of intermarriage amongst middle-class Macanese families. In 1833, she noted a wedding between the Pereira family and the Paivas, a family she described as 'one of the most respectable [in Macau].'⁴⁸ The Paiva family rose to prominence in a context similar to the Pereiras. It started when Domingos Marques, an exiled revolutionary from Portugal fled to Macau and achieved social prominence through marrying another of Inácio Baptista Cortela de Sousa e Albuquerque's daughters, Maria Francisca Dos Anjos Reibeiro Guimarães de Noronha e Castelo Branco. Manuel Pereira's daughter, Mariquita later married with a member of the Marques family. In 1838, she married Domingo Pios Marques's son and her maternal cousin, Lourenço Caetano Cortela Marques.⁴⁹ Through marrying into each other's families, bourgeois Macanese managed to maintain wealth and social standing within a close-knit oligarchy of local elites. This left little space for others in society to ascend the social ladder.

While Low acquainted herself with the Macanese, other foreign travelers observed from a distance Macau's features of 'race' and 'class.' Caroline Hyde Butler Laing, an American writer who lived in Macau for two months with her trader husband Edward Butler in 1836, observed that there were only eight or ten British and four American families and 'but a few pure blooded' Portuguese in the enclave.⁵⁰ She took specific note of 'half-Portuguese, half-Chinese' subjects, describing them as insipid, of swarthy complexions and flat features, and that they were in general, a 'mongrel race.' Laing recorded her remarks of Macanese women's attire, which consisted of 'large square shawls, of very gay colours' with one end pinned on top of their heads, 'slightly projecting over their faces, while the rest falls around them like a mantle.'⁵¹ She further observed class differences between the 'miserable [Portuguese] race' and a very small group of affluent

⁴⁸ Forjaz, *Famílias Macaenses*, vol. 2, 989.

⁴⁹ De Seixas, 'Heráldica Portuguesa em Macau,' 426.

⁵⁰ Rogério Miguel Puga, 'Representing Macao in 1837: The Unpublished Peripatetic Diary of Caroline Hyde Butler (Laing),' in Kendall Johnson (ed.), *Narratives of Free Trade: The Commercial Cultures of Early US-China Relations* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012), 124-125.

⁵¹ Puga, 'Representing Macao in 1837,' 125.

families.⁵² Ellen Coolidge, who spent time in Macau with her Boston merchant husband, Joseph Coolidge in 1840, provided a description of Macau that was consistent with previous narratives. In a letter, she mentioned the multiracial composition of the enclave, writing, 'The population of the place is strangely made up of every colour and costume. Sandy haired Scots, ruddy Englishmen, spare Americans, swarthy Portuguese, Parsees from Bombay, Lascars from Bengal... now and then a Malay, and crowds of Chinese.'⁵³ When she wrote to fellow American merchant, John Forbes, she remarked that the 'Portuguese' in Macau were 'fit for nothing, either as masters or servants.'⁵⁴

The dominance of bourgeois Macanese men was visible in the political composition. In 1842, government reports to the Ministry of Sea Trade and Overseas Affairs showed Macau's population categorised into two sections, '*brancos*' (whites) and '*escravos*' (slaves). The term '[*sic*] *portugueze europas*' (European Portuguese) was used in death certificates. Of the equal rights of men to enter politics, the Governor stated that any man had the right to serve as an elector for Macau's *Leal Senado* (Municipal Council), as long as he enjoyed civil and political rights, was Portuguese by birth or naturalisation and was over twenty-five years of age.⁵⁵ Theoretically, the rule was accurate. Realistically, not all men were gifted with the 'right' to serve. Just as bourgeois Macanese families dominated the most prominent positions in society, they reserved the Council for allies and family members that would help secure their exclusive social, economic and political dominance. The close-knit and restricted bourgeois community of wealthy Macanese families also had their control over Macau's *Leal Senado*, leaving little space for able men from outside the bourgeois circle to participate in politics. The Macanese men who acquired the chance to enter the Council were known as *homens bons* (good men), a position that led to higher

⁵² Puga, 'Representing Macao in 1837,' 126.

⁵³ 'Ellen W. Randolph Coolidge to Susan B. Coolidge,' 30 January 1840, Ms. N-2404, Collidge-Lowell Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

⁵⁴ 'Ellen W. Randolph Coolidge to John M. Forbes,' 22 January 1840, Ms. N-2404, Collidge-Lowell Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

⁵⁵ Governor of Macau to the Ministry of Sea Trade and Overseas Affairs,' 12 February 1842, AHU-ACL-SEMU-DGU-005, No. 216, cx. 0009, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon.

titles as Macau's senators. *Homens bons* were generally men of wealth who had contributed a part of their fortune to Macau and the government.

The very system of *homens bons* helped facilitate the oligarchy of bourgeois men in Macau's politics. The 'good men' had the power to influence the results of senatorial elections. They first appointed six of its members as electors, and these electors would then be split into two groups, resulting in two lists of candidates to the Viceroy of Goa. The Viceroy organised these names into three lists, one for each year of the triennium where two of the six served as *juizes ordinarios* (judges), three as councilors (*vereadores*) and one as attorney (*procurador*).⁵⁶ Francisco António Pereira da Silveira, a first clerk of the Jurisdiction Judge, observed in the early 1840s that Macau's *homens bons* were dominated by a group of wealthy merchants who were either affiliated to each other through family network or social connections.⁵⁷ Within Da Silveira's list of members were Lourenço Marques and his cousin, Agostinho de Miranda.⁵⁸ Another member, José Tomáz de Aquino was the son of an orphaned 'Portuguese' from Cambodia, João Tomáz (also Thomas) Rodrigues. Rodrigues followed a Catholic priest to Macau, where he changed his surname to de Aquino and married Clara Ana Pereira, the widow of a man from France.⁵⁹

De Aquino was involved in the slave trade and captained vessels between Macau and Calcutta.⁶⁰ During the 1820s, he was commissioned to transport opium as a go-between by a prominent businessman, Rogerio de Faria, known as the Goan 'Prince Merchant' in Bombay. De Faria helped the British import opium into Macau, tax-free, owing to his Portuguese nationality.⁶¹ José de Aquino benefited

⁵⁶ John Villiers, 'The Estado da India in Southeast Asia,' in Malyn Newitt (ed.), *The First Portuguese Colonial Empire* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1986), 56.

⁵⁷ Ana Maria Amaro, '1842 Elections for the Macao Senate and the Homens Bons ('Good Men') of the Territory,' *Review of Culture* 19 (1994).

⁵⁸ Amaro, '1842 Elections for the Macao Senate.'

⁵⁹ According to a marriage certificate from the São Lourenço parish that was accessed by Carl Smith, Clara Ana Pereira's surname was 'Fereira' during her first marriage to Guilherme Effrom. Carl Smith, 'Guilherme Effrom; Clara Anna Fereira,' 212285, Carl Smith Records, Public Records Office, Hong Kong.

⁶⁰ De Aquino's name also appears in a list of merchants of slave traders in 1812. For these, see Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India*, 277.

⁶¹ In Pinto's study, Rogerio de Faria operated an opium business with branches at Calcutta, Surat, Daman and Macau. In 1823, he procured the services of João Thomas de Aquino for Briton James

from his father's affluence, studied architecture overseas and served as a *vereadores* in 1842. His older brother, Maximiano Jozé (also José) de Aquino served in the same rank and had three brothers-in-law who served as members with no voting rights.⁶² I highlight some significant points out of these cases: by the nineteenth century, bourgeois Macanese families had dominated the economic, social and politics aspects of Macau. Ordinary men from Portugal found fortune through marrying the daughters of these families and becoming a part of the Macanese-dominated oligarchy. Although bourgeois families did not try to conceal their Asian cultural characteristics, foreign accounts referred to them as dominantly 'European,' revealing not only the complex interaction between 'race' and 'class' in Macau, but also the Eurocentric interpretation amongst foreigners of wealth as a factor linked to being 'European.'

Throughout the 1840s, new foreign visitors in Macau continued to make consistent observations of Macau's decline and the striking distinction between wealthy middle-class Macanese families and their less affluent counterparts, particularly with relations to 'race.' Henry Charles Sirr, Hong Kong's first resident barrister, condemned Macau's Catholicism as decaying 'superstition and bigotry' and observed that 'Amongst the Portuguese, indolence and inactivity were but too evident.'⁶³ Notably, Sirr's critique of Roman Catholicism was not isolated. Instead, it reflected a wider British imagination of a 'Catholic other' that emerged in the war against revolutionary France and the construction of a British national identity in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Britain.⁶⁴ Of class, Sirr observed that the majority of lower-class 'Portuguese' men and women were 'natives of Goa, whose European blood has become almost extinct from generations of intermarriage and were thus, hideous in physical appearance.'⁶⁵ In contrast, he mentioned that there were 'Portuguese families of

A. Maxwell, with a letter from Maxwell that promised De Aquino would be liberally rewarded by the colonial government for his service. For these, see Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese*, 58-59, 70.

⁶² Amaro, '1842 Elections for the Macao Senate.'

⁶³ Henry Charles Sirr, *China and the Chinese: Their Religion, Character, Customs, and Manufacturers*, vol. 1 (London: W.S. Orr, 1849), 122, 124.

⁶⁴ Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*.

⁶⁵ Sirr, *China and the Chinese: Their Religion*, 124-125.

high respectability' and revealed that those from the upper class adopted the Parisian style of dress in the same manner as Portuguese subjects in Portugal.⁶⁶

Dr. Melchior Yvan, a physician traveling with the French Scientific Expedition to China from 1844 to 1846 highlighted two different Macanese worlds separated by class difference. The 'Portuguese Macaists,' he observed, lived in the shadows of the 'wild spirits,' the pioneering Portuguese explorers that ventured to Asia.⁶⁷ As a result, they found it 'derogatory to their dignity to learn any useful trade,' remaining instead in their homes where the typical Portuguese 'reads little, yawns a great deal, and fans himself the whole of the day, while his wife in a light style of *dishabille* seats herself behind the blind, and with her fan... and cigarette... gazes listlessly at the passers-by.' Having visited a number of Macanese families, Yvan observed their Asian dietary practice of eating rice as a principal component, complemented by condiments like the *balichan*, a Malay cuisine of pounded small fish and prawns preserved in spice.⁶⁸ Women wore a flowing robe and 'a sort of helmet of stiff Indian print,' part of which descends behind, and envelopes them like a veil (Fig. 2). In contrast, Yvan identified middle-class Macanese as a small group of 'Portuguese [*sic*] Macaists' with 'some remains of aristocracy,' further referring to their privilege as a status regulated by and proportionate to the European descent preserved (Fig. 3).⁶⁹ Eurasian women in other colonies similarly adopted European clothing as a symbol of 'class' and status but showed signs of cultural mixture over time. Upper-class Eurasian women in the early decades of Dutch rule over Batavia dressed in European attire but by the nineteenth century, adopted a '*mestizo*' culture represented by visits to local Indonesian doctors, adaption of cooler Indonesian costume and consumption of Indonesian food.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Sirr, *China and the Chinese: Their Religion*, 125.

⁶⁷ Melchior Yvan, *Six Months Among the Malays; And a Year in China* (London: James, Blackwood, Paternoster Row, 1855), 280.

⁶⁸ Yvan, *Six Months Among the Malays*, 282, 286, 288. For the use of the *balichan* in Java, see Charles Payson Gurley Scott, 'The Malayan Words in English,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 17 (1896), 114.

⁶⁹ Yvan, *Six Months Among the Malays*, 290.

⁷⁰ Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, 42, 132.

Fig. 2 Macanese woman in a saraça



This sketch of a Macanese woman in a *saraça* is from an eighteenth century publication, *Aomen jilue* 澳門記略.⁷¹ Writings from the seventeenth through to the early twentieth century carried descriptions of Macanese women dressed in the South-Asian *saraça*. The *saraça* was a piece of cloth worn as a skirt, a blouse and a mantilla draped over their heads.⁷² By the eighteenth century, ways of everyday dressing reflected class differences. Lower-class women wore coloured and patterned *saraça* made of cotton, as seen in Fig. 2 from the eighteenth century.

Fig. 3 Aurélia Pereira and her children



This portrait of Aurélia Pereira and her children is from the Hong Kong Museum of Art. By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, privileged women

⁷¹ Sketch from *Aomen jilue*, completed in 1751. Yin Guangren 印光任 and Zhang Rulin 張汝霖, *Aomen jilue* 澳門記略 (Annals of Macau; Guangzhou: Guangdong gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 1988), cited in Ana Maria Amaro, *O traje da mulher Macaense: da saraça ao dó das Nhonhonha de Macau* (The Costume of the Macanese Woman: From the Saraça to the Dó of the Nhonhonha of Macau; Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1989), 121.

⁷² The *saraça* was also worn by women in Madagascar, Ceylon, Malaysia, Oceania, Indo-China and the Philippines.

replaced the *saraça* with a dark and cool silk mantilla. Affluent women occasionally indulged in Victorian fashion. The portrait, painted by English painter George Chinnery in 1827 (Fig. 3) shows Aurélia Susana Viana Pereira and her two children. Pereira was married to António Pereira, Manuel Pereira's son from his first marriage.⁷³

The various accounts of foreigners in Macau revealed not only the multicultural characteristics of the Macanese, but also the significant roles of wealth and social status in shaping the racial perceptions of Luso-Asians in foreign eyes. Harriet Low perceived and accepted the Pereiras as 'European' with an 'eastern touch,' and both Sirr and Yvan noted that the middle and upper-class 'Portuguese' and 'Portuguese [*sic*] Macaists,' respectively, were more 'European' than the rest of the population. These perceptions, while unveiling the ambiguity of the 'Macanese' identity, further show the power of 'class' over 'race,' and the interpretive assumption of wealthy Macanese as members of the European race. Significantly, the cases presented reveal the lack of social mobility in nineteenth-century Macau. The bourgeois Macanese circle worked to keep their privileges at bay, restricting opportunities for class mobility and political participation from the lower classes. This prompted ambitious Macanese men and women to move sixty miles away to the colony of Hong Kong after 1842, where they would fight to continue their ambitions, setting up in the newfound colony what they could no longer attain, let alone attempt to do, in Macau. Some members of the bourgeois Macanese families also saw in Hong Kong new opportunities to establish themselves away from the competition of their siblings and relatives. These movements did not completely mark new beginnings, but as we will see in the next section, were also marked by various continuities. In particular, Macanese men brought across the border their ambitions, skills and pre-existing collaboration with foreign businesses that took root in Macau and sometimes, spanned generations of family involvement. Ultimately, the experience of Macanese emigration to Hong Kong was generally tied to different aspects of Macau but concluded in distinct and individual outcomes.

⁷³ Portrait from Hong Kong Museum of Art, cited in Braga, *Making Impressions*, 45.

Hong Kong's 'Macau'

In February 27 1842, the British transferred its official headquarters of trade in China to Hong Kong and set up the new colonial government. Leonardo d'Almada e Castro emerged as one of three clerks in the newly established administration. Castro's tasks as an administrative assistant under the colonial government continued in the Colonial Secretary's office of the newly established Hong Kong government.⁷⁴ Resettlements are never easy and Castro and the Britons arrived to find Hong Kong the 'barren island,' as Lord Palmerston had dismissed this in the London Parliament.⁷⁵ There were only about 7,500 native inhabitants scattered over twenty fishing hamlets and villages and according to the Colonial Treasurer, Robert Montgomery Martin, 'no assignable grounds for the political or military occupancy of Hong Kong.'⁷⁶ In its early years, Hong Kong was also a hotbed of crime and disease, and some Britons were convinced there was no saving the 'barren island.' In 1844, Martin suggested that the British should abandon the island, describing European investors who had bought land in Hong Kong as having 'a sort of hallucination' by setting expectations on a hopeless situation.⁷⁷ These problems, however, did not dissuade the Macanese, or foreign firms in Macau, from moving to the British colony, and Macanese men and women to follow forth in search of hope and employment.⁷⁸

The Macanese, thus, took the risk and played their part in turning Hong Kong into a buzzing colony within two decades. In late 1845, Scottish botanist and traveller Robert Fortune described the colony's rapid development as 'magic,' and remarked that 'a very large proportion of the Macao shopkeepers [had]

⁷⁴ *The Chinese Repository* vol. XI, from January to December, 1842 (Canton: The Proprietors, 1842), 54.

⁷⁵ Frank Welsh, *A History of Hong Kong* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 1994), 109.

⁷⁶ Cited from Stephen Chiu and Tai-Lok Lui, *Hong Kong: Becoming A Chinese Global City* (London: Routledge, 2009), 16.

⁷⁷ Carroll, *Edge of Empires*, 38.

⁷⁸ In 1846, there were five Macanese working in the government, fourteen in foreign newspaper companies, twenty-seven in commercial firms and one in the banking sector. For this, see *The Hongkong Almanack and Directory for 1846* (Hong Kong: The China Mail, 1846), 994-997.

removed their establishments to Hong Kong.’⁷⁹ The ‘shops’ that Fortune mentioned can no longer be traced, but the involvement of Macanese men in early Hong Kong’s foreign firms has fortunately left some marks. My first case, João António Gonçalves Barretto came to Hong Kong during the early 1840s and for more than thirty years, worked for Scottish trading firm Jardine, Matheson & Co. as a bookkeeper and agent.⁸⁰ Born in 1824, he was the fifth-generation of a family of successful traders, businessmen and philanthropists that had originated from Goa and was active in Calcutta, Bombay and Macau. His grandfather, John Barretto, was a prominent Catholic merchant and philanthropist in Bombay. John Barretto’s obituary read, ‘His reputation for wealth was so great that the local people believed he could transmute base metals into gold.’⁸¹

The Barretto family’s link to Jardine goes back to the previous century, beginning with João Barretto’s father, Bartolomeu Barretto. Born in Bombay, Bartolomeu Barretto was educated in Calcutta and moved to Macau in the 1790s where he established an insurance company and later worked as a ‘go-between’ for the Jardine company in the early nineteenth century.⁸² His strategic importance to Jardine was documented in a letter from 1829, which showed James Matheson advising William Jardine to take in Bartolomeu Barretto as a ‘Channel of mediation’ for the opium trade, writing that the Macanese trader occasionally had tea with the Governor and that he ‘[knew] all that passe[d] between Sr. Janeiro [Jardine’s landlord] and me.’⁸³ João Barretto’s brother, Bartolomeu

⁷⁹ Robert Fortune, *Three Years’ Wanderings in the Northern Provinces of China*, sec. ed. (London: John Murray, 1847), 3.

⁸⁰ The term ‘bookkeeper’ was used in existing accounts of the Barrettos under Jardine, Matheson & Co. It is also the standard term used in existing studies. The Jardines interchanged between the two in referring to Bartolomeu Antonio Barretto. See, for instance, ‘Hong Kong, 26 November 1881,’ *Hongkong Telegraph*, 26 November 1881, 2; Alain Le Pichon, *China Trade and Empire: Jardine, Matheson & Co. and the Origins of British Rule in Hong Kong, 1827-1843* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 405, 431.

⁸¹ Forjaz, *Famílias Macaenses*, vol. 1, 1st ed., 405-406.

⁸² Forjaz identified Barretto as a ‘bookkeeper,’ but records show that he was a go-between. Forjaz, *Famílias Macaenses*, vol. 1, 1st ed., 399.

⁸³ Letter from James Matheson in Canton to William Jardine in Macau, 15 September 1829, Le Pichon, *China Trade and Empire*, 84-85. Barretto later became a member of the Leal Senado. For this, see *The Chinese Repository* vol. X, from January to December, 1841 (Canton: The Proprietors 1841), 57.

Antonio also served as an agent for Jardines in Canton.⁸⁴ In 1839, James Matheson, writing from Toon Koo (Urmston's Bay; Lung Kwu Chau 龍鼓洲), an island northwest of Hong Kong, informed William Jardine and Alexander Matheson in London that the company was planning to send 'young Barretto up by an early opportunity to tutor our American agent and should indeed, in the first instance have employed Bartolomeu Antonio Barretto as our agent.'⁸⁵

João Barretto began working for Jardine in 1841 as an assistant.⁸⁶ He took on an ambiguous position that required him to do the tasks of a mercantile assistant, clerk, bookkeeper and agent, but did not serve in his father's capacity.⁸⁷ He was the only Barretto to have continued working for Jardine and followed the company to Hong Kong upon the establishment of its new headquarters in 1844. In 1846, Alexander Matheson sent Barretto to deal with the winding up of the Jardine's agent and principal correspondent in Manila, E. de Otadui & Co. after Otadui decided to leave Manila. In a letter explaining the situation in Manila, Donald Matheson mentioned Barretto as an employee 'who [had] been for a length of time in our office.'⁸⁸ By the 1860s, João Barretto had also established himself as a prominent 'leader' of the Macanese community while continuing his work for Jardines. He emerged as one of the colony's two main donors that brought the Macanese organisation, Club Lusitano, to life. Barretto worked for Jardines until the 1870s, and in 1877 became a clerk for the Chartered Bank.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Le Pichon, *China Trade and Empire*, 431.

⁸⁵ Letter dated 24 November 1839. Le Pichon, *China Trade and Empire*, 405.

⁸⁶ This is based on an 1872 article from *The China Mail*, which mentioned Barretto as the firm's clerk and bookkeeper for thirty-one years. The newspaper on this date, however, is not available on the MMIS but cited in Carl Smith, 'Barretto, J.A.,' 197879, Hong Kong Public Records Office, Hong Kong.

⁸⁷ The Directory of 1848 listed Barretto as 'Mercantile Assistant.' The local newspaper identified him as a clerk and bookkeeper. For these, see *The Hongkong Almanack and Directory for the Year 1848* (Hong Kong: D. Noronha, 1848). Hong Kong, 26 November 1881, *Hongkong Telegraph*, 26 November 1881, 2

⁸⁸ 'Donald Matheson to John Abel Smith,' 21 June 1846, JM C9/1, cited in Carol Matheson Connell, 'The Applicability of Resource-based Theory to the Interpretation of Strategic Management in Jardine Matheson: Uncertainty, Relationships and Capabilities,' PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2001, II.

⁸⁹ *The Chronicle & Directory for China, Japan and the Philippines for the Year 1877* (Hong Kong: The Daily Press, 1878), 64.

My second figure, Edward Pereira, was the only Macanese to have entered the social worlds of Hong Kong's Europeans during the 1840s and in less than two decades, moved to Britain where he died. The grandson of Manuel Pereira, Edward Pereira successfully brought his family's bourgeois status to the colony and established himself amongst bourgeois Britons. Apart from the overlapping social worlds of the Pereira family and foreigners in the Luso-Chinese enclave, the Pereiras' company, Pereira & Co. was one of Macau's two wealthiest mercantile houses, and was associated with the Dent & Co., one of the two largest opium trading houses on the China coast.⁹⁰ The Pereiras' connection to Dent & Co. continued in Hong Kong with the involvement of Edward Pereira. Born Eduardo to António and Aurélia Susana Viana Mendes in Macau, he changed his name from Eduardo to Edward and was known by the latter name in most business and directory records. Edward Pereira had been active in Macau during the 1830s as an agent in the opium trade with the British. His was one of twenty-six 'European and American houses' that acted as agents for Indian opium traders for Captain Charles Elliot.⁹¹ In 1839, Edward Pereira offered thirty-three chests of opium to the British, and was the only Macanese to have entered the opium trade with the Superintendent of British Trade in the year.⁹² In 1841, Dent & Co. relocated to Hong Kong and in early 1845, Edward Pereira started as a clerical assistant for the company, potentially to familiarise with the house.⁹³ Within two years, Pereira had become a partner of Dent & Co.'s Hong Kong branch.⁹⁴

At a time when most Macanese could only serve as subordinates to European heads in Hong Kong's workspaces, Edward Pereira moved along the worlds of middle-class Britons. Braga described him as the only person in the 'Portuguese' community who had been accepted as an equal into British society during the

⁹⁰ The other company was Widow Payva & Sons, which belonged to the Paiva family and was associated with Jardine. By this time, it was run by Joaquim José Ferreira Veiga Francisco José de Paiva's passing in 1822. Michael Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China, 1800-1842* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 132.

⁹¹ Other agents included, for instance, Jardine, Matheson & Co., Dent & Co., Gibb, Livingston, and Co., and a group of 'Parsee merchants.'

⁹² Robert Montgomery Martin (ed.), *The Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime, January-April 1840, vol. 1* (Paris: Fisher, Son & Co., 1840), 117.

⁹³ *An Anglo-Chinese Calendar for the Year 1845* (Hong Kong: The Chinese Repository, 1845), 25.

⁹⁴ *An Anglo-Chinese Calendar for the Year 1847* (Hong Kong: The Chinese Repository, 1847), 119.

1840s.⁹⁵ Through his family's wealth, wide inter-port network and long relationship with the Europeans in China, Pereira was admitted into the bourgeois European communities of the British colony. On March 2, 1847, he was elected as a Resident Member of the China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (RAS), along with Hon. Major Caine and businessmen like Wilkinson Dent, Donald Matheson, and Framjee Jamjetsee.⁹⁶ By early November, he replaced A.R. Johnston and became a Council member of the RAS.⁹⁷ Edward Pereira's partnership with Dent & Co. continued for another decade before it was terminated in 1858. In an 1861 issue of the *Hongkong Government Gazette*, Dent & Co. announced, 'The interest and responsibility of Mr. Edward Pereira in our Firm ceased on the 30th June, 1858.'⁹⁸ Despite the termination of his collaboration with the British firm, Pereira carried on with his life amongst Britons, ascending to the upper classes through marrying into an aristocratic family in Britain.

In the 1860s, Pereira retired to Britain and lived in a mansion on Grosvenor Square, London. He moved along the social worlds of the privileged and in 1860, served as one of the stewards in a charity dinner for a London hospital alongside the Duke of Manchester, aristocrats and other gentlemen.⁹⁹ On July 29, 1862, he married Hon. Margaret Anne Stonor, the daughter of Thomas Stonor, 3rd Baron Camoys of Stonor Park, Oxfordshire, and Lady Frances Stonor at the Royal Bavarian Chapel, a Roman Catholic church on Warwick Street, Westminster.¹⁰⁰ During the time of their marriage, Pereira was forty-five and Stonor was twenty-three.¹⁰¹ This union opened doors for Pereira in Britain, allowing him to ascend as a respectable 'gentleman' in the worlds of the upper class. In 1863, Edward

⁹⁵ Braga, 'Making Impressions,' 146.

⁹⁶ *Transactions of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 1847* (Hongkong: The China Mail, 1848), 66.

⁹⁷ Johnston took on the position of Vice-President upon the resignation and departure of Dr. Kinnis to Bombay. *Transactions of the China Branch*, 69.

⁹⁸ Dent & Co., 'Notice,' 26 August 1861, *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 31 August 1861, 270.

⁹⁹ 'Advertisements,' *The Morning Post*, 23 April 1860, 1.

¹⁰⁰ 'Marriages,' *The Morning Post*, 1 August 1862, 7. 'Deeds Relating to the Settlement Made on the Marriage of Edward Pereira with the Hon. Miss Margaret Anne Stonor [d. of Lord Camoys,' D 93/62, Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies, London.

¹⁰¹ They had three children. Stonor sent the children to Oratory School, and two of them became generals while the third became headmaster of the Birmingham Oratory School. For this, see John Henry Newman, *A Portrait in Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 575.

Pereira, returning to his birth name Eduardo Pereira, was listed as one of two 'Portuguese Gentlemen of distinction' to have attended the Prince of Wales's first Levee at the St. James Palace with the Portuguese Minister.¹⁰² In 1865, he served as one of the Directors of the China Steamship and Labuan Coal Limited Company and was listed by the *The Morning Post* as residing in 'London' and 'late of (Dent and Co.) China'.¹⁰³

Pereira died in November 1872 in the county of Middlesex. His death was announced in *The London Gazette* to notify creditors who had claims over his estate.¹⁰⁴ By the time of his death, Edward Pereira left a personal estate worth £120,000. He bequeathed £1,000 to Margaret Stonor, £1,000 to the English branch of the Society or Association for the Propagation of the Roman Catholic Faith, £100 to the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, £500 to four of his employees and what remained of his real and personal estate to his children.¹⁰⁵ Pereira's case shows not only the continuity of family network and business partnerships in Hong Kong, but also the transnational extension and individual pursuit of wealth and class status from the Portuguese enclave to the British colony and then finally to Britain. With every move, Pereira achieved greater success and social prestige. He started his life as a member of a Macanese elite family, became a prestigious European partner in Hong Kong and died a respectable gentleman in Britain.

The business of Portuguese-language newspapers provides another aspect of Macau that migrated to Hong Kong. The Macanese assisted in the operations of foreign-owned newspaper businesses, bringing the skills they acquired from Macau's St. Joseph's College in printing and typesetting to the colony.¹⁰⁶ By 1850, Hong Kong's printing offices were staffed with Macanese compositors. Seven of the ten people in the *China Mail's* office were Macanese, and at the offices of the

¹⁰² 'The Prince of Wales's First Levee,' *London Standard*, 26 February 1863, 3.

¹⁰³ 'Advertisements,' *The Morning Post*, 15 February 1865, 1.

¹⁰⁴ 'Edward Pereira, Esquire, Deceased,' *The London Gazette*, 3 December 1872, 6121.

¹⁰⁵ 'Wills and Bequests,' *The Morning Post*, 7 December 1872, 6.

¹⁰⁶ Hoi-to Wong, 'Interport Printing Enterprise: Macanese Printing Networks in Chinese Treaty Ports,' in Robert Bickers and Isabella Jackson (eds.), *Treaty Ports in Modern China: Law, Land and Power* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 142.

Friend of China, three out of the four staff members were.¹⁰⁷ Macau's press, in particular, suffered from strict censorship policies and Macanese men saw the potential of the British colony, not only in compensating for the lack of press freedom in the Portuguese enclave, but also in providing an opportunity for uninterrupted development.¹⁰⁸ Manuel Maria Dias Pegado, a newspaper editor in Macau, brought his interest in the printing press to Hong Kong, in view of Macau's suffocating circumstances.¹⁰⁹ Born in Macau in 1805 to a well-to-do family, Pegado's involvement with the printing press began in the late 1830s, and he edited the government's official gazette from 1839 to 1843.¹¹⁰ He married Laura Joana Steyn, the cousin of José Manuel de Carvalho e Sousa, a battalion Captain, and in 1842, was listed as a Council member with no voting rights.¹¹¹ He founded his own newspaper, *O Procurador dos Macaístas* in 1844, which was renamed *O Solitario na China* in the subsequent year. According to Pegado, he renamed the newspaper due to the sudden withdrawal of *O Procurador's* guarantor. Following the withdrawal, the Leal Senado pressured Pegado to acquire a new guarantor within fifteen days, threatening to shut down the newspaper if he failed to comply.¹¹² Pegado was puzzled by these events. He printed government notices and had refrained from writing anything against the

¹⁰⁷ *The Hongkong Almanack and Directory for 1850* (Hong Kong: Noronha's Office, 1851), 18.

¹⁰⁸ Until 1821, the Portuguese empire ordered strict press censorship in the colonies. Even after the censorship was loosened and newspapers began to emerge, they were short-lived and continued to be monitored closely by the Macau government. On the development of Macau's press, see Manuel Teixeira, *A imprensa periodica Portuguesa no Extremo-Oriente* (The Portuguese Newspaper Business in the Far East; Macau: Notícias de Macau, 1965); J.M. Braga, 'The Beginnings of Printing at Macao,' *Studia* 12 (1963), 48-52. For a report on the government's pressure on a private-owned newspaper, *Macaista Imparcial*, see *Canton Register* 11, no. 32, cited in Roger Houghton, 'China 1838-1839—Part 8,' *A People's History 1793-1844 from the Newspapers*.

¹⁰⁹ The *South China Morning Post* published an article in 1934 about Hong Kong's past, which pointed out that the Portuguese newspapers in the colony were largely political and were used to criticise the Macau authorities. For this, see Colonial, 'Old Hong Kong: Foreign Papers of the Colony,' *South China Morning Post*, 29 November 1934, 17.

¹¹⁰ The government publications were *Gazeta de Macao* (1839), which was renamed *O Portuguez in China* (1839-1843). Pegado's newspaper was *Procurador dos Macaístas* (1844-1845). See *The Chinese Repository vol. XII, From January to December 1843* (Canton: The Proprietors, 1843), 110. His brother, born two years earlier in Macau, was a Professor who lived in France and later Portugal where he taught Mathematics at the University of Coimbra. See 'Pegado, Guilherme José António Dias Teixeira (1803-1885), *Universidade de Coimbra*.

¹¹¹ Amaro, '1842 Elections for the Macao Senate.'

¹¹² 'Segunda-feira 6 de Outubro 1845' (Monday 6 October 1845), *O Solitario na China*, 6 October 1845, 4.

Macau government. Unable to understand why the government was monitoring his newspaper, Pegado closed his business.¹¹³

In 1846, he moved to Hong Kong and transferred *O Solitario* to the British colony, renaming the newspaper a third time to *A Voz da Macaísta*, which translated to 'the voice of the Macanese.'¹¹⁴ During this period, Hong Kong was one of the British colonies in Asia, in addition to the Straits Settlement, Penang and Rangoon that provided a liberal space for the growth of print culture and the emergence of a hub for global print communications.¹¹⁵ On September 18, 1846, Pegado penned a letter to the *Boletim do Governo da Provincia de Macao, Timor e Solor*, explaining his move to the British colony. He informed readers that he had left his *Pátria* (homeland) because the Macau government had denied him freedom of press. This compelled him to take the risk of moving to a foreign land, where things were uncertain but he could maneuver with greater freedom. He pledged to revive the spirit of the '*Macaístas*' and speak against the Macau government by exposing their 'vices' in *A Voz*. He also promised to let the Portuguese Queen know of the Macanese people's sufferings under the repressive Macau government. Pegado wrote, 'It is time to make your righteous cries for justice from afar! I offer you my columns, take advantage of them!'¹¹⁶ Unfortunately, no copies of the newspaper survived. Studies generally refer to *A Voz* as having ceased publication in the same year it was established.¹¹⁷ A variety of short-lived Portuguese-language publications mushroomed in Hong Kong over the next decade. In 1852, José Maria da Silva e Sousa transferred *Verdade e Liberdade* from Canton to Hong Kong. He later established a literary magazine, *Impulso ás Letras* in 1865, which featured articles on arts, sciences, literature,

¹¹³ M.M.D. Pegado, 'Publicações Literarias' (Literary Publications), *Boletim do Governo da Provincia de Macao, Timor e Solor* 1, no. 38, 24 September 1846.

¹¹⁴ Frank H.H. King and Prescott Clarke, *A Research Guide to Chinacoast Newspapers, 1822-1911* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), 35.

¹¹⁵ For the rise of newspapers across British colonies, see Su Lin Lewis, 'Print Culture and the New Maritime Frontier in Rangoon and Penang,' *Moussons* 17 (2011), 127-144.

¹¹⁶ The original was 'É já tempo de fazer soar ao longe os vossos justos clamores ! Eu vos ofereço as minhas colunas, aproveitai-vos delas!' M.M.D. Pegado, 'Publicações Literarias' (Literary Publications), *Boletim do Governo da Provincia de Macao, Timor e Solor* 1, no. 38, 24 September 1846.

¹¹⁷ See, for instance, King and Clarke, *A Research Guide*, 74; B.H.M. Koo, 'In Search of a Better World: A Social History of the Macaenses in China,' PhD diss., University of Western Sydney, 2000.

history, geography and philosophy.¹¹⁸ Between 1859 and 1869, three more Portuguese-language newspapers emerged in Hong Kong, two of which were short-lived.¹¹⁹

The Macanese played their part in transforming the ‘barren island’ into a vibrant and multicultural colony. Macanese men provided administrative assistance in the government and in foreign firms, particularly at a time when the Chinese community at large could not understand the English language. Those trained in printing and typesetting readily provided the skills that printing offices needed. The Portuguese-language newspapers, on the other hand, added to the growing multilingual print culture of Hong Kong. By the late sixties, Hong Kong’s printing press had evolved into a diverse landscape. There were at least seven English-language newspapers, some of which featured articles in Chinese.¹²⁰ London-born missionary Walter Henry Medhurst founded and edited Hong Kong’s first Chinese-language journal, *Chinese Serial* (遐邇貫珍; *Xiaer guanzhen*) under the Morrison Education Society in 1853.¹²¹ The *Daily Press* published the *Hong Kong Shipping and Price Current List* (香港船頭貨價紙; *Xianggang chuantou huijia zhi*), which was later renamed *Hong Kong Chinese and Foreign Gazette* (中外新報; *Zhongwai xinbao*) in 1864 and the *Daily Hong Kong Chinese and Foreign Gazette* (中外新聞七日報; *Zhongwai xinwen qiribao*) emerged from the office of the *China Mail*, providing editorials and commentaries from Chinese readers.¹²² Hong Kong’s polyglot urban culture was blossoming and its population had grown to 124,198 by 1871. There were 869 ‘British,’ 1,367 ‘Portuguese,’ 170 ‘Germans,’

¹¹⁸ Articles in the magazine included ‘*Sociedade das Mulheres*’ (The Society of Women), ‘*Lições d’um pae a seu filho*’ (Lesson from a Father to His Son), ‘*Refutação do Pantheismo*’ (Refutation of Pantheism), ‘*Medicine Practica*’ (Medical Practice), and ‘*Estudo da Rhetorica*’ (Study of Rhetorics). See J.M. Da Silva e Souza, *Impulso ás Letras*, no. 1, 10 October 1865; *Impulso ás Letras*, no. 10, 10 July 1866.

¹¹⁹ These were *O Echo*, *O Movimento* and *O Amigo do Progresso*. *O Echo* survived for the longest duration, published from 1858 to 1869. For this, see King and Clarke, *A Research Guide*, 74-75.

¹²⁰ King and Clarke, *A Research Guide*, 49-70.

¹²¹ Chen Ming 陳鳴, *Xianggang baoye shigao, 1841-1911* 香港報業史稿, 1841-1911 (A History of the Press in Hong Kong, 1841-1911; Xianggang: Huaguang baoye youxian gongsi, 2005), 65.

¹²² Chen, *Xianggang baoye shigao*, 94-95.

133 'Americans,' 60 'French,' 2,823 'Indians and other mixed blood residents,' and 115,444 Chinese.¹²³

The Macanese examples have shown that some aspects of Hong Kong were not established from scratch, but built on pre-existing networks established in Macau. It was easier for foreign firms to bring over to Hong Kong existing working relationships, or to hire family members of employees. Leonardo d'Almada e Castro's appointment in Hong Kong was no doubt based on the working relationship he had with Charles Elliot in Macau. João Barretto's service for the Jardine, Matheson & Co. was precluded by two generations of Barretto men who worked as 'agents' of the company in Macau and Canton. Edward Pereira extended his father's amicable relationship with the middle-class British community and his family's collaboration with Dent & Co. to a partnership in Hong Kong. Manuel Pegado, on the other hand, came to Hong Kong to escape Macau's strict censorship and experience the colony's freedom of press, bringing with him his skills and ambition. All in all, these men saw the potential of colonial Hong Kong as a space to move forward and explore what Macau could no longer provide for them, with its stunted economic growth and rigid social structure. As a result, they brought to Hong Kong skills, relationships, collaboration and ambitions that took root in Macau but flowered in the British colony.

Resolving Macau's troubles in Hong Kong

The 'Portuguese' culture of the Macanese, marked by Catholic belief and the Portuguese-language, thrived in early Hong Kong through the provisions of the newly established and independent Catholic missions. In Macau, the struggle for power between the Jesuit-led Catholic church and Portugal in the mid-eighteenth century stunted the growth of educational provision for over a century.¹²⁴ The Society of Jesuits arrived in Macau during the sixteenth century, under the protection of the *Padroado* (patronage), an agreement signed between the Holy See and the Portuguese Crown in the mid-fifteenth century, promulgated

¹²³ 'Government Notification No. 68,' *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 6 May 1871, 196.

¹²⁴ The Jesuit missionaries were responsible for educational provisions in Macau from 1752 to 1762.

Portuguese authority over missionary activities in China. Their missionary work turned Macau into a stopover for Jesuit activities in China and Japan, and later, as a shelter for converts exiled from Japan in 1587 and 1614. To facilitate missionary activities, the Jesuits established the *Colégio de São Paulo* (St. Paul's College) in 1572, teaching the Japanese and Chinese languages, as well as Latin to missionaries prior to their voyages. The Jesuits subsequently set up a number of other schools, including St. Joseph's Seminary in 1758. The presence of the Jesuits was influential to the development of Macau, particularly in terms of education, charity and missionary work.

In order to fund the missions, the Society received sponsorship from foreign governments, donations from Macau residents and Chinese converts, and engaged in trade with Japan.¹²⁵ The Catholic authorities, however, became increasingly corrupt. The manipulation, abuse and corruption of Catholic authorities discouraged missions from carrying out thorough activities and exacerbated the declining social and economic conditions in Macau. The Jesuits, for instance, set up banks for usury and priests loaned money to merchants and Chinese residents in Macau at high interest rates.¹²⁶ In 1759, the government in Portugal ordered for the expulsion of all Jesuits from Portuguese territories in 1759.¹²⁷ The news reached Macau in 1762, and resulted in the discontinuation of formal education until 1777. Another blow came during 1838, when the Portuguese authorities in Lisbon banned non-Portuguese missionaries from entering Macau. Hong Kong, thus, provided a new opportunity for both non-Portuguese Catholic missions and Protestant missions to carry out their activities. In 1841, the *Procura* (procurator) of the Catholic church, moved to Hong Kong at the urging of the Procurator in Macau of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (the Vatican Bureau for the Missions), Swiss priest Father Theodore Joret, that the mission be brought to an independent

¹²⁵ For details on how the Society generated funds, see Tang Kaijian, *Setting Off from Macau: Essays on Jesuit History during the Ming and Qing Dynasties* (Boston: Brill, 2015), 151-181.

¹²⁶ Tang, *Setting Off from Macau*, 178-179.

¹²⁷ Pombal was not a supporter of the Jesuit missionaries and suspected them to be the culprits in the Battle of Caiboaté (1756), which resulted in heavy casualty of both the Spanish and Portuguese militaries, as well as an attempted assassination of the Portuguese King, Jose I. Maurice Whitehead, 'From Expulsion to Restoration: The Jesuits in Crisis, 1759-1814,' *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 103, no. 412 (2014/15), 450-451.

ecclesiastical district away from the clutches of Macau.¹²⁸ Although this led to the expulsion of Joset from Macau, the Catholic mission successfully consolidated its base in the British colony. Apart from arrival of Italian priests, Hong Kong also witnessed the coming of French missions. In 1847, the Procure of the *Société des Missions-Etrangères de Paris* (Society of Foreign Missions of Paris) was established in the British colony. Due to Portugal's preoccupation with issues at home, Portuguese missionary work did not emerge in early Hong Kong. This left the Italians with considerable control over Hong Kong's Catholic church. In 1855, the Pontifical Institute of Foreign Missions of Milan became the authority over the Catholic community of Hong Kong.¹²⁹

In 1842, Hong Kong's first Catholic church, a temporary matshed on Wellington Street, was set up at the initiative of Father Joset and Spanish Franciscan Father Michael Navarro.¹³⁰ The matshed was replaced in 1843 by Hong Kong's first Roman Catholic church, the Chapel of the Conception, at the junction of Wellington Street and Stanley Street (Fig. 4). The Church was built with white walls of granite and brick, a light blue roof and wooden floors, costing a total of 9,000 dollars. The capital came from generous donors, with 6,000 dollars donated by the 'British, Portuguese and other residents' and the rest from the mission's funds. On June 22, 1843, the *Friend of China and Hongkong Gazette* reported on its inauguration, writing: 'On Trinity Sunday last, the first (a Roman Catholic) Church in Anglo-China, was consecrated for Divine Worship, by [Franciscan] Fr. Antonio Feliciani, the Apolistic Prefect of Hong Kong.'

Fig. 4 1845 Map of Central

¹²⁸ Sergio Ticozzi, 'The Catholic Church and Nineteenth Century Village Life in Hong Kong,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch* 48 (2008), 111-113.

¹²⁹ Jack Braga, 'Notes on the Catholic Mission of Hong Kong and the Portuguese: Period of Formation,' J.M. Braga Papers, BRA 362, The National Library of Australia, Canberra.

¹³⁰ Ticozzi, 'The Catholic Church,' 111-113.



This 1845 map of Central is from *Hong Kong Historic Maps*. The boundary drawn on the map shows the area where the Macanese settled. The area marked 'A' was where the Chapel of the Conception stood. By 1870, the Macanese assembled around the area marked 'B,' bounded by Glenealy, Robinson Road, Shelley Street and Caine Road. The area came to be know as the Mato Morro (literally 'the plain of Muslims'), which was in close proximity to the Catholic church and the business district, where the Macanese could conveniently attend mass and either walk or take sedan chairs to work and back to their homes.

Around one hundred persons attended the consecration and according to *The Friend of China*, these were 'men of every colour, the jet-black Negro, the deep-brown Bengalee, the light-brown Madrasse, the tawny Chinese... robed in every variety of oriental costume,' together with soldiers of the 55th regiment, sepoy and artillerymen from India, Portuguese, Italians and seven or eight women dressed in European costume. The newspaper made further remarks on the presence of two small groups of Britons and emphasised that their participation differed from the 'Asiatics,' reporting,

At the end of the Chapel, nearest to the altar, and on both sides between the pillars, were two small knots of British, who, with their fair complexions, high cheek bones, blue eyes, and light hair, formed a strong contrast, as they stood

erect, taking no part in the service, to the Asiatic group at the other end of the Church, busy with their devotions.¹³¹

While revealing the inter-racial composition of the attendees, these newspaper reports noted the dominance of 'Asian' churchgoers and drew a line between the Roman Catholic faith and the colony's British populations, a reality that foreigners such as Harriet Low had suggested earlier on regarding Macau.

In addition to spreading the Catholic faith to other communities, particularly the dominant Chinese population, the Catholic mission provided for the basic needs of the Macanese in various aspects.¹³² Through government-granted land, they set up the colony's first Catholic cemetery in 1842 and in 1848, built the St. Michael's cemetery in Happy Valley.¹³³ Between 1845 and 1865, the various Catholic missions established and operated several schools for the Macanese. These were the Free School for Portuguese (1845-1852), the Free School in English and Portuguese (1848-1859), two Portuguese Schools for boys (1860-1865) in Wellington Street and Staunton Street (1860-1861), the Portuguese Chinese and English school for girls (1860-1869) in Caine Road, the Canossian Sisters' School for Catholic girls (1860-today) and the St. Saviour's College (1860- today).¹³⁴ St. Saviour's College was divided into two sections, English and Portuguese in order to tend to the needs of Catholic and non-Catholic children, as well as the preference of Macanese families for their children to learn the Portuguese language. With the availability of welfare and education provisions in Hong Kong, the Macanese population proliferated within a short period of time. From 500 Macanese in 1851, the population grew to 811 in 1853 had reached 1,250 by 1863.

¹³¹ 'Consecration of the Church,' *The Friend of China and Hongkong Gazette* 66, no. II, 22 June 1843, 56. 'Consecration of the Church,' 56.

¹³² They also catered for the Chinese communities. The first Catholic school for Chinese boys was opened in 1843.

¹³³ Tim-Keung Ko, 'A Review of Development of Cemeteries in Hong Kong: 1841-1950,' *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 41 (2001), 242, 244.

¹³⁴ The Canossian Sisters' School was renamed in 1960 as the Sacred Heart Cannossian College and the St. Saviour's College was renamed St. Joseph's College in 1875. For a list of Catholic schools in Hong Kong, see 'The Catholic Institutions in Hong Kong (1842-1896),' *Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archives*.

While the Macanese benefitted from the services of the Catholic missions, the missions also received support from the Macanese, who emerged as the core of the colony's Catholic community.¹³⁵ Catholicism played a central role in the formation of the early Macanese community in Hong Kong. They attended congregations, lived near the Chapel of the Conception and according to Braga's account, older members of the community maintained a close relationship with the Catholic clergy. His grandfather, Delfino Noronha, invited the Roman Catholic naval and military chaplain to his home on a weekly basis.¹³⁶ Furthermore, the Macanese contributed to the building and maintenance of Hong Kong's Catholic buildings. Macanese men who could afford to give back to the church provided financial support, exemplified by responses to a fire in 1859. On October 19, a fire destroyed the Chapel of the Conception, along with a number of nearby European business establishments.¹³⁷ It took only five months for the church to be rebuilt through the subscriptions of various communities from within and outside of the colony. The Catholics in the Philippines donated \$6,000 and the Pope and the Propaganda of Faith contributed 8,000 francs (\$1,400). Local subscription from Irish soldiers and one American firm amounted to \$2,200.¹³⁸ Edward Pereira donated \$500 on his own and asked his partners at Dent & Co. to donate another \$500 on behalf of the company. João Joaquim Braga, who moved to Hong Kong with his family a decade and a half earlier, donated the church's Passion Altar.¹³⁹ Braga was an assistant of the Victoria Dispensary in 1846 and by 1859, was the owner of a pharmacy, the Medical Hall.¹⁴⁰ Hong Kong served as a meeting point for people and organisations sharing similar grievances in Macau to come together and collaborate for mutual benefit. As against an existing observation that the Macanese led 'drab lives' and had little interaction with other communities, this example shows the Macanese were active beyond

¹³⁵ Ticozzi, 'The Catholic Church,' 114.

¹³⁶ For a detailed analysis of the Macanese and Catholic activities in Hong Kong, see Braga, *The Portuguese in Hong Kong and China*, ch. X.

¹³⁷ Ernest Eitel, *Europe in China: The History of Hongkong from the Beginning to the Year 1882* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1983), 405.

¹³⁸ Qilong Xia, 'The Foundation of the Catholic Mission in Hong Kong, 1841-1894,' Phd diss., University of Hong Kong, 1998, 99.

¹³⁹ Xia, 'The Foundation of the Catholic Mission,' 99-100.

¹⁴⁰ *The Hongkong Directory with List of Foreign Residents in China* (Hong Kong: The Armenian Press, 1860), 24.

their communal worlds and worked with other residents to support religious causes.¹⁴¹

Free from the rigidity of Macau's Catholic authorities, some Macanese men established themselves as leaders in the Catholic community of the colony. Leonardo d'Almada e Castro, who was by the 1850s serving as Chief Clerk and Clerk of Councils in the Colonial Secretary's office, supported various Catholic causes. In 1860, he sheltered Emily Bowring, the daughter of Governor John Bowring when she ran away from home to become a nun. On the eve of her family's return to England, Emily Bowring had known that the Canossian sisters were about to arrive in the colony and sought for refuge at Castro's while she waited for the sisters. On April 12, 1860, Emily Bowring finally met with the Canossian sisters under the witness of Castro and his twelve-year-old daughter, Anita.¹⁴² In the following years, Castro continued to support the Catholic institutions in the colony. In 1863, he was a founding member of the Hong Kong branch of Society of St. Vincent de Paul, a French Catholic charity. He served as vice-president of the Society's first committee and worked with committee members of Irish, British and Italian origins. Out of the Society's six committee members, five ordinary members and one honorary member, seven were Macanese. These included João António Barretto, clerk at the Colonial Secretary's office, José Maria d'Almada e Castro, businessman and owner of a 'summer retreat' in Pok Fu Lam, João J. dos Remedios, clerk at Lindsay & Co. Adrião A. Pereira, clerk at Fletcher & Co. José C. Remedios, clerk at Birley & Co. Antonio Braz da Roza and storeman at Wanchai's T. Hunt & Co., Manoel J. do Rosario.¹⁴³ In 1864, Castro and his brother, José Maria, helped the Canossian sisters set up their first institutional headquarters on Caine Road. Castro sold a piece of land to

¹⁴¹ For the observation of the Macanese as an isolated community in Hong Kong, see Braga, *The Portuguese in Hong Kong and China*, 70.

¹⁴² Nora M. Clarke and Lina Riva, *'The Governor's Daughter Takes the Veil': Sister Aloysia Emily Bowring, Canossian Daughter of Charity 1860 Hong Kong 1860* (Hong Kong: Caritas, 1980), 116-117.

¹⁴³ For the list of the Society's members, see 'A Brief Sketch of Fifty Years' Work of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in Hong Kong,' 6, VI-07 (Folders 1-2), Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archive, Hong Kong. Dos Remedios ran a company called 'J.J. Dos Remedios & Co.' For Dos Remedios, see 'Hong Kong,' *The London and China Telegraph* 2, no. 30, 18 February 1860, 124. For Pereira, Remedios, Da Roza and Do Rozario, see *The China Directory for 1863* (Hong Kong: A. Shortrede & Co., 1863), 86, 88, 89.

the sisters and José Maria offered the land connected to Castro's property, both for small amounts of money. With these, the Canossian sisters built their headquarters and new education facilities.¹⁴⁴ Two decades later, Anita d'Almada e Castro joined the Catholic mission and become a Canossian sister.¹⁴⁵

Under the provisions of the Catholic establishments in Hong Kong, the Macanese were given the opportunity to continue their practice of the Catholic faith. The 1869 will of Virginia Marianna Noronha reveals the central role of the Catholic religion in the lives of Macanese men and women. Noronha's first instruction was 'to be decently and privately buried in the Roman Catholic Cemetery of this Colony, without any funeral pomp, and with as little expense as may be...'¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, Hong Kong provided Macanese children with educational opportunities that had been limited in Macau. Catholic schools allowed Macanese children to acquire basic Portuguese-language education but provided, in general, instructions in the English language that would be useful for the future employment of the students. St. Saviour's School, for instance, provided a 'practical curriculum' to ensure 'the boys who completed their course had not the slightest difficulty in finding employment.'¹⁴⁷ The School taught mainly in English and provided Portuguese language classes at the beginners' level.¹⁴⁸ In 1877, the Governor of Hong Kong visited St. Saviour's, which had been renamed St. Joseph's College, and remarked,

I asked His Lordship [Bishop Raimondi] when I came in this morning what was the number of Portuguese in the school, and what number *left* the school, able to *speak* English. He answered, first, that there cannot be far short of 200 Portuguese trained in the school, and that all these, *practically speaking*, leave the school able to *speak* English *more or less*.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴ G.B. Endacott, *A Biographical Sketch-Book of Early Hong Kong* (Singapore: Eastern Universities Press Limited, 1962), 117.

¹⁴⁵ 'Sr. D'Almada, Castro Anita FDCC,' *Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archives*; Clarke and Riva, *The Governor's Daughter*, 118.

¹⁴⁶ 'Virginia Marianna Noronha,' HKRS 144-4-199, Public Records Office, Hong Kong.

¹⁴⁷ *St. Joseph's College Hong Kong: Diamond Jubilee 1875-1935* (Hong Kong: [s.n.], 1935) 19.

¹⁴⁸ J.M. Braga, 'The Teaching of Portuguese in Hong Kong: Some Notes on Its History,' typescript draft, MS 4300 5.3/1, Papers of J.M. Braga, National Library of Australia.

¹⁴⁹ 'Teaching of English in the Government Schools,' 15 February 1878, *Hong Kong Blue Book*.

Perceiving education as an opportunity to prepare children for their future, Macanese parents did not restrict the schooling of their children to Catholic schools. In fact, not all Macanese children attended Catholic schools. The colonial government's increasing concern and emerging policies towards education attracted Macanese boys to enter the government-run Central School. In 1866, the Central School transformed its main objective of providing English education to Chinese boys into providing education for boys of all nationalities, with an emphasis on English language.¹⁵⁰ The Governor wanted to provide universal education and had expressed concern over the alarming number of children in the colony who were not being schooled. In a speech, he stated, '[Children] are running about in the streets, picking up bits of coal or other articles that may fall from the bags that are carried from the stores to the ships. They are the very class a Government is bound to educate.'¹⁵¹ Following the government's prioritisation of educational provision, Macanese parents gradually sent their children to the Central School, Hong Kong's first public secondary school formed by the colonial government in 1862. The increasing number of Macanese children in the non-Catholic Central School alarmed Bishop Raimondi, the Vicar Apostolic of Hong Kong who had been advocating Catholic education for Catholics. In 1872, he wrote a pastoral letter to Catholic parents, instructing them to send their children to Catholic schools and avoid secular and Protestant schools.¹⁵² Raimondi was suspicious of the colonial government's intention of controlling Catholic education through the Grant-in-Aid scheme, which promoted greater emphasis on secular education.¹⁵³ In 1873, he discontinued all participation of Catholic schools in the government scheme. However, the choice of sending Macanese children to non-Catholic schools was out of the Bishop's control. By the late 1870s, around forty to fifty Macanese boys were attending the Central School.

¹⁵⁰ Anthony Sweeting, *Education in Hong Kong Pre-1841 to 1941: Facts and Opinion* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1990), 206.

¹⁵¹ 'Supplement to the Annual Report on Government Education: Address of His Excellency Governor Pope Hennessy, at the Central School,' 25 January 1878, *Hong Kong Blue Book for the Year 1877* (Hong Kong Noronha & Sons, 1878).

¹⁵² Xia, 'The Foundation of the Catholic Mission,' 286.

¹⁵³ Raimondi put up a battle with the government and in 1874, he asked the British government in London to intervene with the colonial government's attempt to unify the use of Chinese textbooks in all grant-in-aid schools with a list of books the government had selected. Xia, 'The Foundation of the Catholic Mission,' 286-290.

The tension between the Catholic schools under Bishop Raimondi and the government's policies resulted in a debate during 1878. *The China Mail* criticised the Bishop, writing,

Bishop Raimondi's antagonism to the Central School might... be traced to the fact that many of those who might otherwise be his most promising pupils prefer the Central School to his own—possibly because they get more useful instruction and less dogmas in the Government School than in the Bishop's.¹⁵⁴

The newspaper added that the Bishop would no doubt like to demolish the Central School 'so that the funds expended on it—British funds—might be diverted to his own educational establishments for turning out ardent supporters of the Vatican.'¹⁵⁵ In 1879, Governor John Pope Hennessy, a Catholic Irishman who championed social equality, revised the Grant-in-Aid Scheme, eliminating the use of the words 'secular,' 'consecutive,' and 'elementary' from the Scheme code and granted schools greater freedom in choosing textbooks for their students.¹⁵⁶ This put an end to the debate and allowed leading Catholic schools like St. Joseph's to continue the provision of Catholic education to the colony's European, Macanese and Chinese children. Nevertheless, the availability of options and the freedom to choose the type of education for their children created space for the Macanese to discover greater potential instead of limiting themselves to the restricted opportunities in Macau.

The lack of space for the liberal development of missionary activities and education in Macau no doubt made Hong Kong an appealing destination for those willing to venture. While the presence of a considerable population of Macanese allowed Catholic missions to consolidate their footing in Hong Kong, Macanese migrants acquired basic life necessities through the provisions of Catholic institutions. Apart from the services of religious missions, the colonial government's policy of promoting English education through the Central School and Grant-in-Aid Scheme also provided opportunities for the Macanese youth to acquire knowledge of the English language. In 1880, Governor Hennessy claimed

¹⁵⁴ 'Hongkong, Saturday, Nov. 30, 1878,' *The China Mail*, 30 November 1878, 4.

¹⁵⁵ 'Hongkong, Saturday, Nov. 30, 1878,' *The China Mail*, 30 November 1878, 4.

¹⁵⁶ Sweeting, *Education in Hong Kong*, 211.

in a speech at the St. Joseph's College that the government aimed to shape British subjects out of the Macanese. As an Irish Catholic who had a wife with a Malay grandparent, Hennessy was passionate about fighting racial inequality and providing equal opportunities to all Hong Kong residents because he was never considered a true 'British' for his background and for marrying a Eurasian woman.¹⁵⁷ Being Catholic, Hennessy was particularly considerate of the Macanese, embracing the community as 'British subjects.' In his speech, he stated that while the Portuguese Consul General saw the Macanese boys as 'a majority of apparently Portuguese youth,' he claimed them as 'British subjects,' because 'although they [were] of the Portuguese race they [had] been born in the Colony.'

The Governor encouraged the Macanese youth to improve their English composition and pointed out that although the Macanese were generally 'admirable clerks,' they were defective in English composition. Incentives through scholarships and prize awards were also given to children of all nationalities and a Macanese boy, R.P. Remedios received a prize for his performance in the Central School's 'Chinese class for Europeans.'¹⁵⁸ Although the Catholic missions' provisions allowed the Macanese children to learn the Portuguese language, the government's emphasis on English-language education and the favourable reception of Macanese parents towards non-Catholic and English education would gradually lead to the shaping of Anglophile Macanese and the decline of the Portuguese language in Hong Kong.

Conclusion

Pre-existing affiliations, partnerships and ambitions found a new breath of life in British Hong Kong. Between the 1840s and 1870s, various aspects of social activity and livelihood that had been stagnant in Macau burgeoned in Hong Kong. I see Hong Kong's early developments as resolving not only the Macanese people's agony in Macau, but also echoing aspects of Macau that came to be re-

¹⁵⁷ Kate Lowe and Eugene McLaughlin, 'Sir John Pope Hennessy and The 'Native Race Craze': Colonial Government in Hong Kong, 1877-1882,' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 20, no. 2 (1992), 229.

¹⁵⁸ 'Prize Distribution at Government Schools, and a Grant-in-Aid School, 5th and 7th February, 1880,' *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 11 February 1880, 152.

established in the colony. The British colony further benefitted from the arrival of religious missions, and the outburst of missionary activities that had been prevented from liberal development in Macau. In its first two decades of rule, the colonial government had been too preoccupied with consolidating its power and stabilising the colony to prioritise education.¹⁵⁹ With the availability of welfare and education for the youth, Macanese families continued to flock to Hong Kong. The Macanese benefitted from the services of the missions, especially in terms of educating their children. In Macau, it would only be in 1871 that Macanese public figure and writer Pedro Nolasco da Silva founded Associação Promotora da Instrução dos Macaenses (APIM) to promote education in order to regenerate Macanese society through increasing their interest and knowledge in the field of commerce.¹⁶⁰ The Catholic institutions also gained from the support of the Macanese, who helped pave the way for a firm Catholic core and shape the Catholic missions' presence in Hong Kong society.

The Macanese experience of emigration has revealed the roles and contributions of pre-existing connections to the Portuguese enclave in the development of Hong Kong. As opposed to studies that highlight Macau as a 'prelude' to Hong Kong, the Macanese have shown that the shaping and construction of early Hong Kong can be understood as a narrative of continuities linked to Macau. Captain Elliot perceived Castro as a trustworthy assistant from their working relationship in Macau and Castro saw his service to the colonial government then and in Hong Kong as a stable and promising employment opportunity. The experiences of Barretto and Pereira showed the extension of collaboration, family network and partnership between Macanese men and foreign merchants that first emerged in Macau. Pegado brought his dissatisfaction against the Portuguese government to Hong Kong and continued his pursuit of setting up a liberal newspaper in the colony. The Catholic missions, on the other hand, cut off their ties from Macau and started independent institutions in Hong Kong. This helped to extend and nurture the 'Portuguese' culture of the new Macanese

¹⁵⁹ Stephen Evans, 'The Beginnings of English Language Education in Hong Kong, 1842-1859,' *Educational Research Journal* 13, no. 2 (1998), 153.

¹⁶⁰ João Guedes and José Silveira Machado, *Dois Instituições Macaenses (1871-1998)* (Two Macanese Institutions, 1871-1998; Macau: Edição da APIM, 1998), 7.

emigrants in Hong Kong, allowing them to stay connected to their Catholic faith and the Portuguese language. From cultural aspects, a part of 'Macau' thrived in Hong Kong. The settlement of the Macanese in Hong Kong also goes to show that although migration requires one to abandon spaces of familiarity and enter an unknown world, emigrants eventually find ways to reconnect with their roots while seizing new chances and tools to keep themselves alive.

The attachment to one's 'homeland,' nevertheless, wavers over time as migrants respond to foreign cultures, as well as the importance of foreign language and education in securing economic opportunities. Studies have acknowledged the effects of the colonial experience as a transitional point for new social and class formations but have yet to document such changes as linked to pre-existing frustrations, individual ambitions and economic pursuits.¹⁶¹ Though orchestrated by personal intentions, the activities of Barretto and Pegado in Hong Kong resulted in consequences that changed the Macanese community. Barretto's desire to establish himself as a leader of the community led to the formation of Club Lusitano in the 1860s, a platform for the rise of middle-class Macanese men. Pegado's anger towards press censorship in Macau led to the birth of his Portuguese-language newspapers, albeit short-lived, in Hong Kong. While colonial practises and policies helped to shape lives and communities, the actions and decisions of colonised subjects should not be overlooked in the process of social and class formations under the colonial context.

The move to Hong Kong simultaneously hardened 'European' identities but provided new alternatives that transformed 'Macanese' culture in the long run. Colonial Hong Kong provided a space for the Macanese to benefit from the establishment of Catholic institutions, the sprouting of Portuguese-language newspapers and the provision of Portuguese-language education in missionary-funded schools. This, however, did not hinder the decision of first-generation migrants to send their children to English schools and encourage the younger

¹⁶¹ See, for instance, Neil Khor Jin Keong, 'Economic Change and the Emergence of the Straits Chinese in Nineteenth-Century Penang,' *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 79, no. 2 (2006), 59-83; Cheryl Modhumita Roy, 'The Englishing of India: Class Formation and Social Privilege,' *Social Scientist* 21, no. 5/6 (1993), 36-62.

generation to embrace British culture, a decision that gradually led to the shaping of a new group of Anglicised middle-class Macanese men and women which will be discussed in chapter four. As Taylor has shown of the British interregnum of Batavia, being 'European' was an asset to social mobility under British imperial traditions, and Macanese parents consciously responded to Hong Kong's colonial culture by encouraging the younger generation to embrace British education and culture.¹⁶² The next few chapters will show that the degree of how one identified with being 'European,' and whether being 'European' was linked to being 'Portuguese,' 'English' or a little bit of both, differed according to circumstance. Edward Pereira, having changed his name early in life, appeared more Anglicised than most Macanese. His children grew up in Britain and they have been remembered in history as remarkable men that originated from 'Portuguese' roots, leaving no traces of their 'Macanese' heritage.¹⁶³ Faced with the colonial government's racial practises, ambitious Macanese men and women that stayed in Hong Kong would make use of their 'European' connections, first as 'Portuguese' and later as 'colonial British' to widen their horizons and achieve middle-class prestige in the decades that followed.

¹⁶² In Batavia, for instance, the brief British rule saw the introduction of theatre, racing club and balls as new social spaces and the adoption of British notions of 'civilised' behaviour amongst Batavian women in these spaces. In civil service, Dutch officials who had acquired European education were given priority. Dutch elites turned to admire British culture, adopting dancing in the European style and baptising their children with English names. For these, see Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, 100, 102-105, 111-112.

¹⁶³ Edward Pereira's son, General George Edward Pereira, was remembered by *The London Times* and the *Brisbane Courier* as 'the late Brigadier-General' who fought in the Boer War and a famous traveler who 'had a wonderful knowledge of Chinese etiquette, which enabled him to penetrate districts little known to Europeans.' See, 'A Famous Traveler,' *Brisbane Courier*, 26 January 1924, 6.

Chapter 2

The Middle of Somewhere

I observe the name of 'D Almada e Castro... in the last No. of the *China Mail* as Clerk of Councils in this Colony. I hear also that he has a Brother and a Cousin in the Colonial Secretary's office... I confess that I do not like to see the families of Englishmen living here upon private subscription whilst this Portuguese family fattens upon English gold.

'An Englishman,' *The Friend of China and Hong Kong Gazette*, 5 January 1847

On a Tuesday in January 1847, a mercantile-oriented, local English newspaper printed a letter from a resident of the colony. The writer, who claimed to be 'English,' found it inappropriate that the Hong Kong government had hired a Macanese man as the Chief Clerk of Hong Kong's Executive and Legislative Councils. This was inappropriate, because the Macanese was a 'Roman Catholic' and was believed to be an 'agent for the Propagandists.' This resident also claimed to have an 'informant' who could reveal Castro as incompetent in writing and speaking the English language, and demanded to know if the colonial government had appointed the Macanese due to a 'short sighted selfish POLICY... in defiance of law, customs and propriety.' In response, the newspaper editor expressed agreement, writing, 'a considerate Ruler, would look upon [Castro's] being an Alien as an insurmountable obstacle to his holding the appointment of Clerk of the Legislative Council.' Both the resident and editor were convinced Castro was 'incapable' and 'unfit' for the position because he was a foreigner, an alien, a Macanese or simply, because he was not British.¹ In light of Castro's experience, contemporary narratives regarding the Macanese have shaped the community's history as one marked by racial prejudice.²

¹ An Englishman, 'To the Editor of *The Friend of China*,' *The Friend of China and Hong Kong Gazette* VI, no. 2, 6 January 1847, 6.

² See, for instance, Braga, *The Portuguese in Hongkong and China*; Ye Nong 葉農, 'Ershi shiji qian Xianggang Puren de zuqin rentong 20 世紀前期香港葡人的族群認同' (The Identity of the

This chapter examines how far 'race' influenced the careers of Macanese men in Hong Kong between the 1840s and 1880s. Existing literature has identified an imperial racial hierarchy that situated Europeans on the top, Macanese, Indians and British Eurasians in the middle and the Chinese at the bottom of Hong Kong's public and private spheres, yet the Macanese experience suggests otherwise.³ The three Macanese individuals this chapter highlights worked in middle-ranking positions that were senior to some British employees. Against the vein of existing studies that have shown how imperial racial constructs helped maintain colonial authority, I argue that the colonial government did not deliberately situate the Macanese in between the native Chinese and the ruling Europeans to consolidate ethnic and class superiority over the colonised subjects.⁴ Rather, the general Macanese population, having acquired limited education in Macau but competent in English and Cantonese, could only provide lower and middle-ranking clerical services. Compared to Chinese compradors that had access to the worlds of the dominant Chinese population, the Macanese did not have the capacity to control and manipulate factors that played an impact on colonial rule. This chapter will use the idea of colonial 'collaboration' and analyse three cases where the Macanese 'collaborator' failed to negotiate for advancement.⁵

Although some Macanese served as interpreters due to their knowledge of English and Cantonese, they did not explicitly serve as 'intermediaries' or brokers between the British government and the Chinese communities. The

Portuguese Ethnic Group in Hong Kong in the Early Twentieth Century), *Ethno-National Studies* 民族研究 no. 3 (2012), 95.

³ See Steve Tsang, *A Modern History of Hong Kong* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2007), 65; Abe, *Chinese Middlemen in Hong Kong*; Henry Lethbridge, *Hong Kong, Stability and Change: A Collection of Essays* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1978), 163-167, 189-213. Subsequent works showed similar observations, including Linda Pomerantz-Zhang, *Wu Tingfang (1842-1922): Reform and Modernization in Modern Chinese History* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1992), 14-15; Ding and Lu, *Feiwo zuyi*, 54.

⁴ See, for instance, Kenneth Ballatchet, *Race, Sex and Class under the Raj: Imperial Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980); Stoler and Cooper, *Tensions of Empire*.

⁵ Ronald Robinson, 'Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism: Sketch for a Theory of Collaboration,' in Roger Owen and Bob Sutcliffe (eds.), *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism* (London: Longman, 1972), 117-142.

majority of the Macanese could not read nor write the Chinese language, and those who served as official interpreters and translators of the Chinese language for the colonial government left their positions within a short duration. José Martinho Marques, who was appointed as Acting Registrar General and Chinese Interpreter to the Supreme Court in February 1847, returned to Macau a year later and served as the Macau government's Chinese translator. According to Braga, Marques left because the Hong Kong government paid him a low remuneration. Records, however, show that Marques earned a total of £550, a salary equal to some administrative heads in 1847.⁶ Marques, was, nevertheless an intermediary that helped facilitate geographical knowledge in China. He published at least two known works, *Elementary Principles of Music* (1853), and another influential work in Chinese with his Chinese name Ma Jishi 瑪吉士, *Ti-li-pei-k'ao* 地理備考 (A Geographic Reference; 1847). The late Qing historian and philosopher Wei Yuan 魏源 later referenced Marques' geographical findings in *Haiguo Tuzhi* 海國圖志 (The Illustrated Treatise on the Maritime Kingdoms).⁷ In 1852, Karl Gützlaff mentioned the publication as a task commissioned by the Chinese government in China's attempt to learn more about the outside world.⁸ This sheds light on the fact that some Macanese served as cultural brokers, but not in early Hong Kong.

Alternatively, the idea of 'collaborator' provides us with an opportunity to first, gain an alternative understanding as to why Macanese men had stagnant careers in colonial Hong Kong, second, the practical terms of collaboration from the perspective of 'migrant collaborators,' and third, to rethink the roles migrant men and women played in keeping the colony running at low costs. In relation to existing narratives that have revealed the power of 'non-white collaborators' in straddling 'racial lines' to gain social, career or political advancement, I argue

⁶ 'Civil Establishment of Hongkong for the Year 1847,' *Hongkong Blue Book 1847*, CO 133/4, 92, 100, The National Archives, London.

⁷ See, for instance, Wei Yuan's reference to Marques's publication regarding astronomy in Wei Yuan 魏源, *Haiguo tuzhi* 海國圖志 (The Illustrated Treatise on the Maritime Kingdoms), vol. 98 (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1967).

⁸ Hartmut Walravens, 'The *Ti-li-pei-k'ao*,' *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i* 2, no. 6 (1971), 55-58.

that the ambitious Macanese who attempted to negotiate advancement did not have sufficient bargaining power to ask for more.⁹ As ‘migrant collaborators,’ the Macanese had the choice of returning to Macau or moving elsewhere when the terms of collaboration ceased to benefit them. Those who stayed behind played their part in running daily operations as the backbone of administrative assistance in public service and private enterprises. In this sense, they were ‘collaborators’ who, for the most part, quietly kept the colony operating while making a living in exchange.

The first section examines the case of Leonardo d’Almada e Castro to show how the Macanese and Britons used ‘race’ in wrestling for authority. Colonised subjects like Castro took the liberty to use racial prejudice as a bargaining tool in negotiating for career advancement, but the British-dominated colonial government dismissed his demands. He eventually let go of his fight for ‘equality’ and continued to work for the colonial government until his death. In this case, Castro’s obligations to earn a living for his family and the colonial government’s offer to employ him in the long-term encompassed the ‘terms of collaboration.’ The second section explores the question of bargaining power through comparing the careers of Alexandre Joaquim Grand-pré, a Macanese of French extraction who rose to the position of Acting Superintendent of Police but failed to advance further, and Daniel Richard Caldwell, a scandalous ‘Briton’ who, despite his suspected multiracial background and troubled personality, proved to be a valuable collaborator owing to his connections to the Chinese underground. I highlight the lack of ‘agency’ amongst Macanese collaborators as a catalyst for their stunted careers. The final section covers the experience of Januário António de Carvalho, the first Macanese to become Justice of the Peace in colonial Hong Kong during the 1880s. Carvalho worked under Hennessy’s administration and benefitted from the Governor’s determination to advance racial equality through policy changes. All in all, this chapter aims to explain, through the framework of colonial ‘collaboration,’ that the positioning of the Macanese between the Europeans and the Chinese was not shaped by racial

⁹ See, for instance, Evanson N. Wamagatta, ‘African Collaborators and their Quest for Power in Colonial Kenya: Senior Chief Waruhiu wa Kung’u’s Rise from Obscurity to Prominence, 1890-1922,’ *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 41, no. 2 (2008), 295-314.

prejudice directed at the Macanese, but dictated by the weak bargaining power of Macanese individuals.

The Macanese experience will offer an alternative narrative on 'colonial collaboration' that shows how colonialism came to be operated by a considerable colonised population of 'migrant collaborators' who were neither native nor European. I perceive them as 'collaborators,' because they were crucial to the administrative operations of the government and foreign firms. Macanese clerks filled the positions of administrative assistants in the colonial government and foreign firms. They found in Hong Kong employment and a stable life to grow their families, essential things Macau no longer had the capacity to offer. In turn, the colony acquired their readiness to work with loyalty for lower wages. As 'migrant collaborators,' the Macanese men and women usually had options. Those who were content with the terms of collaboration or were tied to family obligations stayed in the colony while those who aspired for more continued to sojourn to other port-cities in search of better opportunities. The role of practical considerations as a decisive factor in the coming and going of Macanese subjects can be reflected in the fluctuations of Macanese movement from Macau to Hong Kong.

From the 1840s to the 1870s, the invitation from Hong Kong's employment opportunities, as well as the establishment of religious and educational facilities led to a consistent flow of Macanese from Macau. In 1853, the colonial government created the classification of 'Portuguese (Goa and Macao)' in its census and recorded a population of 459.¹⁰ By 1871, the Hong Kong census recorded a total of 1,367 'Portuguese' residing in the colony.¹¹ Macau's economic depression in the last two decades of the nineteenth century did not send Macanese subjects flocking to Hong Kong. The colonial government remarked that between 1881 and 1891, the number of 'Portuguese boys and girls' decreased and the general increase in the number of Macanese settlers in Hong Kong had tapered off owing to the difficulty the Macanese were beginning to

¹⁰ 'Census of Hongkong, 31st December 1853,' *Hongkong Government Gazette*, 11 March 1854, 89.

¹¹ 'Government Notification no. 68,' *Hongkong Government Gazette*, 6 May 1871, 196.

experience in finding employment.¹² The *Hongkong Government Gazette* reported: 'Positions once open to and generally held by [the Macanese] are now occupied by Britishers or members of other nationalities,' adding that the number of Macanese currently employed in European firms was fewer than it used to be and might decrease further.¹³ The fact that the services of the Macanese could be filled in by subjects of other cultural backgrounds also rendered them lesser bargaining power and agency in collaborative relationships.

Literature regarding collaboration has identified various categories of non-European collaborators as crucial pillars of European colonialism in Asia. Collaborators assisted in facilitating commercial, administrative, educational and ecclesiastical affairs by offering their knowledge of native societies, bridging the gaps of unfamiliarity European rulers encountered. Ronald Robinson, pioneering the 'theory of collaboration,' suggested that collaboration (or non-collaboration) was crucial in shaping and facilitating imperialism.¹⁴ He pointed out that the rise and fall of an empire relied on the 'negotiable' relationship between colonisers and their 'mediating elites.'¹⁵ When the terms were ideal, collaborators cooperated willingly, but when dissatisfied, they challenged, resisted and threatened colonial rule. Responding to Robinson's conceptualisation of 'collaboration' in the colonial framework, subsequent works emerged to adopt, question and revise Robinson's conceptualisation.¹⁶ A strand of literature on

¹² The 'Portuguese' population increased by 220 within a decade.

¹³ 'Government Notificaton no. 361,' *Hongkong Government Gazette*, 22 August 1891, 745.

¹⁴ Notably, Anil Seal had suggested, before Robinson's conceptualisation, the idea of 'collaboration,' arguing that Indian nationalism only developed when British rulers could no longer satisfy the aspirations of the collaborating western-educated elites. Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 344-345; Robinson, 'Non-European Foundations,' 118.

¹⁵ Robinson, 'Non-European Foundations,' 119-121; 132-137.

¹⁶ James Onley, for instance, drew on the theory to argue that indigenous subjects ran the 'British informal empire' in the Persian Gulf in a manner similar to that of British India. Kaori Abe's work on the Chinese compradors in nineteenth century British Hong Kong highlighted the role and importance of these Chinese as economic intermediaries between Hong Kong and foreign countries. See James Onley, *The Arabian Frontier of the British Raj: Merchants, Rulers and British in Nineteenth-century Gulf* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Abe, *Chinese Middlemen in Hong Kong's Colonial Economy, 1830-1890*. See also Stephen Howe (ed.), *The New Imperial Histories Reader* (London: Routledge, 2010); Yumi Moon, *Populist Collaborators: The Ilchinhoe and the Japanese Colonization of Korea, 1896-1910* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013).

'collaboration' analysed the tension in collaborative relationships, particularly in situations where collaborators sought for more power than was initially offered by using their racial networks and knowledge of the indigenous population.¹⁷ Other work has examined the role of collaborators in pioneering or facilitating anti-colonialism and/or nationalism.¹⁸ Scholars working on anti-colonial nationalism have critiqued Robinson's claim for overemphasising the roles of colonial elites, highlighting instead the roles of the indigenous mass and non-collaborator thinkers in resisting colonialism.¹⁹

Notably, these approaches rendered, to a great extent, colonised subjects an agency powerful enough to influence, reshape or shatter existing practices in colonialism. Although the concept of 'collaboration' provided a voice to colonised subjects, the idea is flawed by the presumption of a 'strategy' that colonial rulers engaged in collaborative relationships with non-European individuals to facilitate and maintain 'colonialism' and second, that unsatisfactory terms of collaboration usually resulted in resistance of colonialism. Existing ideas of 'collaboration,' thus, denote a pattern of domination and submission between colonisers and the colonised, and deny the normative ways to which interaction between Europeans and non-Europeans took shape in the colonial context. As 'migrant collaborators' who were not strategically crucial to the lifeline of British colonial rule, the Macanese experience offers an alternative narrative that sees

¹⁷ Elizabeth Sinn, *Power and Charity: A Chinese Merchant Elite in Colonial Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2003), 121-158; Wamagatta, 'African Collaborators and their Quest for Power,' 295-314; Wing Sang Law, *Collaborative Colonial Power: The Making of the Hong Kong Chinese* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009).

¹⁸ For examples, see Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*; Mark Ravinder Frost, 'Transcultural Diaspora: The Straits Chinese in Singapore, 1819-1918,' *Asia Research Institute Working Paper Series*, no. 10 (2003); Law, *Collaborative Colonial Power*, 103-130; AhRan Ellie Bae, 'Helen Kim as New Woman and Collaborator: A Comprehensive Assessment of Korean Collaboration under Japanese Colonial Rule,' *International Journal of Korean History* 22, no. 1 (2017), 107-137.

¹⁹ Ranajit Guha, a representational figure in Subaltern Studies, critiqued the importance that Robinson offered to 'elites,' suggesting instead to highlight the role of the peasant mass in British India as a community of 'agency' through rebellion and protest. A.E. Atmore also criticised Robinson's theory for ignoring the role of groups like 'modernisers' who facilitated modernisation and the impact of military force on the maintenance of colonial rule. See John Lonsdale and Bruce Berman, 'Coping with the Contradictions: The Development of the Colonial State in Kenya, 1895-1914,' *Journal of African History* 20 (1979), 487-505; Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983); A.E. Atmore, 'The Extra-European Foundations of British Imperialism: Towards a Reassessment,' in C.C. Eldridge (ed.), *British Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Macmillan: London, 1984), 106-126.

collaboration as a heterogeneous process disengaged from the ultimate aim of maintaining or challenging colonialism. The three individual cases, showing distinctive circumstances and occurring in three time periods, will reveal the various factors at work which influenced collaboration. Instead of perceiving 'race' as a decisive factor that colonial rulers used in structuring people, this chapter argues that 'race,' along with personal and external issues, resulted in the weak bargaining power of Macanese collaborators.

Between the 1840s and 1880s, Hong Kong was a period of many explorations. Macanese migrants worked to ease into life in an unfamiliar setting, and the British officials had to familiarise themselves with Hong Kong's geography, climate and inhabitants. The first Governor, Henry Pottinger, imagined turning the colony into the 'great emporium of the East' and his successor, Sir John Francis Davis suggested shortly after the Opium War that commerce would flourish in the colony 'under the protection of equal laws, and ... all the best fruits of science and civilization transplanted direct from the European headquarters.'²⁰ Both Governors had oversimplified the process of setting up an effective colony. It was not a problem of 'transplanting' European civilisation in Hong Kong but a question of maintaining control over the colonised population while attracting sufficient investors, enterprises and labour to bring the colony to life. The Macanese, able to read, write and speak English, worked as clerks and bookkeepers at a time when the Chinese could not understand the English language. Language barriers deepened the suspicions of Europeans towards the Chinese, marked by an atmosphere of panic and distrust within the European communities in the early years in the face of a wave of disorder and crime. Addressing European anxieties, the Chief Magistrate wrote to a local newspaper in 1844, '...until there is a registration of every Chinese Inhabitant of the Island, and surely given for their good conduct, we will never live in a state of security.'²¹

²⁰ Quoted in Christopher Munn, *Anglo-China: Chinese People and British Rule in Hong Kong, 1841-1880* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001), 21.

²¹ Chief Magistrate Office, 'The Friend of China and Hong Kong Gazette, Victoria, Tuesday, March 12th 1844,' *Friend of China and Hong Kong Gazette* III, no. 114, 12 March 1844, 280.

Britons hired able 'intermediaries' to bridge the Chinese population and the colonial government. These figures handed down instructions to the native population and transmitted responses back to the government.²² To be able to carry out such responsibilities required collaborators that had influence over the native population. Chinese 'compradors,' usually influential merchants or community leaders, assisted in business transactions between the Europeans and external Chinese merchants, contractors and diplomatic missions.²³ European missionaries with extensive knowledge of the Chinese also proved valuable collaborators to the colonial government. In 1844, the government appointed Prussian missionary Karl Gützlaff, who had served as interpreter for British diplomatic missions in China during the First Opium War, as Chinese Assistant to the Chief Magistrate. For more than a decade, Daniel Caldwell used his connections to the Chinese underground, built from his opium trading days in Canton during the 1830s, in exchange for employment under the colonial government. German missionary Ernest Eitel, arriving in Hong Kong from Canton with the London Missionary Society in 1870, became Director of Chinese Studies in 1875, Inspector of Schools of the Hong Kong government in 1879 and private secretary to Governor Sir John Pope Hennessy from 1880 to 1881. In contrast, Britons perceived the Macanese as more reliable than the general native population and in light of their linguistic competence, trusted their capability in carrying out daily administrative operations. In fact, when the Hongkong Volunteer Corps was founded in 1854, only Europeans, Americans and 'Portuguese' were accepted.²⁴ British and foreign employers took note of their availability, in terms of number, and willingness to work for a lower wage. It was a common perception amongst foreign employers that the Macanese, with their Asiatic roots, had a higher ability of surviving with lower wages, compared to Britons who were thought to 'require in this climate, [better] quarters, food and comforts.'²⁵

²² Munn, *Anglo-China*, 56.

²³ Abe Kaori. *Chinese Middlemen in Hong Kong's Colonial Economy, 1830-1890* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 35-47.

²⁴ Ian F.W. Beckett (ed.), *Citizen Soldiers and the British Empire, 1837-1902* (London: Routledge, 2012), 15.

²⁵ 'Hong Kong, August 10, 1865,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 10 August 1865, 2.

In addition, this chapter responds to existing accounts and general narratives regarding the Macanese in early colonial Hong Kong that have centred on racial prejudice under the British administration and largely sketched the Macanese community as victims of unequal racial practises. One account described Macanese migration to Hong Kong as a degradation of the community, particularly due to the stunted career growths of Macanese individuals. The author, a Hong Kong-born Macanese writer argued that in Hong Kong, the 'hapless descendants of once affluent Macaense families ... vegetated as underpaid, over-worked, browbeaten clerks, mean advantage being taken of their distress and endurance until they died, usually in harness, martyr-like ordeal.'²⁶ Other accounts highlighted the existence of restrictions that barred Macanese civil servants from higher-ranking positions due to their Portuguese nationality.²⁷ Through the idea of 'migrant collaborator' and the terms of collaboration that kept Macanese employees working in the colony, this chapter argues against the impact of racial prejudice in the careers of the Macanese, highlighting instead the racial, personal and circumstantial factors that were at play in shaping Anglo-Macanese cooperation and tension in early Hong Kong.

Castro, negotiating ambition

Leonardo d'Almada e Castro was born in Goa in 1815 to a Lieutenant father from Lisbon and a Goan-born 'Portuguese' mother. His father served various positions in the army and was first Lieutenant of the Battalion of Artillery in Goa before they moved to Macau in 1825 when Castro was ten.²⁸ In 1836, Castro began working for the Hong Kong government in the office of the British Superintendency of Trade in Macau. He joined Captain Charles Elliot's entourage in 1836 and on February 27, 1842, transferred, together with his brother, José Maria d'Almada e Castro, to Hong Kong. Having assisted the establishment of the colonial government, Castro quickly ascended in the office of the Colonial

²⁶ Montalto De Jesus, *Historic Macao: International Traits in China Old and New* (Macao: Salesian Printing Press and Tipografia Mercantil, 1926), 366.

²⁷ Jorge da Silva and António M. Pacheco, *The Portuguese Community in Hong Kong: A Pictorial History, vol. I* (Macau: Macau Instituto Internacional de Macau, 2007), 17; Roy Eric Xavier, 'J.P. Braga and the Portuguese in Hong Kong,' *UMA News Bulletin* 36 no. 1 (2013), 3.

²⁸ Forjaz, *Famílias Macaenses* vol. I, 1st ed., 77.

Secretary. In May 16 1844, he was promoted as Chief Clerk and by 1847, was already serving as clerk of the two Councils.²⁹ As seen at the beginning of this chapter, Castro's quick ascension in office caught the attention of some British residents. These were not happy with the government's decision to appoint a Macanese man as head of clerks in the Colonial Secretary's office where he led his brother José Maria (second clerk), a British clerk, Henry Fletcher Hance (third clerk) and Castro's father-in-law Alexander Grand-pré (fourth clerk). The government ignored such voices of disapproval and carried on with their reliance on Castro.

The swift progress in his career, however, augmented Castro's confidence and ambition. He was only in his mid-thirties and felt that he could go further. To Castro's dismay, his career became stagnant in the next few years, marked only by occasional, unofficial appointments as Acting Colonial Secretary. Twice in 1851, Colonial Secretary William Caine signed off from work without formally informing the Colonial Office. Sir George Bonham, out of convenience, appointed Castro as Acting Colonial Secretary (Fig. 5). Chief Magistrate C.B. Hillier questioned the Governor's instruction and offered to step in, but the Governor maintained that Hillier was needed at the Police Office.³⁰ This temporary appointment delighted the Macanese, who was convinced that he was entitled to the position. He sent a note of gratitude to Bonham and thanked the Governor for 'doing [him] justice' and added: '...had any other officer in the Colony been appointed to discharge the duties of Colonial Secretary, such an arrangement would have cast indelible reflection on my private and official character.'³¹ This appointment, once agaidlin, sowed the seeds for Castro's growing ambitions and aggravated his frustrations. Governor Bonham should have known that he

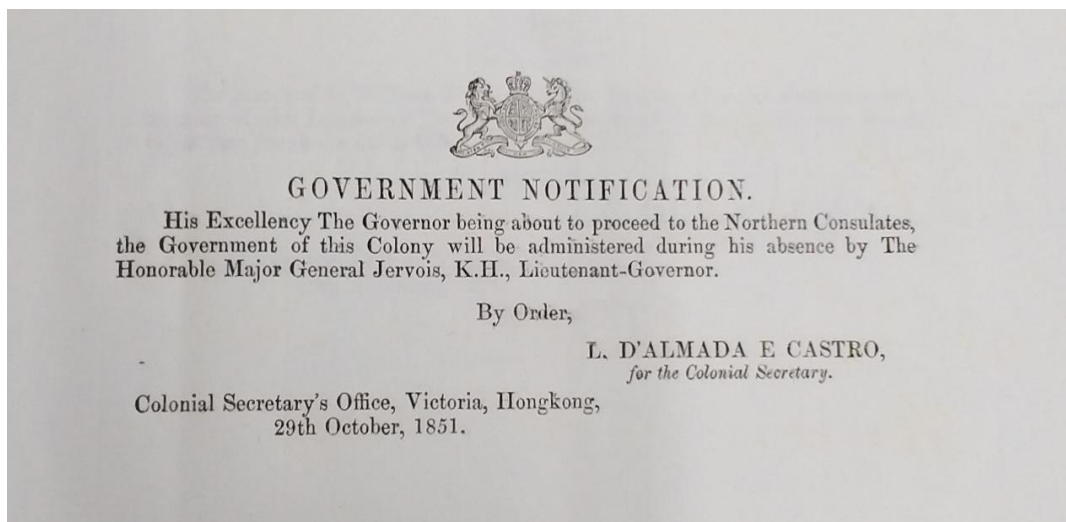
²⁹ Endacott, *A Biographical Sketch-book*, 117.

³⁰ Bonham claimed that Hillier had been too tied up and Caine pointed out that Castro had already been appointed when his letter arrived. 'Sir George Bonham to The Duke of Newcastle,' 20 January 1854, CO 129/45, 47, The National Archive, London; 'William Caine to Sir George Bonham,' 10 January 1854, CO 129/45, 100, The National Archives, London.

³¹ 'Leonardo d'Almada e Castro to Sir George Bonham,' 16 October 1851, CO 129/44, 211-212, The National Archive London. On a side note, two identical copies of this letter exists in the Colonial Archive (CO 129/44/45), each a record of the Hong Kong government's refusal to deliver it to the Duke of Newcastle because it was not approved by the Governor. In this draft, I switch between the use of these two files for convenience.

had offered the Macanese temporary acquisition of a powerful position that was, in theory, only second to the Governor.

Fig. 5 Notification of Castro's appointments



This document from the Colonial Office stored at the National Archives shows Castro's appointments as Acting Colonial Secretary in October 1851, annexed in Castro's letter the Duke of Newcastle in August 1853.³²

In November 1852, Caine casually took another four-day leave, but this time, appointed Colonial Treasurer W.T. Mercer to act on his behalf. Unaware of this arrangement and feeling entitled to the position, Castro assumed Caine's duties and signed some documents in the name of the Acting Colonial Secretary. Upon discovering this, Mercer went to him and confronted Castro with what the latter recalled was 'insulting language.' The incident deepened Castro's feeling of injustice and castigated an outburst. He was convinced that Mercer, having entered the Hong Kong government only in 1844, did not deserve to be appointed as Acting Colonial Secretary. In Castro's thoughts, Mercer was seven years his junior and was, thus, but '... another officer of this government who consider[ed] himself to have a claim or right to the office of Colonial Secretary.'³³ He demanded an apology from Mercer but it did not come. In November 1853, Caine again asked Mercer to act for him in his absence. This offended and

³² 'Document G, Leonardo d'Almada e Castro to the Duke of Newcastle,' 13 August 1853, CO 129/44, 213, The National Archives, London.

³³ 'Leonardo d'Almada e Castro to the Duke of Newcastle,' 9 January 1854, CO 129/45, 71, The National Archives, London, 65, 71.

angered Castro, as he found it unacceptable to be placed under a colleague who had previously 'so grossly insulted [him] for having performed [his] duty.' The Macanese accused the British officials of racial prejudice, claiming that as 'the oldest Civil Servant in China,' it was unjustified that a junior like Mercer had been appointed to act over him. Castro tried to convince the Colonial Office that his late father had had good connections to the British world, including 'Governor Elliot, of Bermuda, Mr. Johnston, late Secretary to the Superintendency in China, Mr. Plowden, and Mr. Astell, M.P. Directors of the East India Company, and Sir James Matheson, Bart., M.P,' all of which he saw as evidence of his character.³⁴ In this letter to the Colonial Office, Castro consciously used connections to prominent British officials as a bargaining tool in strengthening his case for a higher rank in the government.

Feeling helpless and isolated by his British colleagues, Castro decided to write to the Colonial Office and inform them about a lack of order and racial prejudice in the Hong Kong government. For instance, Castro pointed out that the Colonial Secretary often inappropriately took casual leaves, which were only done by verbal agreement with the Governor but not through the Colonial Office. He described Mercer as improper and rude and claimed that the British officials were pitted against him. The Governor, in this case, threatened to have Mercer write a report against Castro if he refused to let go of the issue.³⁵ Responding to his accusations, Governor Bonham's letter to the Colonial Office touched on the question of nationality and Castro's character. He wrote that Castro, as an 'alien,' was 'incapacitated from holding the office' as he could not have a seat in the Executive Council. In addition, the Governor explained that the Macanese was 'not of sufficient weight' to hold a higher position.³⁶ In contrast, Mercer graduated from Oxford. The Governor, from a letter to the Right Honorable the

³⁴ 'Leonardo d'Almada e Castro to the Duke of Newcastle,' 13 August 1853, CO 129/45, 201, 68-69, 80-81, The National Archive, London.

³⁵ 'Leonardo d'Almada e Castro to the Duke of Newcastle,' 9 January 1854, CO 129/45, 65-66, The National Archive, London.

³⁶ 'Sir George Bonham to the Duke of Newcastle,' 20 January 1854, CO 129/45, 50, 47-49, The National Archive, London.

Early Grey in 1848, had already maintained that he would be the successor to the Colonial Secretary's position when it became vacant.³⁷

Bonham described Castro as disillusioned by his ambitions and expressed regret for twice appointing him as Acting Colonial Secretary. According to the Governor, he had known of Castro's ambitions and appointed him out of kindness to '[gratify] his wishes, which could then be done without inconvenience to the Public Service.'³⁸ Mercer responded to the Governor, '...I must really protest against this familiar conjunction by which he assumes the credit of a competition with me.' He instructed that Castro should know better his place in the government and refrain from stepping beyond the limits of his ranks. Towards the end of his letter to Governor Bonham, Mercer wrote, 'I am ready to bear testimony to the efficiency of [Castro's] service, under due control, as a subordinate in Government employ, but 'ne Sutor;' let him do his duty in the station wherein he is placed, and let him allow me, undisturbed, to do mine.'³⁹ Mercer emphasised Castro's subordinate position and found it insulting that the Macanese had even thought of competing against him.

In early 1854, the Duke of Newcastle suggested that the Hong Kong government appoint Castro as Colonial Secretary with an additional salary. British officials in the colony ignored this. A note written to the Permanent Under-Secretary for the colonies Herman Merivale, remarked that a 'distasteful... oligarchy' existed within the Hong Kong government, suggested the new Governor, Sir John Bowring, object to the Duke of Newcastle's proposal by re-stating that Castro could not take his oath of allegiance before Councils because he was an 'alien' and that he was 'not of sufficient weight.' He called Castro's letter 'offensive and objectionable.'⁴⁰ Castro only received the dispatch on November 16, 1854 and subsequently wrote a letter of thanks to the Colonial Office, adding that he had

³⁷ 'Extract from Enclosure No. 4 in Dispatch Separate of the 27th December, 1848, from Governor Sir George Bonham to the Right Honorable the Early Grey,' CO 129/45, 113, The National Archive, London.

³⁸ 'Sir George Bonham,' 20 January 1854, CO 129/45, 47-49.

³⁹ 'William Mercer to Sir George Bonham,' 11 January 1854, CO 129/45, 106-107 108, The National Archive, London.

⁴⁰ 'To Herman Merivale in letter from Sir George Bonham to the Duke of Newcastle,' 25 April 1854, CO 129/45, 54, The National Archive, London.

already taken his oath of allegiance to the Queen before the Executive Council and in the company of then Governor Sir John Davis, Lieutenant Governor General George Charles D'Aguiar and Colonel Caine upon his appointment as Clerk of the Councils in 1846.⁴¹ Due to missing sources, there is no further evidence to conclude the Hong Kong government's response to the Colonial Office. However, it is known that the issue eventually died out and Castro made a final attempt to change his fate by applying for British naturalisation under the Naturalization Ordinance in 1854. He failed to become formally 'British' and remained quietly in his position until his death in 1875 at the age of sixty. He was buried in St. Michael's Roman Catholic Cemetery.

While the Britons restricted Castro's upward mobility, the Macanese tried to find ways to negotiate his way to the top. Robinson highlighted such actions as a form of 'resistance.'⁴² In reality, not all collaborators resisted, and some, like the Straits Chinese, took advantage of the colonial government's dependency on them and eventually shaped themselves into Singapore's 'gentry-official class.'⁴³ Most studies have focused on successful examples of negotiation where collaborators benefitted from their relationship with the colonisers. In Hong Kong, wealthy native Chinese subjects like Loo Aqui and Tam Achoy worked as middlemen and compradors for the British in exchange for land and social prominence within the Chinese community.⁴⁴ These cases of successful negotiation revealed how collaborators used racial identity, networks and/or wealth to negotiate for more benefits. The case of Castro shows the low bargaining power of migrant collaborators. They did not have influence over the native population and were strategically not useful to the colonial government. Migrant collaborators, nevertheless, served the colony in loyalty. Those who were not satisfied with life in the colony left of their own volition, but those that stayed benefitted in some way from the terms of collaboration.

⁴¹ 'Leonardo d'Almada e Castro to Sir George Grey,' 30 November 1854, CO 129/47, 325, The National Archives, London.

⁴² Robinson, 'Non-European Foundations,' 19.

⁴³ Frost, 'Transcultural Diaspora,' 15-17.

⁴⁴ Carroll, *Edge of Empires*, 28-29.

The economic needs of collaborators, and their lives outside of the work place are usually overlooked as factors that helped sustain effective collaboration and in the long term, as a crucial facet that maintained the daily operations of a colony under an affordable budget. The Macanese moved to Hong Kong in search of employment and they often grew sizeable families. Castro could not afford to continue challenging British formal power if it cost him his job. He had a life outside of the government. By 1853, Castro earned an annual salary of £472, with an additional £100 as Clerk of Councils and was the highest paid clerk in the Hong Kong government.⁴⁵ In 1863, this had been slightly increased to £500, with an additional £200 for his work as Clerk of Councils.⁴⁶ He was also a property investor and active philanthropist. In 1865, he sold a plot of land to the Italian Sisters at a low price to build a convent.⁴⁷ Castro became indebted after the 1874 typhoon damaged his owned properties.⁴⁸ His will also showed that apart from his family, he wanted to look after his in-laws. He asked for his estates to be given to his son-in-law João Henrique dos Remedios and his father João Joaquim (owner of shipping company J.J. dos Remedios & Co. and later, Portuguese Consul of Hong Kong), and his own brother, José Maria d'Almada e Castro.⁴⁹ Castro asked for his trust funds to be transferred to his wife, and upon her death, to her eldest daughter, Anna Filomena d'Almada e Castro.⁵⁰

The Castro family's need for income was further revealed in the aftermath of his death in 1875. The Colonial Office objected to the Legislative Council's unanimous decision to financially support his wife and daughter with a monthly pension of £150 due to its large amount.⁵¹ The government finally decided to pay them a sum of £400, which was quickly used to repair damaged property, return Castro's outstanding debts and pay for his funeral expenses. Castro's widow eventually petitioned the government for a reimbursement of her late husband's

⁴⁵ *Hongkong Blue Book 1853*, CO 133/10, 76, 80, The National Archives, London.

⁴⁶ *Hongkong Blue Book 1863*, CO 133/20, 104, 120, The National Archives, London.

⁴⁷ Endacott, *A Biographical Sketch-Book*, 117.

⁴⁸ 'Maria Anna d'Almada e Castro and Anna Filomena d'Almada e Castro to The Earl of Carnarvon,' n.d., CO 129/173, 127, The National Archive, London.

⁴⁹ 'Will No. 36 of 1875, Probate No. 930 of 1875: Leonardo d'Almada e Castro, deceased,' 5 January 1875, HKRS 144-4/303, Hong Kong Public Records Office, Hong Kong; Forjaz, *Familias Macaenses*, vol. III, 1st ed., 33.

⁵⁰ 'Will No. 36 of 1875,' HKRS 144-4/303.

⁵¹ 'Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council of Hong Kong,' 23 February 1875.

Superannuation Fund. In her letter, she revealed that her husband was able, 'out of his moderate salary in the expensive colony of Hong Kong, to save only a small sum.'⁵² Governor Kennedy directed for this petition to be facilitated 'for the sake of Mrs. Almada and her daughter,' as well as 'for the reputation' of the government.'⁵³ Appointing Macanese subjects to middle and lower-ranking positions with a moderate salary kept many Macanese away from affluence but allowed them to survive and grow their families in colonial Hong Kong where their children benefitted from the availability of educational provisions.

As a 'collaborator,' Castro proved to have less agency than collaborators mentioned in existing studies. He failed to negotiate for a higher position in the government and continued to work in silence for the Britons until his death. Having less agency, however, did not mean that his service was not important to the colony. The British relied on Castro, and many other Macanese, to provide assistance at a modest cost. In further explaining the sustenance of collaboration, Robinson argued that collaborators often challenged the colonisers to change their bargains of collaboration in order to maintain imperialism.⁵⁴ The case of the Macanese reveals otherwise. It shows that collaboration was maintained through mutual, albeit unequal, benefit. The colony provided for the economic needs of its collaborators and the collaborators, in turn, offered their service and loyalty to the colony at a salary lower than their European counterparts. Acknowledging the role and contribution of such collaborators with lower agency allows us to further understand another type of collaboration that was effective, economical and non-resistant.

Grand-pré and Caldwell, tools of bargain

Alexander Grand-pré joined the Hong Kong government in 1845. Not much is known of his private life, except that he was the son of a French aide-de-camp to

⁵² 'Maria Anna d'Almada e Castro,' CO 129/173, 128.

⁵³ 'Sir Arthur Kennedy to Cecil Clementi Smith, 27th July 1875, CO 129/171, 250, The National Archive, London; 'Maria Anna d'Almada e Castro,' CO 129/173, 127-131.

⁵⁴ Robinson, 'Non European Foundations,' 123.

the Governor of Macau in the 1820s and a Macanese woman.⁵⁵ His father was also a member of the government council and later became a Major of Macau's artillery.⁵⁶ In Hong Kong, Grand-pré served as fourth clerk in the office of the Colonial Secretary from 1845 until he was promoted to third clerk in December 1853 under the supervision of Castro, his son-in-law.⁵⁷ In 1854, he was one of 'the original ninety-nine' to sign up for the Hong Kong Volunteers and on August 9, 1855, the *Government Gazette* announced his appointment as Assistant Superintendent of Police and General Interpreter.⁵⁸ It remains unclear whether he had applied to be transferred or was assigned the position out of urgency as he was appointed to fill in for Caldwell, who resigned in early July because he was discontented with his position.⁵⁹ It was a big leap for Grand-pré as the position ranked fourth in standing in the police establishment, only next to the Chief Magistrate, Sheriff and Superintendent of Police. This appointment did not go unnoticed as unfavourable comments emerged regarding Grand-pré's identity as 'an alien.'⁶⁰ The government explained that the appointment was only 'one for inquiry' and the noise died down.⁶¹

In May 1856, Grand-pré was appointed as Acting Superintendent of Police to replace Charles May, who had been transferred to another rank. He was placed under May's occasional supervision.⁶² Grand-pré's career did not advance from there, regressing instead due to his poor performance. According to an existing study, Grand-pré was '...one of the earliest victims in Hongkong of that unfair racial discrimination so wrongly practiced... in [the] British Colonial administration.'⁶³ Another account claimed that the Hong Kong government transferred Grand-pré to a higher rank due to his fluency in Bengali, Malay,

⁵⁵ Forjaz, *Famílias Macaenses*, vol. II, 1st ed., 143.

⁵⁶ Forjaz, *Famílias Macaenses*, vol. II, 1st ed., 143.

⁵⁷ W. Caine, 'Government Notification No. 14,' 17 December 1853, *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 24 December 1853.

⁵⁸ Forjaz, *Famílias Macaenses*, vol. II, 1st ed., 144.

⁵⁹ W.T. Mercer, 'Government Notification No. 20,' 9 August 1855, *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 11 August 1855, 2.

⁶⁰ James William Norton-Kyshe, *History of the Laws and Courts of Hongkong*, vol. 1 (Hong Kong: Noronha and Company, 1898), 361-62.

⁶¹ Norton-Kyshe, *History of the Laws and Courts of Hongkong*, vol. 1, 361-62.

⁶² W.T. Mercer, 'Government Notification No. 66,' 23 May 1856, *The Hongkong Government Gazette* I, no. 48, 24 May 1856.

⁶³ Braga, *The Portuguese in Hongkong and China*, 147.

Portuguese and Cantonese, only to restrict his career by segregation and corruption within the police force.⁶⁴ Through perceiving Grand-pré as a 'weak collaborator,' this section widens the lens of examining his unsuccessful career by exploring his performance at work. I also compare his contributions to the colonial government with that of a 'British' figure, Daniel Caldwell to throw light on Grand-pré's lack of strategic agency to British rule.

Grand-pré served in the Police during a challenging time of understaffing, corruption and disorder in Hong Kong's Police Force. In 1854, Hong Kong had only 131 police officers, twenty-seven of whom were European, sixty-six Indian and thirty-eight Chinese.⁶⁵ European residents often complained of fears for their safety in face of such an ethnically mixed Police Force.⁶⁶ In the face of an urgent task to transform public perception towards Hong Kong's policemen, Grand-pré did not do much to improve the situation. In 1856, the court asked Grand-pré to assist in the task of preventing the Police Force's abuse of power. A case of extortion was brought to the court concerning a European police constable guilty of extorting money out of Chinese gamblers. Before the Chief Justice, the police admitted that it was usual practice for the colony's policemen to extort \$10 or \$5 from Chinese subjects for gambling.⁶⁷ In order to resolve the problem, an Attorney General suggested for the numbers of police constables to be sewed onto their jackets in both English and Chinese. This was meant to discourage future abuse of power, as it would be easier for European and Chinese victims to identify policemen. The Chief Justice ordered Grand-pré to carry out the proposal. Grand-pré promised to carry out measures to alleviate the situation but he eventually did not resolve the issue.⁶⁸

Grand-pré's greatest achievement in the Hong Kong Police Department came in 1857. The colonial government had been having difficulties in enlisting policemen and resorted to trying to recruit Malays in Singapore to no avail. The

⁶⁴ Xavier, 'J.P. Braga and the Portuguese in Hong Kong,' 3.

⁶⁵ Carol Jones and Jon Vagg, *Criminal Justice in Hong Kong* (London: Routledge, 2007), 51.

⁶⁶ Jones and Vagg, *Criminal Justice*, 50-51.

⁶⁷ Norton-Kyshe, *History of the Laws and Courts of Hongkong*, vol. 1, 401-402.

⁶⁸ Norton-Kyshe, *History of the Laws and Courts of Hongkong*, vol. 1, 402.

government sought for new blood, in hopes of improving the morale of local policemen. Grand-pré helped enlist thirty Macanese soldiers who had recently completed their term with the Macau garrison. However, this did not improve the situation for the colonial government, as ‘The records [did] not show how these particular men bore themselves afterwards’ and the Police Department continued to receive frequent complaints regarding the unreliable performance of policemen.⁶⁹ Without achieving the desired boost in morale, the colonial government did not particularly commend Grand-pré. His career regressed in 1858. The colonial government decided to appoint him in 1858 as Collector of Police and Lightning Rates, because ‘it was said, [the position] much better fitted him.’⁷⁰ The Macanese recruits did not resolve the problem of enlarging the police force in the long term. By 1861, only eleven Macanese men remained in the Police Force.⁷¹ A source from 1862 shows Colonial Secretary W.T. Mercer’s comments on Grand-pré’s unsatisfactory weak performance. Mercer described Grand-pré as a Portuguese of French extraction who had been tried in various positions but failed in all, always ready with an excuse.⁷² Grand-pré remained as Collector of Police and Lightning Rates until the position was abolished in June 1863. He left office in late September and had an early retirement. He returned to Macau and died the following year at the age of forty-six.

The Britons found Grand-pré incompetent, not only because he failed to deliver satisfaction during his time in office, but also due to his weak strategic value with regards to ‘collaboration.’ Compared to Daniel Richard Caldwell’s network with the Chinese underground, Grand-pré’s connections to Macau were not useful in dealing with problems of crime and corruption. The Police Force itself worked with pirates who frequented Hong Kong’s waters.⁷³ The government, thus, needed someone who had information on illegal activities. Born in Saint Helena in 1816, Caldwell was a scandalous figure who joined and left the Hong Kong government at various points. He started his career as a translator in the 1840s,

⁶⁹ Norton-Kyshe, *History of the Laws and Courts of Hongkong*, vol. 1, 437.

⁷⁰ Norton-Kyshe, *History of the Laws and Courts of Hongkong*, vol. 1, 453.

⁷¹ Jones and Vagg, *Criminal Justice*, 51.

⁷² Endacott, *A Biographical Sketch-book*, 120.

⁷³ Ian Scott, *Political Change and the Crisis of Legitimacy in Hong Kong* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), 43.

went on to become Acting Superintendent of Police in 1849 and General Interpreter of Chinese, Portuguese, Hindustani and Malay languages and Collector of Police Rates. He continued to ascend in the government and became the Registrar-General and Protector of Chinese in 1856.⁷⁴ Within a decade of working on and off for the Hong Kong government, he had resigned twice and was dismissed once for brushing with the law. Britons scrutinised Caldwell's private life. He maintained intimate relations with the Chinese population and had a Chinese wife during an era when union with native women caused scandal and ostracisation from the British circles. Governor John Bowring openly acknowledged Caldwell as 'a man of mixed blood, born at Singapore [and] married to a Chinese woman converted to Christianity...'⁷⁵

Despite Caldwell's frequent entanglement with controversy, the colonial government saw him as an effective collaborator who was capable of helping the government to manage the Chinese population. In 1849, for instance, Caldwell helped the administration launch successful attacks against pirates in the China coast, destroying ninety-nine pirate vessels and temporarily weakening the pirates in the area. The Governor, in a letter to the Earl Grey, mentioned that the operation would not have been possible without 'Mr. Caldwell's energy and local knowledge.' Governor Bonham asked for an 'award' or 'donation' equal to the amount a Lieutenant would have received in the position to be presented to Caldwell.⁷⁶ In 1856, the *Hong Kong Government Gazette* announced his appointment as Registrar General and urged the Chinese community to approach Mr. Caldwell in his office, or during emergencies, at his home, if they had difficulty understanding the law.⁷⁷ This move was an attempt, and a successful one, to pacify the Chinese by inviting them to interact with the colonial government, out of fear that the outbreak of the Second Opium War would lead

⁷⁴ *Hongkong Blue Book* 1853, CO 133/10, 98, The National Archives, London.

⁷⁵ Bowring mistook Caldwell's birthplace as Singapore. Caldwell grew up in Penang and later, Singapore, where his father served in the local militia. For Bowring's comment, see Endacott, *A Biographical Sketch*, 95.

⁷⁶ 'Sir George Bonham to The Earl Grey,' 3 November 1849, CO 129/30, 255-258, The National Archives, London.

⁷⁷ W.T. Mercer, 'Government Notification No. 131,' 4 December 1856, *The Hong Kong Government Gazette*, no. 75, 6 December 1856, 2.

to unrest amongst the communities in Hong Kong.⁷⁸ At the same time, the government seized the opportunity to tighten their grip over the Chinese and put them under martial law, simultaneously granting the European community with the rights to lock up Chinese servants and allow the shooting of suspicious-looking Chinese for self-defense.⁷⁹ The powers under this legislation were in Caldwell's hands.⁸⁰ A new wave of anti-Chinese sentiment followed with the outbreak of the 'bread poisoning' incident, which left several hundred Europeans ill after consuming bread from a Chinese bakery (Fig. 6). Such events further urged the government to tighten their control over the Chinese. One study pointed out that Bowring was over-indulgent towards Caldwell and handed him too much power but that he was far too useful for the government at such a time of peril and emergency.⁸¹ Caldwell had his foot in the Chinese world, and the British relied on his network of criminal informants to keep an eye on the Chinese community.⁸²

⁷⁸ Sinn, *Power and Charity*, 25.

⁷⁹ Carroll, *A Concise History of Hong Kong*, 27.

⁸⁰ Christopher Munn, 'Colonialism "in a Chinese atmosphere": the Caldwell Affair and the Perils of Collaboration in Early Colonial Hong Kong,' in Robert Bickers and Christian Henriot (eds.), *New Frontiers: Imperialism's New Communities in East Asia, 1842-1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 15.

⁸¹ Bowring, *Free Trade's First Missionary*, 185.

⁸² Munn, 'Colonialism "in a Chinese atmosphere,"' 12-16.

Fig. 6 Marciano Baptista's sketch of the bread poisoning debate



Marciano Antonio Baptista's sketch, entitled 'The Interrogation of Esing the Baker, Upon the Charge of Poisoning, 1857' is from the Hong Kong Museum of Art.

In 1861, Caldwell's business connections to the Chinese underground were exposed. He resigned after being charged with owning brothels and associating with pirates but was soon re-appointed by the government. It almost never seemed to matter what Caldwell had done, because the government always needed his service afterwards. Soon after he left office, Governor Hercules Robinson complained to the Colonial Office that there were no government officials who could properly understand Chinese.⁸³ The new Governor, Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell, unofficially re-appointed Caldwell as adviser in his attempt to curb gambling by establishing licensed gaming houses.⁸⁴ In 1866, members of the Legislative Council proposed the re-employment of Caldwell and MacDonnell immediately took this suggestion and appointed him as the head of a

⁸³ Carroll, *A Concise History*, 50.

⁸⁴ Endacott, *A Biographical Sketch*, 99.

semi-official secret Chinese detective force made up of 'district watchmen.'⁸⁵ In 1868, Chinese concessionaries under the government's new gambling scheme asked Caldwell to be their manager. These events proved Caldwell as an indispensable 'collaborator.' The Hong Kong government needed his connection to and understanding of the Chinese world to effectively control the native population. The fact that the Chinese trusted Caldwell also made him a crucial intermediary between the government and the Chinese community.

Comparing Grand-pré's case to Caldwell's experience, we see two distinct types of 'collaboration.' Although both figures were polyglots and served the government at similar capacities and the same position of Acting Superintendent of Police during the 1850s, their careers took different turns because they served different value to the colonial government. Grand-pré failed to advance in his career due to his weak performance, as well as his lack of 'bargaining tools' in relation to strategic utility. He existed in a Macanese world that was neither Chinese nor European, spoke Cantonese but did not enter the worlds of the Chinese. His connections to the Macanese circle in Hong Kong and Macau were not crucial to the effective management of the colony's dominantly Chinese population. To secure colonial rule, the government needed to keep an eye on the Chinese population. Caldwell established himself by effectively straddling between the British and Chinese worlds. He was, legally, British, though the British did not consider him a true Briton for his racial and cultural background. He was not Chinese, but spoke fluent Cantonese and also had in-depth understanding of Chinese people and their customs. Notably, his connection to the Chinese underground proved to be of strategic value to the Hong Kong government. Belonging neither to the British nor Chinese worlds, but simultaneously involved in both worlds, Caldwell was an indispensable collaborator that the British needed to effectively run the colony.

A strand of studies has highlighted 'race' and racial networks as factors that influenced the bargaining power of collaborators. Successful collaborators, as seen from the experiences of the Straits Chinese and in Punjab, usually had

⁸⁵ Munn, *Anglo-China*, 321.

larger social and cultural ties with the colonised populations and/or political ties with their home country.⁸⁶ Grand-pré's experience offers us an alternative understanding of why the participation of Macanese individuals in the colony remained in middle and lower-ranking positions. Instead of framing their encounter in the context of racial prejudice, the restricted worlds to which they chose to be active in rendered them low agency in strategic issues. Having established their roots in Asia, the Macanese were distanced from Portugal and did not seek to expand their connections to the native Chinese population. In private, the Macanese generally retreated to their world, intermarrying within Macanese families and sometimes, working in the same environment. Family union connected the Macanese individuals mentioned so far in this chapter. Alexandre Grand-pré's daughter married Leonardo d'Almada e Castro. Castro's youngest daughter married João Henrique dos Remedios and Dos Remedios' brother, João Joaquim, was the brother in-law of Januário António de Carvalho, the subject of the next section. From this aspect, the Macanese community was 'contained,' and generations of middle-class Macanese families came to be linked by intermarriage, working relations and social status. Finally, both Castro and Grand-pré's cases have evidenced that being 'mixed' and being non-British were not sole factors that led to the positioning of the Macanese in the colonial work place.

Gonsalves and Carvalho, wealth and policy change

By the mid-1860s, the Macanese already had established roles in British Hong Kong. They easily found employment and were generally acknowledged for their willingness to serve in the lower and middle-ranks at a salary lower than their British counterparts. Britons generally perceived the Macanese as 'Asiatic,' tolerant of Hong Kong's climatic conditions and able to survive on lower wages. The Macanese, seeking a stable life in Hong Kong, accepted lower wages as long as it allowed them to earn a living. This relationship of mutual, but unequal, benefits functioned continuously in Hong Kong and proved to be an effective

⁸⁶ Frost, 'Transcultural Diaspora;' Edwards, 'Relocating the Interlocutor,' 277-335; Tahir Mahmood and Amjad Abbas, 'Collaboration, Political Control and the British Strategic Imperatives in Colonial Punjab,' *Pakistan Vision* 8, no. 2 (2017), 15-31.

pattern in running the colony. The employment of a considerable number of Macanese in the government and foreign firms did not go by without debate as the British population began to observe the presence of the Macanese. In 1865, the *Hong Kong Daily Press* published an item regarding the conviction for embezzlement of a Macanese clerk Hilario do Rozario, who had been working for Scottish merchant Douglas Lapraik.⁸⁷ The news unfolded into a series of debates concerning the reliability of Macanese employees and their suitability to positions in the colony. A resident from Canton wrote in favour of the community, pointing out that he had a pleasant experience working with Macanese subjects. The resident argued that Macanese employees usually had a strong sense of responsibility because they needed to look after sizeable families. This commitment to a chain of people ensured their honesty and loyalty to foreign employers.⁸⁸

The responses that followed challenged the idea that Macanese workers were reliable. A printer for the *Daily Press*, in the subsequent wording of the newspaper, 'lost his mind' and added 'No Portuguese need apply' to an advertisement for a clerical position. The newspaper apologised and joined the discussion by trying to convince angry Britons that the Macanese were a better fit for lower and middle-ranking jobs because they easily survived on an average salary of eighty dollars per month, an amount that would cause great discomfort to British people. According to the *Daily Press*, '...our countrymen are physically disqualified for the posts which the Portuguese now occupy,' and added that if the eight-hundred Macanese workers were to be replaced by the British in similar working conditions, 'It would degrade the British name and would be the means of creating a low, despised, half-caste breed, with all the boldness of the European, with all the subtlety of the Asiatic, and with all that lack of shame...'⁸⁹ The newspaper suggested that to prevent future cases of embezzlement concerning the Macanese, employers should ensure that they were employing 'real' Portuguese subjects instead of assuming people were 'Portuguese' by their Christian names or nicknames. In concluding this response, the *Daily Press* asked

⁸⁷ 'Police Court,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 7 August 1865, 2.

⁸⁸ Justitia, 'To the Editor of the Daily Press,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 9 August 1865, 3.

⁸⁹ 'Hong Kong, August 10, 1865,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 10 August 1865, 2.

its readers to reflect on a situation where an applicant turned out to be the son of a Madras butler by a Chinese woman and asked, 'would not ordinary prudence have forbidden the idea of unlimited confidence?'⁹⁰

Another reader, identifying as 'Englishman,' made a belated response to the debate and explained that foreign firms preferred Macanese employees because 'they can stand the climate better... they can live much cheaper... [and] they [were] better adapted for being horses at a mill and fourthly, because they [did] not drink.'⁹¹ The *Evening Mail* then printed a response to this letter and pointed out that the writer had failed to acknowledge the English, German and American missionaries who lived in worse accommodation than the Macanese. This concluded with the statement that 'The Portuguese are a very excellent class of assistants, and employers will always be ready to pay them the current rates whenever their services are wanted; but it is only at certain rates we can afford to employ them.'⁹² The debates shed light on the relationship between 'race,' occupation and 'class,' interpreted in various ways from the perceptions of anonymous newspaper readers. In general, the debates agreed on the observation of Macanese subjects as middle and lower ranking clerks of the colony.

The pattern of employing non-Europeans to middle and lower-ranking positions is observable in the composition of the colonial government. Taking clerical positions as a basis, the *Hong Kong Blue Book* of 1871 showed at least four public offices that conformed to this pattern of hierarchy. The widest gap, of course, lay between the Chinese and the British. At the Registrar General's Office, Im Achak, first Chinese clerk, received an annual salary of £60.⁹³ First clerk John Gerrard received £400 and second clerk C.F.A. Sangster earned £300. Notably, Im had been working in the department since 1853 whereas the other two clerks had

⁹⁰ 'Hong Kong, August 10, 1865,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 10 August 1865, 2.

⁹¹ Fair Play, 'To the Editor of the Daily Press,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 14 August 1865, 2.

⁹² 'Portuguese Assistants,' *Evening Mail*, 14 August 1865, cited in José Pedro Braga, *The Rights of Aliens in Hong Kong: Being a Record of the Discussion Carried on Through the Medium of the Public Press as to the Employment of Aliens in the Colony* (Hong Kong: Noronha & Co., 1895), 85.

⁹³ 'Civil Establishment of Hongkong for the Year 1871,' *Hong Kong Blue Book for the Year 1871* (Hong Kong: Noronha & Sons, 1872), 74.

spent less than ten years at the Registrar General's Office. The Fire Department adopted a similar pattern of racial hierarchy. With the same amount of experience, European firemen earned £105 but Chinese firemen received only £60 a year.⁹⁴ Situated in the middle of the 'hierarchy,' Macanese civil servants received slightly lower salaries when compared to Europeans, but typically earned more money than the Chinese.

In the Survey Department, first clerk G.L. Tomlin earned an annual salary of £500. Second clerk, Macanese F. das Chagas, earned £300. Similar to the case of the Chinese, their years of service were not reflected in their salary. By this point, Das Chagas had been working at the Survey Department for thirteen years but Tomlin had only spent around four years in the same office. At the Harbour Master's Office, the first and second clerks, being European, received £400 and £300 for one to two years in office. The third clerk, a Macanese, received £300 for working in the same office since 1861.⁹⁵ Placed in an ambiguous position, the Macanese, particularly in the middle-ranks, faced a dilemma. They stood at the tail end of their British seniors but could not advance to higher grades to respectability and receive equal treatment. Some Macanese, through the use of family background and wealth, managed to enter the social worlds of European colleagues. Those who were not born rich, though jealous of their middle-class counterparts, carried on with their lives. Constancio Joaqium Gonsalves, who left behind an unpublished diary of his life at the Hongkong Bank, reveals the experience of a lower-ranking clerk and the influence of external factors in situating Macanese individuals within the European-dominated colonial work place.⁹⁶

Constancio Joaqium Gonsalves joined the Hongkong Bank as a clerk in 1865. According to Frank King's account, Gonsalves encountered racial prejudice at the workplace for being paid a lower wage compared to a European of the same rank.

⁹⁴ 'Civil Establishment of Hongkong for the Year 1871,' 74, 100.

⁹⁵ 'Civil Establishment of Hongkong for the Year 1871,' 66, 78.

⁹⁶ The diary is only accessible through Frank King's accounts. For this, see Frank H.H. King, Catherine E. King and David J.S. King, *History of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation vol. 1, The Hongkong Bank in Late Imperial China 1864-1902: On An Even Keel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 250-253.

In January 1866, he received a salary increase of \$20 from \$80 to \$100 whereas his colleague, Gifford Moody, who joined the Bank in the same year, had his salary increased from \$100 to \$200 during the same period.⁹⁷ The Hongkong Bank's minutes from 1865, however, shows that these two employees were assigned to two different positions. Moody started as 'Assistant' and after a few months, had his salary increased to \$150.⁹⁸ In early 1866, the Hongkong Bank appointed him as Assistant Accountant, with another salary increase of \$50.⁹⁹ In 1868, Moody left Hong Kong and transferred to the Yokohama Agency where he became Accountant.¹⁰⁰ Gonsalves, in contrast, remained in the same ranking until his death in 1906. His career was concluded by an agreement amongst the Directors to offer a gratuity of \$7,500 to his widow, in light of forty-two years of service.¹⁰¹ Moody and Gonsalves served in two different positions. Moody's service as an account and Gonsalves as a clerk offers us an alternative in explaining the salary gap between the two employees that deviates from the reins of racial prejudice.

Gonsalves's diary further reveals the narrative of a responsible and easy-going clerk who performed his tasks but did not actively seek for career advancement. As a clerk, he dealt with a number of duties, including bookkeeping, administrative tasks and was required by various European colleagues to assist in their jobs. In one entry, Gonsalves, feeling the Europeans had given him too many tasks to take on, expressed his annoyance:

Until now six o'clock I cannot succeed to balance my books and am short of ten shares. Gibson this morning solicited my assistance and was rather rude in his expression. What have I do to with the Accountant's Department? ...I could not give any assistance to the *acting accountant*. I myself am too busy and

⁹⁷ King, King and. King, *History of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation vol. 1*, 251.

⁹⁸ 'Minutes of Meeting of the 9th March 1865,' *Ledger containing signed minutes of the meetings of Directors and special meeting of Board of Directors*, HK 0288-0005, HSBC Archive, Hong Kong.

⁹⁹ 'Minutes of Meeting of 2nd January 1866,' *Ledger containing signed minutes of the meetings of Directors and special meeting of Board of Director*, HK 0288-0005, HSBC Archive, Hong Kong.

¹⁰⁰ 'Minutes of Meeting of the 2nd March 1868,' *Ledger containing signed minutes of the meetings of Directors and special meeting of Board of Director*, HK 0288-0005, HSBC Archive, Hong Kong.

¹⁰¹ 'Meeting of Directors,' 18 December 1868, *Minute Book 16.1.1906 to 1.9.1908*, HSBC Archive, Hong Kong.

nobody assists me. They always want my assistance but they never assist me. Very *nice* fellows they are and very *slow coaches* too.

On that day, Gonsalves also had to write out 71 drafts and make 5 slips, on top of his own work. He claimed that a colleague named Woodford finally assisted him two hours before the office closed. Gonsalves could not finish his tasks but went to work on a Sunday to deal with them, writing, 'Sunday. Hard working day. I and Rozario in the office since one o'clock. I succeed to balance my books.'

Nevertheless, Gonsalves made the most of out his life in Hong Kong. He sometimes spent more than he earned, and resorted to borrowing money from the Bank. He mentioned, in a particular instance, that despite outstanding debts, he decided to spend money on luxuries. Gonsalves owed the Hongkong Bank \$131.62, including six months' interest of \$7.83 but decided to buy a dozen bottles of porto wine from J.J. Remedios and Co with his colleague, Jorge. He was unable to afford his rent of \$32 and tried to ask for another loan from his manager. Although the manager initially rejected his request, the Bank Directors urged the manager to give Gonsalves his loan, stating that it was 'for the interest of the Bank.' They eventually granted the Macanese a loan of \$350 on the terms that he gave his security to the Bank.¹⁰² Anchored to a low ranking clerical position, Gonsalves's account shows the life of an ordinary employee who was content with having a job and an outlet to loan money for small luxuries in life. The Macanese did not appear to have tried to pursue a higher rank, but eased into a life servicing the Bank.

Wealth and family network, however, were decisive factors in determining whether a Macanese fit into the social worlds of Europeans in the colonial work place. In 1871, there were four Macanese working for the Hongkong Bank. Only one of them, a 'Macao Portuguese' named Pereira, was invited to the Chief Manager Victor Kresser's retirement party. Pereira came from an affluent family and very likely related to Edward Pereira, was recommended to the position by Dent. This frustrated Gonsalves because he did not receive an invitation, and led him to comment that the 'exclusion' was '...very unfair and irrational.' He

¹⁰² King, et. al., *History of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking*, 251-252.

remarked that 'pride and injustice' served as 'the order of the day in [the] Establishment.' Reacting to Pereira's invitation, Gonsalves questioned, 'Why? Because his father is a rich man? And because he was recommended by Dent? Why Mr. Kresser said once that we are all equal in this Bank? Why such difference then?'¹⁰³ As it did in the case of Edward Pereira and his prestigious involvement with middle-class European circles in Hong Kong, Gonsalves's account affirms the role of wealth and family network in blurring the supposed class barriers that separated the social worlds of Hong Kong's Macanese and Europeans. Considering the restricted income of the Macanese, being born to affluent families with strong networks defined the Macanese individual's path to social mobility.

Apart from wealth, social position prompted by wider policy shifts in the colony also elevated the social status of Macanese subjects. Januário António de Carvalho (Fig. 7), Hong Kong's first Macanese Justice of the Peace, benefitted from the changes facilitated in the late 1870s by Hong Kong's new Governor, John Pope Hennessy. As an Irish Catholic pledging to fight racial inequality, Hennessy was known for his advocacies, which were at times radical. During his governorship in Barbados from 1875 to 1876, Hennessy's policies against racial prejudice ended with a black uprising.¹⁰⁴ In Hong Kong, he concentrated his efforts on breaking existing practices of racial segregation and defended the equal rights of the Chinese community. Through encouraging the political involvement of Chinese subjects, he built new bridges that allowed non-Britons to attain unprecedented power. His administration was, nevertheless, a controversial one. The British community criticised Hennessy for having a 'native race craze' and accused him of instigating 'class jealousies and misunderstandings' that had, in their claims, been absent between the foreigners and natives in the previous decades.¹⁰⁵ Hennessy was so unpopular that on the eve of his departure as Governor of Hong Kong, no representative from the foreign business community went to bid him farewell.

¹⁰³ King, et. al., *History of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking*, 253.

¹⁰⁴ Lowe and McLaughlin, 'Sir John Pope Hennessy,' 223.

¹⁰⁵ 'Hong Kong City Hall,' *Hong Kong Daily Press*, 28 August 1880, 2.

Fig. 7: Portrait of J.A. Carvalho



This portrait of J.A. Carvalho, found in Braga's PhD dissertation, 'Making Impressions,' was taken in the A Fong Studio by Lai Fong 黎芳, a nineteenth-century Chinese commercial photographer who, in addition to taking scenic photographs of Hong Kong, also took portraits for prominent and common subjects of the colony.¹⁰⁶

During his governorship, Hennessy sought to introduce non-European subjects into the Legislative Council. He was particularly close to the Chinese community. He called Hong Kong-born Chinese subjects 'our Anglo-Chinese subjects' and had frequent meetings with 'Chinese friends' who advised him on policy-making in Hong Kong.¹⁰⁷ In 1878, he nominated Macanese civil servant, Januário António de Carvalho to the position of Acting Colonial Treasurer.¹⁰⁸ If successful, the Macanese would become the first temporary non-European official member of the Legislative Council. Carvalho, who joined the Colonial Treasury in 1855 as Second Clerk and Accountant, also faced a stagnant career after his promotion to

¹⁰⁶ Photograph from Braga, 'Making Impressions,' 203.

¹⁰⁷ Munn, *Anglo-China: Chinese People and British Rule*, 367.

¹⁰⁸ Forjaz, *Famílias Macaenses*, vol. 1, 1st ed., 683;

First Clerk and Cashier in 1860 with an annual salary of £400.¹⁰⁹ Even though Castro previously served in the capacity of Acting Colonial Secretary three decades earlier, the Governor then did not make an official nomination. Carvalho's nomination marked the first time a Macanese was recommended for a seat in the Council. The appointment was met with opposition and finally failed, because Carvalho was an 'alien.' According to Hennessy's Chinese Secretary, E.J. Eitel, the appointment was technically impossible since '[he] could not take the oath of allegiance' as an alien.¹¹⁰ To be qualified, Carvalho would have to be naturalised as a British subject.

Under Hennessy's reforms, a Straits-born Anglo-Chinese subject, Ng Choy (also Wu Tingfang 伍廷芳) overcame the colony's racial barriers. Ng was an English-trained barrister and born in Singapore, was a British subject. In 1878, Hennessy appointed him as the first Chinese JP. The title came with actual judiciary duties and granted recipients considerable prestige and social status. Under Hennessy's persistence, Ng Choy was eventually appointed as the first non-British unofficial member of the Legislative Council in January 1880.¹¹¹ The question of nationality, which three decades ago conveniently barred Castro from claiming the rights to a higher rank, was no longer an excuse for maintaining an all-European Council. To enable the political inclusion of more non-British subjects, Governor Hennessy attempted to convince the Colonial Office that long-term Chinese residents of the colony should be allowed naturalisation to facilitate Anglo-Chinese relations in the colony.¹¹² This plan was rejected but Hennessy ratified a local ordinance and granted individual bills of naturalisation, which conferred rights and privileges to those who successfully became 'British subjects' within the boundaries of the colony. E.J. Eitel, serving as the Chinese Secretary during this time, was the first to be granted the status of 'British subject' under the ordinance in 1880.

¹⁰⁹ *Hongkong Blue Book*, CO 133/20, 112, The National Archives, London.

¹¹⁰ Eitel, *Europe in China*, 530.

¹¹¹ 'Governor Pope-Hennessy to Secretary Sir Michael Hicks Beach,' 19 January 1880, CO 129/187, The National Archive, London; Zhang, *Wu Tingfang (1842-1922)*, 57-59.

¹¹² Zhang, *Wu Tingfang (1842-1922)*, 57.

Due to Hennessy's highly unpopular reputation amongst the foreign community of Hong Kong, the Colonial Office made the decision to transfer him to Mauritius in 1882. Although European residents were happy to see him go, his departure caused great sadness amongst the Chinese and Macanese communities. Carvalho, representing the Macanese community, thanked the Governor with an address, which read:

Your Excellency has laid down and enforced the rule that the Portuguese servants of the Crown stand on a footing of the most perfect equality with every other class of Her Majesty's subjects, and that they are entitled, irrespective of nationality, to pay and promotion in their respective Departments according to length of service and special qualifications ... We thank your Excellency from our hearts ... we place above and beyond all your other qualifications for government your sense of equity, justice and fair play ...

Hennessy responded by claiming he had never met in his colonial experiences of another group of gentlemen more 'deserving of the confidence of a Governor than Her Majesty's Portuguese officials.'¹¹³ Although Hennessy and the Macanese community formed an amicable relationship, the Governor's efforts were mostly directed at defending the rights of the Chinese community and strengthening the role of Chinese subjects. They were, after all, the colony's dominant population.

Through the enactment of the naturalisation ordinance, Hennessy paved an alternative path for the Macanese to climb the social ladders. In December 1883, Carvalho successfully petitioned to become a British subject. He earned the title of JP along with another Chinese, Wong Shing, who quickly established a career in politics and became the second Chinese to be appointed as an unofficial member of the Legislative Council in 1884.¹¹⁴ Carvalho, however, remained with a moderate salary in his position as First Clerk and Cashier at the Colonial Treasury until his retirement. In 1883, Colonial Treasurer Alfred Lister described him as having 'for some years represented what may be called the

¹¹³ 'Local and General,' *The China Mail*, 7 March 1882, 3.

¹¹⁴ J.H. Stewart-Lockhart, 'Government Notification- No. 426,' *The Hong Kong Government Gazette*, 29 December 1883, 982; W.H. Marsh, 'Government Notification- No. 428,' *The Hong Kong Government Gazette*, 29 December 1883, 992.

permanent head of the [Treasury] department,' but which Carvalho felt was not reflected in his salary.¹¹⁵ There is no evidence to suggest why Carvalho did not further his career in the government but earning the title of JP after his naturalisation increased Carvalho's social status within the Macanese community. Having served the colonial government for a total of thirty-four years and five months, Carvalho retired in 1893 at the age of sixty-two.

Conclusion

Like the other Macanese 'collaborators' that this chapter highlighted, Carvalho remained a loyal servant of the British in Hong Kong until his last day in office. In this chapter, I have argued that the status of the Macanese as mixed-race nationals of Portugal gave them low agency and subsequently, weaker bargaining power in negotiating for power within a colony ruled by Britons and dominated by a dominant Chinese population. With no particular connections to the Chinese, they could not serve as intermediaries between the British and the colonised majority, a typical but crucial role that previous studies have identified in collaboration. As 'migrant collaborators,' the Macanese were valuable for their linguistic skills in English and Cantonese, as well as their readiness to work in the middle and lower-ranks with a moderate salary. The Hong Kong government and foreign firms conveniently and economically relied on them to run daily administrative operations, particularly at a time when it was not easy to find English-trained clerks who were willing to accept their working conditions and wages. This paved the way for an alternative 'collaboration' dissimilar to existing observations that described 'collaboration' as shaped by resistance and/or constant negotiation. Anglo-Macanese 'collaboration' in Hong Kong was tranquil, maintained by mutual (though unequal) benefit and crucial to the basic operations of the colonial government and foreign firms.

In Hong Kong, the Macanese formed a tight-knit community where they intermarried and resumed their cultural practices. The Macanese had an

¹¹⁵ 'J.A. Carvalho to N.G. Mitchell-Innes,' 19 December 1892, CO 129/258, 14, The National Archive, London.

established 'Portuguese' world, which constrained their interaction with the Chinese community and lowered their bargaining power as 'collaborators.' As we saw in the second section, Caldwell successfully emerged as one of the most important collaborators in early colonial Hong Kong by straddling between the British and Chinese worlds. Caldwell belonged to neither world, but he found a way to make useful connections in both worlds. His Eurasian background and Chinese wife opened more doors to Chinese connections. Grand-pré, on the other hand, centered his life in the Macanese world, which included Macau. He used his network to Macau in helping the government recruit police officers but the Britons did not find this connection strategically valuable. The comparison of Caldwell and Grand-pré's cases has helped affirm that the strongest 'collaborators' were those with links that bridged the rulers and the native population. The Macanese were not equipped with this agency. Their strong identification as 'Portuguese' also kept them away from exploring the social worlds of the Chinese population.

Finally, this chapter has revealed the complex links between 'race,' 'class' and social mobility in Hong Kong. In the work place, 'race' usually signified one's position, leading to the general situation of Macanese men and women in middle and lower-ranking clerical positions. It was a general perception amongst Europeans that becoming more 'Asian' had already degraded the Macanese race, particularly after spending over four centuries in Asia. During the 1880s, Major Henry Knollys, an officer in the Royal Artillery of the British Army visiting Hong Kong, observed the Hong Kong Macanese as 'half-caste,' 'quarter-caste,' 'mongrel Portuguese' and described their 'muddy complexioned' children as 'repulsive, swarthy little Portuguese,' who were 'hybrid offspring of effete Portuguese fathers and half caste native mothers.' In his writings, Knollys emphasised the Eurasian nature of the Macanese and saw this as a degradation of the community. He wrote, '...the Portuguese quarter- 'Geese,' as they are called in the abbreviation of contempt- a little nucleus of a singularly effete and deteriorated Iberian population.' He observed that although the Macanese still spoke the Portuguese language, 'The men [were] modern Portuguese, worn-out descendants of valiant ancestors; the Senhoritas [had] bartered part of their

natural beauty, so entrancing at sixteen years of age, for a Chinese cast of countenance which has ruined the original.’¹¹⁶

Such a racial construction, to an extent, convinced European employers that the Macanese were used to life in lesser comfort. They required simpler needs to survive and thus, required lower wages and comforts. The Macanese, as migrants, willingly accepted the terms. They came to Hong Kong looking for employment and welfare that would have been harder to acquire in Macau. The case of Gonsalves shows that against the claims of existing accounts, he was not a victim of racial prejudice but a responsible and easy-going clerk who did not actively pursue career advancement. Although his job annoyed him, he stayed in his position and used the Hongkong Bank’s policy of offering bank loans to its staff to enjoy small luxuries. Pereira, on the other hand, exemplifies the relationship between ‘class’ and social mobility. As one of the four Macanese working for the Hongkong Bank, he gained access to the social worlds of his European colleagues because of his father’s wealth and family network to prominent merchant John Dent, who had by this time restarted Dent & Co. in Shanghai but remained a respected English merchant in the China coast.

Change in government policy was another factor that weakened the influence of ‘race’ in deciding the careers of the colony’s non-Europeans. Carvalho was fortunate enough to have witnessed and benefitted from Hennessy’s passion for and obsession with racial equality. Although his career did not take off after he was naturalised as a British subject and given the status of JP, Hennessy tried to create an opportunity for the Macanese to serve as a member of the Legislative Council. This was not a result of negotiation between the coloniser and the colonised, a factor existing studies have pointed to in understanding situations where collaborators made more gains than what was originally offered. Despite the change, Macanese men and women continued to quietly take on subordinate roles throughout the nineteenth century, helping to run daily operations in the colonial government and foreign firms. As is with life, the Macanese experienced positive developments and discouraging disappointments. Those who were

¹¹⁶ Henry Knollys, *English Life in China* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1885), 7, 28, 49, 52.

content, or tied to obligations, continued their lives in the colony. Those who were not had the option of sojourning elsewhere. Vicente Emílio Braga, an ambitious Macanese who suffered a failed business venture and worked as a clerk in the Royal Mint became a Chief Accountant at a government Mint in Osaka during the 1870s.¹¹⁷ In Japan, he was acknowledged as a pioneer of Western-styled bookkeeping and was treated as a foreign employee, with a status and salary equal to other British senior staff.¹¹⁸

As the cases in this chapter show, 'survival' could mean something different for the individual, ranging from fulfillment of basic needs, continuous upward mobility or the opportunity to enjoy small luxuries in life. This alters the way individuals respond to life challenges, with some clinging to lower-ranking positions while others took further risks in search of better opportunities. Considering individual needs, ambition, wealth and family networks as diverse factors in the process of decision-making opens up an opportunity to see the normative realities of colonial life. Colonised subjects made decisions based on a wide range of factors. The restrictions of 'race' and colonial policy prompted responses, but their actions were not singularly dictated by colonialism. Although empire offered Macanese men and women new opportunities, it presented them with new challenges. The various ways Macanese individuals responded to challenges in their careers reveals that Hong Kong was not a racially rigid colonial society. Instead, it was a bustling city filled with unpredictable occurrences and dynamic human interaction.

¹¹⁷ 'Official Translation Dated 19th of December, 1875, Appointment of Vicente E. Braga as Instructor of Bookkeeping in the Okurasho,' in file J.P. Braga, Hong Kong Heritage Project.

¹¹⁸ Hanashiro, *Thomas William Kinder*, 166; Braga, 'Making Impressions,' 149-160.

Chapter Three

Urban *Fidalgos*

In addition to the established periodical treats provided by the Amateur Dramatic Corps, the Choral Society, the Horticultural Society, the Victoria Recreation and Regatta Clubs, the Liedertafel of the Club Germania, and the Race Club, this period is distinguished by some specially successful celebrations, among which mention is due to St. Patrick's festival (March 17, 1879), the centenary of the birth of the Irish poet Tom Moore (May 28, 1879), the Masonic Ball of 15th January, 1880, the anniversary of Washington's birthday (February 23, 1880), and the tercentenary of Camoens (June 10, 1880).

E.J. Eitel, *Europe in China*, 1895

Colonisation turned Hong Kong into a vibrant city where people from all around the world settled in search of employment, wealth, social status, and, regardless of race or class, a chance for new beginnings and change. The result was a polyglot migrant society, marked by the formation of associational institutions in racially demarcated gentlemen's clubs, as well as recreational organisations that transcended not only the borders of race and class, but also the distinctions between coloniser and colonised. As Eitel wrote about the late 1870s, Hong Kong was already a multicultural city with a diverse population that celebrated British, Irish, American, Chinese and Portuguese festivals.¹ Shared interests, particularly recreational ones, constructed new networks between people from different ethnic origins and sometimes, of different classes. Within these associational worlds, various levels of racial and gender inclusion and exclusion came to be established, blurring old patterns with new practices. For instance, Britons closed their doors from the rest of Hong Kong in keeping their pioneering club, the Hongkong Club, exclusive to British men. On race days, however, the British welcomed spectators of all backgrounds, though dividing them according to class.

¹ Eitel, *Europe in China*, 563.

Subjects from the lower classes enjoyed the races from crowded matsheds, marking a striking contrast to privileged spectators who assembled in the grandstand (Fig. 8).

Fig. 8 Sketch of horseracing spectators from *The Illustrated London News*



This sketch was drawn by British journalist Charles Wirgman during his visit to Hong Kong from 1857 to 1858. It was printed on page 496 of *The Illustrated London News* on May 15 1858 with the caption, 'Sketches In China—Hong-Kong Races, 1858.'

Looking to establish their place under the sun, middle-class Macanese men formed an all-Portuguese gentlemen's club and company, Club Lusitano Hongkong Ltd., in 1866.² The Club took after British club culture and was exclusive to affluent members of the Macanese community, as well as middle-class Europeans. By restricting membership through club rules and pledging allegiance to a distant Portugal, the Macanese successfully deviated from general

² Middle-class usually refers to a wide range of professions including commerce, manufacturing, professions of all kinds, shop-keeping, white-collar jobs and owners of small businesses. For similar definitions, see Alexandra Mitchell, 'Middle-class Masculinity in Clubs and Associations; Manchester and Liverpool, 1800-1914,' PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2011; Robert J. Morris, 'Urban Associations in England Scotland, 1750-1914,' in Graeme Morton, Boudien de Vries and R.J. Morris (eds.), *Civil Society, Associations and Urban Places: Class, Nation and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 139-158; Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 84; Robert J. Morris, 'Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites, 1780-1850: An Analysis,' *The Historical Journal* 26, no. 1 (1983), 95-118.

perceptions of the community as 'clerks' and constructed a 'bourgeois' public image for its members. In addition, they tore down existing racial pillars that drew a line between the Macanese and Britons in the colonial workplace through the organisation of social events and recreational activities that were attended by both communities in equal standing. Focusing on the 1860s to the 1880s, this chapter is an investigation of Club Lusitano, the largest 'Portuguese' gentlemen's club in colonial Hong Kong, as a platform that facilitated the emergence of a new 'Portuguese bourgeois' amongst affluent male members of the Macanese community. It also highlights Hong Kong's characteristics as a colonial port-city and the opportunities it offered in the construction of a diasporic public sphere.

The first section, consisting of the life stories of two of Club Lusitano's donors and founders, will show how middle-class Macanese men were like during this period, in terms of origin, wealth and pursuit. This will allow us to better understand the motives behind the establishment of Club Lusitano and how the Club, in turn, functioned for these men. The second section will tackle Club Lusitano's initial establishment where I will discuss the circumstances of inclusion and exclusion and how 'class' served as a crucial marker in maintaining the Club's public identity. The emphasis of this section will be placed on the Club's attempt to construct an all-male, bourgeois-exclusive identity, embodied in middle-class recreation and philanthropy. In the final section, I will examine how the Club forged an otherwise distant link to the Fatherland in stressing the 'Portuguese' identity of the Macanese. National celebrations and events not only served as important events of the Club, but they also emerged as bridges that brought representative British figures into the Macanese world. Moreover, these events successfully drew public attention towards Club Lusitano, especially through the press in Hong Kong and Macau. In particular, this section will take on Club's Lusitano's tercentenary celebration of Portuguese poet Camões in 1880 as a case study.

This last case will help to reveal how the Macanese, as Luso-Asians and Portuguese nationals, utilised an 'imagined' affinity to Portugal and connected with their ethnic roots to achieve social respectability and earn public

recognition, especially from Britons, as leading members of the Macanese community in the colony. Notably, activities that celebrated Portuguese culture were held to show loyalty and amity to the colonial government in Hong Kong, and this was achieved without creating actual political networks with, nor showing political orientation to, Portugal. *Fidalgo*, shortened from *filho de algo* (son of someone or some family) was a term used in Portugal to refer to men who inherited nobility and wealth. I used it in the title of this chapter with the word 'urban' because the middle-class Macanese men I will tackle imagined their ancestral links to Portugal for the purpose of constructing a 'Portuguese' image for a gentlemen's club that was based on the British model of club culture and built in the colony's urban space. As a whole, this chapter aims to show how club space and British club culture served as a crucial public sphere for middle-class Macanese men to rework existing patterns of race and class, and to a smaller extent, gender, in establishing themselves as respectable community leaders of the Macanese community in Hong Kong.

Studies that have acknowledged the linkage between colonial space and the emergence of inter-ethnic associational worlds have highlighted the role of diasporic communities in forming new public spheres that helped shape or reshape identities. Harper, for instance, observed how the diaspora in colonial Singapore simultaneously looked for ways to relate to their distant homelands, while learning to speak to the colonised majority, resulting in engagement with two or more cultural worlds.³ Some work has focused on more affluent members of migrant communities. These members had more resources to establish new public spheres and subsequently, construct ambiguous identities that they used to attain social networking, economic gains, public recognition and/or political power.⁴ The Straits Chinese British Association (SCBA), for example, was formed by English-language-educated Peranakans to achieve social prominence and political power through public display of colonial patronage towards the Hong

³ Harper, 'Globalism and the Pursuit of Authenticity.'

⁴ Jürgen Rudolph, *Reconstructing Identities: A Social History of the Babas in Singapore* (Aldershot, Brookfield: Ashgate, 1998).

Kong government and a highly ethnic Chinese identity.⁵ This meant that at various points, multi-ethnic and/or multicultural communities freely and consciously engaged or disengaged in cultural practices as a tool to increase agency and achieve particular ends.

Scholars have also analysed how associational worlds challenged or legitimised colonial authority through solidarity.⁶ This strand of work highlighted the significance of associational institutions as an influential force of political and social change and showed that associational institutions not only blurred divisions between coloniser and colonised, but also provided a platform for the emergence of transnational links and civic institutions, and subsequently, the rise of national consciousness, particularly in colonial South and Southeast Asia.⁷ Building on the idea that multiethnic communities in colonies, particularly from the middle class, formed communal associations to achieve self-empowerment and expand social influence, the case of the Macanese serves as an opportunity to deviate from the usual focus on political pursuits and nation building. Instead, it places more emphasis on cultural links and imaginative constructions.⁸ As mixed race, Portuguese nationals, the Macanese committee members of Club Lusitano

⁵ For examples on European clubs and club members' desire for social prominence, see Walton, who, for instance, described clubs in England as having 'creamed off the most affluent.' For this, see John K. Walton, 'The Hospitality Trades: A Social History,' in Conrad Lashley and Alison Morrison (eds.), *In Search of Hospitality: Theoretical Perspective and Debates* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2000), 66. For works on the Asian context, see Lynn Hollen Lees, *Planting Empire, Cultivating Subjects: British Malaya, 1786-1941* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017); 218-250; Shuang Shen, *Cosmopolitan Publics: Anglophone Print Culture in Semi-Colonial Shanghai* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 16-36; Ai Lin Chua, 'Imperial Subjects, Straits Citizens: Anglophone Asians and the Struggle for Political Rights in Inter-War Singapore,' in Michael D. Barr and Carl A. Trocki (eds.), *Paths Not Taken: Political Pluralism in Post-War Singapore* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2008), 16-36; Frost, 'Transcultural Diaspora,' 2, 29; Engseng Ho, 'Gangsters into Gentlemen: The Breakup of Multiethnic Conglomerates and the Rise of a Straits Chinese Identity in Penang,' paper presented at the Penang Story Conference, Penang, 2002.

⁶ Christine Doran, 'The Chinese Origins of Democracy: Dynamic Confucianism in Singapore,' *Nebula* 7, no. 4 (2010), 47-53; Lewis, *Cities in Motion*, 97-98; William R. Roff, 'The Persatuan Melayu Selangor: An Early Malay Political Association,' *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 9, no. 1 (1968), 117-146; William R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967).

⁷ Benjamin B. Cohen, *In the Club: Associational Life in Colonial South Asia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015); Su Lin Lewis, 'Rotary International's "Acid Test": Multi-Ethnic Associational Life in 1930s Southeast Asia,' *Journal of Global History* 7 (2012), 302-324; Lewis, *Cities in Motion*, 95-136.

⁸ For works that focus on cultural links and deviates from the framework of nationalism and associational life, see Kong, 'Multicultural Britons;' Lees, 'Being British in Malaya, 1890-1940.'

in the 1860s had never set foot in Portugal and did not actively involve themselves in Portugal's politics yet successfully used their ethnic roots to increase public visibility and initiate interethnic engagement with middle-class Europeans. This provides an alternative case to existing studies, which have suggested that multiethnic subjects, particularly the Straits-born Chinese, were involved with Chinese politics and had interaction with mainland Chinese intellectuals and officials.⁹

This chapter will also highlight the features of Club Lusitano as a gentlemen's club modeled after British club culture and representing a 'lifestyle' that corresponded to practises of the 'white' population.¹⁰ One common feature that gentlemen's clubs had was male-exclusivity. Existing studies have regarded such a stress on distinctive masculine roles and the restricted presence of women in gentlemen's clubs either as an escape from domesticity or an alternative domestic life for men to enjoy the intimacy and privacy of 'home' in the heart of the public sphere.¹¹ Both perspectives suggest an ambiguous line separating the masculine and feminine, and respectively, the public and private, in club space. Milne-Smith, for instance, argued that men during the nineteenth century perceived London's clubs as a 'home' where they could enjoy privacy, facilities and company. The libraries, reading rooms, recreational rooms and club dinner often substituted for what was lacking in actual homes, particularly when men needed to entertain high-profile guests.¹² This chapter will argue that Club Lusitano acted simultaneously as a masculine and feminine, public and private

⁹ Frost, 'Transcultural Diaspora: The Straits Chinese in Singapore, 34.

¹⁰ For the relationship between clubs and the lifestyle within clubs that corresponded with the image of ruling 'whites,' see Mrinalini Sinha, 'Britishness, Clubbability and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of An Imperial Institution in Colonial India,' *Journal of British Studies* 40, no. 4 (October 2001), 489-521.

¹¹ For instance, Huggins pointed to gentlemen's clubs as a masculine world centered on the culture of drinking and Murray argued that British clubs in the early nineteenth century served as an escape from women's social world. Smith argued, in contrast, that gentlemen's clubs were an alternative form of domesticity. For these, see, Mike Huggins, 'More Sinful Pleasures? Leisure, Respectability and the Male Middle Classes in Victorian England,' *Journal of Social History* 33 (2000), 585-600; Venetia Murray, *High Society: A Social History of the Regency Period 1788-1830* (London: Viking, 1998), 158; Amy Milne-Smith, 'A Flight to Domesticity? Making a Home in the Gentlemen's Clubs of London, 1880-1914,' *Journal of British Studies* 45, no. 4 (2006), 796-818; Annmarie Adams, 'The Place of Manliness: Architecture, Domesticity and Men's Clubs,' in Peter Gossage and Robert Rutherford, *Making Men, Making History: Canadian Masculinities across Time and Place* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018), 109-131.

¹² Milne-Smith, 'A Flight to Domesticity?,' 804-805.

space for middle-class Macanese men. These men, in particular, used club facilities to showcase a middle-class lifestyle to visitors, in the process constructing their own rules in housekeeping and club maintenance.

For the Macanese during this period, the distant Fatherland could only exist in association with neighbouring Macau and within the realms of collective imagination. Analysing the Macanese bourgeois' rise to social prominence from the perspectives of race, class, gender and ethnicity, this chapter will further argue that Club Lusitano fabricated a 'Portuguese' identity, merged with British club culture, to elevate Macanese social standing in Hong Kong. Within the haven of Club Lusitano, the Macanese gentleman appeared as respectable as his British counterpart. This chapter also aims to show the fluidity of colonial culture with regards to class division and racial ideologies. Whereas existing works in this regard have drawn on more than one social club to show how race and class were blurred through the associational world, this chapter will focus on tracing the history of Club Lusitano to offer a more extensive understanding of how colonised subjects actively reworked the demarcations of race and class in the pursuit of collective and personal interests.¹³ Colonial space, from this perspective, presented an opportunity for colonised subjects to recreate racial patterns through social mobility and new cultural identities. When Timbs traced the history of gentlemen's clubs in London, he noted that the word 'club' signified an intention of 'uniting to divide,' specifically in referring to the emergence of divided opinions between club members and guests debating around the table.¹⁴ In British Hong Kong, Macanese men united in Club Lusitano to construct a new bourgeois image through segregating Macanese men and women from the lower classes and creating networks with other middle-class whites. Through Club activities, Macanese men formed relationships with non-Macanese subjects through shared commercial interests.

¹³ Cohen, *In the Club*, 122-146; Lewis, *Cities in Motion*, 95-137.

¹⁴ John Timbs, *Clubs and Club Life in London: With Anecdotes of its Famous Coffee Houses, Hostelries, and Taverns, from the Seventeenth Century to the Present* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1872), 2.

By the 1860s, race- and/or class-exclusive gentlemen's clubs were already a part of Hong Kong's colonial culture. The all-British Hongkong Club (originally named Taipans' Club), was formed in 1846 by the heads of leading British hongts. The Hongkong Club stood in the heart of the colony's associational world, dominating recreational activities such as racing and cricket. It functioned under exclusivity and restricted the admittance of, usually, non-British and/or lower-class subjects through club rules. Members were admitted by ballot and the Club collected an entrance fee of \$30, with a monthly subscription of \$4.¹⁵ Although the rules claimed to welcome 'any gentleman,' for a hundred years, the Hongkong Club remained strictly 'white.'¹⁶ During the 1850s, other racially demarcated gentlemen's clubs emerged. Despite their small community, which by 1871 consisted of roughly 152 men and 18 women, the German community established two clubs.¹⁷ Middle-class Germans belonged to Club Germania. They elected members by ballot and admitted them through an entrance fee of \$20 and a monthly subscription of \$9.¹⁸ As members, these Germans enjoyed the comforts of Club Germania's library, reading room, billiard room, guest accommodation, concert hall, bowling alley and dining hall, as well as opportunities to meet prominent German figures, such as Prince Henry of Prussia, during his visit to Hong Kong in the late nineteenth century.¹⁹ Club Germania's concert hall also hosted musicals and performances from visiting German performers, open to the public.²⁰

Germans from the lower class, on the other hand, went to the Captain's Club. The Captain's Club has not left many traces except for the fact that German owners of small businesses and stores frequented its premises.²¹ Like the Germans, the Macanese initially had two distinct clubs, but the lack of existing sources has made it impossible to determine whether they were distinguishable by class

¹⁵ Eitel, *Europe in China*, 248.

¹⁶ Hong Kong Club, *Articles of Association of the Hongkong Club* (Hong Kong: Noronha, 1924).

¹⁷ Carl T. Smith, 'The German Speaking Community in Hong Kong, 1846-1918,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch* 34 (1994), 3.

¹⁸ Arnold Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hongkong, Shanghai and other Treaty Ports of China* (London: Lloyd's Greater Britain Pub. Co., 1908), 171.

¹⁹ Ricardo K.S. Mak, 'Nineteenth-Century German Community,' in Cindy Yik-yi Chu (ed.), *Foreign Communities in Hong Kong, 1840s-1950s* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 74.

²⁰ Smith, 'The German Speaking Community,' 10.

²¹ Mak, 'Nineteenth-Century German Community,' 74.

difference. Before Club Lusitano, there was Clube Portuguez, home to one of Hong Kong's public libraries, the Bibliotheca Portugueza.²² Little is known about 'Clube [sic] Portuguez,' either who formed it, when exactly it was established or what types of activities it held. The *China Mail* reported, however, that Club Lusitano became a competitor with 'Clube [sic] Portuguez.' The two clubs, despite representing the Macanese community, had 'unfortunate difference[s],' and shared 'jealousy' and 'animosity' towards each other.²³ Macau's *Boletim Oficial* also noted in the 1860s that the Governor of Macau had been taking the initiative to merge the clubs.²⁴ As we will see, Club Lusitano engaged with the public by offering its theatre to local and foreign performers, and through participating in charity. The British, German and Macanese gentlemen's clubs in Hong Kong, thus offered to men of different origins the freedom to create a space guarded by their own rules and ideals, as well as the power to rework existing patterns of race and class. It was through such public spheres that men, particularly non-Britons, of considerable economic status affirmed a new 'bourgeois' self-perception through increased participation in the public spheres and an increased presence in the public eye.²⁵

During the nineteenth century, Hong Kong's public spheres further served the function of intercultural and inter-port exchange. Other than gentlemen's clubs, there were public spaces that assembled the general public, sometimes with the participation of visitors from outside Hong Kong. This created new and sometimes, overlapping, spaces within the colony's public spheres through recreational spaces such as theatres, athletic organisations, sports grounds and the racecourse. A Chinese theatre, the Aquí's Theatre, was intended for Chinese entertainment but used by the Hong Kong Amateurs for a European audience

²² Nicholas Belfield Dennys (eds.), *The Treaty Ports of China and Japan: A Complete Guide To The Open Ports of Those Countries, Together With Peking, Yedo, Hongkong and Macao* (Hong Kong: A. Shortrede And Co., 1867), 15. Aside from *Biblioteca Portugueza*, there was another library that was set up before Club Lusitano emerged, the *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, which held over 4,000 books. The books from these two libraries, amounting over 6,000, were eventually handed over to Club Lusitano. For this, see J.M. Braga, 'Typescript Draft Of "The Teaching Of Portuguese In Hong Kong: Some Notes On Its History, c. 1950s,' J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300 5.3/1, 7, The National Library of Australia, Canberra.

²³ 'Hong Kong,' *The China Mail*, 6 December 1866, 3.

²⁴ 'Parte não official,' (Unofficial Part), *O Boletim Do Governo de Macau* 12, no. 52, 24 December 1866, 211.

²⁵ Carroll, *Edge of Empires*, 14.

between 1845 and 1846.²⁶ The Macanese set up theatres for their community and made joint productions with people from Macau. In 1847, Macanese amateurs performed with musicians from a visiting Macao Band at the *Theatro da Sociedade*.²⁷ In the early 1850s, the *Theatrino Particular* emerged in Wellington Street, Central and was used by Macanese amateur groups, 'Saloça Cidado,' and the 'Do Socina,' the latter of which was composed of young performers between the ages of eight and fifteen, to hold theatrical productions.²⁸ By the 1850s, the largest theatre in the colony, the Victoria Theatre, came to be established by European shareholders and was built on the hill behind the Hongkong Club for the productions of amateur groups from different backgrounds.²⁹

Athletic organisations also facilitated inter-ethnic and inter-port engagement through a collective love for sports. The 'father' of Hong Kong's sporting clubs, the Victoria Recreation Club (VRC) was founded in 1849 as the Victoria Regatta Club. Through a balloting system, the VRC admitted athletes, regardless of ethnicity, with a yearly subscription of \$20.³⁰ During the 1870s, the VRC expressed difficulty in recruiting sufficient members, especially non-Britons, having to rely on subscriptions and donations to cover its renovation costs.³¹ In the 1880s, the Club saw the increasing participation of the Macanese community, as seen from local reports on VRC's events. In 1885, for instance, the *Daily Press* reported an inter-ethnic sports competition organised by the VRC. For the springboard diving event, for instance, a Macanese, D. Machado, placed second against G. Grimble, W. Wilson, J. Williams and C.A. Cornish.³² The number of VRC's non-British members continued to grow and by the twentieth century, a

²⁶ This theatre was built by Chinese leader and collaborator of the Hong Kong government, Loo Aqoi and located in the Chinese-dominated Lower Bazaar. Carl T. Smith, 'The Hong Kong Amateur Dramatic Club and its Predecessors,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch* 22 (1982), 219.

²⁷ Smith, 'The Hong Kong Amateur Dramatic Club,' 223.

²⁸ Carl T. Smith, 'Theatrino Particular; Portuguese Theatre,' 178091, Carl Smith Collection, Public Records Office, Hong Kong.

²⁹ Smith, 'The Hong Kong Amateur Dramatic Club,' 221, 224.

³⁰ This was the rate by 1875. 'Hong Kong, January 2nd, 1875,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 2 January 1875, 2.

³¹ 'Hong Kong, January 2nd, 1875,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 2 January 1875, 2.

³² 'Victoria Recreation Club Aquatic Sports, 1884,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 27 September 1884, 2.

publication on China's treaty ports described the recreational club as 'a cosmopolitan club' of 'over three hundred' members.

The Cricket Club exemplifies another category of public sphere in Hong Kong, racially demarcated but facilitating inter-port engagement. Established by the Hongkong Club and exclusive to its members, the Cricket Club actively participated in inter-port events against other Britons. The Club played against the cricket teams of the Straits Settlement and Shanghai, the first inter-port match against Shanghai being held in 1866.³³ Team members from these clubs traveled either to Hong Kong or Shanghai to participate in matches. The Cricket Club created a space that overlapped with the Hongkong Club, marked by the dual participation of British members and the use of Hongkong Club's facilities in hosting opposing teams. These two clubs, thus, overlapped in function, particularly when it came to entertaining guests. In 1869 when Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, visited Hong Kong, the Hongkong Club hosted him and arranged for the Cricket Club to play against the United Service as part of the event.³⁴ From gentlemen's clubs to recreational spaces, Hong Kong's associational worlds were varied, dynamic and sometimes overlapping. In fact, a peek into Hong Kong's associational worlds leads to a complex picture of inter-ethnic and inter-port involvement.

As another kind of public sphere, charitable institutions in Hong Kong similarly took on certain features of exclusivity. Although charities were meant to extend assistance to the needy populations, they restricted membership to the access of men. The Hong Kong branch of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul was multi-ethnic yet gender-inclusive in composition. According to the Society booklet, its aim was 'to beg and to give,' inviting participation from any individual or charitable society, 'irrespective of creed or nationality, for the better care of the poor and destitute.' Despite such claims, men and women did not share equal roles. The Society acknowledged young men as founders of the organisation and called on more young men to join as new members, offering them 'a brotherly welcome

³³ Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hongkong, Shanghai*, 253.

³⁴ 'Circular,' *Straits Times Overland Journal*, 23 November 1869, 7.

and of the speedy reward they will win in the gratitude of the poor.’ Its first committee was made up of Irish, British, Italian and Macanese men, including John C. Whyte, an Irish Acting Judge of the Court of Summary Jurisdiction (president), Leonardo d’Almada e Castro, Macanese businessman João J. dos Remedios (vice-presidents) and members H.J. Ball and Rev. Raimondi.³⁵ Towards women, the Society had clear-cut policies. One rule stated, ‘Ladies cannot be members,’ and proposed that women, could instead, serve as ‘Benefactresses’ upon paying an annual subscription.³⁶

To varying extents, Club Lusitano took on the race, class and gender restrictions that these organisations adopted. In public, it was a prestigious ‘Portuguese’ club modeled after the British style for the colony’s Macanese. It was ‘British,’ in terms of facilities, display of middle-class lifestyle and male-exclusivity. Its members emphasised Portuguese culture through organising national celebrations and the use of the Portuguese language in official publications. In private, Club Lusitano was a platform that facilitated inter-ethnic and inter-port activities, composed of both Macanese and foreign shareholders and staff, as well as connections to the Macanese communities of Macau and Shanghai. As I will highlight in the next section, Club Lusitano served varied purposes for individual members. These men, however, shared a similar interest for creating a ‘base’ where more affluent men of the community could assemble, as well as a platform for these men to unite and emerge as leaders representing the Macanese people in Hong Kong. The lives of two men, Delfino Noronha and João António Barretto, will be used as examples to help explain how ‘middle class’ Club Lusitano was in terms of the composition of its pioneering members.

Hong Kong’s middle-class Macanese men

On December 26, 1865, the foundation stone of Club Lusitano was laid at the corner of Elgin and Shelley Streets, close to the homes of many Macanese

³⁵ Gradually, the association became more Macanese; Castro served as president from 1870 to 1875 and between 1863 and 1910, only three out of the Society’s fourteen committee members were not Macanese men.

³⁶ ‘A Brief Sketch of Fifty Years’ Work of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in Hong Kong,’ 8, 6, VI-07 (Folders 1-2), Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archive, Hong Kong.

families. Not many Britons attended the event, but the Governor of Macau and Acting Governor of Hong Kong were present. They, along with other 'distinguished visitors,' signed on a piece of paper with the day's event, which was then secured in a bottle and deposited in the lower stone. After the Governor of Macau patted the mortar, the upper stone, made of a large mass of granite in the form of a cross, was lowered into the ground. Four rounds of 'viva!' were called in honour of the Queen of England, the King of Portugal and the two Governors. A band played 'God Save the Queen' and the Governor struck the four sides of the stone with a mallet. The 'pleasant little ceremony,' as the *Hongkong Daily Press* described, 'unfolded as a celebration of Anglo-Portuguese friendship, decorated with the Portuguese ensign and Union Jack.' The guests headed to tiffin in a 35-feet wide and 60-foot long space, where two long tables were positioned. The Governor of Macau sat as the Chair, with the Acting Governor on his right and General Philip Guy, Commander of British Troops in China and Hong Kong, on his left. The President of Club Lusitano, João António Barretto sat facing the Governor of Macau on the inner side of the cross table, and on his right was the Judge of the Court of Summary Jurisdiction, Henry Ball. Toasts were exchanged between the two parties and on the next day, the local newspaper commended, 'Nothing could have gone better, and the inception of the Lusitanian club will long be remembered with pleasure.'³⁷

The pioneering directors of the Club were José Maria d'Almada e Castro, clerk Luiz J. da Silva, owner of the Hongkong Soda Water Company Joze Filippe da Costa and A.B. da Roza, who was working for foreign firm Birley & Co.³⁸ However, it was owing to the donations of Delfino Noronha and João António Barretto that Club Lusitano was formed. Together, they contributed three quarters of the organisation's total construction costs.³⁹ This section will focus specifically on these two central figures. The narrative of Delfino Noronha, a successful businessman in Hong Kong, will be an example of how middle-class Macanese

³⁷ 'The New Portuguese Club,' *Hong Kong Daily Press*, 27 December 1865, 3.

³⁸ *The Hongkong Directory: With List of Foreign Residents in China* (Hong Kong: Armenian Press, 1859), 23, 66, 20; 'Lusitano Club,' Carl Smith Collection, 174889, Public Records Office, Hong Kong; 'J.M.O. Lima,' Carl Smith Collection, 225353, Public Records Office, Hong Kong.

³⁹ Forjaz, *Familias Macaenses*, vol. I, 1st ed., 411

men were like, especially in terms of wealth and network. The story of João António Barretto, a Macanese bookkeeper for Jardine, Matheson & Co., will show how Club Lusitano helped shape a new public image for its members as respectable leaders of the Macanese community. Barretto was the first president of Club Lusitano and went on to take on other public positions. More than just a clerk for Jardine, he was recognised by both the British and Macanese communities of Hong Kong as a representative figure of his community. Through the worlds of the men who helped establish the association, the middle-class nature and purpose of Club Lusitano will be explained.

Delfino Joaquim de Noronha was born in 1824 in Macau to Manuel José dos Remedios Noronha and Ana Rita de Noronha. He attended St. Joseph's College, where he was one of thirteen Macanese boys trained in the craft of printing. Noronha married at the age of eighteen, moved to Hong Kong a year later in 1844 and started a printing business.⁴⁰ Noronha faced two competitors in the market but eventually was able to surpass them as the government's official printer. His company, initially named D. Noronha, printed the *Hongkong Almanack for 1847* under a contract with the Registry Office. During this time, Scot Andrew Shortrede, the proprietor and editor of the *China Mail*, was the official government printer. Shortrede's company was in charge of printing the *Hongkong Government Gazette*, the official medium between the government and the civilians and the *Hongkong Directory*.⁴¹ For more than a decade, Shortrede was Noronha's largest competitor. However, the government disapproved of Shortrede's sharp political commentaries, which came in contrast to Noronha's focus on printing and neutral stance towards political affairs.

Shortrede was a public figure in Hong Kong with the right connections. He arrived in Hong Kong with a letter of introduction from the Colonial Office and

⁴⁰ Braga, 'Making Impressions,' 168-169, 166.

⁴¹ 'Agreement: Made by Mr. Andrew Shortrede, Printer of Victoria in the Colony of Hong Kong on the one Part and the Britannic Majesty's Government of the Said Colony on the Other Part. The Said Mr. Andrew Shortrede Under-takes to Execute All Printing which May Be Required by His Britannic Majesty's Government of the Colony of Hong Kong,' 13 June 1845, HKRS-149-2/9; 'Contract between H.E. Sir John Francis Davis and, Bart., Governor of Hong Kong and Andrew Shortrede,' 31 August 1846, HKRS149-2/44, Public Records Office, Hong Kong.

was one of the pioneers of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.⁴² He was also known for assisting Yung Wing, the first Chinese to graduate from the United States, in his studies and internship in Hong Kong.⁴³ Despite these, Shortrede ran a troubled business due to his bold news reports through the *China Mail*. In 1853, for instance, he was caught in a libel case for describing the loss of a steamer as 'caused by gross negligence on the part of the second officer, who... in his own country, would now be in jail waiting his trial for manslaughter.'⁴⁴ Apart from this case, the *China Mail* also made frequent attacks on Hong Kong's Governors. In 1853, Governor Bonham decided to terminate the government's contract with Shortrede.⁴⁵ The next contract for government printer went to the printer of another local newspaper, the *Hongkong Register*. Described by Frank King as 'anti-government,' the *Hongkong Register* was not shy in attacking the British administration, particularly after obtaining the contract as government printer.⁴⁶ In 1856, Governor Bowring, tired of the newspaper's frequent jabs at the government, terminated its agreement with the *Hongkong Register*.

Without a printer, the government decided to give the *China Mail* another shot.⁴⁷ This contract ended in 1859, as the newspaper, then under the editorship of Andrew Dixon, reported on government corruption and uncovered Caldwell's affiliation with Chinese pirates.⁴⁸ Eventually, the administration turned to Delfino Noronha and offered him the title of government printer, with the liberty to insert advertisements.⁴⁹ By 1861, D. Noronha was renamed Noronha & Sons,

⁴² 'The Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,' *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1 (1960-1961), 1-4.

⁴³ Wing Yung, *My Life in China and America* (New York: Henry Holt Company, 1909), 20-21.

⁴⁴ 'Memorial of Andrew Shortrede to The Duke of Newcastle,' 21 July 1853, CO 129/30, 264-265, The National Archives, London.

⁴⁵ Endacott, *A Biographical Sketchbook*, 150-151.

⁴⁶ King and Clarke, *A Research Guide*, 22.

⁴⁷ 'Memorandum of Agreement Made on the 28th June 1855, between His Excellency Sir John Bowring, Knight, Governor of the Colony of Hong Kong and Chief Superintendent of Trade, on the One Part, and Andrew Shortrede of Victoria, Hong Kong, Printer on the Other Part,' 28 June 1855, HKRS 149-2/133, Public Records Office, Hong Kong.

⁴⁸ King and Clarke, *A Research Guide*, 22; Munn, *Anglo-China*, 316.

⁴⁹ 'Memorandum of Agreement between H.E. Sir Hercules Robinson (originally H.E. Sir Bowring), Governor of Hong Kong, and Delfino Noronha (originally Andrew Shortede): on Matters of Printing Government Gazette and Other Documents (Originally 28/6/1855),' 10 December 1859,

marking the involvement of Noronha's children in the business. Delfino Noronha proved to be a capable businessman who maintained an amicable and controversy-free relationship with the government. In 1883, he agreed to reduce the charge of printing when the administration decided to decrease its overall printing budget. Noronha expressed that although he made a small profit from working for the government, he agreed to the reduction 'for my credit and that of my establishment, which has carried on the Government printing now for about 24 years.'⁵⁰ The deal with the government, thus, began as a six-month contract and later, as yearly agreements. For over a century, Noronha's company printed the government's publications, including the *Government Gazette* between 1853 and 1941, the *Hongkong Hansard: Reports of the Meetings of the Legislative Council* from 1890 to 1941 and the *Legislative Council Sessional Papers* between 1884 and 1941.⁵¹

By the late nineteenth century, Noronha's humble printing company had expanded into a family-run printing empire in the neighbouring port-cities of Macau (Noronha e Companhia) and Shanghai (Noronha & Sons).⁵² One of his sons, Henrique Lourenço de Noronha, served as Singapore's Superintendent of the Government Printing Office for two decades from 1879 to 1899.⁵³ Apart from his printing enterprise, Noronha found success in land investment, emerging as one of the first men in Hong Kong to invest in Kowloon. Through land investment, he built a large network with prominent figures in Hong Kong's foreign and local communities. Between the 1860s and 1880s, he mortgaged, sold and bought land in Hong Kong, making business deals with Macanese, Chinese and Europeans. In 1861, he sold four lots in Aberdeen and during the mid-1860s, mortgaged two lots from Lee Fun Wei, a Chinese trader and Pedro Paulo do Rozario, a Macanese

HKRS 149-2/133; 'Memo: of Agreement for Printing, H.E. The Governor and D. Noronha, Printer,' 10 December 1859, HKRS 149-2/216, Public Records Office, Hong Kong.

⁵⁰ 'Delfino Noronha to W.H. March, Colonial Secretary,' 9 April 1883, HKRS 149-2/3782, Public Records Office, Hong Kong.

⁵¹ 'Memo: of Agreement for Printing, H.E. The Governor and D. Noronha, Printer,' 10 December 1859, HKRS 149-2/216, Public Records Office, Hong Kong.

⁵² *Directory and Chronicle for China, Japan, Corea, Indo-China, Straits Settlements, Malay States, Siam, Netherlands India, Borneo, the Philippines, 1908* (Hong Kong: Hongkong Daily Press, 1908), 1089; Wong, 'Interport Printing Enterprise,' 144.

⁵³ These are records of real estate dealings. 'Noronha, Delfino de,' 236837, Carl Smith Records, Public Records Office, Hong Kong; Braga, 'Making Impressions,' 188.

builder, in addition to selling three inland lots to two Chinese men.⁵⁴ Noronha did business with well-known Chinese figures. In 1869, he sold an inland lot to Tam Achoy 譚才, Ho Asik 何錫 and Li Yuk Hang 李玉衡.⁵⁵ Tam Achoy was a comprador and Ho Asik, a merchant; both of them served as neighbourhood-committee (*kaifong* 街坊) leaders who later formed the District Watch in early 1866.⁵⁶ Li Yuk Hang, on the other hand, was one of the wealthiest merchants and landowners in the colony.⁵⁷ With Britons, Noronha similarly made business deals. In 1877, for instance, he sold a lot in Kowloon to the Secretary of the Hongkong Club, Edward Beast.⁵⁸

Noronha was a pioneer of Kowloon, being one of the first to invest on land in the area. Living in Kowloon was not a convenient option for many, as there were no regular ferry services to and from the Peninsula before the late 1880s. Noronha initially used Kowloon for recreational purposes. He bought a five-acre estate at Yaumati and expanded this by another five acres by adjoining with fellow Macanese, Marcus Calisto do Rozário. The estate, named 'Delmar,' became Noronha's 'country home' and horticultural laboratory where he grew Australian fir and pine trees, tropical flora, fruits and vegetables.⁵⁹ To travel between Kowloon and the Hong Kong Island, he ran an irregular ferry service, the first of its kind to exist in the colony. Noronha later sold this service to a Parsee businessman, Dorabji Nowrojee, who expanded it into the Star Ferry, the main source of transport between the two areas for over a century.⁶⁰

As far as sources show, Noronha's involvement with Club Lusitano was, to a large extent, financial. His name was often absent in press reports on the association's

⁵⁴ These are also real estate records. 'Delfino Noronha; Noronha and Sons,' 236836, Carl Smith Collection; 'Delfino Noronha,' 236811; 236812, Carl Smith Collection; 'Delfino Noronha,' 236831, Carl Smith Collection, Public Records Office, Hong Kong.

⁵⁵ 'Delfino Noronha,' 236813, Carl Smith Collection, Public Records Office, Hong Kong.

⁵⁶ Carroll, *Edge of Empires*, 33, 64; Carl Smith, 'The Emergence of a Chinese Elite in Hong Kong,' *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 11 (1971), 87.

⁵⁷ Smith, 'The Emergence of a Chinese Elite in Hong Kong,' 90.

⁵⁸ 'Delfino Noronha,' Carl Smith Collection, 236823, Public Records Office, Hong Kong.

⁵⁹ J.P. Braga, 'Early Hongkong Flower Shows: The Pioneer Portuguese Horticulturists and their Work Reminiscences of the Peninsula,' *South China Morning Post*, 23 November 1929, 12.

⁶⁰ Jason Wordie, *Streets: Exploring Kowloon* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2007), 22.

public events. Throughout the 1860s and 1870s, he continued to financially assist the Club, particularly during tough times. In 1867, for instance, the Club mortgaged a part of its property to Noronha for \$20,000, which he eventually reassigned to the organisation in 1873.⁶¹ Outside the Club, Noronha showed an interest in assembling Macanese and Filipino middle-class intellectuals around his dinner table. His grandson, José Pedro Braga, recalled that he met ‘many interesting figures’ at his home.⁶² These included Filipino revolutionary José Rizal, Wenceslao Cesario da Silva, who initiated a modest housing project for the Macanese in Hong Kong, Filipino patriot Jose Maria Basa and Macanese medical officer and advocate of Social Darwinism, Dr. Lourenço Pereira Marques.⁶³ Delfino Noronha’s case exemplifies the lifestyle and wealth of affluent Macanese subjects in Hong Kong. Without the constant pressure to make ends meet, these men sought to bring together men, regardless of ethnicity, who shared the same lifestyle, recreational interests and social ideals. His connection to prominent Chinese and European leaders revealed how affluent Macanese men lived in a larger inter-ethnic associational world that existing studies have overlooked.

My second case, João António Gonçalves Barretto, not only shared Noronha’s interest in land investment, but also became publicly known as a Macanese leader after becoming the first president of Club Lusitano. As mentioned in the first chapter, Barretto arrived in Hong Kong during the 1840s and worked for Jardine, Matheson & Co. as a bookkeeper. Apart from his bookkeeping duties, Barretto was in charge of negotiating land deals on behalf of the company. Barretto himself was fond of land investment, engaging in business with sellers and buyers from the Macanese and British communities. One of them was British solicitor and patent agent, Matthew John Denman Stephens. During the early 1860s, Barretto not only provided for the construction costs of Club Lusitano, but also agreed to take the Club’s mortgage.⁶⁴ In 1866, he became the first

⁶¹ ‘Club Lusitano de Hongkong Ltd,’ Carl Smith Collection, 174861; 174879, Public Records Office, Hong Kong.

⁶² Braga, *The Portuguese in Hongkong and China*, 129.

⁶³ Austin Coates, ‘Rizal in Hong Kong,’ *Proceedings of the International Congress on Rizal* (Manila: Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission, 1962), 34.

⁶⁴ For an example of real estate dealing, see ‘Barretto Joao Antonio,’ Carl Smith Collection, 197889, Public Records Office, Hong Kong.

President of Club Lusitano and was heavily involved in the Club's public events and celebrations. During this time, he continued to work as an assistant for the Jardines and from 1870 to 1873, temporarily joined the government as an interim clerk in the office of the Colonial Secretary.⁶⁵ Barretto's case is a good example of how clubs offered another opportunity for middle-class workers in Hong Kong to elevate one's social standing. Side-by-side to his clerical career, Barretto acquired a public role as president of Club Lusitano and came to be acknowledged by both the Macanese and British community as a leader of his community.

His leadership was acknowledged, particularly during his appointment as the colony's Consul for Portugal. On August 10, 1877, *The Hongkong Government Gazette* notified the public that the Governor had appointed Barretto as the new Portuguese Consul (Fig. 9). His generosity and contribution to the Club was also celebrated, for some time in the 1870s, with a life-sized statue of his likeness displayed in the hall of Club Lusitano.⁶⁶ Like Noronha, Barretto was also a pioneer of Kowloon. There, he bought a garden lot from English businessman John David Humphreys and owned a large bungalow that was put on lease in 1878.⁶⁷ In the late 1870s, Barretto left for the Philippines to start a tobacco plantation. He died in November 1881 in Zambales, Luzon. When the news arrived in Hong Kong, the *Hongkong Telegraph* remembered him as 'one of the oldest residents in the colony,' who for a long time was bookkeeper to Jardine, Matheson & Co. and 'the prime mover in the foundation of [Club Lusitano].' The local newspaper commended Barretto's leadership role in Hong Kong, writing that he was 'a very generous and warm-hearted gentleman, who was deservedly held in high esteem by his countrymen in Hongkong.'⁶⁸

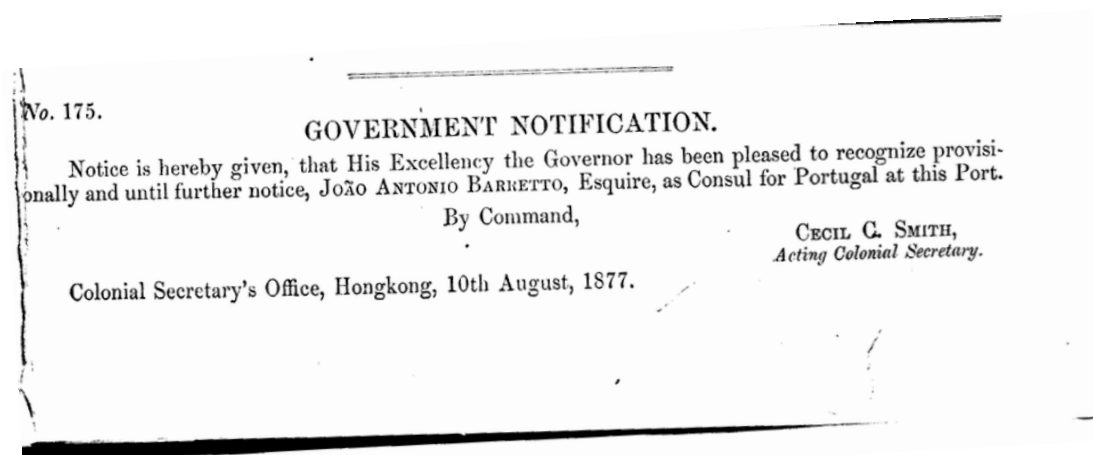
⁶⁵ 'Civil Establishment of Hongkong for the Year 1873,' *Hongkong Blue Book for the Year 1873* (Hong Kong: Noronha & Sons, 1874), 64.

⁶⁶ 'Hong Kong, 26 November 1881,' *Hongkong Telegraph*, 26 November 1881, 2.

⁶⁷ This Carl Smith card records a land deal. 'Joao Antonio Barretto,' Carl Smith Collection, 197889, Public Records Office, Hong Kong; J.A. Barretto, 'To Be Let,' 26 September 1878, 1.

⁶⁸ 'Hong Kong, 26 November 1881,' *Hongkong Telegraph*, 26 November 1881, 2.

Fig. 9 Announcement of J.A. Barretto as Portuguese Consul of Hong Kong



This announcement of J.A. Barretto as Portuguese Consul of Hong Kong Government dated August 10 1877 was printed on *The Hongkong Government Gazette* XXIII.⁶⁹

Noronha and Barretto exemplified middle-class Macanese men who established their careers, created inter-racial and inter-port networks and found fortune in British Hong Kong. The different roles that they played in the Club revealed the different purposes that club space served for its members. In some cases, the associational world worked in bringing people, who would have otherwise only existed as clerks in office spaces, into the public sphere. Barretto's prominent role in Club Lusitano gained him public recognition and connected him to a bigger public platform where he was recognised as a representative figure and leader of the Macanese community. Emphasising their status as affluent and well-connected businessmen in the colony, this section showed the difference in lifestyle between middle-class Macanese and their lower-class counterparts, who, as we saw in the previous chapter, toiled in foreign firms for basic survival and did not have as much privilege to develop their recreational interests. Moving from this point, I will in the next section, reveal the exclusivity of Club Lusitano to middle-class Macanese men. Through the Club, members segregated the Macanese community according to class in order to construct a bourgeois public image for themselves and to maintain the middle-class lifestyle that they shared.

⁶⁹ Cecil C. Smith, 'Government Notification No. 175,' 10 August 1877, *The Hongkong Government Gazette* XXIII, no. 36, 11 August 1877;

Club Lusitano: dividing to unite

In existing descriptions, Club Lusitano is often portrayed as the Macanese people's association and was built for the recreational needs of this community.⁷⁰ One account from the early twentieth century, for instance, described the Club's chief aim as 'to promote social, recreative and intellectual intercourse among the members and families of the Portuguese Community.'⁷¹ More than simply unifying the Macanese people of Hong Kong, members of the Club in fact divided the community by class difference through club rules (Fig. 10). By barring the lower classes, middle-class men sought to consolidate a bourgeois public image through adopting British club culture, offering middle-class leisure, as well as local and inter-port philanthropy. Through time, the colony's bourgeois Macanese men were able to construct larger social networks linked to the middle and upper-classes of other communities. This section will explain the emergence of a new bourgeois Macanese identity by analysing, first the Club's adoption of British club culture in facilities and activities it offered. Second, I will analyse club rules and practices to reveal the segregation of the Macanese community into new hierarchies and lastly, I will examine the inter-ethnic and inter-port activities of the Club, particularly in charity, to highlight the influence and networks of Club Lusitano. Significantly, the shaping of this middle-class identity was fundamental in pivoting a separate sphere of 'domesticity' dominated by men and a new hierarchy between the lower and middle-class Macanese while forming new bridges that challenged the colony's colour bar.

Fig. 10 Club Lusitano, c. early 1900s

⁷⁰ Ding, *Feiwo zhuyi*, 50; Club Lusitano, 'Club Lusitano: 150 Years of History, 1866-2016 (Hong Kong: Club Lusitano, 2016), 1.

⁷¹ R.C. Hurley, *Picturesque Hongkong* (British Crown Colony) and Dependencies (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1925), 113-114.



This photograph of Club Lusitano members, featured on page 24 of the May 2019 volume of *Lusitano Bulletin*, was recently unearthed in the course of the Club's renovation.

Existing studies have shown that gentlemen's clubs served as a masculine public sphere that helped the middle-class male to forge a sense of identity and authority over the working class.⁷² This was achieved through the creation, in gentlemen's clubs, of a new 'middle-class culture,' signified by the pursuit of the tastes, habits, etiquette and lifestyle of a 'gentleman.'⁷³ This meant, in Victorian ideals of English masculinity, that men had to be polite, good mannered and

⁷² Jan Hein Furnée, 'In Good Company: Class, Gender and Politics in the Hague's Gentlemen's Clubs,' in Morton, De Vries and Morris, *Civil Society, Associations, and Urban Places*, 118.

⁷³ Barbara Black, *A Room of His Own: A Literary-Cultural Study of Victorian Clubland* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2012), 28-29.

sociable.⁷⁴ In order to ensure clubs admitted only qualified ‘gentlemen,’ club committees usually underwent a careful selection of members by ballot, as was the case for the Hongkong Club, Club Germania, or the VRC. Club Lusitano adopted a similar practice, admitting members through a balloting committee, made up of the Club’s directors and ten members from the committee of the Club.⁷⁵

This balloting committee had the right, not only to elect new members, but also erase the names of existing ones.⁷⁶ Its power was later extended to deciding ‘whether a candidate [was] or [was] not of Portuguese nationality or extraction’ and eligible for membership.⁷⁷ Once elected, members paid an entrance fee of five dollars, with a monthly subscription of three dollars. To protect the prestige of the Club, the committee had the right to immediately revoke the membership of whoever became bankrupt, was charged with criminal offence, or dismissed from public service ‘with disgrace.’ In 1866, the Club had only around five ordinary members. One was a businessman and the other three were civil servants.⁷⁸ A common point that they all shared was their middle-class status and public prominence. As one of the co-founders of Club Lusitano, José Luíz de Selavisa Alves worked as a clerk for the Harbour Office. A good swimmer, he was also a member of the European-dominated Victoria Recreation Club.⁷⁹ He later received the Chevalier of the Order of Christ from the Portuguese government.⁸⁰ Eusébio Honorato de Aquino worked in the Post Office and stayed in service of the British administration for fifty years. He became the first Macanese to receive the Chevalier of the Order of S. Thiago, Imperial Service Order for his long service.⁸¹ As seen in chapter one, Edward Pereira was a well-established man

⁷⁴ Valérie Capdeville, ‘Gender at Stake: The Role of Eighteenth-Century London Clubs in Shaping a New Model of English Masculinity,’ *Culture, Society & Masculinities* 4, no. 1 (2012), 13-16.

⁷⁵ Club Lusitano, *Bye-laws of the Club Lusitano, Limited* (Hong Kong: L. Noronha, 1904), 1.

⁷⁶ *Bye-laws of the Club Lusitano*, 3-4.

⁷⁷ This new rule referring the ‘Portuguese extraction’ first emerged in 1907. Club Lusitano, *New Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Club Lusitano Bye-laws* (Hong Kong: South China Morning Post, 1959), 18.

⁷⁸ *Bye-laws of the Club Lusitano*, 17-19, 10.

⁷⁹ J.P.B., ‘Loss to Portuguese Community,’ *The Hong Kong Telegraph*, 11 July 1927, 7.

⁸⁰ ‘Lusitano Club: New Building Opened, Ceremony on Saturday,’ *South China Morning Post*, 15 May 1922, 3.

⁸¹ Forjaz, *Familias Macaenses vol. 1*, 1st ed., 248; ‘Coronation Items,’ *South China Morning Post*, 26 June 1911, 8.

with associations to the British and Macanese world. He was a partner of Messrs. Dent & Co. in Hong Kong and a founding member and committee of the Hongkong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

'Middle class,' to an extent, was an expression of lifestyle that helped distinguish wealthier men from the lower classes. At Club Lusitano, Macanese members enjoyed such facilities as a bar, a billiards room, a card room, a library, a reading room, a dining room and visitors' bedrooms.⁸² In addition to its facilities, the Club was also where Macanese members and visitors were served by an international composition of foreign and local Chinese staff. In the late seventies, for instance, the Club employed a foreign steward, Thomas Evans, and a Chinese assistant steward, Wong A-pat.⁸³ Records also show that there was a Chinese comprador, and a European cook, Thomas Duncan Dunn, who later worked for the Cosmopolitan Hotel.⁸⁴

Though male-exclusive, Club Lusitano blurred the lines between ideal masculine and feminine roles, forming a separate sphere of 'domesticity' that was meant to fulfill and showcase the middle-class ideals of English masculinity.⁸⁵ Functioning both as a public and private space, guests were entertained and made to feel at home in the Club while members enjoyed the facilities and services provided in the company of other Macanese men. Within the Club, visitors and members followed club rules set for housekeeping purposes. These included practices to minimise noise and disturbance, which read,

No dogs shall on any account be brought within the precincts of The Club;
No musical instrument shall be played in the premises of The Club without the consent of the Directors;
Singing or whistling in an annoying way shall not be allowed in any part of the Club House.⁸⁶

⁸² *Bye-laws of the Club Lusitano*, 14.

⁸³ 'Assault at the Club Lusitano,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 28 October 1868.

⁸⁴ 'Jury List for 1872,' *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 2 March 1872/89.

⁸⁵ Valérie Capdeville, 'The Ambivalent Identity of Eighteenth-century London Clubs as a Prelude to Victorian Clublife,' *Cahiers victoriens et édouardiens* 81 (2015); Milne-Smith, 'A Flight to Domesticity?.'

⁸⁶ *Bye-laws of the Club Lusitano*, 10-11.

The Club also set rules to maintain the etiquette of members, including 'No Member shall appear in any public room of the Club in dressing gown, slippers or deshabelle,' and the prohibition of drinking in other areas apart from the bar, billiards room, card room and dining room.⁸⁷

In the Billiards room, rules read, 'No Member, on any pretext whatever shall be allowed to get upon the table to make a stroke, one foot must remain upon the floor,' and 'No game shall be commenced ten minutes before midnight and no refreshments will be served after that hour.'⁸⁸ Gambling was not allowed in the card room and members or visitors observed rules regarding the bathroom and Club servants when occupying the Club's bedrooms. Club Lusitano, thus, was where Macanese male members ran their own 'domestic' space in the absence of women. In this respect, it, constructed a new sphere of male-dominated 'domesticity,' especially one that opposed English middle-class ideals of separation between the roles of men and women and the respective public and private spaces they dominated.⁸⁹

Sports, in particular, were arenas for middle-class men to establish social hegemony during the nineteenth century.⁹⁰ In Hong Kong, Britons dominated the world of cricket and horseracing, the latter of which was considered by the British middle and upper classes as a symbol of privilege.⁹¹ A Hong Kong newspaper even remarked that the horse races took place 'merely to gratify the

⁸⁷ *Bye-laws of the Club Lusitano*, 10-11.

⁸⁸ *Bye-laws of the Club Lusitano*, 13.

⁸⁹ For the ideals of 'domesticity' and the middle-class in the Victorian articulation, see Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987); Kay Boardman, 'The Ideology of Domesticity: The Regulation of the Household Economy in Victorian Women's Magazines,' *Victorian Periodicals Review* 33, no. 2 (2000), 150-164.

⁹⁰ Nancy B. Bouchier, 'Idealized Middle-Class Sport for a Young Nation: Lacrosse in Nineteenth-Century Ontario Towns, 1871-1891,' *Journal of Canadian Studies* 29, no. 2 (1994), 89-110; David Robbins, 'Sport, Hegemony and the Middle Class: The Victorian Mountaineers,' *Theory, Culture & Society* 4, no. 4 (1987), 579-601; John R. Mallea, 'The Victorian Sporting Legacy,' *McGill Journal of Education* 10, no. 2 (1975), 184-196.

⁹¹ John Pinfold, 'Horse Racing and the Upper Classes in the Nineteenth Century,' *Sports in History* 28, no. 3 (2008), 414-430; Mike Huggins, 'Culture, Class and Respectability: Racing and the Middle Classes in the Nineteenth Century,' *International Journal of Social History* 33, no. 1 (2000), 585-600.

ridiculous love of show that wealth always wallow[ed] in.’⁹² To a certain extent, this description was accurate as racing in the colony was an annual event that showcased privilege and class differences. The racing events, started by the Hongkong Club and the British army and navy, were controlled and organised by Britons. This meant annual ‘race weeks’ began with the Hongkong Club’s rules and ended with a race ball hosted at the Club.⁹³ The racing secretary was either a member of the Hongkong Club or the garrison and was in charge of the administration of the races, which included registration of horses and riders, arranging for training and ticketing.⁹⁴ The majority of non-Britons participated as spectators, whereas those from the middle or upper-classes, including the Macanese at Club Lusitano, joined as prize presenters by offering prizes to winning ponies.

Class segregation was especially obvious amongst spectators during race days, as people from all walks of life crammed in the race stands according to how much they could afford to pay. A journalist for the *Illustrated London News*, Charles Wirgman, noted in 1858 that although the British, French, Malays, East Indians, Manila Indians, and ‘Celestials’ all showed equal enthusiasm towards the three-day event, the spectators from the lower classes huddled in ‘one-shilling stands,’ made up of matsheds while members of the middle and upper-classes gathered at the ‘grand stand’ that was ‘filled with swells and crinoline.’⁹⁵ These included the colony’s prominent officials, businessmen, members of the Hongkong Club, as well as prize presenters from the German, Parsee and American communities.⁹⁶ Even before its official inauguration, Club Lusitano considered building a grand stand for the ‘Portuguese’ in 1864. The plan was favorably entertained by the Surveyor General’s office but not by the general Macanese community. Britons from the Racing Committee also considered the possibility of

⁹² ‘A Lover of Sport,’ *The Friend of China and Hongkong Gazette*, 18 January 1851.

⁹³ Vaudine England, *Kindred Spirits: A History of the Hong Kong Club* (Hong Kong: Moonchild Production Co., 2016), 11-12.

⁹⁴ England, *Kindred Spirits*, 12.

⁹⁵ Charles Wirgman, *The Illustrated London News*, 18 February 1858; ‘Sketches In China—Hong-Kong Races, 1858,’ *The Illustrated London News*, 15 May 1858, 496.

⁹⁶ Austin Coates, *China Races* (Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1984), 71.

collaborating with Club Lusitano in constructing a large grand stand for the colony.⁹⁷

In light of Club Lusitano's plans to engage in horse racing, a reader wrote to the local newspaper expressing disapproval. The reader, worried about Club Lusitano's financial situation, pointed out that the investment would not only leave the Club in debt, but also lead to unnecessary conflict caused by collaborating with non-Macanese people. This reader further highlighted that Club Lusitano's potentially heavy investment in the sport would result in class segregation of the Macanese community. He wrote that involvement with the Racing Committee ought to 'segregate the upper class of Portuguese from the lower,' and suggested that a grandstand solely for the Macanese community should instead be built, as this would lead to 'reunion, which would naturally result without embarrassment or interference.'⁹⁸ Club Lusitano eventually pulled out from both plans, replacing Macanese involvement in horseracing with the Lusitanian Cup (also known as the Lusitano Cup) in 1867. The Lusitanian Cup was offered to all horses, valued at two hundred guineas and was presented by members of the Club.⁹⁹ A decade later, the Lusitano Cup was extended to Japan, and was offered to China ponies at the Yokohama Jockey Club Spring Meeting by members of Club Lusitano.¹⁰⁰

In engaging the public, the Club opened the doors of its salon, dance hall and theatre to the public, regardless of race, class and gender. The theatre was especially popular, holding a selection of local and foreign performances. In 1868, for instance, a Turkish magic show and a Donizetti opera production, 'Lucia di Lammermoor,' took place at the Lusitano theatre.¹⁰¹ The theatre welcomed interested parties from all classes, and admission tickets were sold at two different rates. Those who could afford to pay \$18 watched 'Lucia di Lammermoor' from boxes that held six people, whereas the rest paid \$3 to enjoy

⁹⁷ A, 'Hongkong, 29 September 1864, *Hongkong Daily Press*, 29 September 1864, 2.

⁹⁸ A, 'Hongkong, 29 September 1864, *Hongkong Daily Press*, 29 September 1864, 2.

⁹⁹ 'Hongkong Races 1867, First Day,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 20 February 1867.

¹⁰⁰ 'Yokohama Jockey Club Spring Meeting (*Japan Herald*),' *North China Herald*, 27 May 1879, 523.

¹⁰¹ 'Club Lusitano Theatre,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 7 March 1868, 1; 'Lusitano Theatre, Grand Opera,' *China Mail*, 10 March 1868, 1.

the show in crowded stalls.¹⁰² For years until it closed in the late 1860s, the theatre served as a venue for local productions, housing the performances of local Amateur Dramatic Club and Portuguese amateurs.¹⁰³ Although the Club did not impose class restrictions, watching theatrical performances was a luxury for the colony's working class. A middle-ranking Macanese clerk in the 1860s, for instance, earned an average monthly income of eighty dollars, a huge portion of which would go to settling bills and buying daily necessities for the family instead of going to watch the opera.¹⁰⁴

People who visited the Lusitano Theatre perceived watching theatrical shows as leisure for the middle class. Audiences were expected to observe good manners, so much that when some young men 'misbehaved' in the theatre, the local newspaper referred to their action as a lack of middle-class masculinity. In March 1870, a local newspaper reported on the inappropriate behavior of loud, young British men at a Tuesday evening show in the Lusitano theatre who had interrupted the performers with noise and untimely clapping. The report remarked that these men had forgotten 'the first principles of good breeding, and the first dictates of good taste,' and emphasised 'Such an action is ungentlemanly towards a male performer, and in the highest degree unmanly when indulged towards one of the weaker sex.'¹⁰⁵ A reader, who claimed to have visited theatres in different parts of the world, responded that theatregoers were usually from the 'educated class' but the Hong Kong audience failed to display order, dignity and 'gentlemanly breeding' in such a public place.¹⁰⁶ From Club rules to the composition of its members to providing middle-class activities to its members and the public, Club Lusitano served as a space for the display of a bourgeois lifestyle that came with expectations that visitors would exude middle-class masculinity.

¹⁰² 'Lusitano Theatre, Grand Opera,' *China Mail*, 10 March 1868, 1.

¹⁰³ Smith, 'The Hong Kong Amateur Dramatic Club,' 224; 'The 75m Amateurs and the Lusitano Theatre,' *The China Mail*, 22 May 1869, 5.

¹⁰⁴ 'Hong Kong, August 10, 1865,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 10 August 1865, 2.

¹⁰⁵ 'Hong Kong, March 10, 1870,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 10 March 1870, 2.

¹⁰⁶ Cosmopolite, 'The Lusitano Audience,' *Hong Kong Daily Press*, 10 March 1870, 2.

The Macanese at Club Lusitano further engaged with the public through philanthropy, an act that existing studies have linked to the pursuit of social esteem and securing a social presence amongst the middle and upper classes. Shapely, for instance, argued that individuals used charity as a means for individuals to legitimise social status by transforming economic power into symbolic power.¹⁰⁷ Focusing on the empowerment of middle-class women, Gleeson argued that bourgeois women in colonial Melbourne utilised charity to move out of the 'domestic space' into the public sphere.¹⁰⁸ In Asia, affluent Straits Chinese similarly provided welfare for the protection of women and orphans through the Penang Po Leung Kuk and Hong Kong's Tung Wah Hospital in order to bolster the social prestige and respectability of the Chinese community.¹⁰⁹ Local and foreign newspapers reported on Club Lusitano's various charitable efforts. One way of contributing to society was to host charitable events, as seen in 1867 when the Hongkong Amateur Theatricals held a 'Grand Carnival & Charitable Night' for the Reformatory West Point at the Lusitanian Theatre. The event began with a comedy act entitled '*Tude por causa do dinheiro d'um tio*' (All Because of an Uncle's Money) and was supported by the Juvenile Portuguese Amateurs, as well as a band conducted by Italian bandmaster Signor Pompei.¹¹⁰

Club Lusitano also engaged in inter-port charity and took on a leadership role in expanding philanthropic campaigns to the Macanese community of Shanghai. When Macau suffered from a typhoon and a fire in the 1870s, the Club formed a relief fund and subscribed \$1,000 from a meeting with its members in Hong Kong, as well as other Macanese individuals from Shanghai. The Portuguese Amateur Dramatic Club joined the cause and donated proceeds from a series of

¹⁰⁷ Peter Shapely, *Charity and Power in Victorian Manchester* (Manchester: The Chetham Society, 2000), 74-75. See also, Gareth Steadman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (London: Verso, 2013), 251-253; William T. Harbaugh, 'What Do Donations Buy? A Model of Philanthropy based on Prestige and Warm Glow,' *Journal of Public Economics* 67(1998), 269-284.

¹⁰⁸ B.J. Gleeson, 'A Public Sphere for Women: The Case of Charity in Colonial Melbourne,' *Area* 27, no. 3 (1995), 193-207.

¹⁰⁹ Neil Jun Keong Khor and Keat Siew Khoo, *The Penang Po Leung Kuk, Chinese Women, Prostitution and a Welfare Organisation* (Kuala Lumpur: The Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 2004); Sinn, *Power and Charity*.

¹¹⁰ 'Lusitanian Theatre,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 5 March 1867, 1.

their performances to this fund.¹¹¹ In addition to this, it was decided that the attendees from Shanghai would be in charge of soliciting contributions from Shanghai residents. Club Lusitano was active in supporting charity initiated by the colonial government, which included international relief work. The committee, upon hearing the colonial government's call for donations, collected \$660 to help relieve the Irish Famine during the late 1870s.¹¹² Notably, such charitable acts expanded the presence of Club Lusitano in the public eye. It was through such events that the Club displayed its leadership role in assembling the Macanese community in Hong Kong and Shanghai to help the needy. Foreign newspapers, such as Shanghai's *North China Herald*, reported on the involvement of Club Lusitano in inter-port philanthropy. These reports informed a wider readership regarding the Club's respectability, further increasing its presence as a symbol of Macanese affluence and prestige in Hong Kong.

So far, existing studies have depicted Club Lusitano as a racially demarcated Macanese organisation. In reality, Macanese and non-Macanese shareholders ran the Club, the latter of which even contributed to its establishment. Due to the lack of available sources, particularly the Club's minutes, an analysis of this aspect will be built on piecemeal evidence based, to a large extent, on newspaper reports. This side of the Club, however, will further the argument that Club Lusitano served as a platform for bourgeois Macanese to engage with a wider world of foreign investors and collaborators.¹¹³ To start with, the Lusitano Theatre's proprietor, W.E. Rogers and stage manager, E.D. Haygarth were non-Macanese.¹¹⁴ One of the earliest public mentions of Club Lusitano's multiracial composition was in 1870, when a letter appeared on the *Hongkong Daily Press* enquiring, on behalf of non-Macanese shareholders, the status of the Club. The reader wrote that like 'an ordinary hotel,' Club Lusitano should be making good dividends, yet 'the shareholders of other nationalities [did] not [seem to] derive any benefit from having aided in its formation.'¹¹⁵ In response, the Club's

¹¹¹ 'Hongkong,' *North China Herald*, 15 October 1874, 370.

¹¹² 'Hongkong,' *North China Herald*, 10 April 1880, 309.

¹¹³ Minutes of Club Lusitano are not open to the public.

¹¹⁴ 'Lusitano Theatre,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 29 November 1871, 1.

¹¹⁵ 'Hongkong, June 25, 1870,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 25 July 1870, 2.

Secretary advised shareholders to apply directly to the Directors and emphasised that Club Lusitano 'is always open to all members, without exception and the Shareholders in general have so far participated in its profits.'¹¹⁶

The Club experienced financial distress during the 1870s. A shareholders' meeting in September 1870 revealed that the Club was at a deficit of \$648.49 and shareholders discussed the possibilities of either improving club management or leasing a part of the building. Maintaining the public image of the Club perhaps was not a main concern, because it was reported that 'the large number of shareholders who [were] not Portuguese' received little benefit from it.¹¹⁷ Shareholders then asked businessman Edmund Richard Holmes to apply for an adjunct license for the Club. At the Annual Licensing Meeting, Holmes acquired the right to take the Club as a hotel but no further information can be found about this.¹¹⁸ The problem dragged on for a few years, and in 1872, the committee made an initial decision to dissolve the company. The *North China Herald* reported that some Macanese residents contemplated buying the building and opening a new club.¹¹⁹ The Club seemed to have survived but continued to skate on thin ice. During 1873, it mortgaged club property to British businessmen, such as William Keswick, Jardines Taipan, member of Legislative Council and former Chairman of the Hongkong Chamber of Commerce and William Paterson, who was in charge at the Foochow office of Jardine Matheson.¹²⁰ The Club was finally dissolved in October 1875 with an official announcement on the *Hongkong Government Gazette* (Fig. 11). A few days after the announcement was made, the Club's liquidators, Barretto, A.F. Alves and A.G. Romano posted an advertisement to sell the Club and its theatre, together with their furniture.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ J.P. da Costa, 'The Club Lusitano: To the Editor of the "Daily Press,"' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 30 June 1870, 2.

¹¹⁷ 'Hongkong, September 21, 1870,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 21 September 1870, 2.

¹¹⁸ 'Annual Licensing Meeting,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 22 October 1870, 2.

¹¹⁹ 'Summary of News,' *North China Herald*, 27 April 1872, 323.

¹²⁰ 'Club Lusitano de Hongkong, Ltd,' Carl Smith Collection, 174861, Public Records Office, Hong Kong.

¹²¹ 'For Sale,' *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 23 October 1875, 436.

Fig. 11 Notice of dissolution of Club Lusitano



These notices of dissolution and sale of Club Lusitano were printed on the *Hongkong Government Gazette*, respectively, on October 16 and 23 1875.¹²²

The Club eventually underwent reorganization and survived. In 1876, the *Chronicle & Directory* listed Club Lusitano with the names of its liquidators and a 'committee for reconstruction.'¹²³ By the next year, the Club continued to be listed in the *Chronicle & Directory* with a new committee.¹²⁴ Club Lusitano's financial difficulties in the 1870s provided an opportunity, as well as evidence, to understand the composition and function of the Club as a registered company. The Club was a platform for the Macanese to engage and interact, on professional

¹²² P.A. da Costa, 'Club Lusitano de Hong Kong, Limited, Notice of Dissolution,' 13 October 1875, *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 16 October 1875, 431; 'For Sale,' *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 23 October 1875, 436.

¹²³ These members were M.C. do Rozario, J.M.O. Lima, J.P. da Costa, L. de Carvalho, J.A. dos Remedios, H. Hyndman. *The Chronicle & Directory for China, Japan, & The Philippines for the Year 1876* (Hong Kong: The Daily Press, 1876), 102.

¹²⁴ The new president was A.G. Romano. *The Chronicle & Directory for China, Japan, & The Philippines for the Year 1877* (Hong Kong: The Daily Press, 1877), 194.

terms, with European individuals. While Macanese subjects could mostly only serve as middle and lower-ranking assistants to European employers at the workplace, club space allowed middle-class Macanese men to transform their economic power into a new social standing that allowed them to be served by local and foreign employees, to interact with Europeans on equal terms and to re-establish themselves as respectable leaders of the Macanese community. In the 1870s, the Hong Kong government perceived the Club as the official representative body of the Macanese in Hong Kong, appointing two of Club Lusitano's presidents, Barretto and Romano, as Portuguese Consul at Hong Kong.

Being 'Portuguese' in British Hong Kong

Migrant ethnic associations often possessed political linkages to the motherland/fatherland, advocating nationalism through associational platforms. The SCBA, for instance, expressed its desire to see a progressive China through reforms and disseminated such ideas through the press in colonial Singapore during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Prominent Straits Chinese like Lim Boon Keng and Song Ong Siang established the Chinese Philomathic Society in 1896 to discuss the political situation in China.¹²⁵ Notably, individuals like Lim who worked for the Qing state and later, Sun Yat-sen as his personal physician, had actual contact with China.¹²⁶ Before the fall of the Manchus, some Straits Chinese elites even affirmed their political orientation and joined the Tung Meng Hui while others joined the Kuomintang.¹²⁷ The Macanese experience was similar in the sense that they used Club Lusitano to re-establish links to their fatherland. These links, however, were largely cultural and imagined. The Club did not display a political orientation nor discuss matters related to Portugal's political developments. This section will use a celebration of Portuguese poet Camões, which took place in 1880, to explain how the majority of the Macanese at Club Lusitano, as Luso-Asians who had never set foot in Portugal, deployed an 'imagined' connection to Portugal and rekindled with their

¹²⁵ Frost, 'Transcultural Diaspora,' 29-30.

¹²⁶ Doran, 'The Chinese Origins of Democracy,' 48.

¹²⁷ Frost, 'Transcultural Diaspora,' 32.

ethnic roots to achieve social respectability and earn the acknowledgment of Britons as representatives of the Portuguese nation in Hong Kong.

After its establishment, Club Lusitano showcased the Macanese link to Portugal through a public display of Portuguese culture. The Club's library, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, housed over ten thousand books related to Portuguese history and literature.¹²⁸ When national celebrations took place in Portugal, Club Lusitano organised events in the colony in support of these events. During a celebration of the Portugal King's birthday in 1868, Club Lusitano organised a performance from the Portuguese Amateur Dramatic Society entitled '*Um drama no mar*' (A Drama on the Sea) at the Lusitano theatre, which was reported in the local press as '[a] piece so excessively patriotic that a more appropriate selection could not have been made for the occasion.'¹²⁹ Set in the seventeenth century, '*Um drama no mar*' narrated the story of Portugal's victory in two wars, one against the Dutch on the Brazilian coast and another that drove Spaniards out of Portugal.¹³⁰ In 1879, the *China Mail* reported that the Club was celebrating the birthday of Dom Luiz I, King of Portugal by illuminating the façade of the Club and hanging a portrait of the King over the doorway of the Club building.¹³¹

On June 10, 1880, Club Lusitano organised its largest event of the year. It was the first to be linked to a larger initiative in Lisbon, started by Portuguese historian Joaquim de Vasconcelos in 1879. The event was meant to encourage solidarity and patriotism by evoking memories of poet Camões and collectively celebrating the tercentenary of his death as a 'festival of the nation.'¹³² Studies that have investigated the 1880 Camões festivities usually highlight the political impetus behind it. In their analysis of Portugal's events, for instance, Freeland and De Meneses perceived the country's extensive celebration as an attempt for positivists and republicans, led by Teófilo Braga, to encourage progress, change

¹²⁸ Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hongkong*, 172.

¹²⁹ 'The Amateurs At The Lusitano,' *The China Mail*, 2 November 1868, 4.

¹³⁰ 'The Amateurs At The Lusitano,' *The China Mail*, 2 November 1868, 4.

¹³¹ 'Local and General,' *The China Mail*, 30 October 1879, 2.

¹³² Giselle Martins Venâncio, 'Commemorate Camões and Rethink the Nation: Joaquim Nabuco's Speech during the Celebration of the Tercentenary of the Death of Camões in Rio de Janeiro (1880),' *Revista Brasileira de História* 33, no. 65 (2013).

and science through the construction of nostalgia for a lost empire.¹³³ João also acknowledged the political side of the 1880 celebration, describing its commemorative discourses as ethnocentric, nationalist and Eurocentric, and a revival of Camões as a reminder of Portugal's 'mythical greatness.'¹³⁴ In Rio de Janeiro, the government appointed Brazilian writer and abolitionist Joaquim Nabuco in a move to unite Brazilians and the Portuguese in the colony, in face of a growing Brazilian consciousness. Nabuco did not disappoint in his speech, claiming, 'Tonight I am Portuguese,' while also emphasising that he was a Brazilian and had his share of gratitude and indebtedness to the *Patria Mother* of Portugal.¹³⁵

In Hong Kong, one of the directors of Club Lusitano, José Luis de Selavisa Alves, took the initiative in organising the tercentenary commemoration of Camões, setting up an 'ad hoc' committee comprising of a total of ten members of the Club.¹³⁶ Amongst these ten were civil servants, clerks and assistants to foreign firms and one Macanese firm, as well as businessmen.¹³⁷ The Hong Kong commemoration focused on celebrating Portuguese culture, with performances from the band of the Brazilian ship, *Vital d'Oliveira*, which had coincidentally entered Hong Kong on its way to Peking, a speech on the importance of the Portuguese language, poetry recitals, the presentation of a bust of Camões and

¹³³ Filipe Ribeiro De Menezes, 'Camões, Portuguese War Propaganda, and the Dream of a Safe Colonial Empire, 1914-1918,' *NUI Maynooth Papers in Spanish, Portuguese and Latin America Studies* 12 (2005), 1; Alan Freeland, 'The People and the Poet: Portuguese National Identity and the Camões Tercentenary (1880),' in Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith (eds.), *Nationalism and the National in the Iberian Peninsula: Competing and Conflicting Identities* (Oxford: Berg, 1996), 65. See also, Alexandre Cabral, *Notas Oitocentistas—I* (1880 Notes; Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1980), 63.

¹³⁴ Maria Isabel João, 'Public Memory and Power in Portugal (1880-1960),' trans. Landeg White, *Portuguese Studies* 18 (2002), 114-115.

¹³⁵ Venâncio, 'Commemorate Camões.'

¹³⁶ Club Lusitano, *Memoria dos festejos celebrados em Hongkong por ocasião do tricentenario do principe dos poetas Portuguezes Luiz de Camões* (Memorial of the Festivities Celebrated in Hong Kong On The Occasion of the Tercentenary of the Prince of Portuguese Poet Luiz de Camões; Hong Kong: Na Typographia de De Souza e Ca., 1880), 1.

¹³⁷ These were José Luiz de Selavisa Alves (civil servant), João Miguel Sebastião (civil servant), Marcos Antonio de Carvalho (owner of Craigenpower, private residence on Caine Road), José Philippe da Costa (owner, Hong Kong Soda Water Company), Luciano Fortunato de Carvalho (civil servant), Polycarpo Antonio da Costa (secretary, Hong Kong, Canton and Macao Steamboat Co.), Carlos Danenberg (assistant to foreign architect), José Antonio dos Remedios (clerk, HSBC), Jeronimo Miguel dos Remedios (clerk, JJ dos Remedios), Marcos Calixto do Rozario (businessman and co-owner of Delmar).

the publication of a pamphlet.¹³⁸ In Morais' study of Macanese involvement in Freemasonry and its relations to the 1880 commemoration, she highlighted the roles of Policarpo da Costa, a member of the 'ad hoc' committee and secretary of the Hong Kong, Canton and Macao Steamboat Co. and Lourenço Pereira Marques, a medical doctor who was educated in Lisbon, Dublin and was then Acting Assistant Superintendent of the Government Civil Hospital in Hong Kong.¹³⁹ According to Morais, Da Costa and Marques emulated what was being held in Portugal in an effort to show their sympathy and support towards the Republican cause in the country.¹⁴⁰ I will argue, from the lens of Club Lusitano, that the tercentenary commemoration was not politically linked to Portugal. Instead, it was an opportunity, through the use of culture, to forge the Club's linkage to Portugal to achieve the aim of shaping its members as respectable representatives of Portugal in Hong Kong and leaders of the Macanese community in the colony.

The tercentenary commemoration was well attended by over two hundred and fifty men and fifty women, many of whom were public figures. On the night of the event, a veiled Camões bust stood in the front door, perched on a half-concealed pedestal surrounded by flowers and an opened copy of his book of poems, *Os Lusíadas*. A white silk banner with gold writing hung over the display with words written by the poet that read '*Ditos Patria Que Tal Filio Teve*' (Happy homeland such a son had). Behind the bust were a display of Portugal's shield of arms and the flags of Portugal and Brazil, as well as lines from Camões's poems written in couplets that hung at the back of the room. Inside the room stood a statue of the King of Portugal, Dom Pedro V, donated by an old member of the Macanese community. At ten past nine, Governor John Pope Hennessy arrived, accompanied by Captain of the Volunteer Corps, J.J. Francis, and Chief Justice Edward O'Malley. The Consul Generals for Portugal, Brazil and the United States in Hong Kong, as well as Macau's Consul General for Brazil were present.

¹³⁸ Club Lusitano, *Memoria dos festejos*, 10.

¹³⁹ Forjaz, *Familias Macaenses*, vol II, 564-565;

¹⁴⁰ Isabel Morais, 'Darwinism, Freemasonry and Print Culture: The Construction Of Identity Of The Macanese Colonial Elites In The Late Nineteenth Century,' in C.X. George Wei (ed.), *Macao—The Formation Of A Global City* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 62.

Members of the middle and upper-classes of the colony also joined the celebration, including British businessman William Keswick, Scottish tea merchant Phineas Ryrie, Jewish businessman Emanuel Belilios, Indian businessman D. Ruttunjee, and the first Chinese unofficial member of the Legislative Council, Ng Choy. The Club's founding members and committee members represented the Macanese, joined by other foreign professionals, doctors, as well as the editors of the *Daily Press* and the *China Mail*. For Club Lusitano, the cultural festival was a great opportunity to organise a memorable evening attended by public figures across the colony and outside of Hong Kong.

The speeches of the Macanese and Britons that evening showed acknowledgment towards the commemoration as a cultural event linked to Portugal. In his inaugural address, Policarpo da Costa referred to it as a 'literary festival' meant to inform 'our brethren who in Europe, Africa, and America commemorate this day, that the sentiments which animate them, flow also from Lusian hearts in the confines of Asia under the shield of a foreign but friendly flag.¹⁴¹ Da Costa further perceived the commemoration as an opportunity to emphasise the importance of the Portuguese language and criticise the Portuguese government for its lack of support. According to Da Costa:

Portugal ignores that we are a living monument of her past greatness, that we are the descendants of those who accompanied the heroes of epic song to those remote regions! Macao and her children scattered along the shores of China and Japan, these are the only vestiges of ancient Lusitanian preponderance in these seas! And yet Portugal denies us even a college for the study of the national language and history! ... Those who earn a living by their daily toil must educate their children in this Colony, where there is not a single Portuguese educational institution.¹⁴²

In contrast, he expressed confidence towards the colonial government, claiming, The English people will not deny us their moral quasi-obligation to aid and protect us, because our forefathers opened to them the gates of the Orient,

¹⁴¹ Club Lusitano, *Memoria dos festejos*, 5, 10-11, 52, 88.

¹⁴² Club Lusitano, *Memoria dos festejos*, 91.

and taught them the first lessons in maritime commerce and colonisation, sources of the present prosperity of their country.¹⁴³

Da Costa voiced his disappointment in the Ministers of Portugal, who 'will not care any more for the education of our children,' but looked forward to cooperation between the Portuguese King and Governor Hennessy, 'the friend of the cause of education.' The speech ended with an affirmation of the Club's event as an effort to facilitate Portuguese literary progress and 'patriotic fervour' amongst the Macanese boys and girls of Hong Kong. Club Lusitano President, J.A. dos Remedios, expressed similar notions, stressing that the objective of the commemoration was 'to impress on the Portuguese people here love for their country and to induce the Portuguese youths to cultivate their minds by the study of their national history.'¹⁴⁴

In his speech, Governor Hennessy acknowledged Club Lusitano's efforts in organising the commemoration. He described the celebration as the first time that the different communities of Hong Kong have assembled on a 'festival of literature.' In particular, the Governor expressed his gratitude towards the Club, claiming, 'I feel that the members of my Council and I myself are deeply indebted to the committee of the Lusitano Club' for organising the commemoration. The committee also informed the commission in Lisbon of the celebration in Hong Kong. A telegram was sent to Lisbon to congratulate the commission and a reply received on the following day, which read *Abraço fraternal pela unanimidade na glorificação de Camões, symbolo da Nação Portuguesa* (Fraternal embrace by unanimity in the glorification of Camões, symbol of the Portuguese Nation).¹⁴⁵ In Hong Kong, the local newspapers reported the successful event in great detail. The *Daily Press* featured the event in a three-column report, which included the evening's programme, an extensive list of guests and a translation of Da Costa's speech, together with Governor Hennessy's address and the telegram received from Lisbon. The report recalled that Club Lusitano 'was decorated in a manner which called forth the admiration from all present' and commended the Club for treating its guests 'with the courtesy characteristic of their nationality.' The

¹⁴³ Club Lusitano, *Memoria dos festejos*, 91.

¹⁴⁴ Club Lusitano, *Memoria dos festejos*, 91, 94, 53.

¹⁴⁵ Club Lusitano, *Memoria dos festejos*, 52, 53, 57.

newspaper further called the middle-class Macanese present in the event as the 'principal' members of the community in Hong Kong.¹⁴⁶ Through the event, Club Lusitano gained publicity and affirmed its leadership role of the Macanese community in Hong Kong, acknowledged not only by the Governor, but also by the telegram received from Lisbon and the coverage of the local press.

The tercentenary commemoration exemplified the versatility of race, particularly in mixed race communities, and the function of club space in the construction of public identities. The Macanese, being Luso-Asian, Portuguese nationals in a British colony, rekindled their Portuguese roots without having actual political affiliation to Portugal. Apart from Marques, the rest of the event's committee had not set foot in Portugal, and furthermore, did not display any sort of orientation towards political parties in the country. Instead, the Macanese made an effort to show an interest and affinity towards Portuguese culture, imagining and creating their roles as descendants of Camões and torchbearers of the Portuguese language and culture in Asia through the public sphere. Moreover, it was also through the Club that the middle-class Macanese united and collectively established a respectable 'Portuguese' image for the community, as well as publicly showcasing an amicable relationship with the British administration and the colony's prominent public figures. By 1880, Club Lusitano had successfully consolidated itself as the center of Macanese social life in the Far East, built on the acknowledgment of British officials, the local press and in this occasion, recognition from Lisbon.¹⁴⁷ The absence of other associations during this period perhaps played a role in the consolidation of the Club as a leading Macanese institution in Asia.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ 'Tercentenary of the Poet Camoens,' *Hong Kong Daily Press*, 12 June 1880, 2.

¹⁴⁷ There are no records that show Macau organising a similar celebration in 1880.

¹⁴⁸ Shanghai would only see the emergence of its first Portuguese Club, the *Club Portuguez* (also known as the *Club União*) in 1882 and the Macau Club in the Portuguese colony was formed in the twentieth century. See Wong, *Portuguese in Shanghai* (Macau: Fundação Macau, 2004), 40; Jorge da Silva, *The Portuguese Community in Shanghai* (Macau: Conselho das Comunidades Macaenses, Instituto Internacional de Macau, 2012), 61-62; Philippe Forêt, 'Globalizing Macau: the Emotional Costs of Modernity,' in Fulong Wu (ed.), *Globalization and the Chinese City* (London: Routledge, 2006), 118.

Conclusion

The bourgeois nature of Club Lusitano and its class-exclusivity began to catch the attention of Macanese subjects in the Portuguese colony during the early 1880s. A reader of Macau newspaper, *O Macaense*, observed that Club Lusitano was dominated by the wealthiest Macanese men and suggested reforming its organizational structure. The reader proposed that the Board must be elected without making a distinction between shareholders and subscribers, allowing non-shareholders the opportunity to become directors of the Club. The Club remained an assembling point for middle-class Macanese men and continued to operate as a leading 'Portuguese' institution in the colony. When diplomats from Portugal, Brazil or Macau visited Hong Kong, the Club took the initiative to host their visits.¹⁴⁹ In 1908, for instance, Brazilian naval officers who stopped by Hong Kong were welcomed by a formal reception of three hundred at Club Lusitano. The local newspapers reported on the reception, highlighting the Club's generosity of providing the Brazilian officers with a feast, dancing, card games and drinking and remarking that these guests preferred the 'the mellow flavour of a genuine "Scotch" to the mild champagne or claret cup in the buffet.'¹⁵⁰

Through the formation and consolidation of Club Lusitano, this chapter revealed the linkage and interaction between race, class and gender within associational worlds in the colony. In the case of the Macanese, the associational world worked as a public platform that allowed middle-class Macanese men to transgress the limits of being Macanese in a British colony and emerge as respectable leaders, loyal to the administration, and representing Portugal in Hong Kong. Although Club Lusitano was not involved in the Jubilee celebrations, the Macanese showed support by illuminating their buildings during the 1897 Diamond Jubilee. Of the event, the local newspaper reported that Noronha & Co.'s premises were 'handsomely illuminated,' the Portuguese Consul's residence was 'very prettily illuminated with gas and lanterns,' and Club Lusitano 'looked exceedingly

¹⁴⁹ De Sá, *The Boys From Macau*, 87-88, 85.

¹⁵⁰ 'Reception At Club Lusitano: Brazilian Naval Officers Entertained,' *Hongkong Telegraph*, 10 August 1908, 4.

well.¹⁵¹ As Austin Coates remarked, the majority of the Macanese in the colony were stuck as clerks, being non-Protestant, non-Freemason and not really European, but a small number of 'professional men' established themselves 'natural leaders' of their community.¹⁵² This status was achieved by barring lower-class Macanese from entering the Club. Its members then showcased a middle-class lifestyle by adopting British club culture and masculinity, and initiating activities that the public deemed 'middle class.' Club Lusitano also widened its influence and public visibility by engaging with other public spheres. These included British-dominated sports such as racing, which brought Club members into the prestigious grandstand in race week while their lower-class counterparts stayed in crowded matsheds. The Club further participated in and organised philanthropic activities to boost its social presence, not only in Hong Kong, but also in other port-cities. In Shanghai, the *North China Herald* reported on the charity of the Club and its role in leading the Macanese of Hong Kong and Shanghai to participate in acts of charity.

Finally, members of Club Lusitano established themselves as 'European Portuguese' through the 1880 tercentenary commemoration of Camões. By responding to an initiative that was started in Lisbon, the event allowed Club Lusitano to construct a cultural link with Portugal and emphasise the 'Portuguese' side of the Macanese. The uniqueness of Club Lusitano and the Macanese lay in the fact that they did not have actual political affiliation to Portugal, yet they succeeded in deploying Portuguese culture as a currency in gaining the recognition of the British administration, the local press and other public figures as the leading institution in Hong Kong that was related to Portuguese affairs. During the commemoration, the Macanese encouraged Portuguese language education in the colony and to achieve this, Anglo-Portuguese collaboration. Although the tercentenary commission in Lisbon was formed to support the Republican cause, Club Lusitano made no reference to the political party throughout the event. Distant from Portugal and living in a British colony, the 1880 commemoration revealed how club space can be used as a

¹⁵¹ 'The Illuminations,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 25 June 1897, 3.

¹⁵² Coates, 'Rizal in Hongkong,' 4-8.

platform in the reconstruction of racial identities for mixed race subjects and furthermore, in bridging the colonised population with the colonisers. Without club space, these bourgeois Macanese men would have otherwise not been visible to the public eye and belonged to the office spaces of the colonial government and foreign firms in subordinate positions. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Club continued to strive as a 'home' to middle-class Macanese men in Hong Kong, in particular, Anglophile Macanese subjects. The next chapter will focus on these Anglophile men and how they, in a continually changing Hong Kong, played their part in further transforming the Macanese community and constructing a new civic identity in the British colony.

Chapter Four

'Hong Kong' Macanese

The “good old days” when might was right have happily passed away, never, it is to be hoped, to return, and justice is, especially throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire, dispensed with due regard to the common rights of all mankind, and with the important fact ever in view that “the labourer is worthy of his hire,” be alien, native, or true-born Briton.

J.P. Braga, *The Rights of Aliens in Hong Kong*, 1895

By the late nineteenth century, Hong Kong's second-generation Macanese migrants began to show features of British influence and a consciousness of belonging to the British colony. Born and educated in Hong Kong, this generation marked the initial rise of a new group of Macanese subjects who were outspoken on Hong Kong's social issues and became increasingly involved with local politics. In contrast, Macanese advocates from the previous generation voiced their opinion on the future of the 'Portuguese' race and worked to spread European intellectual debates to the Macanese communities in Hong Kong and Macau. Through the narratives of Dr. Lourenço Pereira Marques, José Pedro Braga and Leo Horácio d'Almada e Castro (hereafter D'Almada), this chapter focuses on three generations of Macanese public intellectuals between the 1880s and 1930s. Their cases will highlight the identity transitions amongst Anglophile Macanese, in relation to the rise of an Anglophile identity during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, shared by a growing population of English-educated Asians in Hong Kong.¹ These three men held British nationality through naturalisation. Furthermore, they received an English education. This chapter argues that middle-class second and third-generation Macanese migrants consciously constructed an identity that was neither British nor Portuguese but

¹ Leo will be referred to as D'Almada, so as not to confuse with Leonardo d'Almada e Castro and in relation to his Chinese names, which is pronounced in Cantonese as 'Liu Alei Mada' 廖阿利孖打 or 'Liu Amada' 廖亞孖打.

one that consisted different levels of both and carried an affinity to the colony, contributing to the shaping of civil society in colonial Hong Kong.

This chapter will start with an exploration of Marques's vision of building a progressive Portuguese community in Hong Kong and Macau through advocating Social Darwinism. As a first-generation Anglophile Macanese settler, Marques saw himself as 'Portuguese,' and worked to disseminate European ideas through the Lusophone sphere. This section will argue that Marques was a 'public man' who translated, revised and disseminated Social Darwinism in Hong Kong and Macau, stimulating restricted dialogue with a small group of literate Portuguese-speaking Macanese. The second section will focus on the emergence of an Anglophone public sphere in Asia's port-cities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and outline Braga's efforts to bring discourses of internationalism into the colony. The rise of vernacular language and inter-ethnic organisations also allowed Braga to make collaborative initiatives with other like-minded Anglophile non-Britons in echoing emerging post-First World War ideas of racial equality and world peace in Hong Kong. In the final section, I will use D'Almada's personal letters from Oxford and his role in the Kowloon Residents' Association (KRA) and initiatives in the Legislative Council to show the fluidity of Hong Kong's civic identity. This civic identity was built beyond the shackles of ethnic difference and colour lines, and constructed upon a common interest in further developing Hong Kong as a British colony and a 'home' to local-born and domiciled non-Britons. Altogether, this chapter will position these three Macanese figures in the framework of a burgeoning civil society and explore the interaction between discourses of internationalism, civic responsibility and loyalty to the colonial government.

Studies that focus on the emergence of civil societies in nineteenth-century Asian colonies have highlighted the involvement of indigenous advocates in stimulating and disseminating intellectual debates that originated from Europe,

specifically at a time before the widespread use of print media.² Studying colonial North India, Chris Bayly termed indigenous advocates as ‘public men’ who were active in the ‘indigenous public sphere,’ a space he called the ‘Indian ecumene.’³ These men appropriated and revised the liberal ideologies of their colonisers to critique colonialism and advocated ideas of equality. Such debates, however, were restricted within public men from the Indian population, written in the Urdu language, which was ‘the public tongue’ of the ecumene and spread through personal and institutional letter writing, as well as debates in druggists’ stalls and sweetshops.⁴ By the late nineteenth century, Indian public men turned to responding, refuting and re-casting intellectual arguments originating from Britain.⁵ They refined the works of British writers according to local developments and spoke to an indigenous audience, without the intention of striking an actual conversation with the European writers. These public men sought to establish their authority over Indian debates and as ‘public moralists,’ disseminate European ideas for the purpose of prompting moral imperatives in the local context.⁶

By the early twentieth century, inter-port ‘dialogue’ emerged between Asian colonies with the rise of transnational organisations and an Anglophone sphere. A transnational associational culture mushroomed during the interwar years, creating a new level of interconnectedness between people from different ethnic backgrounds and place of origin.⁷ Associations like Rotary clubs had multiracial

² Christopher A. Bayly, ‘Rammohun Roy and the Advent of Constitutional Liberalism in India, 1800-1830,’ *Modern Intellectual History*, 25-41; Elena Valdemari, ‘The Influence of Liberalism in the Definition of the Idea of the Nation in India,’ *La Révolution française* 8 (2015).

³ Bayly, *Empire and Information*, 180-211.

⁴ C.A. Bayly, ‘The Indian Ecumene: An Indigenous Public Sphere,’ in David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (eds.), *The Book History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2002), 175, 179-180.

⁵ Bayly, *Recovering Liberties*, 188-213.

⁶ Bayly, *Recovering Liberties*, 188-189. For the idea of ‘public moralist,’ see Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850-1930* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991). For another work on public moralists in Asian colonies, see Mohinder Singh, ‘Spectres of the West: Negotiating a Civilizing Figure in Hindi,’ in Margrit Pernau, et. al. (eds.), *Civilizing Emotions: Concepts in Nineteenth-Century Asia and Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 193-194.

⁷ See Andrew Arsan, Su Lin Lewis and Anne-Isabelle Richard, ‘Editorial- The Roots of Global Civil Society and the Interwar Moment,’ *Journal of Global History* 7, no. 2 (2012), 157-165; Sumit Mandal, ‘Transethnic Solidarities, Racialization and Social Equality,’ in Edmund Terence Gomez (ed.), *The State of Malaysia: Ethnicity, Equity and Reform* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2004), 49-78.

memberships and advocated civic sensibility amongst middle-class professionals, allowing them a social space to shape the public sphere and challenge existing hierarches that were defined by race.⁸ Through emerging inter-ethnic associations, middle-class men and women collectively utilised the Anglophone public sphere to form new, ambiguous identities that were beyond the demarcations of race. This resulted in the construction of various identifications, including a 'global' consciousness amongst members of civil associations, a 'domiciled identity' amongst Straits Chinese in Singapore and a 'global Chinese' identity in Straits Chinese figures like Lim Boon Keng.⁹ These new identities were shaped, in different levels, by discourses of 'internationalism' and universal ideas such as liberalism and equality. As internationalism came to be incorporated into local discourses, local and/or regional tension arose in interwar Britain, colonial India and postwar Asia, particularly in resistant discourses that were anti-colonial and suggestive of new national identities.¹⁰ Partha Chatterjee, for instance, revealed how the discourse of 'internationalism' used in nation building conflicted with the 'internationalism' of empire in early twentieth century India.¹¹

This body of literature shows the blurring of ethnic lines that resulted from the expansion of the Anglophone public sphere and the emergence of various forms of collective consciousness marked by shared interests and vernacular language. Through these new forms of association, local, colonial, and in some cases, national, and global public spheres came to be interconnected.¹² The local

⁸ Lewis, 'Rotary International's "Acid Test": Multi-ethnic Associational Life in 1930s Southeast Asia', *Journal of Global History*, 7, 2 (2012): 302-24.

⁹ John A. Hall and Frank Trentmann, 'Contests over Civil Society: Introductory Perspectives,' in John Hall and Frank Trentmann (eds.), *Civil Society: A Reader in History, Theory and Global Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), 2, 3; Harper, 'Globalism and the Pursuit of Authenticity'; Chua, 'The Domiciled Identity in Colonial Singapore,' 145-154; Frost, 'Transcultural Diaspora,' 35.

¹⁰ See Helen McCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship and Internationalism, c. 1918-45* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011); Emily Baughan, 'Every Citizen of Empire Implored to Save the Children!': Empire, Internationalism and the Save the Children Fund in inter-war Britain,' *Historical Research*, 86, no. 231 (2012), 116-37; Sunil S. Amrith, 'Asian Internationalism: Bandung's Echo in a Colonial Metropolis,' *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 6, no. 4 (2005), 557-569.

¹¹ Partha Chatterjee, 'Nationalism, Internationalism and Cosmopolitanism: Some Observations from Modern Indian History,' *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 36, no. 2 (2016), 320-334

¹² Arsan, Lewis and Richard, 'Editorial- The Roots of Global Civil Society,' 159.

establishment of international organisations, for instance, provided members with a sense of belonging to global networks of association, all the while staying involved in local life.¹³ The focus of the existing literature on the rise of global civil societies has emphasised the activities of transnational organisations, overshadowing the individual experience of constructing and engaging with civic identities. The limited body of studies on individual cases has emphasised the reappraisal of ethnic identities in relation to local and global concerns. Daniel Goh, for instance, pointed out that, a Straits Chinese Legislative Council member in 1930s colonial Singapore, Lim Cheng Ean, publicly articulated Confucianism to shape a transcultural identity that allowed Straits Chinese ‘elites’ to become ‘cosmopolitan avatars’ and leading authorities in constructing Singapore’s multiculturalism.¹⁴ As opposed to connecting with Portuguese cultural markers, the Macanese constructed civic identities by emphasising their strong sense of belonging to colonial Hong Kong and thus, deviating from their ‘ethnic’ identities.

Two of the Anglophile Macanese I will tackle in this chapter, Braga and D’Almada, offer an alternative narrative to the rise of civic identity. Instead of working on and deploying their Portuguese roots, these two men prided themselves on being colonial-born subjects of ‘British’ naturalisation, and actively fought for the welfare of the less privileged in Hong Kong through the press and later on, by using their roles in the Legislative Council. It should be noted that these men did not deliberately conceal nor augment their Macanese roots, remaining socially associated with the Macanese community. Braga was a member of Club Lusitano and D’Almada served as president of Club Lusitano and the recreation-centered Club de Recreio. Influenced by their multicultural upbringing in a British colony and their English education in Hong Kong and later, in Calcutta and Oxford respectively, these Macanese upheld universal ideas in expressing their ‘local’ sense of belonging to the colony. Both Braga and D’Almada aimed their use of discourses in internationalism at resolving local issues. By examining three cases

¹³ John Keane, *Global Civil Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 25.

¹⁴ Daniel P.S. Goh, ‘Eyes Turned towards China: Postcolonial Mimicry, Transcultural Elitism and Singapore Chineseness,’ in Daniel P.S. Goh, Matilda Gabrielillai, Philip Holden and Gaik Cheng Khoo, (eds.), *Race and Multiculturalism in Malaysia and Singapore* (London: Routledge, 2009), 53-54.

across a span of sixty years, this chapter will argue that the acquisition of British nationality and shifts in associational networking from ethnic to inter-ethnic within Hong Kong's civil society led to the shaping of a new 'Hong Kong' consciousness that allowed middle-class Macanese men to actively and equally participate in the colonial public sphere with other Anglophile non-Britons. This paved the road for a new generation of the Macanese middle-class that was Luso-Asian in descent, yet culturally British, and consciously Hong Kong local.

Marques, the 'public man'

Lourenço Pereira Marques was born to an affluent family in San António, Macau in 1852. Marques was the sixth child of a prominent political figure and solicitor, Comendador Lourenço Caetano Cortela Marques, and Manuel Pereira's daughter, 'Mariquita' Pereira. Marques's father was an attorney in the *Leal Senado* that dealt with Chinese affairs. Marques grew up in a multicultural world. His father often had Chinese visitors at home, the Camões Grotto (Camões Garden). After a visit to the Marques residency in the 1840s, Hunan scholar Wei Yuan 魏源 left a poem documenting a piano performance by one of Comendador Marques's daughter, entitled *Aomen huayuan ting yinü yangqin ge* 澳門花園聽夷女洋琴歌 (Listening to a Foreign Girl Play Piano in the Macau Garden).¹⁵ Marques received education in Macau, Hong Kong and Europe. He began his studies in Macau's Royal College of St. José and later attended medical school in Lisbon. In 1877, he acquired his medical license in Dublin, Ireland, where he became naturalised as a British subject.¹⁶ By this time, he was a Fellow of the Royal Academy of Medicine in Ireland, a member of the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland and a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of Lisbon.¹⁷

¹⁵ Wei Yuan 魏源, *Wei Yuan ji* (魏源集; A Collection of Wei Yuan), vol. 2 (Beijing: Chungwah, 1976), 739-740.

¹⁶ Forjaz, *Familias Macaenses*, vol. II, 1st ed., 566. Marques' naturalisation is documented in three sources: Austin Craig, *Lineage, Life and Labors of Jose Rizal: Philippine Patriot* (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1913), 172; Morais, 'Darwinism, Freemasonry and Print Culture,' 55; Braga, 'Making Impressions,' 225.

¹⁷ Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hongkong*, 807.

In Macau, Marques belonged to a wider network of middle-class professionals (Fig. 12) including António Joaquim Basto, who published a book in 1873 proposing the establishment of a Chinese diplomatic presence in the Portuguese enclave, schoolmaster Joaquim Gil Pereira, and merchant and *Senado* councilor José Vicente Jorge, who later became Consul of Portugal in Siam and the Straits Settlement.¹⁸ After graduating in Dublin, Marques settled in Hong Kong and started a career with the British administration. In 1880, he worked as Acting Assistant Superintendent of the Government Civil Hospital. His arrival coincided with social and political transformations in the colony marked by the rise of Chinese leaders and encouraged by Governor Hennessy's pursuit of racial equality. This included an increasing liberal atmosphere for public debate, particularly between the European community and the Chinese population. While urban elites in Europe read, considered and discussed social and political issues in coffeehouses and salons during the early modern period, Hong Kong's pioneering Chinese urbanites voiced their opinions in the Chinese-language press and through institutional platforms like the Tung Wah Hospital.¹⁹ According to Carl Smith, the appointment of Ng Choy as an unofficial member of the Legislative Council marked 'the most significant step' in facilitating Chinese participation in public matters.²⁰

¹⁸ António Joaquim Bastos, *O future de Macau ou as vantagens que hão de resultar da admissão d'uma delegação da Alfandega Chinezta em Macau* (The Future of Macau or the Advantages that will Result from the Admission of a Chinese Delegation in Macau; Macau: Typographia Mercantil, 1873); *The Hongkong Almanack for 1850*, 71, 41, 74.

¹⁹ Smith, 'The Emergence of a Chinese Elite,' 74-115, Carl T. Smith, *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), 162. See also, Sinn, *Power and Charity*, 82-120.

²⁰ Smith, 'The Emergence of a Chinese Elite in Hong Kong,' 162. See also, Sinn, *Power and Charity*, 82-120.

Fig. 12 Photograph of middle-class Macanese men



This photograph of middle-class Macanese men from the late nineteenth-century was printed on Ana Maria Amaro's book, *Filhos da terra*. It features middle-class Macanese men traveling to an island. Marques is seen on the upper left corner, with António Joaquim Basto on the upper left and at the bottom, Joaquim Gil Pereira.²¹

Notably, Chinese elites showed interest mostly in matters concerning the Chinese community. In the 1870s when the Hong Kong government proposed the abolition of the *mui tsai* system (妹子; literally, 'little sister'), a Chinese practice of buying and selling young girls to servitude in families, Chinese elites from the Tung Wah Hospital such as Fung Ming Shan (馮明珊) led a group of sixty-two Chinese businessmen to petition against it.²² He continued to consciously represent the Chinese community and in September 1880, criticised the City Hall committee, headed by William Keswick, for imposing racial distinction in the opening hours of the City Hall's museum. Ng pointed out that, unknown to the Britons, the Chinese complained bitterly about this in the

²¹ Amaro, *Dadi zhizi*, 59.

²² John Carroll, 'A National Custom: Debating Female Servitude in Late Nineteenth-Century Hong Kong,' *Modern Asian Studies* 43, no. 6 (2009), 1472.

Chinese-language press. He further asked for the City Hall committee to abolish racial and class distinction in the museum.²³ These English-speaking Chinese elites, using their newfound platforms in the Tung Wah Hospital and the Legislative Council, defended the needs of the Chinese community, particularly of the middle class, through active engagement with Hong Kong's social issues.

Unlike the activities of the Chinese elites, Marques did not become involved in public debates regarding local Hong Kong issues, opting to write, to a large extent, in the Portuguese-language and creating a limited 'dialogue' with Macanese professionals.²⁴ He was a 'public man' in the sense that he worked, with fellow Macanese proponents of science and technology, to refine the writings of European intellectuals to a Macanese audience. Using knowledge he had acquired during his stay in Europe, Marques devoted himself in responding to and revising the concept of Social Darwinism, not as an attempt to engage in this wider European debate nor 'speak to' existing proponents of social Darwinism, but as an urge to encourage progress through science in Macanese society. Marques was the first to write extensively about Social Darwinism in the Asian Lusophone sphere, and traced its history and development through the writings of Europeans like Sir Charles Lyell, Jean Baptiste de Lamarck, Friederich Müller and Julius Victor Carus. During the 1880s, he published *Defeza do Darwinismo: Refutacao d'um artigo do Jornal "Catholic Register"* (Defense of Darwinism: Refutation of An Article of the *Catholic Register*) and *A validade do Darwinismo* (The Validity of Darwinism), attempting to strike a local 'dialogue' within the Macanese community in Hong Kong and Macau. Marques was not a Catholic and one study has speculated that he read books on Freemasonry and was connected to the Masonic circles in Hong Kong.²⁵

The Macanese 'debate' on Social Darwinism started with Club Lusitano's decision to include an anonymous letter, in Spanish, which was received as a contribution

²³ 'Speech by Ng Choy at the Legislative Council,' 10 September 1880, CO 129/189, 484, The National Archives, London.

²⁴ Marques quoted French, Spanish, German and English references without Portuguese translation.

²⁵ Morais, 'Darwinism, Freemasonry and Print Culture,' 56.

to the commemorative booklet for the Camões tercentenary celebration. The writer, who was later identified as the rector of the University of Santo Tomas in Manila, took the opportunity to 'protest against the materialistic tendencies of the epoch' and condemned Social Darwinism as a 'ridiculous satire.' The editors of the commemorative booklet, including Marques, expressed their endorsement of Social Darwinism and repudiated the attacks made against science.²⁶ This led to the publication of two editorials on the *Catholic Register* supporting the Spanish rector and one letter in the *China Mail* defending the stance of Club Lusitano. The editor of the *Catholic Register* described Club Lusitano as 'a proof of gross ignorance' and claimed that social Darwinism was but 'insanity and the greatest contradiction.'²⁷ The letter to the *China Mail*, signed by 'The Compiler of the Memoir of the Tricentenary of Camoens,' criticised the *Catholic Register* for failing to 'accept with humility' the place assigned to mankind in the universe.²⁸

This was followed by participation from Macau, marked by a number of publications attacking the members of Club Lusitano and their support for Social Darwinism. These included a pamphlet from Macau lawyer and journalist António Joaquim Bastos, and a published sermon from Canon António Vasconcellos on the First Sunday of Lent in March 1881.²⁹ Fellow advocate of Social Darwinism, and one of the editors of the Camões commemorative booklet, Policarpo da Costa responded to the sermon with a publication. Da Costa criticised the works of anti-scientific writers as 'slavery of mind' and dedicated his writing to 'lovers of progress,' and people who advocated transformation in religious belief and tolerance of scientific progress as a step to establishing

²⁶ Club Lusitano, *Memoria dos festejos*, 83-85; 94.

²⁷ *Catholic Register*, 14 September 1880; *Catholic Register*, 16 September 1880.

²⁸ The Compiler of the Memoir of the Tricentenary of Camoens, "To the Editor of the "China Mail," *The China Mail*, 13 September 1880, 3.

²⁹ António Joaquim Bastos, *A inépcia de uma acção ou uma página para a história dos festejos promovidos em Hong Kong pela Comissão do Tricentenário de Camões* (The Ineptitude of an Action or a Page in the History of the Festivities Promoted in Hong Kong by the Commission of Tercentenary Camões; Macau: Tip, Mercantil, 1880); António Maria Augusto de Vasconcellos, *Sermão pregado na Sé Catedral de Macau na primeira domingo de Quaresma em 6 de Março de 1881, no qual se refutam alguns pontos do sistema darwiniano com referência ao homem e à religião católica* (Sermon Preached at the Cathedral of Macau on the First Sunday of Lent on March 6, 1881, which Refutes some Points of the Darwinian System with Reference to Man and the Catholic Religion; Macau: Typographia Mercantil, 1881).

political order.³⁰ Following these debates, Marques wrote *Defeza do Darwinismo* and *A validade do Darwinismo* as his response to the articles published on the *Catholic Register*.³¹ He completed both works in October 1880, and they were published in Hong Kong for the first time in 1882. Marques criticised the *Catholic Register* for using ‘outdated’ literature, which included writers and philosophers such as Alix, Wibrand, Snell and Toule that he claimed to have never heard of.³²

Apart from responding to the *Catholic Register*, Marques wanted to urge Macanese readers to embrace science and technology as harmoniously co-existing with religion.³³ This was done by using the works of European writers arguing against conflict between the theory of evolution and church principles. He quoted, for instance, St. George Mivart, an English biologist and Roman Catholic who proposed the idea that religious teachings ‘harmonised’ with modern science.³⁴ Adding to this debate through his own knowledge, Marques referred to the writings of a Chinese philosopher and Confucian scholar, Zhu Xi (朱熹). As Marques did not read Chinese, he quoted from Ernest Eitel’s study of *fengshui* and argued that the world evolved from an invisible energy, a spiritual foundation of natural life.³⁵ Marques emphasised, ‘*Vemos portanto que a religião christã não é contra a sciencia*’ (We see that religion is not contradicting to science) and believed that the Macanese community would remain backward in their conservative world unless they changed their belief of science as contradictory to religion and began to accept science and technology as a basis of social progress.³⁶ Marques’s pursuit of a progressive Macanese society was

³⁰ Policarpo da Costa, *Análise do Sermão pregado pelo Reverendíssimo Senhor António Maria Augusto de Vasconcelos, bacharel formado em Teologia pela Universidade de Coimbra, na Sé Catedral de Macau em 6 de Março de 1881*, Hongkong, 1881 (Analysis of the Sermon Preached by Reverend Mr Antonio Maria Augusto de Vasconcelos, Bachelor degree in Theology from the University of Coimbra, etc. in the Cathedral of Macau, on March 6, 1881; Hong Kong: Typographia de Noronha & Ca., 1881); Morais, Darwinism, Freemasonry and Print Culture,’ 63.

³¹ Lourenço Pereira Marques, *Defeza do Darwinismo: refutação d’um artigo do Jornal ‘Catholic Register’* (Defense of Darwinism: Refutation of a Journal Article of ‘Catholic Register;’ Hong Kong: Typographia de Noronha, 1889), 1; Lourenço Pereira Marques, *A validade do Darwinismo* (The Validity of Darwinism; Hong Kong: International Printing Press, 1882), 5.

³² Marques, *Defeza do Darwinismo*, 3.

³³ Marques, *A defeza*, 57-58.

³⁴ Marques, *A validade do Darwinismo*, 22-26; Marques, *A defeza*, 52-55.

³⁵ Marques, *A validade do Darwinismo*, 31-33; for Eitel’s work, see Ernest Eitel, *Feng Shui or the Rudiments of Natural Science in China* (Hong Kong: Trubner & Co., 1873).

³⁶ Marques, *A validade do Darwinismo*, 27.

further reflected in his concerns towards the absence of a public library in Macau.³⁷ During the twentieth century, Marques's private collection of 4,739 books on history, language, religion, science, philosophy and politics from all around the world emerged at a library named 'Dr. Lourenço Pereira Marques Biblioteca' in the Club de Macau.³⁸

For the rest of the 1880s, Marques continued working for the colonial government while actively pursuing professional associations in Hong Kong. He served as Superintendent of the Lock Hospital from 1883 to 1887, and before his retirement, was Assistant Medical Officer at the Victoria Gaol. Marques contributed to the establishment of the Hong Kong College of Medicine for Chinese in 1887 as a member of the Medical Society Committee. He taught as professor of medical jurisprudence at the Hong Kong College of Medicine for Chinese, and there worked with prominent doctors in the colony, such as Dr. Ho Kai (何啟) and Dr. James Cantlie.³⁹ Marques associated himself with other prominent figures in Hong Kong. He often joined Delfino Noronha at his dinner table, where liberal discussions regarding social and political issues took place with Noronha's grandson José Pedro Braga, next-door neighbour, Filipino revolutionary and Freemason José Rizal, exiled Filipino revolutionary José Maria Basa, and 'scandalous' and outspoken founder of the *Hongkong Telegraph* Robert Fraser-Smith.⁴⁰ Marques formed a friendship with José Rizal. In a note from Marques to Rizal in 1892, Marques called the Filipino 'a dear friend' and offered him a 'Portuguese' dish of poultry in ginger and pepper broth that he had cooked.⁴¹ He also took Rizal to his work place at the Victoria Gaol, which resulted

³⁷ Marques, *A validade do Darwinismo*, v.

³⁸ Club de Macau, *Catálogo da Bibliotéca Dr. Lourenço Pereira Marques* (Macau: Tip. Mercantil de N.T. Fernandes e Filhos, 1924).

³⁹ Christopher Haffner, *The Craft in the East* (Hong Kong: District Grand Lodge of Hong Kong and the Far East, 1977), 52.

⁴⁰ 'Jack Braga to Austin Coates,' 18 November 1969, MS 4300/3.8/1, J.M. Braga Papers, National Library of Australia, Canberra; Austin Coates, *Rizal, Philippine Nationalist and Martyr* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1968), 213, 216. For Rizal's involvement with Freemasonry, see Reynaldo S. Fajardo, *Dimasalang: The Masonic Life of D. Jose Rizal* (Pangasinan: CMN Printing Co., Inc., 1999);

⁴¹ I only came across a version of the letter, dated April 18, 1892, that has been translated to Tagalog. See *Mga sinulat ni Rizal: Pakikipagsulatan sa iba't ibang tao, ikalawang tomo* (The Writings of Rizal: Correspondence with Various People, vol. II; Manila: Mga Lathalain ng Pambansang Komisyon ng Iksasandaang Taón ni José Rizal, 1961), 142.

in Rizal's reflections on the woes of the Spanish prison system in his essay '*Una visita a la Victoria Gaol*' (A Visit to The Victoria Gaol).⁴²

Although Marques's publications in Social Darwinism failed to stir another round of 'dialogue' within the Macanese community, he nonetheless represented a limited number of first-generation Macanese settlers who utilised the British colony as a space to develop their intellectual thoughts and encourage members of their community to pursue progress and change. Marques was a 'public man' of the late nineteenth century, involving himself not only in restricted 'dialogues' between Hong Kong and Macau, but also in refining European intellectual trends with local Chinese knowledge and the Portuguese language for the purpose of urging the Macanese to step out of what he believed to be their conservative ways and into a world of larger possibilities. He was a 'public moralist,' in Stefan Collini's description, formally educated, financially secure and writing about political and social issues with 'moral sensibilities.'⁴³ Austin Coates remarked that Marques's long association with British people and culture had made him impatient with the Macanese.⁴⁴ His writings, however, have shown that he actively used his interest in and knowledge of European intellectual trends to uncover problems within Macanese society. Notably, his concerns were solely for the future of the Macanese community.

Marques's efforts in advocating Social Darwinism and the debates that emerged further showed the role of Hong Kong in the dissemination of European intellectual trends. Sun Yat-sen learned about Social Darwinism under his mentor, Dr. Cantlie, during his time at the Hong Kong College of Medicine in the late 1880s. In the Mainland, Chinese urban literati like Yan Fu (嚴復) only began to incorporate the theory of evolution into their writings in the late 1890s and more widely, during the early twentieth century as a response to the decline of

⁴² José P. Rizal, 'A Visit to Victoria Gaol,' in José P. Rizal, National Heroes Commission (ed.), *Miscellaneous Writings of Dr. Jose Rizal* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1992), 145-148.

⁴³ Collini, *Public Moralists*, 255, 2.

⁴⁴ Coates, 'Rizal in Hong Kong,' 291.

the Qing government and later, of the Chinese nation.⁴⁵ Due the presence of polyglot migrants like Marques, Hong Kong emerged as a ground, not only for the dissemination of European intellectual trends, but also of the reconsideration of these ideas through a local lens. Furthermore, the debate on Social Darwinism revealed Hong Kong as a space that facilitated inter-port ‘dialogue,’ as well as a liberal space for writing and discussing ideas. José Rizal took advantage of the colony’s liberal atmosphere and wrote ten essays in Hong Kong, including the *Constitution of La Liga Filipina* and criticism of the Dominican friars in the Philippines during his short stay between 1891 and 1892. In February 1892, the *Hongkong Telegraph* printed a letter from Rizal, disguised under the name ‘Philippino,’ on the cruelty of the Dominican order and the sufferings of lower-class Filipinos.⁴⁶

Hong Kong, as a space for discussions on emerging social issues, would see expansion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Inter-ethnic debates began to form through the use of English as vernacular language. As I will show in the next section, Hong Kong-born Anglophile Macanese subjects like José Pedro Braga deployed Hong Kong’s Anglophone print culture to voice their concerns towards racial injustice in the colony. Through his publication, *The Rights of Aliens in Hong Kong*, Braga wrote in the English language and revealed prejudice towards Macanese workers that had been latent for decades by then. By the twentieth century, Braga collaborated with other Eurasian subjects in trying to eliminate social inequalities and entered the Legislative Council as the first ‘Portuguese’ unofficial member. His public pursuits and civic initiatives during this period will help to highlight a transformation in the public engagement of Macanese men in the colony. While Marques was busy writing for a Lusophone audience and envisioning a progressive future for the Macanese,

⁴⁵ Harold Z. Schiffrin, *Sun Yat-Sen and Origins of the Chinese Revolution* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), 29; Yan Fu 嚴復 was one of the first intellectuals in China to discuss Social Darwinism. He translated Thomas Huxley’s *Evolution and Ethics* around 1896 in a publication entitled *Tianyan lun, yili shu* 天言論・譯例言 (Preface to *Evolution and Ethics*). See also, Benjamin Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West* (London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1983), 43.

⁴⁶ Philippino, ‘Justice in the Philippines,’ *The Hongkong Telegraph*, 15 February 1892, 3.

Braga demonstrated wider concerns aimed at bettering local society, particularly for the under-represented and the lower classes.

Braga, *Filho de* (son of) Hong Kong

José Pedro de Noronha Braga was born in Hong Kong in 1871. His father Vicente Emílio Braga, mentioned in chapter two, left the family in the early 1870s and established a successful career in Osaka.⁴⁷ As a child, Braga attended the Italian Convent School, a Catholic institution for educating European children and the Roman Catholic St. Joseph's College, which offered English education to Macanese boys. His grandfather, Delfino Noronha secured British naturalisation for him, and sent him off to a prestigious English school in Calcutta where he attended St. Xavier's College, a reputable institution attended by mostly English boys and some well-to-do Bengalis.⁴⁸ He later transferred to Roberts College, an affiliate of the Calcutta University, where he fared well and came top of the university entrance class.⁴⁹ Born and raised in the British colony, this generation of Macanese youths became associated with a new British identity.⁵⁰ Some public leaders perceived them as British subjects. Governor Hennessy, for instance, stated at an 1880 prize-distribution event that he perceived the Portuguese youth in Hong Kong 'as British subjects, because although they are of the Portuguese race, they have been born in the Colony.' He suggested that the 'Portuguese youth' strengthen their English learning, so that they may grow up as 'British subjects' entitled to take part in public affairs and other leading mercantile positions.⁵¹ Businessman and philanthropist Emanuel Belilios spoke of his vision that in the near future, this generation of Macanese would be able to

⁴⁷ Roy S. Hanashiro, *Thomas William Kinder and the Japanese Imperial Mint, 1868-1875* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 166.

⁴⁸ Braga, 'Making Impressions,' 203.

⁴⁹ Roberts College, *Distribution of Prizes at the Dalhousie Institute on the 15th March 1890* (Calcutta: Catholic Orphan Press, 1890), MS 4300/80, J.M. Braga Papers, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

⁵⁰ According to Braga's statistics, in 1881, there were 511 'Portuguese' boys and 384 'Portuguese' men in Hong Kong and in 1891, the numbers were 563 'Portuguese' men and 374 'Portuguese' boys. The larger number of boys in 1881 was a result of the destructive typhoon of Macau in 1874. For this, see J.P. Braga, 'The Alien Question,' *The Hongkong Telegraph*, 2 September 1895, 3.

⁵¹ *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 11 February 1880, 150.

independently manage their own staff of Chinese clerks without the assistance of European heads.

Braga's 'British' upbringing exemplified the way many first-generation Macanese migrants cultivated their children. Learning English was a crucial step, as it determined the Macanese youth's competence in employment within the colony. Throughout the 1880s, the colonial government devoted efforts to promoting and improving English education by subsidising English schools and establishing prizes in English for outstanding students, distributed by the Governor.⁵² This was felt not only in the enrollment of Macanese children in English schools, but also of Chinese children, particularly of the 'well-to-do class.'⁵³ In 1888, 191 Macanese children attended St. Joseph's College while 211 others attended three Portuguese schools that offered 'European education' in the Portuguese language.⁵⁴ The Education Report for that year remarked on the imminent demand amongst Macanese families for English-language education, particularly in consideration of their children's future employment. It argued that, 'Too many Portuguese parents, who speak Portuguese, only send their boys when 6 years old, to an English School and insist upon their being hurried as quickly as possible through Standard after Standard,' resulting in 'mere smatters in English... and systematic hot-house training' that stunted higher mental and moral development.⁵⁵ Chinese students, on the other hand, were 'intelligent, docile and painstaking,' advancing in five or six years their knowledge of English 'from the alphabet to a knowledge of English sufficient to do a creditable paper on a play of Shakespeare' in a short five or six years.⁵⁶

Braga wanted to travel to England and become a barrister, but returned to Hong Kong in 1889 to help his grandfather run Noronha & Sons. It was within and under Noronha & Sons that Braga published, in 1895, *The Rights of Aliens in*

⁵² *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 11 February 1880, 152, 144.

⁵³ *Supplement to the Hongkong Government Gazette of 21st April, 1888*, 21 April 1888, 403.

⁵⁴ 'The Educational Report for 1888,' *Hong Kong Sessional Papers 1889* (Hong Kong: Noronha & Co., 1889), 113, 101.

⁵⁵ 'The Educational Report for 1888, Presented to the Legislative Council, by Command of His Excellency the Governor,' *Hongkong Government Gazette*, 11 February 1889, 102.

⁵⁶ 'Annual Report of the Head Master of the Victoria College for 1889,' *Hongkong Government Gazette*, 10 January 1890, 220.

Hongkong, a 127-page pamphlet including a photograph of ex-Governor Hennessy and Braga's opinions regarding a series of letters printed in *The Hongkong Telegraph*, *The China Mail*, *Daily Press*, and weeklies from Macau, *O Extremo Oriente* and *Macaense* that discussed the employment of Macanese clerks in Hong Kong. These letters appeared after the *Government Gazette* published a report revealing that more than fifty registered letters, mostly from the Straits Settlements, had gone missing after reaching the colony's Post Office in the previous year.⁵⁷ As a response, a writer to the *Hongkong Telegraph* questioned the employment of 'rascally Portuguese' when 'There [were] thousands of hungry but *honest* clerks at home, and good Englishmen everywhere.'⁵⁸ Supporting the idea of employing Britons to replace the Macanese, another resident wrote to *The China Mail*, '...we are under the British flag and in a British Colony, and under what is supposed to be a British Government, every department should be administered by Britishers, from the highest to the lowest grade.'⁵⁹ The question of lack of trust in Macanese workers was evident in the debate. One writer suggested carrying out an 'anti-Portuguese crusade' to dispense of all Macanese labour, while another, whose letter was not included in the pamphlet, explained that as Eurasians, Macanese workers were 'machine[s] without anything intellectual.'⁶⁰

Braga joined the debate and wrote to the editor of *The Hongkong Telegraph* in late August 1895. He maintained that, according to the Duke of Newcastle's dispatch in August 25, 1862, children of foreigners born in the British colony possessed the character, rights and privileges of British subjects within and outside Hong Kong.⁶¹ Braga argued that the greatness of the British empire and the success of British colonial administration resulted from the liberal treatment

⁵⁷ 'Arthur K. Travers,' 6 June 1895, *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 17 August 1895, 899.

⁵⁸ Another Victim, 'Wanted: A Sherlock Holmes for Hongkong,' *The Hongkong Telegraph*, 27 August 1895, 3.

⁵⁹ One More Victim, 'Hongkong Post Office,' *The China Mail*, 29 August 1895, 3.

⁶⁰ Nepenther, 'Tit for Tat,' *The Hongkong Telegraph*, 28 August 1895, 3; N.R., 'The "Portuguese,"' *The China Mail*, 5 September 1895, 3.

⁶¹ J.P. Braga, 'The Rights of Aliens in the British Empire,' *The Hongkong Telegraph*, 30 August 1895, 2. For Newcastle's notice, see 'Government Notification No. 110,' *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 1 November 1862, 290.

of these 'aliens.'⁶² Both Braga's letter to the newspaper and *The Rights of Aliens* upheld British practices and the Hong Kong government in criticising writers who were against the public employment of the Macanese. In the pamphlet, he praised Governors MacDonnell, Hennessy and Robinson for supporting the employment of Macanese and Chinese civil servants and referred to critics as opposed to 'the letter and spirit of British law and a proper sense of British justice' that the colonial government had been practising.⁶³ Braga wanted to seek justice for local-born non-Britons like himself, and emphasised that, as long-term residents, they deserved equal opportunities in the colony. He wrote, '... being domiciled in the country we spend herein all our earnings, and our savings ... We spend our lives here, and in every probability future generations will do the same.'⁶⁴ Notably, Braga's pursuit of equality invoked an internationalism that fell in line with the internationalism of the empire, which affirmed principles of freedom and equality. He criticised writers who were against the employment of Macanese people but praised the colonial government as liberal and just.

Braga's letter encouraged others to step out in support of the Macanese community. One writer called him 'a defender of the Portuguese community of Hong Kong' and thanked him for speaking out on behalf of the Macanese.⁶⁵ The editor of *The Hongkong Telegraph*, responding to Braga's letter, expressed agreement that Macanese residents, whether naturalised or not, had 'no more and *certainly no less* right to employment' than people from other communities. Although the editor condemned the display of 'race prejudice' and 'colour prejudice' amongst Englishmen, he observed that the overcrowding of Macanese workers in the market nonetheless triggered the debate.⁶⁶ The editor asked Braga to suggest a remedy, consistent with the policy of free trade, to resolve the situation, to which Braga made three proposals, including technical education, the establishment of an association or guild for the promotion of the interests

⁶² Braga, 'The Rights of Aliens in the British Empire,' *The Hongkong Telegraph*, 30 August 1895, 2.

⁶³ Braga, *The Rights of Aliens*, xviii-xix, xxxvi.

⁶⁴ Braga, 'The Rights of Aliens in the British Empire,' *The Hongkong Telegraph*, 30 August 1895, 2.

⁶⁵ Your Humble Servant, 'Mr. Braga's Letter,' *The Hongkong Telegraph*, 31 August 1895, 2.

⁶⁶ 'The Alien Question,' *The Hongkong Telegraph*, 31 August 1895, 2.

and welfare of its members, and expatriation to other cities for the Macanese.⁶⁷ Another echoed Braga's claim that Macanese interests were inseparable from the colony's welfare, stressing the community's loyalty to the Hong Kong government. The resident wrote that the Portuguese had historically fought side by side with English soldiers in the Peninsular War and emphasised that if foreign enemies invaded Hong Kong, the Macanese would rally around the British flag to protect their homes.⁶⁸

Braga's participation in the debate caught the attention of not only Macau's Portuguese-language newspapers, but also of the *Siam Free Press*, the articles of which were reprinted in *The Rights of Aliens in Hongkong. Extremo Oriente* reprinted Braga's advice to *The Hongkong Telegraph* on its issue dated September 7. The editor pointed out that contrary to Braga's opinion, the Macanese did not lack technical skills, but instead, needed to learn from the Portuguese dentists, veterinarians, goldsmiths, tailors, bakers, and shoemakers in the Portuguese community of Honolulu, who were engaged in various professions.⁶⁹ The editor blamed the Hong Kong government for abusing the increasing competitiveness of the employment market by reducing wages and the missionaries and English schools for educating Chinese and non-Britons of other races, resulting in stiff competition for the Macanese.⁷⁰ *Echo Macaense*, on the other hand, described Braga as a 'hopeful youngster' and commended his advice to widen the professional expertise of the Macanese youth in the colony.⁷¹ The *Siam Free Press* weighed in on the debate, referring to it as one of Hong Kong's 'periodical fits of Jingoism which generally takes the shape of a denunciation of all aliens.' The newspaper stated that Hong Kong owed much of its development and wealth to foreign labour and asked, 'can Hongkong do without the aliens?'⁷²

⁶⁷ 'The Alien Question,' *The Hongkong Telegraph*, 31 August 1895, 2; Braga, 'The Alien Question,' *The Hongkong Telegraph*, 2 September 1895, 3.

⁶⁸ An Old Resident, 'The Portuguese,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 9 September 1895, 2.

⁶⁹ *Extremo Oriente*, 7 September 1895, reprinted in Braga, *The Rights of Aliens*, 65.

⁷⁰ *Extremo Oriente*, 7 September 1895, reprinted in Braga, *The Rights of Aliens*, 62, 64.

⁷¹ 'A questão dos estrangeiros em Hongkong' (The Question of Aliens in Hongkong,' *Echo Macaenses*, 11 September 1895, reprinted in Braga, *The Rights of Aliens*, 67, 70.

⁷² Reprinted in Braga, *The Rights of Aliens*, 75-76.

Using an Anglophone public platform and his knowledge of European ideas and practices, Braga's engagement in social debate and pursuit of equality in the colony reached a wider audience than Marques's, triggering further debate inside and outside Hong Kong. Unlike Marques, Braga was local-born and showed interest towards colonial issues. He represented a new generation of Anglophile Macanese public intellectuals that supported British practices and the Hong Kong government's activities, envisioning the road to a better colonial society. As a 'public moralist,' Braga advocated racial equality and called for the equal rights of local-born non-Britons. He continued to show his interest towards current issues and local history by editing and publishing his own bi-monthly magazine, *Odds and Ends*.⁷³ The first issue emerged in November 1896, with a message asking for the public to make contributions through photographs and short stories regarding Hong Kong and the Far East.⁷⁴ This issue contained articles that highlighted different facets of Hong Kong society, including the histories of Tung Wah Hospital, printing in the colony, the Chinese drinking game of *chai mei* 猜枚 (Fig. 13), the Chinese-dominated Taiping Shan area and a short story published by Irish author, Justin McCarthy.⁷⁵

⁷³ Published in Noronha & Sons., the commercial magazine featuring advertisements sold at \$1 per copy and allowed readers a yearly subscription of \$5. According to Stuart Braga, it was printed using the latest printing technology then, the third issue printed by half-tone technology. For this, see Braga, 'Making Impressions,' 224.

⁷⁴ 'To our Readers,' *Odds and Ends* 1, no. 1, November 1896, 1-2.

⁷⁵ *Odds and Ends* 1, no. 1, November 1896.

Fig. 13 Odds and Ends



All copies of *Odds and Ends* are stored at the Asian Collections of the National Library of Australia. This one is an illustration from the first issue of *Odds and Ends* (November 1896) entitled “The Chinese Game of “Chai Mei” (猜枚). Yee Chun, a Chinese illustrator and photographer, provided the illustrations for the magazine.⁷⁶

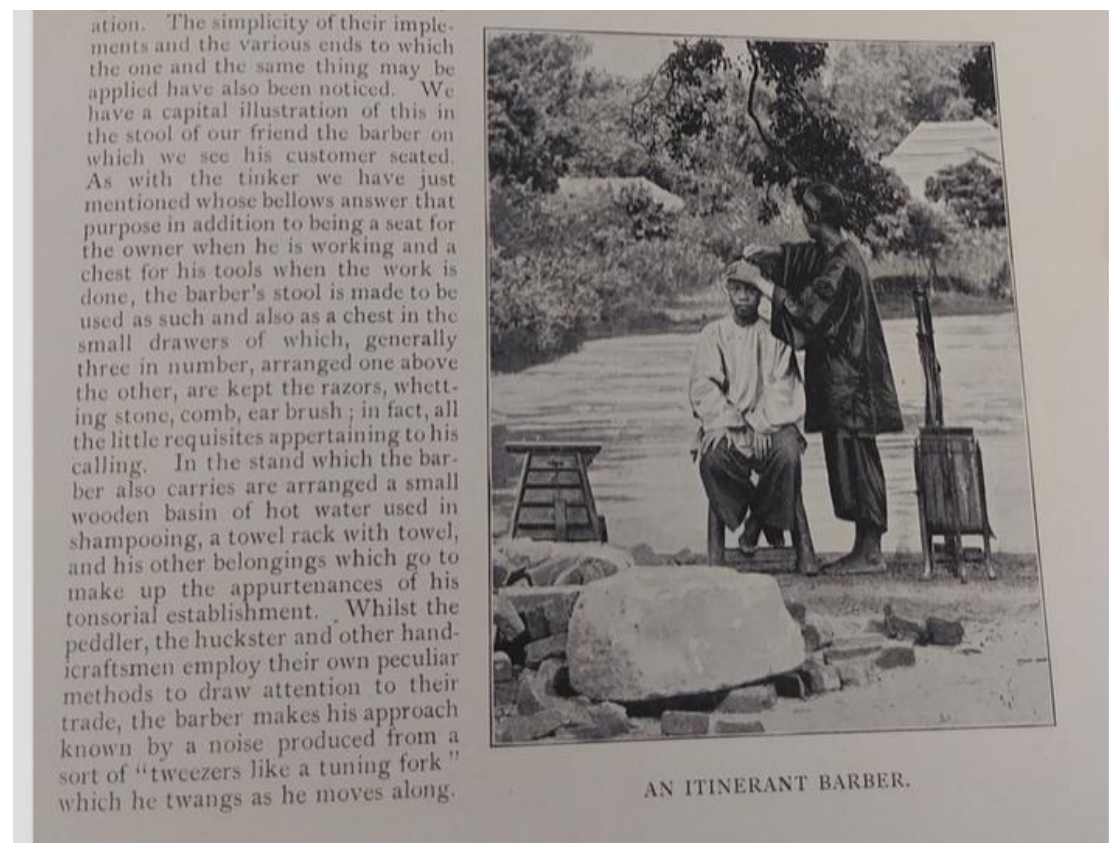
Odds and Ends showed the vibrancy of Hong Kong as a polyglot migrant city, multilingual, multicultural and well connected to neighbouring ports. Braga wrote the articles in English, sometimes supplemented by Chinese terms, and focused on local life and scenery in Hong Kong. Its third issue, for instance, featured an illustrated article on the Gap Rock Lighthouse and the landscapes of Hong Kong and Kowloon.⁷⁷ By its fourth issue, Braga sought to widen the scope of *Odds and Ends* by featuring articles on Tientsin, China (Fig. 14) barbers in the streets of Canton and the late José Rizal’s final poem, *Mi ultimo pensamiento* (My Last Thoughts; more commonly known as *Mi ultimo adios* (My Last Farewell)). Braga received a copy of the newly published *The Straits Chinese Magazine* from

⁷⁶ *Odds and Ends* 1, no. 1 (November 1896), 8.

⁷⁷ ‘The Gap Rock Lighthouse,’ *Odds and Ends* 1, no. 3 (March 1897), 43-45, 49, 51; ‘Hong Kong and Kowloon,’ *Odds and Ends* 1, no. 3, 47-48, 55.

its editors, prominent Straits Chinese leaders, Lim Boon Keng and Song Ong Siang, which was introduced in this issue.⁷⁸ Although *Odds and Ends* only lasted five issues, the magazine reflected Braga's fondness of Hong Kong and his desire for the public to learn more about the colony and its neighbouring cities. Braga paid particular attention to people and culture, and documented snapshots of local history. Five pages of the magazine's last issue were devoted to highlighting Sir William Robinson's colonial career in the West Indies and his achievements as the Governor of Hong Kong.⁷⁹

Fig. 14 *Odds and Ends* article



This article from *Odds and Ends* about barbers in Canton features a photograph from Yee Chun and was printed on page 69 of its fourth issue published 4 May 1897.

⁷⁸ *Odds and Ends* 1, no. 4, (May 1897), 60, 62, 69, 67, 68.

⁷⁹ 'Sir William Robinson, G.C.M.G., A Brief Record of a Long Period of Successful Colonial Administration,' *Odds and Ends* 1, no. 5, August 1897, 73-78.

Delfino Noronha passed away in 1900, resulting in tension within the Braga family with regards to the fate of Noronha & Sons. Due to jealousy and suspicion, the Bragas closed their door on José Pedro Braga.⁸⁰ He ended up as an English teacher in Macau but returned to Hong Kong in 1902. Braga's previous efforts in speaking for racial equality made him known to emerging Eurasian leaders, a link which became useful to him in looking for employment. Eurasian businessman and colonial collaborator, Robert Ho Tung (何東), successfully recommended Braga to the position of managing editor of *The Hongkong Telegraph* between 1902 and 1906.⁸¹ The local newspaper became a limited liability company in 1900 and Ho was one of the principal shareholders seeking to use the newspaper as a platform to publicise the views of Chinese leaders, particularly in support of the Chinese Republican Movement. In 1906, Braga became a journalist for Reuters, but continued working for *The Hongkong Telegraph* until 1910.⁸² In the next decade, he would continue his pursuit of social equality and became involved with local issues through an inter-ethnic group, the League of Fellowship and as the first Macanese unofficial member of the Legislative Council.

The early twentieth century was marked by social transformation in Hong Kong, particularly in the rise of Anglophile Chinese and Eurasian subjects, some educated overseas while others trained in English schools. The colony's first university, the University of Hong Kong, was established in 1911 under Governor Lugard's initiative that the residents of Hong Kong needed 'Western education' taught in English and led by British staff of moral and academic distinction.⁸³ Within the Macanese community, more and more affluent families opted to naturalise their children and send them to schools in England. Being 'British,' in

⁸⁰ Braga, 'Making Impressions,' 228-229.

⁸¹ 'Robert Ho Tung to J.P. Braga,' 15 May 1902, MS 4300/3-1/80/13.1/1, J.M. Braga Papers, National Library of Australia, Canberra; About Robert Ho Tung, see Victor Zheng and Siu-Lin Wong, 'The Mystery of Capital: Eurasian Entrepreneurs' Socio-Cultural Strategies for Commercial Success in Early 20th-Century Hong Kong,' *Asian Studies Review* 34, no. 4 (2010), 467-487.

⁸² Braga was a correspondent for Reuters until 1931. 'Presentation to Braga: Interesting Ceremony at the "Telegraph Office,"' 1 November 1910, *South China Morning Post*, 6; 'Reuter in Hongkong: Hon. Mr. J.P. Braga Resigns Correspondentship after 25 Years,' *South China Morning Post*, 4 September 1931, 10.

⁸³ Frederick Lugard, *Hong Kong University: Objects, History, Present Position and Prospects* (Hong Kong: Noronha, 1910, 4.

education, culture and citizenship, came to be intertwined with further opportunities in life. In 1916, local-born and British naturalised Filomeno Maria de Graça Osório became the first Macanese and the youngest person to be appointed into the Sanitary Board at the age of twenty-four. Osório was educated in St. Joseph's and attended the Hong Kong College of Medicine, graduating from the University of Hong Kong to become a medical practitioner. Osório was on the Sanitary Board for nine years and later served as the President of Club Lusitano.⁸⁴

Becoming a British subject offered a ticket to greater opportunities not only in Hong Kong, but also in Britain. A 1919 naturalisation case for Antonio Hermenegildo de Senna Fernandes Basto, son of José Maria de Castro Basto, then manager of Noronha & Co., revealed that he was applying for naturalisation in order to proceed as an Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) of London.⁸⁵ Born in Macau in 1894, Antonio Hermenegildo Basto lived in Hong Kong from 1903 to 1911 and subsequently moved to London to continue his studies.⁸⁶ Basto acquired naturalisation in 1921, became an Associate of the RIBA and returned to Hong Kong where he worked as an authorised architect.⁸⁷ As more and more non-British residents came to be acquainted with English education and British culture, Anglophile non-Britons found association through emerging common interests, one of them being an interest towards the colony and local issues. John Carroll termed the Chinese/Eurasian Chinese portion of this community the Chinese bourgeoisie of Hong Kong, which he described as loosely formed by Chinese residents representing the interests of the colony and identifying with the Chinese bourgeoisie in China, the local European bourgeoisie and the Chinese lower classes of the colony.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ 'Great Loss to Portuguese Community,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 15 February 1937, 7.

⁸⁵ 'J.M. de Castro Basto to the Colonial Secretary,' 6 November 1919, CO 129/456, 218, The National Archives, Kew.

⁸⁶ 'J.M. de Castro Basto to the Colonial Secretary,' 6 November 1919, CO 129/456, 219, The National Archives, Kew.

⁸⁷ 'Naturalisation Certificate: Antonio Hermenegildo de Senna Fernandes Basto, Certificate A7745,' 15 March 1921, HO 334/91/7745, The National Archives, Kew; *The Architectural Journal Being the Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 29, no. 3 (1922), 68; 'No. 643—List of Authorized Architects under Section 7 of the Public Health and Buildings Ordinance, 1903,' *The Hong Kong Government Gazette*, 30 November 1928, 517.

⁸⁸ Carroll, *Edge of Empires*, 14.

On April 25, 1919, José Pedro Braga was appointed Justice of the Peace, along with Chinese compradors and philanthropists Kwok Siu-Lau (郭少流) and Sum Pak-Ming (岑伯銘).⁸⁹ By the 1920s, Braga continued in his pursuit of improving the colony through collaboration with non-Macanese subjects who shared the same interest. He joined British politician and member of the Executive Council Henry Pollock and other local Chinese and Eurasian leaders in the League of Fellowship and Service, an all-inclusive club 'of all races and creeds,' as well as classes and gender, aimed at resolving local issues, facilitating intercourse between the Chinese and the Europeans and engaging with foreign organisations of similar objectives.⁹⁰ The League of Fellowship and Service was Hong Kong's response to the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FoR; 1914), an organisation formed by English Quaker, Henry Hodgkin and German Lutheran, Friedrich Siegmund-Schultze, for the advocacy of world peace in the aftermath of the First World War.⁹¹ Hodgkin spread the FOR's idea by giving public lectures in different cities, resulting in the establishment of Fellowship branches in Europe, the United States, Hong Kong and Shanghai.⁹² In Hong Kong, the Fellowship was established in October 1921, and by November, already had around 300 members, consisting of 200 Europeans but only 100 Chinese, prompting Chairman of the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce, Lau Chu-pak, to appeal for Chinese support.⁹³

The League of Fellowship and Service hinged Hong Kong's new social transformations with emerging global initiatives. One of the Fellowship's earliest

⁸⁹ 'No. 188,' *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 25 April 1919, 206.

⁹⁰ 'World Peace, League of Fellowship Formed: Local Endeavour, Sequel to Dr. Hodgkin's Lectures,' *The China Mail*, 19 October 1921, 4.

⁹¹ 'Shanghai Forming a Fellowship League,' *The China Mail*, 10 November 1921, 2. For the FOR, see Jill Wallis, *Valiant for Peace: A History of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1914-1989* (London: Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1991).

⁹² 'Fellowship Spirit: Shanghai also Forms a League,' *The China Mail*, 11 November 1921, 5.

⁹³ The founding committee consisted of Henry Pollock (chairman), government doctor Ada Pitts, Rev. J. Kirk Maconachie, Rev. Arnold Hughes, committee member of Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce John Owen Hughes and Mr. Anderson and J.M. Wong. 'World Peace, League of Fellowship Formed: Local Endeavour, Sequel to Dr. Hodgkin's Lectures,' *The China Mail*, 19 October 1921, 4; 'League of Fellowship: Discussion at Chinese Chamber of Commerce,' *The Hongkong Telegraph*, 29 November 1921, 2.

initiatives was to send a telegram of support to the Washington Peace Conference and bring the universal message of peace to Hong Kong. According to the organisation, it was up to the colony's men and women to promote a better understanding between nationalities, encourage social service and to extend the cause of peace throughout 'the East.'⁹⁴ Braga felt that if the propositions of equality and mutual respect were to be attained, the Fellowship should start by campaigning for the elimination of all 'racial disabilities' in the colony, which he called 'a little world of ours.'⁹⁵ After becoming a committee member of the Fellowship in December 1921, Braga asked for the abolition of the Peak Reservation Ordinance, a legislation that segregated the Peak area for the residential purposes of European residents, as well as reservation areas in Cheung Chau and Taipo.⁹⁶ Henry Pollock, being a member of the colonial government, denied that racial distinctions existed in the colony. Braga further argued a solution was also needed to eliminate class distinction, as 'wealthy corporations acquired property after property' while the colony's 'underlings, the bottom dogs [were] crying like voices in the wilderness... denied a roof over their heads because they [could not] pay \$150 a month out of their pittance of a salary.'⁹⁷ With Henry Pollock against Braga's proposition, the discussion regarding racial distinction ceased.

The Fellowship eventually decided on four objectives: to form an Industrial Institute for boys and girls, establish an International Club that would assemble all races in the colony, educate children through theatres and form a local branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. The organisation disbanded in 1925. By this time, the organisation had 408 members, 207 of which were Chinese. Its remaining

⁹⁴ 'World Peace, League of Fellowship Formed: Local Endeavour, Sequel to Dr. Hodgkin's Lectures,' *The China Mail*, 19 October 1921, 4; 'League of Fellowship: Discussion at Chinese Chamber of Commerce,' *The Hongkong Telegraph*, 29 November 1921, 2.

⁹⁵ 'Racial Disabilities and the Peak Reservation, Discussed by the League of Fellowship, Official Patronage of the League Deprecated,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 13 December 1921, 3.

⁹⁶ 'Racial Disabilities in Hongkong: Straight Talk at a 'Fellowship' Gathering, the Peak, Cheung Chau and Taipo Reservations, Rev. J. Kirk Maconachie and Official Patronage,' *South China Morning Post*, 13 December 1921, 8. For the Peak Reservation Ordinance, see John Carroll, 'The Peak: Residential Segregation in Colonial Hong Kong,' in Bryna Goodman and David S. G. Goodman (eds.), *Twentieth-century Colonialism and China: Localities, the Everyday and the World* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 81-91.

⁹⁷ 'Racial Disabilities and the Peak Reservation, Discussed by the League of Fellowship.'

funds were transferred to the Alice Memorial Hospital and Tung Wah Hospital.⁹⁸ The establishment of the organisation nonetheless revealed that both local and global transitions paved the way for the emergence of a new civic identity in Hong Kong. This identity allowed naturalised Macanese subjects like Braga to venture onto broader public platforms and work with like-minded people from other ethnic communities, resulting in a new form of association that was not only inter-racial, but simultaneously local and global, particularly through the adoption and localisation of international initiatives, such as the FoR and the Washington Peace Conference, to resolve Hong Kong's social issues. This blurring of racial lines and increasing acceptance of Anglophile non-Britons into the colonial administrator's world facilitated Braga's career into new heights, establishing the Macanese as an acknowledged public leader in the colony.

In late 1921, the *Hongkong Government Gazette* announced that under the King's Exequatur, Braga was appointed to act as Consul for Guatemala in Hong Kong.⁹⁹ In 1926, the colonial government appointed him as a member of the Sanitary Board during the absence of Dr. Wilfred Vincent Miller Koch, and later, to stand in for the resignation of Dr. J.C. Macgown.¹⁰⁰ That same year, Braga joined the Kowloon Residents' Association, a group formed in 1919 by Europeans residing on the Kowloon Peninsula for the welfare of Kowloon residents. In 1927, Club Lusitano's committee elected him as its new President. On January 1929, Braga, along with English-educated barrister Tso Seen-Wan (曹善允), was appointed as unofficial members of the Legislative Council (Fig. 15). He was the first Macanese to be admitted into the Council. Welcoming Braga to the Council at a meeting, Clementi called the Macanese, 'in a very literal sense ... a son of Hong Kong.'¹⁰¹ Braga's son, José Maria 'Jack' Braga revealed in his diary that the Governor of Hong Kong, Sir Cecil Clementi, had planned to bring Braga into the Council. He wrote, 'The Governor of Macao assured me that Sir Cecil Clementi had kept his

⁹⁸ 'Wound Up, League of Fellowship and Service, Final Meeting,' *The China Mail*, 22 January 1925, 6.

⁹⁹ 'No. 525,' 14 December 1921, *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 16 December 1921, 533.

¹⁰⁰ 'No. 612,' *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 12 November 1926, 497; *Report on Sanitary Department, Hong Kong, for the Year 1927*, M5.

¹⁰¹ 'Minutes of the Hong Kong Legislative Council,' 24 January 1929, 2-3.

words when he stated months ago to Senhor Barbosa that if the number of unofficial members was increased, the first vacancy would be for J.P. Braga.¹⁰² A part of the Macanese community celebrated the appointment with a reception for Braga at Club Lusitano, which Jack Braga observed 'must have been one of the proudest [moments] in his [father's] life.'¹⁰³

Fig. 15: Braga at St. Joseph's College



This photograph showing a celebration of Braga's appointment in his alma mater, St. Joseph's College, was taken from the Braga Collection, the National Library of Australia.¹⁰⁴

After entering the Legislative Council, Braga continued to show interest towards racial issues, social inequality and local concerns. He served as a Court Member of the University of Hong Kong and became the Vice-President of the Hong Kong Society for the Protection of Children. Between 1929 and 1930, he collected and carefully kept newspaper cuttings and journal articles with titles that read, 'Half-castes in Liverpool: The Position of the Children, Big Problem,' 'The Colour Line: Negro and White in the States, Strange Contrast,' (*South China Morning Post*) and

¹⁰² J.M. Braga, 14 January 1929, MS 4300/1/1, J.M. Braga Papers, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

¹⁰³ J.M. Braga, 24 January 1929, MS 4300/1/1, J.M. Braga Papers, National Library of Australia, Canberra; 'Hon. Mr. Braga's Appointment: New Councillor Receives the Congratulations of his Community Reception at Club Lusitano,' *South China Morning Post*, 25 January 1929, 7.

¹⁰⁴ MS 4300 13.1/1, J.M. Braga Papers, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

'We Join the League—in War on Slavery' (*The Literary Digest*).¹⁰⁵ In the Legislative Council, Braga acted as a representative of Kowloon and brought into Council meetings district issues related to the welfare of the residents, particularly at a time when Kowloon was still under development. He proposed the building of leisure facilities for policemen stationed in Kowloon and brought public pleas, as well as the KRA's request, for a children's playground in the district to a 1929 meeting.¹⁰⁶ The local newspaper noted Braga's outspoken concerns for the development of Kowloon, featuring a caricature of Braga and the Kowloon-Canton Railway terminus with the caption, 'The Hon. Mr. J.P. Braga, senior Legislative Council member for Kowloon, has the Peninsula in his grasp.' (Fig. 16). Braga also proposed to close down brothels in Yaumati, a suggestion that the *South China Morning Post* commended, '... Braga deserves the thanks for the community for his bold speech at the Legislative Council ... His reference to the social evil in Yaumati might have shocked some, but nevertheless he spoke the plain truth.'¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ 'Albums, 1881-1955,' MS 4300/13/14-1, J.M. Braga Papers, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

¹⁰⁶ 'Police Recreation: Need of Facilities at Kowloon, Mr. Braga's Questions,' *South China Morning Post*, 2 May 1929, 6; 'Kowloon Problems: Hon. Mr. Braga on Municipal Matters, Children's Playground,' *South China Morning Post*, 20 September 1929, 14.

¹⁰⁷ 'The Social Evil,' *South China Morning Post*, 27 September 1929, 10.

Fig. 16: Cartoon of Braga in *The China Mail*



This was illustrated by a Macanese in Hong Kong, José Álvares and published in *The China Mail* on January 22 1929.¹⁰⁸

As a local-born and British-naturalised Macanese, Braga showed a ‘British colonial’ civic identity, marked by interest towards local issues and support for the Hong Kong government. This differed from Macau-born but foreign educated Marques, who showed a ‘Portuguese’ consciousness in the 1880s. While Marques utilised his knowledge of Social Darwinism to urge his fellow Macanese to be more open to science and progress, Braga adopted European ideals and joined like-minded members of other communities in the colony to discuss and explore ways of making British Hong Kong a better place to live in. The increasing inclusiveness of the British colonial government towards Anglophile non-Britons

¹⁰⁸ *The China Mail*, 22 January 1929, seen in Braga, ‘Making Impressions,’ 278.

facilitated the rise of Braga's career in public service, granting him a platform to pursue his ambition of representing Hong Kong residents, particularly Kowloon residents in the Legislative Council. Outside of the Council, Braga utilised his public role and professional network to resolve emerging issues in the colony.

When the impact of the Great Depression reverberated around the world, Braga organised the British Empire Trade Fair in 1933.¹⁰⁹ The Fair was meant to 'advertise the Empire and to make use of British Hongkong as an appropriate shop window,' and Braga, serving as the Vice-President of the organising committee, collaborated with other public figures and philanthropists such as Lady Peel, Shouson Chow, Henry Pollock and Tang Shiu Kin, also further enlisting the labour of more than forty female Macanese helpers and more than thirty European 'Lady Helpers.'¹¹⁰ The event was an epitome of the new form of 'local' cooperation that emerged in inter-war Hong Kong, signified by inter-racial efforts and a collective interest towards the colony. It further exemplified how Macanese subjects like Braga developed an identity that merged being 'Portuguese,' 'British' and 'colonial Hong Kong' into one. The next section will focus on illustrating this point through the personal letters and travels of a young Macanese, Leo d'Almada e Castro.

D'Almada, 'Hong Kong citizen'

A third-generation Macanese settler, Leo Horácio d'Almada e Castro, sometimes referred to as Leonardo d'Almada e Castro, Jr., was born in 1904 to Article Clerk and solicitor Leonardo d'Almada e Castro and Laura Irene nee Alves. He was the grandchild of José Maria d'Almada e Castro, discussed in chapter two as one of the first two Macanese to have joined the colonial government during the 1840s. D'Almada attended St. Joseph's College and in 1919, passed the University of Hong Kong's Matriculation Examination in English, Geography, History, Biblical Knowledge, Arithmetic, Portuguese and Drawing. He studied in the Faculty of

¹⁰⁹ The idea of organising a trade fair originated a year earlier from Lady Peel, wife of Hong Kong Governor William Peel. See 'The Empire Fair,' *South China Morning Post*, 25 May 1933, 12.

¹¹⁰ 'The Committee, List of Names of Helpers, Responsible Body,' *South China Morning Post*, 25 May 1933, 10.

Arts but failed in his third year, leading to his father's decision to send him to Oxford.¹¹¹ In September 1922, d'Almada started to read law at Exeter College. There, he joined the rowing and the debating teams, played tennis and although finding British people 'too egoistic,' became acquainted with local and foreign students.¹¹² In 1926, d'Almada wrote that his family was more 'Portuguese' than many others in Asia and decided to settle somewhere in Europe. He returned to Hong Kong a few months later and began a career as a barrister and member of the colonial government, representing not only the residents of Kowloon, but also the 'underdogs' of Hong Kong society. Through D'Almada's case, this section will illustrate not only the fluidity of civic identity, but also further my argument that Hong Kong-born Macanese created a unique discourse of internationalism that was local, supported the colonial government in Hong Kong and was unrestricted by ethnic boundaries. It was through this new civic identity that Anglophile middle-class Macanese established themselves as public figures and leaders of colonial society.

Written between 1922 and 1926 in Britain, D'Almada's letters to his family in Hong Kong revealed his cultural affinity to Hong Kong, Lisbon and Oxford, as seen from his fond memories and vivid descriptions of these cities. In his letters to Hong Kong, D'Almada often discussed being homesick. He constantly mentioned his home in Fanling, friends in Kowloon and thought about riding his Harley Davidson motorcycle across Hong Kong, a hobby that he previously indulged in.¹¹³ D'Almada was often delighted to receive parcels from his family that contained 'Asian' treats, such as lychees and kumquats.¹¹⁴ During a visit to the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley Park, D'Almada was enthused over the displays on Hong Kong, writing, 'Hong Kong was very interesting but this is

¹¹¹ Ruy Barretto, 'Family Chronology based on Leo and Tilly d'Almada e Castro's Documents, 1904-1996,' Ruy Barretto Family Papers, Girassol, Hong Kong.

¹¹² Leo d'Almada e Castro, 'Letter no. 31,' 27 April 1924, Ruy Barretto Family Papers, Girassol, Hong Kong.

¹¹³ Leo d'Almada e Castro, 'Letter no. 18,' 11 February 1924, Ruy Barretto Family Papers, Girassol, Hong Kong.

¹¹⁴ Leo d'Almada e Castro, 'Letter no. 71,' 17 February 1925; 'Letter no. 77,' 26 March 1925, Ruy Barretto Family Papers, Girassol, Hong Kong.

because I know the real thing so well...'¹¹⁵ He claimed to have supplied the necessary atmosphere to the exhibition by 'swearing heartily in Chinese, much to the astonishment and admiration of a few celestials,' and reminisced about the streets of Hong Kong when contemplating a huge map of the colony.¹¹⁶ Despite being homesick, D'Almada lived a busy life in Oxford, joining various social activities and interacting with people from all around the world. In November 1924, D'Almada reported that after his rowing team won the Morrell Fours, a trophy in Exeter College, he 'had a tea dance with a Swiss friend, went to Grand Night at Middle Temple with distinguished guests including [politicians] Lord Berkinhead, Haldane and Cave ... [and] went to the [Macanese family] Bastos in East Putney.'¹¹⁷

In a 1925 letter to his father, D'Almada revealed that he was on a fourth visit to Portugal and wrote about his growing fondness of the country, as well as his thoughts on his family's 'Portuguese' roots in Hong Kong:

... during my first fortnight in Portugal, I thought the country intolerable. It is strange that it took only one more fortnight for me to alter my opinion. If it is possible for you to retire to Portugal, do not fail to do so, Dad. There is no reason why you should stay in Hong Kong... And after all I do not see why several generations of us should go on making it our home just because a couple of generations have done so. So far we may claim to be very Portuguese. I think more so than most people there that if we are to stay much longer there is no saying that there will be no deterioration.¹¹⁸

He pointed out that there were few 'D'Almadas' in Portugal, and advised that in order to avoid 'deterioration' from racial mixing with 'Filipinas and others,' his

¹¹⁵ Leo d'Almada e Castro, 'Letter no. 45,' 6 August 1924, Ruy Barretto Family Papers, Girassol, Hong Kong.

¹¹⁶ Leo d'Almada e Castro, 'Letter no. 45,' 6 August 1924, Ruy Barretto Family Papers, Girassol, Hong Kong.

¹¹⁷ Leo d'Almada e Castro, 'Letter no. 59,' 19 November 1924, Ruy Barretto Family Papers, Girassol, Hong Kong.

¹¹⁸ Leo d'Almada e Castro, 'Letter no. 100,' 13 October 1925, Ruy Barretto Family Papers, Girassol, Hong Kong.

family should leave Hong Kong before the entire 'Portuguese community... disappears entirely.'¹¹⁹

In April 1926, D'Almada expressed his desire to 'settle down somewhere in Europe and sever all connections with the Far East,' noting that he was amused at how his feelings and ideas had changed over time.¹²⁰ By September that year, he changed his mind yet again and decided to return to Hong Kong 'as soon as possible to gain local experience.'¹²¹ D'Almada eventually returned to Hong Kong in 1927 after the completion of his studies, particularly due to emerging financial difficulties in his family.¹²² He was called to the Bar in the Middle Temple in June 1927 and began to practise law at the Hong Kong Bar in October.¹²³ D'Almada came to be involved with local issues through his practice and as a member of the Kowloon Residents' Association. In 1934, he was elected as President of the KRA but his political career would begin in 1937 with his appointment, at the age of thirty-three, as one of the youngest unofficial members of the Legislative Council.¹²⁴ During this time, D'Almada fought for the welfare of what he often called Hong Kong 'locals' and emphasised his role of representing the underprivileged, regardless of skin colour. He criticised the colonial government for not employing enough 'local men' and pointed out at a meeting that the 'Hongkongman' should be given the chance of public service that he deserved.¹²⁵ In a discussion regarding the war budget and the government's proposal of income taxation, D'Almada objected to proposals and claimed that his objection was not based on self-interest, or the voice of the Macanese community, but in

¹¹⁹ Leo d'Almada e Castro, 'Letter no. 100,' 13 October 1925, Ruy Barretto Family Papers, Girassol, Hong Kong.

¹²⁰ Leo d'Almada e Castro, 'Letter no. 130,' 14 April 1926, Ruy Barretto Family Papers, Girassol, Hong Kong.a

¹²¹ 'Letter from Leonardo,' 17 September 1926, Ruy Barretto Family Papers, Girassol, Hong Kong.

¹²² Financial problems were mentioned in 'Letter 152,' 20 October 1926, Ruy Barretto Family Papers, Girassol, Hong Kong.

¹²³ 'New Barrister: Mr. Leo D'Almada e Castro Junior Admitted, Fine Family Record,' *South China Morning Post*, 25 October 1927, 8.

¹²⁴ 'KRA Annual Meeting,' *Hong Kong Daily Press*, 9 March 1934, 7; 'Mr. Leo D'Almada, Member of a Family Long Connected with Colony,' *South China Morning Post*, 22 January 1937, 4.

¹²⁵ 'Mr. Leo d'Almada, Opposed although Lawyers would Gain Greatly,' *South China Morning Post*, 10 November 1939, 15.

support of the Chinese in the colony who would receive the biggest blow from such a policy.¹²⁶

By late 1939, the daunting World War had inched towards the colony. Clothilde Belmira Barretto, D'Almada's spouse, headed a team of Macanese women who worked for the British War Organisation Fund (BWOFF). She became a nurse in the Auxiliary Nursing Service.¹²⁷ On June 29, 1940 the government, with orders from the War Cabinet, issued an evacuation edict that called for the evacuation of all British women and children. A large majority of the evacuees, sent to Australia, were of European descent; some Eurasians, marked as 'Third Nationals' or 'Neutrals' attempted to join the evacuation but were rejected for not being of 'pure British descent.'¹²⁸ This selective evacuation created a storm in the colony, raising questions of racial inequality and unjust practice. D'Almada, together with senior Eurasian unofficial member, Lo Man-Kam (羅文錦), led the protests and pressed the Hong Kong government for answers to questions that the Macanese submitted before a Legislative Council meeting in July 1940 (Fig. 17). The questions were aimed at the colonial government, and D'Almada asked for an explanation as to whether the Hong Kong government or the British colonial office had decided the evacuation and whether the Hong Kong government was aware that Hong Kong had a large number of British women and children who were not of pure European descent.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ 'Mr. Leo d'Almada, Opposed although Lawyers would Gain Greatly,' *South China Morning Post*, 10 November 1939, 15.

¹²⁷ Ruy Barretto, 'Family Chronology based on Leo and Tilly d'Almada e Castro's Documents, 1904-1996,' Ruy Barretto Family Papers, Girassol, Hong Kong.

¹²⁸ See, for instance, the story of Eurasian Joyce Symons in Vicky Lee, *Being Eurasian: Memories Across Racial Divides* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 61-62. For the evacuation, see Vivian Kong, 'Hong Kong is my Home: The 1940 Evacuation and Hong Kong-Britons,' *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 47, no. 3 (2019), 542-567.

¹²⁹ 'Hong Kong Legislative Council Meeting Minutes,' 25 July 1940, 100-103.

Fig. 17: Article from *The Hongkong Telegraph*, 1940

16 PERTINENT QUERIES ABOUT EVACUATION HON. MR. LEO D'ALMADA WANTS TRUTH FROM THE GOVERNMENT

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS CONCERNING GOVERNMENT'S COMPULSORY EVACUATION SCHEME WILL BE SUBMITTED TO THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AT ITS NEXT MEETING, ON THURSDAY, BY THE HON. MR. LEO D'ALMADA, JR.:

- (1) Was the recent compulsory evacuation of women and children from the Colony at the order of the Hon. Government as directed by the Hon. Government?
- (2) If the former, was the order in force that only British women and children of pure European descent should be evacuated?
- (3) If the answer to (2) is in the affirmative, did Government draw the attention of the Hon. Government to the fact that there is in the Colony a large number of British women and children who are not of pure European descent?
- (4) The consequent discrimination involved in the said order?
- (5) If the answer to (1) is that the said evacuation was directed by the Hon. Government, what reasons will Government state for reasons for limiting it as indicated?

Hongkong Officer And Ship Fails To Return

DARING SUBMARINE CREW ARE MISSING

LONDON, Dec. 18 (By Wireless).—H.M.S. Salmons, the 670-ton British submarine which sank the Nazi cruiser *Leipzig*, torpedoed another cruiser of the Blücher class, sank an ocean-going U-boat and permitted the Bremen to escape destruction is presumed lost.

Lieut. Comdr. Bickford and his crew of 40 men are considerably overdue, according to an Admiralty announcement.

The patrol in which H.M.S. Salmons became famous has been described in naval circles as the most eventful which has fallen to any submarine in this or the last war.

Britain To Meet £800,000,000 Deficit

9s 6d IN THE £ INCOME TAX IS FORECAST

LONDON, July 21 (Reuter).—An increase in income tax generally is accepted as inevitable in the supplementary war budget which Sir Kingsley Wood, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, will introduce in the House of Commons on Tuesday.

A news report from page 9 of *The Hongkong Telegraph* printed on July 22, 1940 on D'Almada's questions to the Hong Kong government regarding evacuation.

Lo Man-Kam argued that the taxpayers were being made to pay for the evacuation of a small section of the community, leaving 99.9 percent of the population uncared for. D'Almada pointed to the question of discrimination and criticised the Hong Kong government for having 'placed an appreciable strain on the loyalty of a large section of the [local] community.'¹³⁰ When the questions were brought to the House of Commons in London, the colonial government maintained that domiciled subjects could seek refuge elsewhere in China, Macau, India and Indo-China.¹³¹ D'Almada and Lo's persistent questions regarding racial discrimination in the government's evacuation policy resulted in debate in the local newspapers. One writer, for instance, claimed that the evacuation 'seriously jeopardised the respect and love one cherishes for the British Empire.'¹³² Another writer urged the local government to change their policy, writing '...we are faced with the ridiculous situation of a democratic government denouncing a

¹³⁰ 'Hong Kong Legislative Council Meeting Minutes,' 25 July 1940, 113, 100, 114.

¹³¹ 'Governor Replies: Fullest Consideration for all Races War Cabinet Decision,' *South China Morning Post*, 26 July 1940, 7; 'Text of Parliamentary Question and Reply, Hongkong Resentment,' *South China Morning Post*, 3 September 1940, 7.

¹³² B.S., 'Racial Discrimination,' *South China Morning Post*, 30 July 1940, 7.

theory of racial discrimination and at the same time putting that very theory into operation themselves.¹³³ In face of an encroaching war, there was little anyone could do to change the situation. D'Almada continued his service in the Legislative Council until Hong Kong's surrender to Japan in December 1941.

D'Almada's time in Europe revealed the fluidity of identity at an individual level, shaped by experience, atmosphere, time and space. From identifying with Hong Kong at the British Empire Exhibition to thoughts of settling down in Europe, D'Almada returned to Hong Kong and focused on establishing his career as a barrister and public leader. Like Braga, he worked for the local Kowloon Residents' Association and further used his position as an unofficial member of the Legislative Council to collaborate with other Anglophile non-Britons in fighting for the welfare of what he called the 'Hongkong man.' As evidenced by his stance on the racial measures of the evacuation, D'Almada consciously identified with and fought for a local Hong Kong community, unrestricted by colour lines and ethnic differences. He prioritised the collective interests of Hong Kong people as a whole, and felt that there should be no hierarchical order between 'pure' Britons and those of mixed or Chinese descent. Unlike Braga, however, D'Almada's pursuit of equality and justice were not associated with romanticised notions of imperialist internationalism. Instead, he directed his concerns at improving the lives of domiciled subjects in the British colony and openly criticised the colonial government for policies that he found unfair to Hong Kong locals. D'Almada's public pursuits and thoughts, thus, marked the emergence of a colour-less 'local' civic identity, built under the fundamental framework of internationalism and belongingness to the British colony.

Conclusion

Within a span of six decades, Hong Kong transitioned from a colony in the early days of accepting the political participation of non-Britons to a vibrant civil society of inter-ethnic social and political associations, as well as civic associations constructed beyond the confines of ethnic and national differences

¹³³ R.J. Banks, 'Evacuation Issues,' *South China Morning Post*, 4 July 1941, 7.

and bound by collective interests towards universalism and international discourses. Such transformations and the surge of concern for viewing local issues through a global lens mirrored changes that were taking place elsewhere in Asia, except that while other Asian colonies like India and the Straits Settlements began to traverse between ideas of nationalism and internationalism, Hong Kong's emerging non-British leaders worked together in exploring universal concepts of equality, justice and peace suitable for the colony. The multiracial composition of Hong Kong's Anglophile non-Britons did not pave the way for the creation of nationalistic sentiments, resulting in the emergence of a new civic identity and a collective sense of mission aimed at improving the lives of Hong Kong's inhabitants. Significantly, this new civic identity was built with a shared acknowledgment, amongst people of different races, that Hong Kong was and would continue to be a British colony. Local-born and domiciled subjects, in particular, perceived themselves as sons and daughters of the British empire. In this regard, the case of the Macanese is especially revealing. They were politically and to a certain extent, culturally, detached from Portugal, identifying instead as naturalised British subjects born and raised in the colony of Hong Kong.

With each new generation, the attachment of settlers to Hong Kong as a 'home' steadily grew. In this chapter, I analysed what 'Hong Kong' meant to three generations of Anglophile Macanese men and found three different types of association to the colony. Macau-born Lourenço Marques used Hong Kong as a liberal space to start a dialogue, albeit limited in audience, with the Macanese communities in Hong Kong and Macau. Marques chose to write in the Portuguese language and through Hong Kong's print culture, wrote of his vision of a progressive Macanese society that embraced European science. He showed little affinity towards the British colony and retired to Macau where he lived until his death in 1911. Although existing studies on the history of the Macanese in Hong Kong usually mention José Pedro Braga, none have explored his strong affinity to the city. As the first-generation of his community to be born in Hong Kong, Braga showed, through *The Rights of Aliens in Hongkong*, interest in discourses of internationalism and directed his pursuit of racial equality in declaring his

support of British culture and loyalty to the colonial government. By the early twentieth century, Braga continued to develop his vision for Hong Kong. While British official Henry Pollock proposed Hong Kong's involvement in upholding the ideals conveyed by the Washington Peace Conference, Braga pointed out that Hong Kong was too small and unimportant for such important matters, suggesting instead that the League of Fellowship and Service focus on resolving local problems.¹³⁴ By the late 1920s, he continued to show strong concerns for local issues through his involvement with the KRA and the Legislative Council.

Similar to Braga, Leo d'Almada e Castro consciously identified with and represented Hong Kong 'locals.' His affinity for Hong Kong, Britain and Portugal not only illustrated the fluidity of identity, but also reflected the ambiguity and complexity of the civic identity that had emerged in early twentieth century Hong Kong. People from various ethnic backgrounds contributed to the construction and consolidation of this civic identity, and domiciled Macanese and Eurasians, existing within multicultural worlds, associated strongly with the idea of a 'local' identity. In opposing the government's evacuation plan, D'Almada and Lo Man-Kam, both local-born Eurasians, urged the government to consider whether the policy was racially discriminative to a large section of Hong Kong's community who were not of 'pure' European descent. Notably, D'Almada saw beyond ethnic boundaries a new community of colonial residents who could only be defined by their residency in the British colony. As evidenced by his thoughts and writings, D'Almada himself was not completely Portuguese, Chinese or British; he was, in different levels and ways, simultaneously Portuguese, Chinese and British but most of all, he represented a new generation of 'colonial Hong Kong' people.

¹³⁴ 'Racial Disabilities and the Peak Reservation, Discussed by the League of Fellowship, Official Patronage of the League Deprecated,' *Hongkong Daily Press*, 13 December 1921, 3.

Chapter Five

Old and New Subjects between Two Empires

It is also necessary that the colonies, even the far-flung territories of Portuguese India, Macao and Timor should draw closer to the Motherland... And thus not only will the State, with example and exhortation and disciplinary control, inspire and guide in a national service but all the Portuguese dispersed throughout all our extensive dominions may realize and co-operate in the work of the New State.

Capt. J. Cruz Ribeiro, 'A Greater Portugal,' *A Comunidade* (October 1935), 4.

The emergence of a generation of Hong Kong-born and bred, devoted Macanese men and women, and the continuous arrival of new immigrants from Macau had the impact of creating tension within the Macanese community. By 1897, the census recorded 1,214 persons of Hong Kong's 2,263 'Portuguese' population as local-born, while 931 originated from Macau. According to the census, '... with the exception of three, in whose case there is perhaps some confusion between race and nationality, [the rest] remain subjects of the King of Portugal.'¹ With the consolidation of a 'local' Macanese community and the arrival of more 'Portuguese' newcomers, the Macanese in the colony became more and more clustered. In 1898, Britain signed the Convention for the Extension of Hong Kong Territory, leading to the substantial development of the Kowloon Peninsula into an urban area. A sizeable portion of the Macanese community left the Hong Kong-side and built a new social circle in Kowloon. Kowloon became a ground for the breeding of Macanese organisations that sought to foster a Macanese consciousness based on being 'less British,' and 'more Portuguese.' By the late 1920s, a patriotic institution, *Liga Portuguesa de Hongkong* (Portuguese League of Hongkong) was founded. The League launched a series of activities aimed at instigating nationalistic sentiments amongst the Macanese diaspora spread across the coastal port-cities of Hong Kong, Shanghai, Canton and Kobe.

¹ 'Report on the Census of the Colony for 1897, Laid before the Legislative Council by Command of His Excellency the Governor,' 20 June 1897, 468.

Significantly, these initiatives established 'Macanese' as a racial category and offer us an opportunity to explore the various constructions of a diasporic community that was built by the experience of living between four empires.

This chapter will focus on the various discourses and activities in inter-war Hong Kong that contributed to the construction of the 'Macanese.' The first section centers around the creation of a Kowloon-based Macanese community whose identity was based, to a certain degree, on hostility towards 'Anglicised' Macanese subjects represented by Club Lusitano. Through the efforts of Macau-born Lisbello Xavier's newspapers, *O Porvir* (The Future; 1897-1907), and *Club de Recreio* (The Recreation Club), an alternative Macanese community emerged that divided the community into two camps: an 'old' Macanese group consisting of immigrants who arrived in the 1840s and their local-born children, and a 'new' Macanese community of newcomers from Macau who arrived during and after the 1880s. The second section investigates a plan to unite the 'Macanese' in the China coast that first appeared in Macau. By the 1920s, Portugal's tumultuous political transformations and the appointment of a new Governor in Macau led to increasing discussions regarding the future of the Macanese as a 'race.' Governor Rodrigo José Rodrigues observed a thinning sense of unity and patriotism with the Macanese due to the community's diaspora and proposed a project that sought to revive feelings of nationalism. In 1924, he launched '*Lar dos Portugueses no Oriente*' (Home of the Portuguese in the East) but did not succeed in implementing the project due to practical obstacles. The third section will highlight the shaping of a Portuguese nationalistic movement in British Hong Kong between 1929 and 1940. *Liga Portuguesa de Hongkong* sought to promote patriotism towards Portugal by strengthening the use of the Portuguese language. The League attempted to construct a diasporic nationalism that not only paid tribute to Portugal but also aimed to gain the Portuguese government's acknowledgment. Notably, unlike anti-colonial nationalistic ideas that mushroomed in other Asian port-cities, the Macanese nationalistic consciousness was never anti-colonial, nor was it linked to notions of nation building. All in all, this chapter will show us the gradual creation of the Macanese diaspora as an 'imagined community,' the features of Macanese 'diasporic

nationalism' that took shape and the ways that British Hong Kong was used in this process of construction. I argue that the remoteness of Portugal and the realities of living, mainly, under two empires contributed to the shaping of the Macanese nationalistic consciousness.

Benedict Anderson identified the role of 'print capitalism' in the formation of 'secular, historically-clocked' imagined communities.² His study, focusing on the history of nation building, explored how people imagined kinship ties to other people they had never met and collectively experienced a sense of belonging to the same 'community.'³ To 'imagine' and 'live' the communal experience meant to define the lines of exclusion for people who were not considered as a part of the group.⁴ These new rules of inclusion and exclusion were borne out of print culture and public spheres, discussed in newspapers and magazines, and visualised through narratives in novels, music and films.⁵ Several scholars have highlighted the links between community formation, specifically in the context of nation building and public spheres. Tim Harper argued that colonial Singapore's nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century diasporic print culture influenced the eventual emergence of nationalism during the inter-war period and an independent Singapore in 1965.⁶ Aryendra Chakravatty traced the formation of anti-colonial nationalism under the efforts of Anglicised Bengali middle-class men known as the 'bhadraloks' and their imagination of a 'Hindu' past in forging a common national consciousness in mid-nineteenth-century India.⁷ What is unique in the case of the Macanese is that their experience of advocating and experiencing nationalism through the colony's public spheres does not fit within the framework of anti-colonialism, nationhood and nation building. Instead, the Macanese sought to construct a unified 'Macanese' race as a

² Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 15, 39.

³ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

⁴ Linda Colley, for instance, extended the idea of 'imagined communities' and argued that Britain's nationhood was formed by the invention of and confrontation with 'an obviously hostile Other,' such as Catholic France during the eighteenth-century. For this, see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 5-6.

⁵ See, for instance, James T. Siegel and Audrey R. Kahin (eds.), *Southeast Asia over Three Generations: Essays Presented to Benedict R. O'G. Anderson* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2003).

⁶ Harper, 'Globalism and the Pursuit of Authenticity,' 261-292.

⁷ Aryenda Chakravartty, 'Understanding India: Bhadrakok, Modernity and Colonial India,' *Indian Historical Review* (27 February 2019).

resolution to the consequences of migration and movement from a Portuguese colony to a British colony.

The Macanese experience suggests a different form of diasporic nationalism emerging from mixed-race, domiciled subjects whose 'imagined communities' were shaped by lives away from the Fatherland and between two empires. The nationalistic Macanese perceived Macau as their gateway to Portugal, and drew a line between themselves and Hong Kong's Anglicised Macanese subjects in constructing their nationalistic discourses. This deviates from existing ideas that have situated diasporic identity within the dichotomy of the 'homeland,' which migrants have left and idealised as a cultural signifier, and the 'hostland' that they move into where ethnic culture is reproduced and transplanted.⁸ Sana Aiyar has questioned the limits of the dichotomy, arguing that it flattens the political imaginary of the diaspora and offers a singular nationalist narrative.⁹ Aiyar suggested an alternative option of understanding diasporic identities as multilayered discourses that ceaselessly engage with the homeland and hostland in changing dialogues influenced by new historical developments.¹⁰ Penny Edwards, studying Straits Chinese leader Taw Sein Ko, showed Taw's changing engagement with various worlds, particularly in relation to historical transitions. According to Edwards, Taw moved along with historical transitions in Burma by constructing fragmented associations to the Burmese, Chinese and British worlds.¹¹ With their roots in the Portuguese empire since the sixteenth century, the Macanese case presents us with the opportunity to further understand the construction of diasporic identities and nationalist narratives beyond the dichotomy of 'homeland' and 'hostland.' This chapter, thus, further aims to reconsider diasporic identity construction and nationalism under the framework of fragmented engagement with two empires and a distance-fatherland.

⁸ See, for instance, Vijay Mishra, 'The Diasporic Identity: Theorizing the Indian Diaspora,' *Textual Practice* 10, no. 3 (1996), 421-447; Sandhya Shukla, 'Locations for South Asian Diasporas,' *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30 (2001), 551-572.

⁹ Sana Aiyar, 'Anticolonial Homelands across the Indian Ocean: The Politics of the Indian Diaspora in Kenya, ca. 1930-1950,' *The American Historical Review* 116, no. 4 (2011), 988.

¹⁰ Aiyar, 'Anticolonial Homelands,' 1012-1013.

¹¹ Edwards, 'Relocating the Interlocutor,' 277-335.

'Kowloon Macanese' vs 'Hong Kong Macanese'

Lisbello Xavier (Fig. 18) was born in Macau in 1862 and educated in the Seminary of St. Joseph. He arrived in Hong Kong during the early 1880s, where he worked at Noronha & Co. He became bankrupt in 1887, but a year later, started his own printing company, the Hongkong Printing Press (Fig. 19).¹² Apart from consolidating his company, Xavier began a life-long project of constructing a new 'Macanese' community that identified with being 'Portuguese.' In the late 1890s, he joined Club Vasco da Gama and founded Portuguese-language newspaper, *O Porvir*.¹³ By 1898, he was President of Club Vasco da Gama and editor of *O Porvir*. Through these roles, Xavier established a new Macanese consciousness by fostering a split with the existing Macanese community, made up of first-generation migrants and local-born Anglicised Macanese subjects. In particular, he made frequent attacks on the Club Lusitano.¹⁴ He disapproved of Club Lusitano's middle-class Macanese exclusivity and sought to establish new platforms that he felt could better represent the Macanese community and seize authority over issues concerning the Macanese. *O Porvir* claimed to represent the interests of Hong Kong's 'noble and patriotic Portuguese community, without distinction of class or social position.'¹⁵ Xavier tried to reach a wide, classless readership, branding his newspaper with the slogan '*Estrictamente dedicado à propugnação do bem-estar dos portugueses do Extremo Oriente*' (Strictly dedicated to the advocacy of the welfare of the Portuguese of the Far East).¹⁶

¹² 'The Bankruptcy Ordinance, 1864,' *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 14 May 1887, 533.

¹³ The earliest trace I could find of Club Vasco da Gama dates back to 1901, to which a local newspaper reported the Club 'held a successful smoking concert in the Club Rooms.' The Club was located in Peel Street but appears to not have been officially registered and was not mentioned in *The Directory and Chronicle for China* between 1880 and 1910. For the news report, see 'Club Vasco da Gama,' *The China Mail*, 9 April 1901, 2.

¹⁴ King and Clarke, *A Research Guide to China-Coast Newspapers*, 75.

¹⁵ De Sá, *The Boys from Macau*, 76.

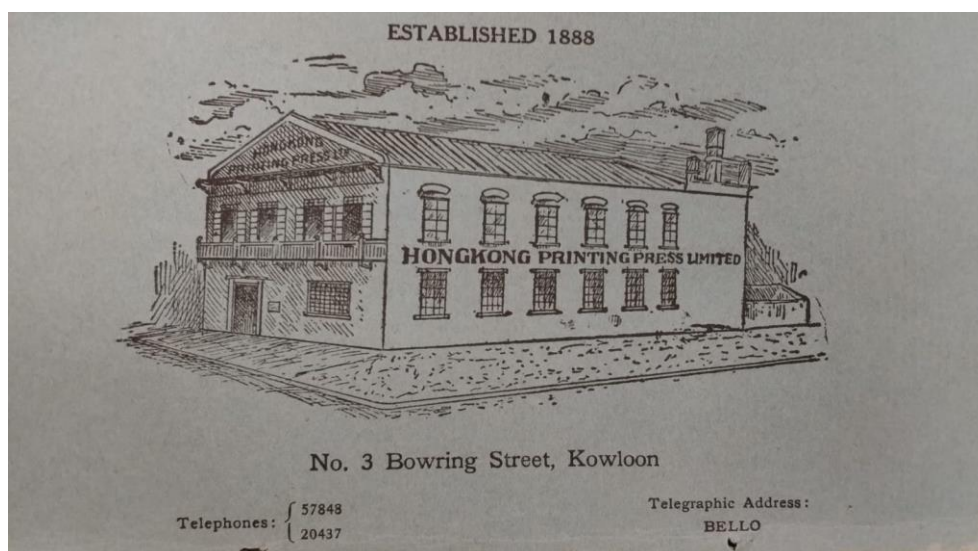
¹⁶ The readership of *O Porvir*, unfortunately, cannot be traced. De Sá, *The Boys from Macau*, 76.

Fig. 18 Portrait of Lisbello Xavier, c. 1906



This portrait of Lisbello Xavier, c. 1906, was printed in the 1st edition of Forjaz' *Familias Macaenses* (volume V, page 786). Lisbello Xavier was active in promoting 'Portugueseness' in Hong Kong but is usually left out of Macanese narratives.

Fig. 19 1929 pamphlet for the Hongkong Printing Press



This 1929 pamphlet for the Hongkong Printing Press is stored at the Hong Kong Public Records Office.¹⁷ It states the company was first established in 1888. The printer was only registered under the Hong Kong Companies Ordinance by Lisbello Xavier's son, Pedro de Alcântara Xavier, in 1929 as Hong Kong Printing Press Limited. The company's Chinese name was *Xianggang yinzi guan shiyin* (香港印字館石印).

In 1898, an opportunity came for Xavier to launch his attack on Club Lusitano. Both Club Vasco da Gama and Club Lusitano decided to celebrate the quarter centenary of Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama's voyage to India.¹⁸ As the festivities approached, Xavier canceled Club Vasco da Gama's celebration in light of the Bubonic plague, an epidemic that had been spreading across Hong Kong, Macau and Canton since 1894. In addition, Club Vasco da Gama announced that the subscriptions for the festivities would be used for 'the best humanitarian and patriotic' purpose in assisting victims of the plague.¹⁹ Club Lusitano decided to postpone its celebration, leaving space for Xavier to criticise its choice. In *O Porvir*, Xavier wrote that Club Lusitano lacked a 'public character,' representing

¹⁷ 'Hong Kong Printing Press Limited Prospectus,' HKRS95-1-45, Hong Kong Public Records Office, Hong Kong.

¹⁸ The Royal Geographical Society also commemorated the event. For this, see *The Geographic Journal* 12, no. 1 (1898), 10-19.

¹⁹ *O Porvir*, 8 May 1898, cited in José Simões Morais, 'Festejos em HK nos Clubes portugueses' (Festivities in Hong Kong in Portuguese Clubs), *hojemacau*, 27 July 2018.

only its members and excluding the majority of Macanese residents in the colony. Xavier took the opportunity to criticise Club Lusitano as an Anglicised organisation. He maintained that the Club would not be able to organise a successful celebration because its members had resided in the British colony for too long and had been disconnected from Portuguese knowledge and culture.²⁰ In turn, he envisioned Club Vasco da Gama's celebration to have had 'a stronger national character,' attracting a larger audience from the colony's Macanese community.

The tension was inflamed by counter-attacks made in another Portuguese-language newspaper, *O Extremo Oriente*, which worked to criticise Club Vasco da Gama.²¹ The 'division' within Hong Kong's Macanese surfaced through these newspapers. This appalled the Macanese in Macau, who urged, through their own Portuguese-language newspaper, *Echo Macaense*, for the two clubs to reconcile for the sake of chivalry and patriotism.²² Although reconciliation was not in sight, these developments marked the beginning of the construction of new Macanese diasporic identities that would take place in Hong Kong. They also help reveal the functions that British Hong Kong played as the 'hostland' of the Macanese diaspora. The colony not only provided a liberal space for wider debates but also provided settlers with a ground to imagine a 'Macanese' community based on hostility towards Anglicised first-generation immigrants and local-born Macanese raised in the British colony. The agency of being 'British' and/or 'European' served other purposes for non-British communities during this period. When Macanese and Indian, and Chinese civil servants petitioned for salary increases in 1898, they justified their claim by the fact of their 'Europeanised lifestyles.'

The first joint-petition of the Macanese and Indian civil servants, which provided detailed accounts of the city's inflation and expensive house-rents, resulted in a

²⁰ *O Porvir*, 14 May 1898, cited in Morais, 'Festejos em HK nos Clubes portuguesas.'

²¹ De Sá, *The Boys from Macau*, 77.

²² *Echo Macaense*, 13 March 1898, cited in José Simões Morais, 'Festejos de 1897 e o consul de Hong Kong' (Festivities of 1897 and the Hong Kong Consul), *hojemacau*, 20 July 2018.

failed effort.²³ The government did not provide an explanation for the decision. The Chinese petition, on the other hand, was successful. The Chinese petitioners claimed that being born in the colony and having had 'everyday contact with Europeans,' they were accustomed to a European diet as opposed to the traditional diet of pork, poultry, beef, fresh or dried fish, sweet potatoes, Chinese long beans and other Chinese vegetables. The Chinese also claimed to wear imported clothing from either Europe or America, made out of European material, thus contributing to higher costs of living.²⁴ The success of the Chinese petitioners led the Macanese and Indians to make a second attempt. In their second petition, the Macanese and Indians compared themselves with the Chinese in terms of 'Europeanness.' They stressed that they were the more 'European' population because the Chinese were 'entirely independent of European dress fabric and provisions' and possessed a non-European diet. They further pointed out that the Chinese had their homes in China but the Macanese and Indians, domiciled in Hong Kong, were 'brought up in and habituated to European modes of living.'²⁵ Although the second attempt also ended in failure, the case exemplifies the agency of being 'British' in various types of negotiations. In a similar vein of utilising 'Britishness' to achieve an end, Xavier sought to create and develop a 'Macanese' community that was more 'Portuguese,' particularly by making contrasts with Anglicised Macanese subjects who had been in the British colony for a longer period of time.

As the contention for being 'European' in the petitions, and the rivalry between 'old' and 'new' Macanese subjects reveal, Hong Kong witnessed new hierarchical divisions of race and class that furthered the segregation of people who belonged to the same ethnic background. Hong Kong's wealthy Europeans treated poor Europeans as 'outcastes,' pushing them to regroup themselves with marginal

²³ 'To Acting Colonial Secretary, Thomas Sercombe Smith,' 14 June 1898, CO 129/285, 215-217, The National Archives, London.

²⁴ 'To Major-General Wilson Black,' 17 June 1898, CO 129/285, 229-230, The National Archives, London.

²⁵ 'To Joseph Chamberlain, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies,' 15 September 1898, CO 129/285, 211-212, The National Archives, London.

Eurasian communities.²⁶ In other port-cities, similar patterns were taking shape. Late nineteenth-century Indies saw the exclusion of Indies-born Europeans and poor 'whites' from the European bourgeois community.²⁷ The categories of inclusion and exclusion had multiplied beyond difference in skin colour. In the Macanese case, there had been no clear indications that the rivalry initiated by Club Vasco da Gama against Club Lusitano was stimulated by class jealousy. Instead, the tension can be better understood by perceiving the Macanese community in late nineteenth-century Hong Kong as belonging to two distinct waves of immigration.²⁸ These two communities encountered different social, economic, cultural and colonial circumstances during and after settlement, which obstructed a unified community from taking shape. By the time the 'new' Macanese arrived, the 'old' Macanese had already become more 'British' and consolidated their social positions. It is difficult to identify whether the 'new' Macanese found it hard to enter the existing associational worlds of the 'old' Macanese or refused to become a part of it, but Xavier's efforts to construct a more 'Portuguese' community signified an attack against the older Macanese institution for being 'British.'

The problem of segregation would intensify with the subsequent diaspora of Macanese to other Asian coastal cities. By the early twentieth century, the Macanese were spread across Macau, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Canton and Kobe. In 1900, 978 'Portuguese' resided in Shanghai's International Settlement, with another thirty-five in the French Concession.²⁹ Seventy had settled down in Kobe and 1,956 lived in Hong Kong by 1901.³⁰ This widening scale of Macanese

²⁶ Henry J. Lethbridge, 'Caste, Class and Race in Hong Kong Before the Japanese Occupation,' in Marjorie Topley (ed.), *Hong Kong: The Interaction of Traditions and Life in the Towns* (Hong Kong: Royal Asiatic Society, Hong Kong Branch, 1975), 49.

²⁷ Robert Bickers, *Britain in China: Community, Culture and Colonialism, 1900-1949* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), 72-73; Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, 104, 106.

²⁸ For works that tackle tension within old and new migrants, see Stanislaus A. Blejwas, 'Old and New Polonias: Tensions within an Ethnic Community,' *Polish American Studies* 38, no. 2 (1981), 55-83; Hong Liu, 'New Migrants and the Revival of Overseas Chinese Nationalism,' *Journal of Contemporary China* 14, no. 43 (2005), 291-316.

²⁹ Wang, *Portuguese in Shanghai*, 9.

³⁰ *Directory and Chronicle 1904* (Hong Kong: Hongkong Daily Press, 1904), 71; *Hongkong Blue Book for the Year 1901* (Hong Kong: Noronha & Co., 1902), M2.

diaspora coincided with a time of economic and political instability in Portugal.³¹ The various Macanese responses to Portugal's developments will help us to unravel the growing differences amongst the Macanese, particularly in their feelings of association towards Portugal. In 1902, Portugal declared bankruptcy and trouble brewed in the Portuguese Angolan coast of Benguela its native Ovimbundu subjects launched an anti-colonial movement that lasted until 1904.³² Portugal tightened its control of the Portuguese empire but could only do so much as to enhance press censorship due to the government's preoccupation with problems at home and in the African colonies.

In September 1902, Macau's *Boletim Oficial* announced that the Ministry of Navy and Overseas Dominions had revised the Penal Code of 1886 on defamation against public authority and public morals, tightening the Portuguese government's grip over press censorship in Macau.³³ To such a development, a range of responses emerged, reflecting the growing dissension amongst the Macanese. In Macau, Luíz Gonzaga Nolasco da Silva, a Coimbra-educated barrister and son of politician and Sinologist Pedro Nolasco da Silva, penned a letter to the Overseas Ministry of the Portuguese empire. In light of Macau's press censorship, the letter was printed by Hong Kong-based Portuguese-language newspaper, *O Patriota*. Da Silva described Hong Kong as a liberal space where people reinforced feelings of patriotism. Macau was seen as experiencing 'denationalisation' due to its repressive atmosphere.³⁴ Pessimistic towards the future of Macau, he expressed his admiration towards British Hong Kong, writing, 'In Hong Kong, as in all British territories, the air of liberty is breathed, while in

³¹ Paulo Jorge Fernandes, Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses and Manuel Baiôa, 'The Political History of Nineteenth Century Portugal,' *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 1, no. 1 (2003), 7-8.

³² See Ricardo Roque, 'The Razor's Edge: Portuguese Imperial Vulnerability in Colonial Moxico, Angola,' *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 36, no. 1 (2003), 105-124.

³³ The new articles pledged, for instance to expel foreigners who committed such crimes in Portuguese territory for up to twelve years and declared that subjects prosecuted would be tried without formalities such as requisitions and queries. 'Parte official' (Official Part), *Boletim Oficial do Governador da Provincia de Macau* 2, no. 40 (4 October 1902), 329.

³⁴ Luiz Nolasco da Silva, 'Carta aberta ao sr. Ministro da Marinha e Ultramar' (Open Letter to Mr. Minister of the Navy and Overseas), *O Patriota*, 17 December 1902, 94.

Macau, as in the Portuguese colonies, the habit of arbitrariness and intolerance suffocates.’³⁵

In Hong Kong, Macau-born Agostinho Guilherme Romano, then President of Club Lusitano and Consul General for Portugal, encouraged the Macanese to make an outward protest. He urged the community to refrain from celebrating the birthday of the Portuguese King on September 28. The Macanese, however, declined to abandon the celebration. Romano was saddened by the lack of support and five days before the festivities resigned as President of the Club.³⁶ The day after the King’s birthday, the local newspaper revealed that Romano ‘held an “at home”’ celebration that morning but did not mention any event being held at Club Lusitano.³⁷ In Shanghai, the Macanese celebrated with a reception at the Consulate and ‘rejoic[ed] on a large scale at the Portuguese Club.’³⁸ In Macau, the celebration proceeded but without the enthusiasm of the previous years. The *Hongkong Telegraph* reported, ‘The festivities fell flat... and the usual concourse of eager holiday-seekers and participators in the national feast was minus the large majority of the Macaense element.’ The Governor disclaimed any disloyalty but expressed grief over the new laws imposed by the Portuguese government.³⁹

News of the celebrations and ‘non-celebrations’ amongst the Macanese reached the metropole. In late 1902, Portugal sent an ambassador, J. D’Azevedo Castello Branco to Peking to negotiate the expansion of Portuguese control towards the southwest of Macau. When Branco visited Hong Kong, he refused to attend Club Lusitano’s reception because the Club had been disrespectful towards the Portuguese King. Azevedo skipped the reception but Club Lusitano published a letter in the local newspaper, declaring its members’ loyalty to Portugal, and criticising Romano for single-handedly proposing an idea that was never

³⁵ Luiz Nolasco da Silva, ‘Carta aberta ao sr. Ministro da Marinha e Ultramar’ (Open Letter to Mr. Minister of the Navy and Overseas), *O Patriota*, 17 December 1902, 94.

³⁶ May Holdsworth and Christopher Munn (eds.), *Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012), 375.

³⁷ ‘Local and General,’ *The Hongkong Telegraph*, 29 September 1902, 4.

³⁸ ‘News from East Asia,’ *The North China Herald*, 1 October 1902, 670.

³⁹ ‘Macao’s Indignation, The Birthday of its King,’ *The Hongkong Telegraph*, 29 September 1902, 5.

endorsed by the Club's other members.⁴⁰ The various responses that emerged out of Portugal's new policies in Macau revealed not only varying degrees of attachment to Macau and Portugal, but also an imminent question of how to maintain solidarity amongst the Macanese that had been dispersed across Asia's various port-cities. This question increasingly became a consistent part of public discussion, particularly in the Lusophone press. In 1903, for instance, an article emerged entitled '*O future dos Macaenses*' (The Future of the Macanese). The writer asked, '*O que serão os Macaenses?*' (What will the Macanese be like?), and proceeded to define the Macanese as a 'race' consisting of all 'Portuguese' originating from Macau. The writer, concerned of the future of the 'Macanese race,' suggested that education, especially of women, was crucial in ensuring the Macanese did not face a bleak future.⁴¹ As we will see in the next section, such discussions would escalate in the 1920s.

Meanwhile in Hong Kong, new Macanese associational institutions in Kowloon provided spaces for the creation of a Macanese social circle away from the bourgeois-natured Club Lusitano. Macanese children went to the St. Mary's Canossian College, built in 1900 by the Institute of the Canossian Daughters of Charity. On Sundays, Macanese families attended mass at the Rosary Church, which was founded in 1905 under the donation of a Macanese, Dr. Anthony Gomes. Macau-born Gomes was educated in Bombay, London and Edinburgh and worked as a medical practitioner in Hong Kong between 1867 and 1894.⁴² In the same year, yet another Macanese club was formed, initially as a co-operative savings society with nineteen members who gathered after work to enjoy a game of cards.⁴³ In 1906, this club garnered enough subscriptions and sixteen new members, and was formally established as Club de Recreio, a recreational

⁴⁰ 'Recepção Ministro, o Exmo. Sr. José d'Azevedo Castello Branco, frustrada por motivos imprevistos' (Reception for Minister, the Hon. Mr. José d'Azevedo Castello Branco, Stopped for Unforeseen Reason), *O Patriota*, 5 November 1902, 70-71.

⁴¹ '*O future dos macaenses*' (The Future of the Macanese), *O Patriota*, 28 January 1903, 1.

⁴² Wright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hongkong*, 174.

⁴³ 'A Landmark in the Development of Kowloon: The Club de Recreio,' *The Rock* 1, no. 3 (March 1928), 86; C.A. da Roza and J.M. da Rocha, 'Shall We Remain Divided?,' *A Comunidade* 2, no. 11, May 1936, 3-5.

association for Macanese families in Kowloon.⁴⁴ Lisbello Xavier served as Club de Recreio's first President but no records have survived regarding his activities within the Club. The Club erected its first clubhouse at the junction of Kimberley Road and Nathan Road, equipped with billiard tables and two tennis courts in 1908.⁴⁵ By 1910, Club de Recreio's growing membership had already outgrown its old premises. It inaugurated a new clubhouse at Nathan Road with an area of 70,000 square feet, built with gentlemen's and ladies' dressing rooms, two grass and one cement tennis courts.⁴⁶ Although the establishment of this sports-oriented club echoed the emergence of a physical culture movement in Europe and Asia's colonies during this period, Club de Recreio was founded as space for the recreation of Macanese families in Kowloon and meant to encourage a new form of solidarity away from the influence of the Anglicised Club Lusitano.⁴⁷

The Macanese community in Kowloon bourgeoned during the inter-war years. Apart from Club de Recreio, the Little Flower Club, a 'Catholic Action Ladies Club' made up of mostly female members also inaugurated during 1910.⁴⁸ The Little Flower Club started across the harbour in a little room in the rectory of the Catholic Cathedral. Like Club de Recreio, its membership quickly grew and the Little Flower Club moved to a larger space, next door to Club de Recreio.⁴⁹ Kowloon's Macanese associations differed from old institutions like Club Lusitano. For one, the Club de Recreio admitted both men and women, and provided recreation for the entire family. For another, Club de Recreio did not have Club Lusitano's formality and was less associated with the colonial government. Whilst Club Lusitano often invited government officials and played 'God Save the Queen' at their events, Club de Recreio resorted to inviting only the

⁴⁴ Antonio M. Pacheco Jorge da Silva, *The Portuguese Community in Hong Kong: A Pictorial History* (Macau: Instituto Internacional de Macau, 2007), 43.

⁴⁵ Da Silva, *The Portuguese Community*, 43.

⁴⁶ 'Club de Recreio: Inauguration Ceremony,' *South China Morning Post*, 31 January 1910, 2.

⁴⁷ For the European physical culture movement in the colonial context, see Paul Dimeo, 'Colonial Bodies, Colonial Sport,' *The International Journal of History of Sport* 19, no. 1 (200), 72-90; Boria Majumdar, *Cricket in Colonial India 1780-1947* (New York: Routledge, 2008); Joseph S. Alter, 'Kabbadi, a National Sport of India: The Internationalism of Nationalism and the Foreignness of Indianness,' in Noel Dyke (ed.), *Getting into the Game: The Anthropology of Sport* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 81-116.

⁴⁸ Its founding members were Hedewiges da Silva, Bertha Vaz Baretto, Aurea Baptista and Dona Reça. For this, see Da Silva, *The Portuguese Community*, 45.

⁴⁹ Da Silva, *The Portuguese Community*, 45.

Portuguese Consul General for its inauguration, complemented by a performance of the Portuguese national anthem by the Sociedade Philharmonica.⁵⁰ In fact, the Club tried to incorporate touches of Portugal into its institution. The Club's emblem, a blue and white flag, was meant to mirror the flag of the Portuguese monarchy. When Portugal became a Republic in 1910, Portugal's flag was replaced with green and red colours. Members of the Club de Recreio debated on whether to change the Club's emblem with Portugal's new representative colours but decided in a general meeting that the Macanese community wanted to keep the old flag as a sign of sympathy to the monarchy.⁵¹ The Macau government shared this lack of enthusiasm towards the new Portuguese Republic, still plagued by economic problems and diplomatic disputes with China regarding the territorial border of Macau.⁵²

Club de Recreio had a local and inter-port presence, not only participating in local and inter-port sports events, but also in organising district-bound activities meant for the residents of Kowloon. In 1912, Club de Recreio's tennis team joined the Hongkong Tennis League and competed against the Kowloon Cricket Club, the Chinese Y.M.C.A. and the Civil Service team.⁵³ As a 'Kowloon' association, the Club admitted non-Macanese members, particularly those close to the social circles of Kowloon residents. One of the Club's non-Macanese members was Italian Reverend of Rosary Church, Father Spada. Father Spada was a well-cherished member of the club. When he left for a newly appointed mission in China, the Club organised a farewell gathering. The colony's Portuguese Consul, as well as members of the Club, attended the gathering to say their goodbyes to the Reverend.⁵⁴ Certainly, Club de Recreio had a more 'grassroots' nature and functioned as a community center for 'old' and 'new' Macanese subjects who found an alternative associational world in Kowloon.

⁵⁰ 'Club de Recreio: Inauguration Ceremony,' *South China Morning Post*, 31 January 1910, 2.

⁵¹ Da Silva, *The Portuguese Community in Hong Kong: A Pictorial History*, 45.

⁵² Luís Cunha, 'Macau between Republics: Neither War nor Peace (1914-1918),' *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 15, no. 1 (2017).

⁵³ 'Hongkong Tennis League,' *South China Morning Post*, 20 May 1912, 10; 'Hongkong Tennis League: Y.M.C.A. Beat Club de Recreio,' *South China Morning Post*, 6 May 1912, 11; 'League Tennis: Club de Recreio v. Chinese Y.M.C.A.,' *South China Morning Post*, 19 June 1912, 10; 'To-day's Sports,' *South China Morning Post*, 29 June 1912, 13.

⁵⁴ 'Farewell to Father Spada: Presentations at Club de Recreio,' *South China Morning Post*, 10 March 1913, 6.

By 1911, the Macanese population of Hong Kong had exceeded two thousand. 490 Macanese were residing in Kowloon, nearly three times the Macanese population on this side of the colony only a decade earlier.⁵⁵ With a dramatic increase in the overall Macanese population came larger needs for provisions and welfare. In 1915, Hong Kong-born Macanese businessman Francisco Paulo de Vasconcelos Soares initiated the establishment of the *Associação Portuguesa de Socorros Mutuos*.⁵⁶ The Association, aimed at assisting needy people 'of Portuguese nationality, parentage or descent,' started with 423 members.⁵⁷ Apart from helping widowed and unemployed Macanese, it offered Macanese children from poor families educational opportunities through scholarships and school funds.⁵⁸ Notably, the Association regarded facilitating Portuguese-language learning as one of its responsibilities. Under the umbrella of the Association, the '*Escola de Portugues*' (Portuguese School; Fig. 20) provided Portuguese-language classes for its members.

⁵⁵ The majority of the Macanese, which totaled 2,059, continued to live in Victoria. In 1901, there were only 126 Macanese residents in Kowloon. *Hongkong Blue Book for the Year 1911* (Hong Kong: Noronha & Co., 1912), N1; *Hong Kong Blue Book for the Year 1901* (Hong Kong: Noronha & Co., 1902), M2.

⁵⁶ Soares, also known as 'Father of Homantin 何文田,' developed the Kowloon suburb of Homantin in the 1920s. The Soares Avenue, Emma Avenue and Julia Avenue to the east of Victory Avenue were named after his surname, and the first names of his wife and daughter. For Soares, see J. Bosco Correa, 'Francisco Paulo de Vasconcelos Soares,' *Macaneselibrary*, 2016.

⁵⁷ *Memorandum and Revised Articles of Associação Portuguesa de Socorros Mutuos* (Hong Kong: Noronha & Company, 1928), 1-4; 8.

⁵⁸ Vicente Ferrer Soares, 'Report for 1929,' 31 December 1929, 3 September 1930, VI-08-02, Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archives, Hong Kong.

Fig. 20: Advertisement for Portuguese-language classes in the *SCMP*

AVISO.

**ASSOCIACAO PORTUGUESA DE
SOCORROS MUTUOS.**

ESCOLA DE PORTUGUES.

Previne-se os interessados que as Aulas desta Escola comecarao a funcionar desde Segunda-feira, 8 do corrente, nos logares de costume.

Para outras informações, e aquisição de livros, dirigir ao Professor, Revmo. Snr. Pe. Benjamin da Silva.

Hongkong 5 de Setembro de 1919.

O. Secretario,
Vincente F. Soares.

Vincente F. Soares, Secretary of the *Associação Portuguesa de Socorros Mutuos* announced on page 4 of the *South China Morning Post* (September 6, 1919) that the classes of the 'Portuguese School' would operate on Mondays at 8 o' clock in its usual location.

There are no sources that allow us to trace the membership of the new Macanese associational institutions and where these members resided during the 1910s. However, there was no denying that a Macanese community, isolated in terms of

activities from the Hong Kong-side, was thriving. Club de Recreio took pride in its Kowloon identity. In 1919, the Club sought for a larger space to accommodate its increasing membership, coinciding with the colonial government's conditional approval of a housing scheme for the Macanese on Hong Kong island. Known as the 'Portuguese Reservation Area,' the plan was proposed by Cornish businessman and Councils member, Charles Montague Ede.⁵⁹ Club de Recreio's President, Pedro Botelho had informed José Pedro Braga about the Club's desire to look for a larger site. In the event, Braga, involved with recruiting interested parties for Ede's scheme, went ahead and placed an informal application for a site on behalf of Club de Recreio.⁶⁰ In response, President Botelho asked Braga to kindly withdraw the application, writing, 'You appreciate the Club would not be interested in any property which is situated outside of Kowloon.'⁶¹

Ede also noted the Kowloon residents' unwillingness to move across the harbour. When the Portuguese Reservation Area was initially proposed in the Kowloon area of King's Park, Homantin, the project received a considerable number of applicants from Macanese subjects residing in Kowloon. The plan, however, was relocated to Hong Kong island, on the plateau above Soo-kon-poo 掃桿埔 Valley on the south side of Causeway Bay (Fig. 21). This resulted in a number of Macanese withdrawing their application simply because they were not interested in moving to the island. In a memorandum for the Housing Scheme, Ede observed, 'It is only natural that the present residents of Kowloon who have settled, so to speak, with their families, relatives and friends at Kowloon should not readily regard with favour a return to the Island,' and added that those 'who have not yet crossed the harbour, either by force of circumstances or choice, to

⁵⁹ This housing scheme was first proposed by Charles Montague Ede, in 1912. In a letter to the government, Ede wrote that the matter of housing for the Macanese was 'an urgent one' and petitioned for the government to forward his proposal to the Secretary of State for a piece of land at the back of Wong Nai Chung (黃泥涌) in Wanchai. For this, see C. Montague Ede, 'To Governor Frederick Lugard,' 1 March 1912, CO 129/408, The National Archives, London.

⁶⁰ For a list of applications to the Housing Scheme, see MS 4300 13.1/2, J.M. Braga Papers, The National Library of Australia, Canberra.

⁶¹ Pedro Botelho, 'To J.P. Braga,' 15 April 1919, MS 4300 13.1/2, J.M. Braga Papers, The National Library of Australia, Canberra.

reside in Kowloon, for the most part, [did] not object to the new site.’⁶² The housing scheme did not succeed and the Macanese moved instead, in large numbers, to another of Ede’s housing plans, the Kowloon Tong ‘Garden City’ during the early 1920s.

Fig. 21 Map showing Ho Man Tin and Soo-kon-poo



The two areas marked in this 1922 map from the *Hong Kong Historic Maps* shows the two locations of Ede’s proposed housing scheme. ‘A’ marks King’s Park, Homantin in Kowloon, the original site and the new location in Hong Kong island is marked ‘B.’

A Kowloon-based Catholic magazine, *The Rock*, further acknowledged Kowloon’s increasingly distinct identity in Hong Kong and the significant presence of the Macanese in the Peninsula. In 1922, for instance, the magazine reported on recent strikes in the colony and highlighted the loyalty of Macanese residents of Kowloon to the colonial government. In the event, around forty Macanese men from Homantin volunteered to serve as special constables for the Kowloon

⁶² C. Montague Ede, ‘Housing Scheme, Memorandum by Mr. C. Montague Ede,’ 17 April 1919, MS 4300 13.1/2, J.M. Braga Papers, The National Library of Australia, Canberra.

district.⁶³ The magazine often printed articles regarding the activities of Club de Recreio and Rosary Church and informed its readers whenever a member of the Macanese community died. The isolation of Kowloon from Hong Kong island also made cross-harbour relationships an unusual union. Cassiano Dias Azedo, a Macanese born and raised in the Hong Kong-side who married Lucy Heloisa Jorge, a girl from Kowloon described the extraordinary circumstances of their meeting as, 'I was a Hong Kong boy and she was a Kowloon girl.'⁶⁴ In an interview with the *South China Morning Post*, Azedo recalled that Jorge had never set foot in the Hong Kong island until she met Azedo at a mass in Rosary Church.⁶⁵ He was then residing in Canton where he worked as a clerk and had gone to Rosary Church during one of his visits to Hong Kong.

These references, together with the formation of new Macanese associations, reveal the rapid development of Kowloon as a significant space for the construction of a 'new' Macanese identity. Within the span of two decades, Kowloon had provided its Macanese residents with a new home, social circle and identity away from the 'old' Macanese identity built by Anglicised Macanese men and Club Lusitano in the last century. During the late 1920s, Kowloon would become home to *Liga Portuguesa de Hongkong*, the nationalistic institution that sought to save the 'Macanese race' from division caused by historical circumstances and migration. The League collaborated closely with Club de Recreio and the *Associação Portuguesa de Socorros Mutuos* to promote a sense of diasporic nationalism that aimed to resolve the 'denationalisation' of the Macanese through the promotion of Portuguese language and culture and the distribution of nationalistic propaganda in Hong Kong, Shanghai, Canton and Kobe. These will be further discussed in the third section of this chapter.

'The Portuguese of the East'

⁶³ 'From the Editor's Chair,' *The Rock* 2, no. 10 (July 1922), 336.

⁶⁴ Cassiano Dias Azedo, 'Cassiano Dias Azedo,' *South China Morning Post*, 23 June 2003.

⁶⁵ Azedo would become a prominent leader of the Macanese community in the colony after the end of the Second World War. Cassiano Dias Azedo, 'Cassiano Dias Azedo,' *South China Morning Post*, 23 June 2003.

The narrative of the Macanese community from the 1920s to 1941 connects Hong Kong to a wider world of historical events and junctions linked to the emergence of new forms of nationalism. It fits in the wider histories of social tension caused by new waves of nationalism tied to local, regional and transnational developments.⁶⁶ Furthermore, it mirrors complex histories of diasporic nationalism that unfolded in other Asian colonies.⁶⁷ It resonates with the state deployment of European cultural nationalism amongst expatriate communities in Asia. In Shanghai, the German communities showed active support for the Third Reich and German diplomats implemented the racial policies enforced by the Nazi authorities in 1933.⁶⁸ In a similar vein, the Macanese in Hong Kong, through the publications of *Liga Portuguesa*, proclaimed their admiration for the dictatorial regime of Salazar, all while the other colonised communities of the Portuguese empire showed anti-colonial sentiments.

The idea of Macanese solidarity and 'Portuguese nationalism' *Liga Portuguesa* advocated first emerged in the Portuguese colony of Macau and was linked to the developments taking place in China and Portugal, as well as Hong Kong and Macau. It served as a response to observations of 'denationalisation' amongst Hong Kong's Macanese community, observed in their readiness to fight and die alongside the British during the First World War. The Macanese community in Shanghai acknowledged this, noting in *The Shanghai Times* that 'Our compatriots in Hongkong are offering their services to the British Government to ... defend

⁶⁶ The rise of anti-semitism, for instance, was a transnational phenomenon that spread across different parts of Europe, particularly in central and eastern Europe. Europe also saw a clash between the nationalist policies of successor states and the irredentist nationalism of defeated states. Another type of nationalism that emerged under this wave was religious nationalism. For these, see Ezra Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe Between the World Wars* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983); Oliver Zimmer, 'Nationalism in Europe, 1918-45,' in John Breuilly (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 414-435; Mathew Feldman and Marius Turda, 'Clerical Fascism' in *Interwar Europe: An Introduction, Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 8, no. 2 (2007), 205-212.

⁶⁷ For works on the emergence of experimental patriotism and nationalism during this period, see, for instance, Ching-Fatt Yong, "'Nanyang Chinese Patriotism towards China Knows No Political Boundaries": The Case of Tan Kah Kee (1874-1961),' *Archipel* 32 (1986), 165-169.

⁶⁸ Françoise Kreissler, 'In Search of Identity: The German Community in Shanghai, 1933-1945,' in Robert Bickers and Christian Henriot (eds.), *New Frontiers: Imperialism's New Communities in East Asia, 1842-1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 211-230.

the flag under which they were born.' The newspaper described the volunteers as born and educated in Hong Kong, and remarked that they '[we]re showing their patriotism to the colony of their birth place.'⁶⁹ In 1915, Frank Soares, joined by three other Macanese in the Hongkong Volunteer Corps, died in action in France. He was remembered in a mass attended by Lieutenants and members of the Hongkong Volunteer Corps, the Portuguese Platoon of the Police Reserve and the colony's Macanese clubs, his catalfalque draped with the Union Flag, together with his helmet and the side arms of the Hongkong Volunteers.⁷⁰ When Portugal finally entered the war in 1916, the Macau government enlisted 'Portuguese' residents in the enclave and recalled the Portuguese Company of the Shanghai Volunteer Corps but did not call for the help of the Macanese community of Hong Kong.⁷¹ The service of the Shanghai volunteers was eventually not required, but one account claims that when the Captain of the Volunteer Corps asked who would offer their services to the Portugal Republic, the entire company stepped forward.⁷²

The events that led to the pioneering initiation of patriotism amongst the Macanese communities across Asia were tied to Portugal's political transformations, and the appointment of a new Governor in Macau. The 1920s was a turbulent era for Portugal, marked by the rise of energetic political parties in the parliament, factional division and the counter-revolutionary 'Lusitanian Integralism,' followed by the demise of the First Republic.⁷³ Portugal's instability reverberated across the Portuguese empire. In Goa, the lack of policy changes under the government of the First Republic led to the establishment of a new 'collaboration' between Catholics and Hindus, and between Lisbon and Goa to promote nationalist sentiments in Portuguese India. This became a part of Portuguese India's transnational anti-colonial movement that struggled against

⁶⁹ 'Portugal Wants War: "Neutrality, Never!," Macao in Grip of War Spirit, Volunteers from Hongkong,' *The Shanghai Times*, 24 October 1914, 4.

⁷⁰ 'Late Private Frank Soares: Requiem Service,' *South China Morning Post*, 6 July 1915, 3.

⁷¹ Macau entered the war with around 150 men. For the Macau Volunteer Corps, see Cunha, 'Macau between Republics.'

⁷² Wang, *Portuguese in Shanghai*, 34.

⁷³ Formed by young thinkers, 'Lusitanian Integralism' was a counter-revolutionary movement that advocated traditionalism and supported the restoration of monarchical rule. For Portugal's political development, see Tom Gallagher, *Portugal: A Twentieth-Century Interpretation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), 30-36.

the Portuguese empire and facilitated the advocacy of Goan self-determination.⁷⁴ In Macau, the new Governor, Dr. Rodrigo José Rodrigues, sought to initiate a patriotic movement that was meant to unite the Macanese and strengthen their loyalty to Portugal.

Born in Portugal in 1879, Rodrigues was trained to be a physician but chose a career as an army officer for the Portuguese empire. In the 1900s, he served in Cape Verde, India, and became a member of the Colonial Council. From 1922 to 1924, he served as the Governor of Macau. During his short stint as Governor, Rodrigues observed the lack of nationalistic sentiments amongst the Macanese and segregation within the community. In 1923, he set off to change the situation, proposing '*Lar dos Portugueses no Oriente*' (Home of the Portuguese in the East), a project aimed at instigating patriotic sentiments through promoting Portuguese culture. Rodrigues also wanted to unite the Macanese spread across China through a shared affinity towards Portugal. '*Lar dos Portugueses no Oriente*' inaugurated in a formal announcement on *Boletim Oficial*. According to the announcement, the Macau government wanted, through the project, to develop the 'national spirit' of the Macanese, strengthen their ties to Macau and encourage the teaching and learning of the Portuguese language. '*Lar dos Portugueses no Oriente*' consisted of twelve articles, which combined to create an umbrella meant to facilitate mutual aid amongst the Macanese in Hong Kong, Shanghai and Canton under the leadership of Macau and set up a school for the teaching of Portugal's history and the Portuguese language. These initiatives included the establishment of a boarding school for Macanese boys and a school for Macanese girls aged six to fifteen.⁷⁵

Under the project, Rodrigues proposed the provision of financial assistance to existing Macanese organisations. To Hong Kong, he suggested providing 177,000 Patacas to support Club Lusitano and funds to the *escola de Portugueses* under the

⁷⁴ For this, see Sandra Atáie Lobo, 'The Languages of the Goan Periodical Press, 1820-1933,' in José Luís Garcia, Chandrika Kaul, Filipa Subtil and Alexandra Santos (eds.), *Media and the Portuguese Empire* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 78.

⁷⁵ '*Lar dos Portugueses no Oriente*,' *Boletim Oficial do Governador da Provincia de Macau*, no. 10, 15 March 1923, 192-194.

Associação Portuguesa de Socorros Mutuos. In addition, Rodrigues wanted to subsidise the establishment of '*casa da comunidade portuguesa*' (home of the Portuguese community) in Shanghai and allocate funds for the printing of propaganda in Macau.⁷⁶ In order to centralise the various initiatives of '*Lar dos Portugueses no Oriente*,' Rodrigues suggested that the project acquire a site that could house social activities intended for Macanese members from within and outside Macau. During his brief governorship, Rodrigues made June 10 a holiday to celebrate Camões's death. In 1924, he invited schools and soldiers to join him in paying homage to the poet's old residency at the Grotto. According to Manuel Teixeira, Rodrigues was such 'an ardent patriot and Camões enthusiast' that he burst into tears during his speech on the day of the celebration.⁷⁷ Although Rodrigues's enthusiasm in instigating a sense of Portuguese nationalism amongst the Macanese in the China coast was an unprecedented advocacy, his proposal was not executed due to a lack of funds and fervour from the Macanese communities.

In 1924, Rodrigues left Macau and joined the League of Nation's Portuguese legation. Although '*Lar dos Portugueses no Oriente*' did not become a reality, Rodrigues's vision of uniting the Macanese through patriotism paved the way for wider, more radicalised discussions directed at the Macanese communities in Hong Kong. By this time, Hong Kong's Macanese were committed to the administration and played an active role in helping maintain the colony's social order. When the Chinese working class, backed by the Chinese Communist Party, organised a large-scale 'anti-imperialist' strike in protesting against British orders to attack Chinese demonstrators at the Shanghai International Settlement in 1925, Macanese residents took over the duties that the Chinese had abandoned. The *South China Morning Post* reported,

No section of the community has more enthusiastically responded to the call for volunteers than the Portuguese. They are found to be carrying out

⁷⁶ 'Proposta n° 11' (Proposal no. 11), *Boletim Oficial do Governor da Provincia de Macau*, no. 10, 15 March 1923, 192-194.

⁷⁷ To date, the event is celebrated in Macau as the 'Day of Portugal, Camões and the Portuguese Communities' and in Portugal as 'Day of Portugal' on June 10. For Rodrigo and the 'Camões Day,' see Padre Manuel Teixeira, *A Gruta de Camões em Macau* (Macau: Fundação Macau e Instituto Internacional de Macau, 1999), 67-68.

splendid work at the Dairy Farm, on the trams, as special constables and in various other ways, even including Hospital duties. For instance, the Government Civil Hospital kitchen department is now run by four Portuguese gentlemen ... Very useful service has also been done by a number of Portuguese girls in working lifts, etc.⁷⁸

While the colony's Chinese 'bourgeois' helped the British administration negotiate with the Chinese workers, the Macanese kept Hong Kong running through their volunteer work.⁷⁹

In 1926, Macanese writer Montalto de Jesus wrote about his observations of 'denationalisation' amongst Hong Kong's Macanese. He blamed the failure of '*Lardos Portugeses no Oriente*' to what he observed as 'old, deep-seated resentment' caused by the 'systematic neglect of national interest' amongst 'many Hongkong-born Portuguese [who had] registered themselves as British subjects for business purpose.' Believing that Macanese people should be patriotic and loyal to Portugal, De Jesus praised Macanese subjects who 'stuck to their nationality with a martyr-like tenacity.'⁸⁰ Despite such criticism, the Macanese community in Hong Kong continued to show allegiance to the British administration. The Portuguese Company of the Hongkong Volunteer Defence Corps was formed in 1927 with more than seventy members.⁸¹ The increase in interest in volunteering for the British colony's local auxiliary military force and the fact that anyone volunteering had to take the oath of allegiance to King George created a new air of anxiety and tension surrounding the 'denationalisation' of Hong Kong's Macanese and their lack of loyalty to Portugal.

A series of debates unraveled on whether the Portuguese Company represented Portugal and if Macanese volunteers were still considered as 'Portuguese' subjects. The Portuguese Consul clarified in *South China Morning Post* that the

⁷⁸ 'The Strike Situation: Improvement all along the Line, the Tramway Service,' *South China Morning Post*, 25 July 1925, 8.

⁷⁹ For a detailed account of the strike and the various actors involved, see Robert James Horrocks, 'The Guangzhou-Hongkong Strike, 1925-1926, Hong Kong Workers in an Anti-Imperialist Movement,' PhD diss., The University of Leeds, 1994.

⁸⁰ De Jesus, *Historic Macao*, 481-482.

⁸¹ 'Brass Band for the Volunteers,' *Hongkong Telegraph*, 22 April 1927,1.

Portuguese Company was not sponsored by Portugal and consisted of ‘members of the British community of Portuguese descent.’⁸² This triggered a resident to question whether the Consul planned to strip Macanese volunteers of the Defence Corps of their national status. The writer criticised the Portuguese Consul, expressing, ‘Surely such a worthy movement should meet with support rather than rancour from Portuguese nationals.’⁸³ In response, another resident, writing under the name ‘Portuguese Citizen,’ expressed support for the Portuguese Company but urged Macanese volunteers to apply for permission from the Portuguese Consul before joining the Volunteer Corps.⁸⁴ The confusion was cleared when the Portuguese Consul notified the public, through the *Government Gazette*, that any ‘Portuguese’ enlisting in the Portuguese Company would not be regarded as having renounced his status as a ‘Portuguese subject.’ According to the report, although a ‘Portuguese’ volunteer was regarded as carrying the same status as all other volunteers who were British subjects, the Portuguese Consul would not ask him to renounce his Portuguese nationality, nor question his status as a Portuguese subject.⁸⁵

In the next few years, the Macanese turned their attention to debates regarding nationalistic sentiments *vis-à-vis* the idea of a unified Macanese community in Asia. In November 24, 1928, Shanghai’s *The China Weekly Review* printed an article entitled ‘The Macao Question.’⁸⁶ The article highlighted the dispersal of the Macanese across Asian port-cities and noted that the Macanese were ‘making a brave fight for existence,’ particularly in view of Macau’s decline, the disappearance of the Portuguese tongue within the community, and Portugal’s neglect of its people. The writer, using the initials ‘J.A.J.,’ suggested that the League of Nations propose the return of Macao to China, and claimed to have overheard in conversations amongst the Macanese ‘in secret conclave’ their

⁸² ‘Local and General,’ *South China Morning Post*, 24 February 1927, 2.

⁸³ Citizen, ‘Volunteers,’ *South China Morning Post*, 25 February 1927, 8.

⁸⁴ Portuguese Citizen, ‘Volunteers, To the Editor, SCMP), *South China Morning Post*, 26 February 1927, 10.

⁸⁵ ‘The Volunteers: Portuguese Will Not Lose their Nationality, Position Explained,’ *South China Morning Post*, 2 July 1928, 14.

⁸⁶ The article caught the attention of the Macanese after being transcribed in the Canton Gazette on 4 November 1928. For the article, see J.A.J., ‘The Macao Question,’ *The China Weekly Review*, 24 November 1928, 437.

desire to place the city under the joint management of China and Portugal.⁸⁷ 'J.A.J.' was responding not only to the decline of Macau, but also the question of border dispute that had been re-ignited by China's political changes and the establishment of the Nanjing government under the Kuomintang. The Kuomintang had earlier on vowed to abolish all 'unequal treaties' in China.⁸⁸ In the writer's point of view, Macau belonged to China, geographically and physically; the Portuguese, 'arbitrarily denied Chinese Sovereignty.' But because China and Portugal had lived side-by-side for a long time, 'J.A.J.' proposed a joint management that would place Macau under a locally elected government of Chinese and Portuguese representatives and allow both nations an equal share of revenues.⁸⁹

Furious responses erupted amongst the Macanese. On November 16, 1928, at approximately half past eleven-thirty in the morning, the people of Macau gathered at the Paços de Concelho to protest against the article.⁹⁰ In Shanghai, the President of Club Lusitano Shanghai, Pedro V. Botelho made a statement of protest on behalf of the Macanese community.⁹¹ In Hong Kong, a meeting was held at Club Lusitano. Over 300 Macanese men and women attended the meeting, which concluded with a unanimous decision to not only protest against the article, but also re-affirm the Hong Kong Macanese community's loyalty to Portugal and defense of Macau.⁹² A Hong Kong-based Portuguese-language newspaper, *O Petardo*, printed a letter from a Macanese proclaiming to be

⁸⁷ J.A.J., 'The Macao Question,' *The China Weekly Review*, 24 November 1928, 437.

⁸⁸ The Portuguese paid rent to China for leasing Macau until Governor Ferreiro do Amaral declared Portuguese sovereignty over Macau and terminated the rent in 1846. Amaral was assassinated by Chinese men in 1849. The border dispute was formally resolved in 1887 by the Lisbon Protocol, wherein Qing China recognised the 'perpetual occupation' of Macau by the Portuguese. The question reappeared after the downfall of the Qing dynasty, re-opening negotiations between Portugal and China. This problem was reported and discussed in newspapers across China's port cities after the fall of the Qing and persisted during the inter-war period. For these, see, 'The Macao Dredging Question,' *The North-China Herald and Supreme Court & Consular Gazette*, 9 September 1911, 651; 'The Macao Boundry Question,' *The Canton Times*, 14 April 1920, 1; 'China's Disputes: Defining Boundaries the Macao Question Again,' *The Shanghai Times*, 24 February 1917, 4.

⁸⁹ J.A.J., 'The Macao Question,' *The China Weekly Review*, 24 November 1928, 437.

⁹⁰ 'Comicio em Macau,' *O Petardo* 1, no. 4 (December 1928), 7-8.

⁹¹ Carlos Jacinto Machado, 'Comicio de Protesto' (Protest Rally), *O Petardo* 1, no. 3 (November 1928), 3.

⁹² 'Macao Questions: Shanghai Portuguese Most Indignant, a Resented Article,' *South China Morning Post*, 29 December 1928, 10.

‘Macanese and Portuguese of soul and heart.’⁹³ The letter ended with ‘...we always want to be Portuguese. Viva Macau! Viva Portugal!’⁹⁴ Another response to the article appeared in *The China Weekly Review*. The writer criticised the factual inaccuracy in J.A.J.’s writing and emphasised, ‘the Macanese are wanting in loyalty to their Mother Country even if it were not a widely fact that residents in colonies abroad are always intensely patriotic; much more so in the parent countries.’⁹⁵

A few months later, a Macanese subject brought back ‘*Lar dos Portugueses no Oriente*’ in a letter to *O Petardo*. The writer expressed support over Rodrigues’s unfinished project, and suggested that in order to implement the idea of unifying the Macanese as one community, a Macanese subject representing all Macanese in the East should be appointed to the Council of Macau.⁹⁶ It was amidst the escalation of patriotic feelings and proposal of solidarity that the question of ‘denationalisation’ resurfaced. In January 1929, a writer asked *O Petardo* whom the Macanese presumed as leaders of the community in Hong Kong. An immediate response was printed that dismissed existing Macanese leaders in the colony, stating, ‘Não. A Comunidade Portuguesa de Hong Kong não tem *leaders*’ (No. The Portuguese community of Hong Kong has no *leaders*). Using José Pedro Braga and ‘J.A.J.’ as examples, the respondent declared that the so-called ‘leaders’ in Hong Kong had no right to become involved in matters exclusive to the ‘Portuguese’ community because they no longer possessed Portuguese citizenship and were ‘denationalised’ subjects.⁹⁷

The writer further suggested, out of ‘good intentions and from [feelings of] inflamed patriotism,’ that these ‘leaders’ go to the Portuguese Consulate to legalise their status before claiming to be leaders of the Macanese community.⁹⁸

⁹³ *O Petardo* was printed in Kowloon and edited by Isidro Maria da Costa. ‘Discurso,’ *O Petardo* 1, no. 4 (December 1928), 6.

⁹⁴ *O Petardo* was printed in Kowloon and edited by Isidro Maria da Costa. ‘Discurso,’ *O Petardo* 1, no. 4 (December 1928), 6.

⁹⁵ J.E.C., ‘Macao: A Reply to J.A.J.,’ *The China Weekly Review*, 5 January 1929, 231.

⁹⁶ ‘O Lar Dos Portugueses No Oriente’ (The Home of the Portuguese in the Orient), *O Petardo*, November 1929, no. 3, 3.

⁹⁷ ‘Os Nossos Leaders’ (Our Leaders), *O Petardo* 1, no. 5 (January 1929), 1.

⁹⁸ ‘Os Nossos Leaders’ (Our Leaders), *O Petardo* 1, no. 5 (January 1929), 1.

This article received support from other Macanese. A respondent wrote that Macanese subjects who had so far refused to renounce their nationality should serve as very good examples of the most sincere patriotic love.’ This writer suggested the appointment of Macanese subjects of Portuguese nationality to important positions in the British colony.⁹⁹ This marked another period in the split within the Macanese communities of Hong Kong, ignited by heated discussions regarding nationalism towards Portugal and the ‘disloyalty’ of Anglicised Macanese subjects in the colony. Advocating a heightened level of nationalism, *Liga Portuguesa de Hongkong* attempted to achieve what Rodrigues had envisioned in 1923. It worked to unite the Macanese across Asia, and in Hong Kong, strove to encourage as many Macanese as possible to counter the influence of British education and culture, be more ‘Portuguese,’ speak more Portuguese and devote themselves to the development and progress of Portugal.

Por Deus e pela Pátria, Portuguese nationalism in Hong Kong¹⁰⁰

For the Macanese in Hong Kong, the narrative of nationalism was complicated by the existence of various points of association between an ‘imagined homeland’ in Portugal, the ‘hostland’ of Hong Kong and a neighbouring place of ancestral origin, and for some, a place of birth in Macau. Existing between two empires, in particular, created a dilemma for these Macanese. Becoming ‘British’ in culture, and sometimes, in citizenship, was necessary for the practical survival and advancement of many subjects. According to the experience of Eddie Gosano, a Hong Kong-born Macanese who trained to be a doctor at the University of Hong Kong, all Luso-Asian subjects who were not of British extraction in Hong Kong came under the legal designation as ‘Chinese.’ In his memoir, Gosano wrote, ‘While we Portuguese were independent citizens of our native land, for all practical and legal purposes, in HK we were Chinese.’ Gosano further described the Macanese as a mixture of British and Portuguese heritage. The Macanese he knew, including himself, adopted the British way of life and spoke English as a first language whilst retaining their Portuguese heritage. For instance, they remained faithful to the Roman Catholic church and attended schools teaching

⁹⁹ ‘Aclarando’ (Clarification), *O Petardo* 1, no. 7 (February 1929), 1.

¹⁰⁰ The term translates to ‘For God and for the Nation,’ and was used by Almeida in some letters sent on behalf of *La Liga Portuguesa*.

the English language but also learned Portuguese, along with Latin, Spanish & French, as a foreign language. At home and within the community, Gosano and the Macanese he knew spoke a Portuguese patois.¹⁰¹

Under the widening discourse of nationalism in the late 1920s, the polyglot nature of Macanese people like Eddie Gosano became a problem. Their British education and upbringing were magnified as facets of denationalisation and disloyalty to Portugal. Unlike Xavier's attempts of condemning Anglicised Macanese, *Liga Portuguesa* sought to 're-nationalise' its peoples. In July 2, 1929, Januario Agostinho de Almeida established *Liga Portuguesa de Hongkong*, located in a small apartment in Kowloon.¹⁰² Born in Macau in 1887, Almeida worked as a clerk for the Hongkong Post Office. In 1916, he was instrumental in raising funds from Macanese communities in Macau, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Canton and Manila for gifts and comforts to Portuguese soldiers fighting in France. He also wrote to Portugal's newspapers during this time, urging as many volunteers as possible to proceed to the front.¹⁰³ Almeida's strong interest in advocating the use of Portuguese language was reflected in the teaching he did with his wife, Corina Antunes de Almeida, for the 'Portuguese School' of the *Associação Portuguesa de Socorros Mutuos* at No. 27 Granville Road, Kowloon. These classes served as substitute where schools closed down their Portuguese-language classes due to the low numbers of students. In 1929, at least four Macanese students attending Belilios School crossed the harbour to Almeida's Portuguese-language classes.¹⁰⁴ Almeida also taught Portuguese at St. Joseph's College and La Salle College in his spare time.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Eddie Gosano, *Hong Kong Farewell* (Hong Kong: Greg England, 1997), 56, 9.

¹⁰² The League's address was initially written as No. 15, Hankow Road, Kowloon but was later changed to another apartment in No. 41, Peking Road, Kowloon.

¹⁰³ Other founding members were Julio Augusto Gonsalves (Secretary) and Francisco José da Silva Loureiro (Treasurer). For Januario de Almeida, see 'Long Service: Post Office Clerk Retires after Thirty Years, Mr. J.A. d'Almeida,' *South China Morning Post*, 15 April 1937, 8.

¹⁰⁴ Vicente Ferrer Soares, 'Report for 1929,' 31 December 1929, 3 September 1930, VI-08-02, Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archives, Hong Kong.

¹⁰⁵ Other founding members were Julio Augusto Almeida (Secretary) and Francisco Silva Loureiro (Treasurer). For Januario de Almeida, see 'Long Service: Post Office Clerk Retires after Thirty Years, Mr. J.A. d'Almeida,' *South China Morning Post*, 15 April 1937, 8.

According to its by-laws, *Liga Portuguesa* served ‘national and regional interests’ and was dedicated to the defense of the interests of the Portuguese in Hong Kong.¹⁰⁶ Almeida described it as ‘interpreting the sentiments of the majority of Portuguese residents in Kowloon, especially those who were born in Macau.’¹⁰⁷ In light of its nationalistic objectives, the Portuguese Consul General strongly endorsed the League, offering support to its initiatives when possible. The Consul General was the *Liga’s* guarantor, and assisted in its registration under the Supreme Court.¹⁰⁸ The League operated within humble headquarters, consisting of a library and a small bar for the entertainment of its members.¹⁰⁹ In regard to association with other clubs, the League had a collaborative relationship with Kowloon’s existing Macanese associations, incorporating the *Associação* under its shelter and occasionally holding activities in Club de Recreio’s premises.¹¹⁰ Almeida served in the committees of *Liga Portuguesa* and the *Associação*, the latter where he held the position of ‘Honorary Secretary.’¹¹¹ These two organisations, both aimed at improving the welfare of the Macanese communities, worked closely in providing Portuguese-language education to the younger generation. For instance, the League acquired funds to open elementary Portuguese classes at the Maryknoll Convent of Kowloon, whilst the *Associação* provided textbooks for the students.¹¹²

Liga Portuguesa de Hongkong maintained an amicable relationship with Club Lusitano. Shortly after its formation, Almeida was invited to a reception at the

¹⁰⁶ ‘Januario de Almeida to Henry Valtorta,’ 17 November 1932, IV-08-02, Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archive, Hong Kong.

¹⁰⁷ ‘Estatutos da Liga Portuguesa de Hong Kong’ (By-laws of the Portuguese League of Hong Kong), MO/AH/AC/SA/01/12543, 1, Arquivo de Macau, Macau.

¹⁰⁸ The conference consisted of a lecture from Dr. Américo Pachego Jorge, followed by an intimate concert on the evening of June 28, 1931. ‘Januario de Almeida o Portuguese Consul of Hong Kong,’ 22 June 1931, S3.E1Z8.P6/40493, Arquivo Histórico Diplomático, Lisbon.

¹⁰⁹ The letter further revealed that the League’s premises held a library and a small bar for the entertainment of members ‘Consul General to Registrar,’ 28 January 1931, S3.E1Z8.P6/40493, Arquivo Histórico Diplomático, Lisbon.

¹¹⁰ ‘Januario A de Almeida to Portuguese Consulate of Hong Kong,’ 29 March 1932; ‘Portuguese Consulate General of Hong Kong to Governor of Macau,’ 7 April 1932; ‘Governor of Macau to Portuguese Consulate of Hong Kong,’ 13 April 1932, MO/AH/AC/SA/01/13875, Arquivo de Macau, Macau. See also, a news report from a later date, ‘Charity Concert: In Aid of Education of Poor Portuguese, Consul General Present,’ *South China Morning Post*, 22 July 1935, 8.

¹¹¹ Vicente Ferrer Soares, ‘Report for 1929,’ 31 December 1929, 3 September 1930, VI-08-02, Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archives, Hong Kong.

¹¹² ‘Januario A de Almeida to Portuguese Consulate of Hong Kong.’

Club to honour the Macau Governor's return from Lisbon with other existing Macanese associations.¹¹³ However, the two associations did not collaborate, perhaps due to their different objectives. Whilst Club Lusitano appealed to middle-class men and organised diplomatic events for visiting Portuguese officials, *Liga Portuguesa* aimed at recruiting Macanese people from all walks of life, as long as they were 'honest Portuguese citizens of good civil and moral reputation.'¹¹⁴ The subscription fee of the League was set at \$1, meant to encourage the involvement of as many Macanese as possible. In 1931, a conference entitled 'A União dos Portugueses de Hongkong (A Union of the Portuguese of Hong Kong) was held in the quarters of the League. The programme, supported by the Portuguese Consul General, consisted of a lecture from Dr. Américo Pachego Jorge, followed by an intimate concert for its members.¹¹⁵

One of the League's most important objectives was to provide resources to facilitate and promote the learning of the Portuguese language. Almeida believed that the Portuguese language was key to instilling feelings of patriotism amongst the Macanese, particularly of the younger generation.¹¹⁶ To achieve this end, the League introduced plans to build a public library that would be stocked with Portuguese-language and Portugal-related books. The League also set up '*Caixa Escolar*' (also known as the Portuguese Poor Children's School Fund) in 1931, which was meant to centralise subscriptions and subsidies for the education of Macanese children.¹¹⁷ When the Macau government put up a fund to promote the teaching of Portuguese in Hong Kong and Macau, they offered \$5,520 to the *Liga* for the purpose of setting up elementary Portuguese language classes in

¹¹³ 'Reception to Macao's Governor: Gathering of Portuguese Community Extends a Hearty Welcome,' 6 December 1929, 9.

¹¹⁴ 'Estatutos da Liga Portuguesa de Hong Kong,' MO/AH/AC/SA/01/12543, 15, Arquivo de Macau, Macau.

¹¹⁵ 'Januario de Almeida o Portuguese Consul of Hong Kong,' 22 June 1931, S3.E1Z8.P6/40493, Arquivo Histórico Diplomático, Lisbon.

¹¹⁶ 'Consul General to Registrar,' 28 January 1931, S3.E1Z8.P6/40493, Arquivo Histórico Diplomático, Lisbon.

¹¹⁷ 'Estatutos da Liga Portuguesa de Hong Kong,' 1; 'Estatutos da Caixa Escolar da Liga Portuguesa de Hongkong' (By-laws of the Portuguese Poor Children's School Fund of the Portuguese League of Hongkong), MS 4300.15.1/6, J.M. Braga Papers, The National Library of Australia, Canberra.

Kowloon.¹¹⁸ Due to its nationalistic objectives and *Liga Portuguesa's* appeal to the lower-class members of the community, the League was recognised by the Macau government as a prime Macanese association in Hong Kong.

The League was popular amongst Macanese subjects who identified with their Portuguese roots and held onto their Portuguese passports. By 1931, this made up more than half of Hong Kong's Macanese population. The census showed that out of the 'local Portuguese' in the colony, 2,088 claimed to be 'Portuguese citizens' and 1,089 identified as 'British subjects.'¹¹⁹ The results of a philanthropic campaign in 1931 reflected the influence that *Liga Portuguesa* had over the Macanese communities and its increasingly prominent position in Hong Kong. In August 31, Macau experienced a tragic incident. An explosion occurred in the Flora Barracks and resulted in forty-one casualties, including seven children. *Liga Portuguesa* and Club Lusitano worked separately to raise funds for the victims. On September 12, Almeida wrote a letter to the Governor of Macau, offering a cheque of \$4,000 subscriptions for their families.¹²⁰ By mid-September, the local newspaper reported that a grand subscription of \$14,090 had been collected by Macanese communities across China. In Hong Kong, the League had accumulated \$5,338 and Club Lusitano raised \$4,386. Macau raised \$3,795 and Shanghai's Macanese, \$571.¹²¹ In the next few months, the *Liga* continued its efforts to support the victims.¹²² Notably, the funds donated to *Liga Portuguesa* came not only from Macanese members, but also from the Consuls for Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, Japan, and Denmark and Norway, companies the Victoria Printing Press, the Hongkong Printing Press, Macao Timor Line, businessman and unofficial Legislative Council member Robert Kotewall, as well

¹¹⁸ Governor of Macau, 'Diploma legislative no. 196,' 1 August 1931, MO/AH/AC/SA/01/13562, Arquivo de Macau, Macau; 'President of Inspection Board of Chinese Schools to Director of Civil Administrative Services,' 2 August 1931, MO/AH/AC/SA/01/13562, Arquivo de Macau, Macau.

¹¹⁹ W.J. Carrie, *Report on the Census of the Colony of Hong Kong Taken on the Night of March 7, 1931* (Hong Kong: Noronha & Co., 1931), 133.

¹²⁰ 'Januario de Almeida to Governor of Macau,' 12 September 1931, S3.E1Z8.P6/40493, Arquivo Histórico Diplomático, Lisbon.

¹²¹ 'Macao Relief Fund: Total Subscriptions Raise Sum of \$14,090,' *South China Morning Post*, 19 September 1931, 14.

¹²² 'Joaquim Anselmo de Mata Oliveira to Consul General of Portugal in Hong Kong,' 3 December 1931, S3.E1Z8.P6/40493, Arquivo Histórico Diplomático, Lisbon.

as Europeans and Chinese citizens of the colony.¹²³ Club Lusitano's, on the other hand, came from the China Light & Power Co. and a combination of Chinese, European and Macanese donors. The Macau government acknowledged the League's leadership position in the collection of funds and invited President Almeida to a seat on the committee for the distribution of collected funds.¹²⁴

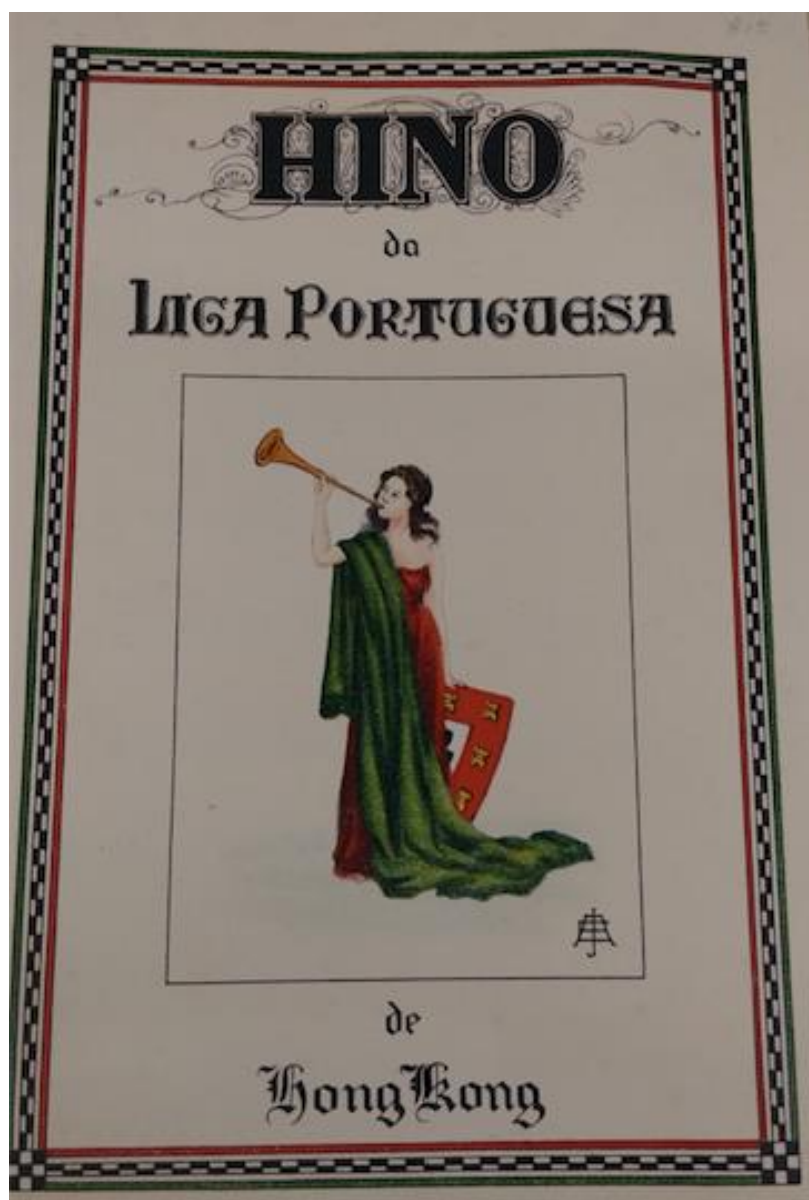
In the 1930s, the activities of *Liga Portuguesa* continued to expand, bringing its nationalistic advocacy to other aspects of Macanese social life. Apart from composing its own associational hymn (Fig. 22), the League had its own football and softball teams. Engaging further with the public, a magazine was founded to encourage the wider use of the Portuguese language and to aid the growth of *Caixa Escolar. Liga Portuguesa de Hongkong em Propaganda da Caixa Escolar* (Portuguese League of Hongkong, in Propaganda of its School Fund), later printed as *Liga Portuguesa de Hongkong em beneficio da sua 'Caixa Escolar'* (Portuguese League of Hongkong, In Aid of its School Fund; Fig. 23) came into existence. The magazine, written mostly in Portuguese and sometimes featuring English-language articles, reported the League's activities and developments in Portugal and the Portuguese empire. The magazine also worked as a platform for inter-port dialogue, printing letters written by Macanese subjects from inside and outside of the colony. Carlos Jacinto Machado, a prominent Macanese leader and representative of the League in Shanghai and a member of the Lisbon Geographic Society, wrote an article to commend the *Liga* for taking on the important task of uniting the Macanese in Asia.¹²⁵

¹²³ 'Macao Relief Fund: Subscriptions Received by Liga Portuguese,' *South China Morning Post*, 20 August 1931, 9; 'Macao Relief Fund: The Latest List of Subscriptions,' *South China Morning Post*, 22 August 1931, 9; 'Macao Relief Fund: More Donations to List of Subscriptions,' *South China Morning Post*, 25 August 1931, 10; 'Macao Relief Fund: Latest Donations Acknowledged, Liga Portuguesa List,' 3 September 1931, 9; 'Macao Relief Fund: The Latest Donations Acknowledged,' *South China Morning Post*, 11 September 1931, 9.

¹²⁴ 'Joaquim Anselmo de Mata Oliveira to Consul General of Portugal in Hong Kong,' 3 December 1931, Consulado de Hongkong, correspondencia 1931, S3.E1Z8.P6/40493, Arquivo Histórico Diplomático, Lisbon.

¹²⁵ Carlos Jacinto Machado, 'O problêma magno Macaense' (A Great Macanese Problem), *Liga Portuguesa de Hongkong em Propaganda da Caixa Escolar* (December 1932), 9.

Fig. 22: Hymn of *Liga Portuguesa de Hongkong*



'The Hymn of *Liga Portuguesa de Hongkong*' was composed by Pedro Xavier and the lyrics written by Julio Gonsalves. The lyrics of the hymn encouraged the Macanese to be patriotic and to work for Portugal's future. Some of its lines were, 'Go forward/ Forward, brothers/ For our great ideal/For the glorious future/Of the beloved Portugal!' (*Avante pois/Avante, irmãos/Pelo nosso grande Ideal/Pelo glorioso porvir/ Do nesso amado Portugal!*).¹²⁶

¹²⁶ 'Hino de Liga Portuguesa de Hongkong' (Hymn of Portuguese League of Hongkong), MS 4300 15.1/6, J.M. Braga Papers, The National Library of Australia, Canberra.

Within the colony, Hong Kong's Vicar Apostolic, Henry Valtorta, acknowledged the importance of the League in an article to *Propaganda da Caixa Escolar*. He wrote,

Without a "Liga," [the Macanese] cannot be bound together. There is a need for solidarity amongst the three thousand population within over a million others. Can they, as a body, even claim the mother language as their own? ...[The language] is going from the Schools, it is going from the Church, it is dying in the Clubs, it is dying in the homes. With it goes slowly, but surely, all taste for what is characteristically Portuguese.¹²⁷

Valtorta supported the Liga to continue its efforts in promoting the Portuguese tongue and proposed that they encourage its use both at home and in social situations.¹²⁸ Valtorta's support led to a new initiation. Upon Almeida's invitation, he joined the League's 'national movement' and on the condition that there would be at least 200 churchgoers, delivered a Sunday sermon in the Portuguese language at half-past eight in the Rosary Church during March 1933.¹²⁹ This intention of using the church to spread ideas of patriotism was unprecedented in the history of Hong Kong's Macanese clubs.

¹²⁷ Henry Valtorta, 'Liga Portuguesa de Hongkong,' *Liga Portuguesa de Hongkong em Propaganda da Caixa Escolar* (December 1932), 5.

¹²⁸ Henry Valtorta, 'Liga Portuguesa de Hongkong,' *Liga Portuguesa de Hongkong em Propaganda da Caixa Escolar* (December 1932), 5.

¹²⁹ 'Januario de Almeida to Henry Valtorta,' 17 November 1932, IV-08-02, Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archive, Hong Kong; 'Henry Valtorta to Januario de Almeida,' 5 January 1933, IV-08-02, Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archive, Hong Kong; 'Januario Almeida to Henry Valtorta,' 25 March 1933, IV-08-02, Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archive, Hong Kong.

Fig. 23: Cover of *Caixa Escolar*



This is a copy of the *Liga Portuguesa's* magazine, stored in the National Library of Australia, which helped to raise funds for its school fund, the '*Caixa Escolar*.' The cover of this edition features the League's emblem and colors of the *Estado Novo's* flag.¹³⁰

By this time, Portugal experienced another transition. António de Oliveira Salazar led the establishment of a new dictatorship under Portugal's Second Republic, the *Estado Novo* (New State). The new government sought to build a stronger sense of nationalism by glorifying Portugal's past; furthermore, Salazar deployed propaganda, such as maps showing an expanded Portuguese territorial border and colonial exhibitions, to integrate the Portuguese empire into the

¹³⁰ Liga Portuguesa de Hongkong, *Liga Portuguesa em Beneficio da Sua 'Caixa Escolar'* no. 1 (December 1933).

Portuguese ‘nation.’¹³¹ This new ‘nationalist-imperialist’ political discourse intertwined the ‘nation’ and the ‘empire,’ as the *Acto Colonial* (Colonial Act) of 1930 outlined, ‘It is part of the organic essence of the Portuguese Nation to carry out the historical function of colonising and owning overseas dominions and civilizing indigenous populations.’¹³² The Salazar government used the *Acto Colonial* to centralise its authority across the Portuguese empire, restricting political meetings, eliminating free press and enacting exploitative economic policies.¹³³ As we will see, ‘Portuguese nationalism’ in support of the Salazar regime prospered in Hong Kong under the *Liga’s* initiative, but the Portuguese colonies responded otherwise. Angolan colonial elites, for instance, took advantage of the 1934 *Exposição Colonial Portuguesa* (Portuguese Colonies Exhibition) to ‘subtly’ articulate ‘local identity’ by including a map printed by the Empresa Gráfica de Angola, a company owned by Adolfo Pina, an advocate of Angolan autonomy.¹³⁴

Goa, on the other hand, experienced a surge of interest towards ‘Goan identity’ and the intensification of anti-colonial sentiments triggered by the *Acto Colonial* and inspired by Mahatma Gandhi’s ‘silent revolution’ in India.¹³⁵ Furthermore,

¹³¹ For Salazar’s propaganda, see J.M. Cunha, *A Nação nas Malhas da sua Identidade: O Estado Novo e a construção da identidade nacional* (Stitching the Nation’s Identity: The New State and the Construction of National Identity; Oporto: Afrontamento, 2001). For Salazar’s use of cartography as a propaganda tool in advocating nationalism, see Heriberto Cairo, “‘Portugal is not a Small Country’: Maps and Propaganda in the Salazar Regime,” *Geopolitics* 11, no. 3 (2006), 367-395. Such propaganda continued throughout Salazar’s regime. An example is David Corkill and José Carlos Pina Almeida, ‘Commemoration and Propaganda in Salazar’s Portugal: The *Mundo Português* Exposition of 1940,’ *Journal of Contemporary History* 44, no. 3 (2009), 381-399.

¹³² Cairo, “‘Portugal is not a Small Country,” 371-372; Another example of Salazar’s cultural propaganda are the exhibition held in the Portuguese building at Antwerp in 1930 and the 1934 *Exposição Colonial Portuguesa* hosted in Porto. For these, see Matthew G. Stanard, ‘Interwar Pro-Empire Propaganda and European Colonial Culture: Toward a Comparative Research Agenda,’ *Journal of Contemporary History* 44, no. 1 (2009), 38-39; António Medeiros, *Two Sides of One River: Nationalism and Ethnography in Galicia and Portugal* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012), 259-284.

¹³³ For economic reforms in Portugal’s colonies and Salazar’s ‘colonial pact,’ which demanded raw materials from the African territories through largely forced labour, see Clarence-Smith, *The Third Portuguese Empire*, 147-191.

¹³⁴ Torin Spangler, ‘Whose Colonial Project? Angolan Elites and the Colonial Exhibitions of the 1930s: Notes on the Special Magazine Edition of *A provincial de Angola*, 15 August 1934,’ *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 16, no. 1 (2018).

¹³⁵ Goans had already begun to explore discourses of ‘Goan identity’ by this time. One example is Varde Valaulikar’s 1930 publication, *Konkani Bhaxechem Zoit* (Konkani’s Triumph), which proposed Konkani as the ‘mother tongue’ of Goans. For this, see Manohara Rai SarDessai, *A History of Konkani Literature (From 1500 to 1992)* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2000), 119-121.

Salazar's new racial policy of categorising Portuguese society into 'indigenous' and 'non-indigenous' pushed the non-Portuguese Catholic upper class population in Goa to question colonial rule and its inequalities.¹³⁶ In Macau, Salazar's policies did not have a crucial impact, prompting political exiles from other Portuguese colonies to escape to the Portuguese enclave.¹³⁷ The government of Macau, still in a territorial dispute with China and wary of increasing Chinese Communist activity, saw the *Acto Colonial* as an opportunity to encourage anti-Communist sentiments. Salazar's act of emphasising Portugal's claims over its overseas colonies justified Portuguese rule over Macau and strengthened the government's confidence against China's pressure. In 1933, it demanded its new civil servants to take an oath of 'anti-Communism' before entering the government.¹³⁸

Living away from the repressive policies of Salazar's regime, *Liga Portuguesa* responded positively to the new Portuguese government through an escalation of its public propaganda. In 1933, the League followed Macau's celebration of the death anniversary of Camões with the publication of a book about the poet (Fig. 24). In print, the League praised Salazar's leadership and portrayed him as an admirable figure. *Propaganda da Caixa Escolar* featured an article outlining Salazar's 'patriotic thoughts.' The magazine described Salazar as a 'true Portuguese soul, thirsting for life, peace and progress.'¹³⁹ In October, the League organised a gathering specifically to showcase the Macanese community's devotion to Portugal. The event was attended by the Vicar, the Acting Portuguese Consul General, Presidents of Club Lusitano, the *Associação*, Club de Recreio and

For developments in the Goan anti-colonial movement during the 1930s, see R.N. Saksena, *Goa: Into the Mainstream* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1974), 28.

¹³⁶ Anita A. Raut Desai, 'Voices in the Liberation Struggle: The Case of Goa, 1947-61,' PhD diss., Goa University, 2003, 26-27.

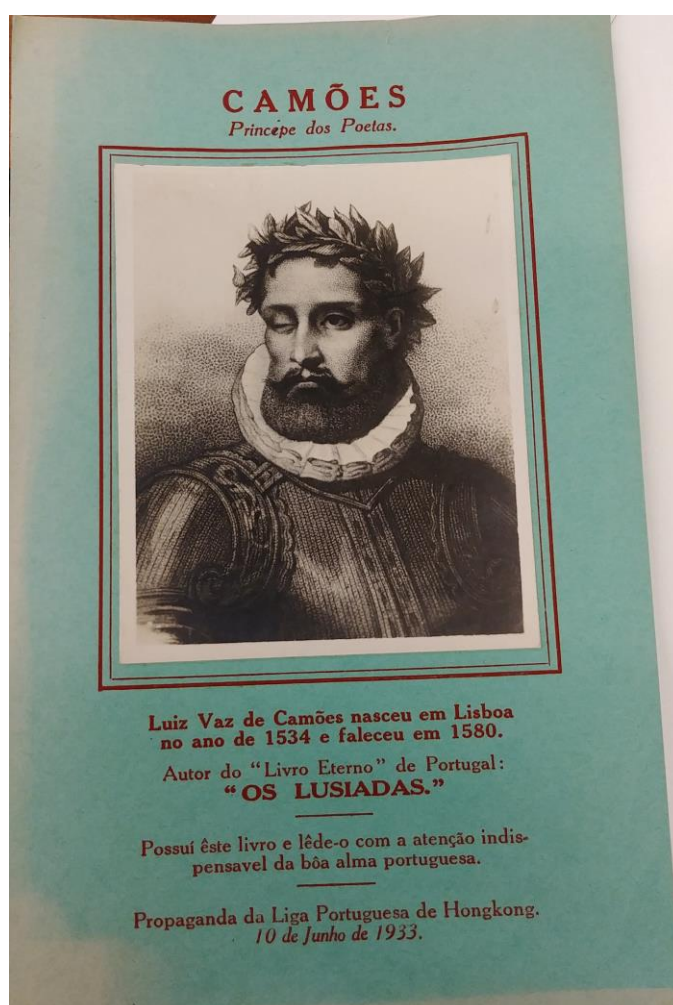
¹³⁷ Li Xiyuan 黎熙元, 'Nanyi biaoshi de shenfen' 難以表述的身份——澳門人的文化認同 (An Identity that is Difficult to Define—The Cultural Belonging of Macau's People), *Ershi yi shiji* 二十一世紀 92 (2005), 22.

¹³⁸ Lou Shenghua 婁勝華, 'Ershi shiji shang banye Aomen shehui de fazhan yu zhuanzhe' 廿世紀上半葉澳門社會的發展與轉折 (Macau's Social Developments and Transition in the First Half of the Twentieth Century), *Xingzheng* 行政 108, no. 2 (2015), 451.

¹³⁹ 'A obra patriótica do Dr. Oliveira Salazar' (The Patriotic Work of Dr. Oliveira Salazar), *Liga Portuguesa em Benefício da Sua 'Caixa Escolar'* no. 1 (December 1933), 23.

the Catholic Union and comprised of a patriotic speech from Almeida. In his presentation, Almeida traced the glorious history of Portugal and highlighted the League's efforts in propagating and cultivating Portuguese culture through educating the younger generation. Almeida further suggested that a 'ladies' branch' of the League could be formed to allow the women of the community a larger role in educating the youth. By the end of the evening, *Liga Portuguesa* sent a cablegram to the Minister for the Colonies of Lisbon to assure them that under the League's propagation, Hong Kong's Macanese had remained loyal to the Portuguese nation.¹⁴⁰

Fig. 24: Propaganda of Liga



Camões, príncipe dos poetas (Camoens, The Prince of Poets) was published as a propaganda of the League. The text on this commemorative card, found at the

¹⁴⁰ 'Local Portuguese Celebrate: Large Gathering at the Liga Portuguesa, President's Appeal,' *South China Morning Post*, 5 October 1933, 10.

Braga Collection at the NLA, noted the dates of birth and death of Camões, 'author of the "eternal book" of Portugal, *Os Lusíads*' and read, 'Possess this book and read it with indispensable attention of the good Portuguese soul.'¹⁴¹

By 1935, *La Liga Portuguesa* was no longer just a 'Kowloon' or 'Hong Kong' organisation. The Macanese community in Shanghai formed plans for a Shanghai-branch of the League, *Liga Civica Portuguesa de Shanghai* (Portuguese Civic League of Shanghai), meant to promote civility between the Macanese communities of the two cities.¹⁴² In Kobe, the *Associação Portuguesa de Kobe* (Portuguese Association of Kobe) was established to represent the League and its members in Japan.¹⁴³ In Hong Kong, the League furthered its propaganda movement by establishing *Bureau de Propaganda Nacional da Liga Portuguesa de Hongkong* (National Propaganda Bureau of Portuguese League of Hongkong) for the dissemination of nationalistic ideas. The Bureau edited *Liga's* newspaper *A Comunidade* (The Community), with 'representatives' in Macau, Shanghai, Canton and Kobe. *A Comunidade* featured letters and articles on a variety of topics concerning the Macanese and Portugal and served as a vehicle to achieve the League's main aim of reconnecting the Macanese to their 'Portuguese' roots and propagating Portuguese nationalism amongst the Macanese. In an October 1935 issue, the League asked Macau's infantry Captain, José da Cruz Ribeiro, to write an article on Portugal's most recent political developments. Apart from praising Salazar's regime, Ribeiro encouraged people of Portuguese descent and nationality scattered all over the world to 'erect new pillars of glory to commemorate the glorious and successful Portuguese Colonial Empire.'¹⁴⁴

A Comunidade often featured articles that prompted the Macanese to remember their responsibility of uniting under Portugal and maintaining their 'Portuguese' heritage. An article entitled '*A Nossa Vida e a Nossa Raça*' (Our Life and Our Race) called for Macanese solidarity under the League and the *Associação* and urged

¹⁴¹ 'Camões, príncipe dos poetas,' MS 4300 15.1/6, J.M. Braga Papers, The National Library of Australia, Canberra.

¹⁴² 'A Liga Civica Portuguesa de Shanghai,' *A Comunidade* 1, no. (November 1935), 5.

¹⁴³ *A Comunidade* 1, no. 5 (November 1935), 1.

¹⁴⁴ Capt. J. Cruz Ribeiro, 'A Greater Portugal,' *A Comunidade* 1, no. 4 (October 1935), 5.

Macanese readers to 'respect the nationality to which we belong, because in this way we will honour not only our community but also the nation and the wise words of Dr. Oliveira Salazar.'¹⁴⁵ The newspaper also printed articles that advocated nationalistic sentiments based on the impacts of living in a British colony. One article, for instance, criticised British education in Hong Kong's Portuguese schools as a major obstacle to the development of national consciousness and Portuguese patriotism amongst the Macanese. The writer maintained that Macanese children needed to learn about the history of Portugal, and not England, and added that schools should replace the teaching of Shakespeare with the works of Camões.¹⁴⁶ Another writer expressed concerns over the decline of the Portuguese tongue amongst Macanese youth. He/she shared an observation made from a football game at Club de Recreio where young Macanese players conversed in English but not Portuguese. The writer urged the Macanese to create new impetus for the teaching and learning of the Portuguese tongue.¹⁴⁷

A Comunidade fostered the imagination of a shared community by providing a new sphere for local and inter-port engagement with Macanese issues, all of which came to be linked with the end of achieving communal unity through a shared devotion to glorify Portugal. One Macanese, presumably from Hong Kong, criticised Club Lusitano for running a private library, whose access was limited to only 'a few shareholders.'¹⁴⁸ Shanghai Macanese Carlos Jacinto Machado shared his thoughts on his vision of an ideal 'modern Macanese woman.' He encouraged Macanese women to 'modernise in moderation.' That was, women should continue to engage in household chores, but spend time on social issues and stay away from 'fashion, lipstick and other commercial inventions.'¹⁴⁹ He believed that if done in moderation, the modernisation of Macanese women

¹⁴⁵ Ernesto, 'A Nossa Vida e a Nossa Raça,' *A Comunidade* 2, no. 9 (March 1936), 1.

¹⁴⁶ 'A Historia de Portugal,' *A Comunidade* 2, no. 13 (July 1936), 1.

¹⁴⁷ A.C., 'O Problema Da Instrução Dos Portugueses De Hong Kong E Shanghai' (The Problem of Portuguese Instruction of Hong Kong and Shanghai), *A Comunidade* 1, no. 6 (December 1935)

¹⁴⁸ X.P., 'Uma Biblioteca Publica' (A Public Library), *A Comunidade* 1, no. 5 (November 1935), 1.

¹⁴⁹ Carlos Jacinto Machado, 'A mulher Portuguesa e o seu papel na educação moderna' (A Portuguese Woman and Her Role in Modern Education), *A Comunidade* 1, no. 5 (November 1935), 3.

would benefit the upbringing and development of the Macanese youth and pave the way for a progressive future for the community.¹⁵⁰

By 1936, *Liga Portuguesa* was acknowledged as a leading organisation of the Macanese in Asia. At its peak, the League had 300 members.¹⁵¹ In a letter to the editor of *A Comunidade*, a Macanese reader proposed that Almeida 'could well be chosen as our representative before the Macao Government' because he was a man who had '[kept] on striving for something just a little better than what we might call progressive for our community.'¹⁵² The League's efforts at uniting the Macanese spread across the coastal cities led to a retrospection of the split between Club Lusitano and Club de Recreio. Carlos Augusto da Roza, ex-President of Club Lusitano, published an article in *A Comunidade* to propose the integration of the two associations. Da Roza's article, entitled 'Shall We Remain Divided?', highlighted the split as an imminent issue and urged the Macanese to take up the task of planning his proposed integration.¹⁵³ He wrote a two-page proposal, which revealed the difficulties Club Lusitano faced in the recruitment of new members and encouraged Club de Recreio to consider the financial benefits of merging with Club Lusitano. Da Roza's proposal was never brought to life and in 1937, Almeida left his position in the Post Office and *Liga Portuguesa*. He left for retirement to Japan.¹⁵⁴

Despite the general lack of support over Da Roza's proposal to unite the two clubs, the unfolding of a world war would change the situation of the Macanese. In August, the Japanese invasion of China escalated and the Battle of Shanghai took place. Around 1,000 Macanese fled Shanghai and sought refuge in other cities. This created a momentum for the Macanese in Hong Kong to unite and resulted in an unprecedented collaboration between Club Lusitano, *Liga*

¹⁵⁰ Carlos Jacinto Machado, 'A mulher Portuguesa e o seu papel na educação moderna' (A Portuguese Woman and Her Role in Modern Education,' *A Comunidade* 1, no. 5 (November 1935), 3.

¹⁵¹ De Sá, *The Boys from Macau*, 91.

¹⁵² An optimist, 'To the Editor,' *A Comunidade* 2, no. 7 (January 1936), 8.

¹⁵³ C.A. da Roza and J.M. da Rocha, 'Shall We Remain Divided?,' *A Comunidade* 2, no. 11, May 1936, 3-5.

¹⁵⁴ 'Long Service: Post Office Clerk Retires after Thirty Years, Mr. J.A. d'Almeida,' *South China Morning Post*, 15 April 1937, 8.

Portuguesa, the *Associação*, Catholic Union and Club de Recreio. These associations formed a committee targeted at providing assistance to the Macanese refugees, some of whom took shelter in the homes of Macanese families while the majority continued on their journey to Macau.¹⁵⁵ In September 1937, Club Lusitano, Club de Recreio, the Catholic Union Club and *Liga Portuguesa* organised a party at Club de Recreio to welcome more than 300 refugees, mainly consisting of Macanese women, from Shanghai.¹⁵⁶ The reconciliation of the two clubs was furthered when Leo d'Almada e Castro was appointed as President of both Club Lusitano and Club de Recreio. In 1939, Club Lusitano joined the patriotic movement and requested, through the Macau Governor, a photograph of Portugal's Prime Minister, António de Oliveira Salazar for display at the Club.¹⁵⁷ In 1940, *Liga Portuguesa's* new President Maximiano Antonio Gomes led six other *Liga* members to sign a letter of patriotism to the President of Portugal. The Macanese men asked for the opportunity to serve in the military of Portugal and claimed that they were ready to die alongside the spirited sons of the nation.¹⁵⁸ They did not hear from Portugal.

Through its initiatives and *A Comunidade, Liga Portuguesa de Hongkong* helped to actualise an 'imaged community' for the Macanese during the inter-war years. The League provided an institution for the union of Luso-Asian subjects living under various governments spread across China and Japan. With Macau as their 'place of origin,' these Macanese found a new point of solidarity under the League's advocacy of diasporic nationalism. Tied to a collective sense of mission to preserve their 'Portuguese' heritage and glorify their 'homeland' of Portugal, the Macanese began to discuss matters of common interest through *La Liga's* magazine and newspaper, both of which served as instruments of propaganda to further disseminate the League's nationalistic advocacies. Hong Kong, more than just a 'hostland' and a liberal space that sheltered the association, worked as a

¹⁵⁵ 'Portuguese Plans: Thousand Refugees En Route to Colony, Going to Macao,' *South China Morning Post*, 20 August 1937, 14.

¹⁵⁶ 'Clubs' "At Home": Local Portuguese Treat Shanghai Associates, Tea Party and Dance,' *South China Morning Post*, 12 September 1937, 3.

¹⁵⁷ 'Júlio Cayolla to Antero Augusto Leal Marques,' 15 December 1939, PT/TT/SGPCM-GPC/0274/00003, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Lisbon.

¹⁵⁸ 'La Liga Portuguesa to President of the Portuguese Republic,' 20 December 1940, PT/TT/SGPCM-GPC/0484/00003, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Lisbon.

part of the 'Macanese' narrative. Criticism towards the Anglicisation of the 'Portuguese,' particularly local-born British subjects of Luso-Asian descent emerged as the 'other' in the process of creating the 'Macanese.' The 'Macanese' identity, thus, was imagined and constructed upon multiple narratives that resulted from old and new social, economic, political and cultural developments in Macau, Portugal and Hong Kong.

Conclusion

During the inter-war period, the 'Macanese' identity underwent various twists and turns. To summarise the crucial factors that influenced the shaping of the 'Macanese,' I highlight a number of relevant events. During the early twentieth century, Xavier attempted to split first-generation Macanese settlers and new immigrants, attacking particularly the Club Lusitano and Anglicised Macanese subjects for turning their backs on their 'Portuguese' heritage. Xavier died in 1909. His vision of a more 'Portuguese' Macanese community gradually emerged in Kowloon, following the Peninsula's urbanisation and the relocation of hundreds of Macanese across the harbour. Club de Recreio and *Associação Portuguesa de Socorros Mutuos* served as new associations that appealed to the general Macanese community. The Hong Kong 'Macanese,' at this point, ceased to be a construction of bourgeois Macanese men. Luso-Asian men and women from the lower classes found association and support from the two new institutions and their new homes in Kowloon. Although Portuguese-language newspapers were not uncommon, the Macanese were spread loosely between Kowloon and the Hong Kong mainland, and in various port-cities across China and in Japan. In line with Portugal's political transitions, Macau's Governor proposed *Lar dos Portugueses no Oriente*, calling for the solidarity of 'Portuguese' communities in China. The project failed but in 1929, *Liga Portuguesa de Hongkong* worked to actualise Rodrigues's vision. Under Almeida's leadership, *Liga Portuguesa* advocated a diasporic nationalism and attempted to unite the Macanese, instilling them with a new consciousness of belonging, as children of Macau, to the Portuguese nation.

The construction of these 'Macanese' identities encompassed the various circumstances and developments within two empires and a distant fatherland. The 'Macanese' identity was, thus, built through piecemeal narratives. The new institutional associations that were instrumental in shaping the 'Macanese' emerged out of historical transitions. By the late 1930s, the looming world war generated the circumstances for further reconciliation between Club Lusitano and Club de Recreio. The lack of evidence regarding the membership of Club Lusitano, Club de Recreio and *Liga Portuguesa*, and the readership of *A Comunidade*, however, has made it impossible to assess the scale of Macanese diasporic nationalism across Asia and the size of the League's following in Shanghai, Canton and Kobe. In the case of Hong Kong, similar difficulties apply. Except for De Sá's *The Boys from Macau*, existing works on the 'Portuguese' in Hong Kong have not mentioned *Liga Portuguesa*.¹⁵⁹ Nevertheless, this chapter has shown the importance of understanding how historical eras were 'felt' and 'lived' by diasporic communities. While the repressive policies of Salazar's regime generated anti-colonial nationalistic sentiments in Portuguese colonies such as Angola and Goa, the circumstances of Hong Kong helped to shape Macanese understanding of Portugal and their positions as devoted 'citizens' of the Portuguese 'nation.' In Hong Kong, the Macanese lived in a relatively peaceful atmosphere and saw the dictatorship as a new era of national glory and progress. This experience echoes the Shanghai German community's support of the Third Reich during the 1930s and their imaginative role as, quoting Kreissler, 'unconditional defenders of their fatherland and of their government's position in Shanghai.'¹⁶⁰

Under the influence of the various initiations and historical developments that took place during the inter-war period, the 'Macanese' identity evolved through the decades. These evolutions, however, were centered on the construction of competing discourses that were more symbolic than functional in the communal sense. Xavier aimed to claim authority over Macanese issues. Almeida was more concerned with recovering the Macanese community's 'Portuguese' roots and

¹⁵⁹ De Sá, *The Boys from Macau*, 91-92.

¹⁶⁰ Kreissler, 'In Search of Identity,' 223.

heritage. None of these discourses touched on advocacies of equality that Braga and D'Almada strove to promote during the inter-war period. In 1939, Eddie Gosano was appointed surgical medical officer in Kowloon Hospital under the Medical Department. According to Gosano, the government put him in the category of 'Chinese medical officers' and provided him with \$375 per month and an annual leave of two weeks. Compared to the 'Chinese,' 'English medical officers' received nine months of leave every three years, with passage to and from the United Kingdom for the whole family. Gosano added that this particular difference in status was permanent during the pre-war period and irrespective of the years of service in the Hong Kong government.¹⁶¹ In general, Britons continued to dominate all aspects of colonial life, appointed as heads of departments in the government and in British companies. It did not matter if a Macanese spoke good English, carried a British passport or had British education; these criteria did not qualify them for higher positions. A resident described the existence of racial lines to the *South China Morning Post*, writing,

No matter what qualifications a "Not 100%" may have, he would not be eligible. A "Not 100%," or an Indian or Portuguese British subject would, however, be employed for a junior (in some cases semi-senior) position at a salary considerably lower than that offered to a "100%." Perhaps the discrimination is made because those who are not 100% sometimes take "rice and harm choy (salt cabbage)" which are much cheaper than milk, bread and butter, and can therefore get by on a lower salary.¹⁶²

The staff book of the Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation for 1941, which showed the personal bank accounts of HSBC employees, revealed the persisting divide that differentiated people according to 'colour.' British and Macanese surnames filled the pages of the book, and a closer look at these names show an apparent difference in their salaries. The highest-paid Briton received a monthly salary of \$3,582 and the salary of the highest-paid Macanese was set at \$480. The two lowest paid employees were women. The British woman received \$22.50

¹⁶¹ Gosano, *Farewell Hong Kong*, 14.

¹⁶² A, 'Discrimination,' *South China Morning Post*, 9 September 1941, 7.

whilst the lowest-paid Macanese was paid \$50.50.¹⁶³ The staff book did not disclose the positions of these employees but it sufficiently showed the correlation between skin colour and individual income. On the eve of the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong, the general terrain of racial inequality in British Hong Kong, particularly in the workplace, remained the same. Some things didn't change. However, racial inequality and social injustice did not dominate the discourses that emerged to shape the 'Macanese.' The Macanese remained a community of sojourners during and after the catastrophic World War. They took what they could to survive and looked elsewhere or left when they could no longer find advancement.

¹⁶³ 'HSBC Staff Book, 1941,' HKH 195, HSBC Archives, Hong Kong.

Conclusion: A Place in the Sun

The worlds of Macanese men and women in the British colony transcended Macau, Hong Kong, China and Portugal. In pursuing progress and change, middle-class Macanese men embraced, imagined and interpreted their links to these places. 'Empire,' in a sense, was a practical tool that middle-class individuals used to pursue their ambitions and visions. The Macanese drifted between 'empires,' physically and culturally, in search of progress, in coping with colonial inequalities and in responding to global issues. To overcome life challenges and achieve social influence, they harnessed Hong Kong's physical and cultural spaces in constructing new individual and communal identities that were beneficial to their growth. In the shaping of the transnational worlds of the Macanese, Hong Kong, as a colonial port-city, played a significant part. First-generation migrants found in the British colony employment opportunities and educational facilities for their children. They saw Hong Kong as a potential space to escape Macau's decline and grow families in the long-term. Born and raised in Hong Kong, second and third-generation Macanese settlers carried a soft spot for the colonial port-city. As we saw in Chapter four, D'Almada's visit to the Hong Kong exhibit at the British Empire Exhibition was an emotional experience, a result of being away from Hong Kong for nearly two years. A reproduced night view of the city and seeing Kowloon, where his home was situated, evoked feelings of nostalgia as D'Almada wrote,

The *Saudades* it gave rise to! There was a huge relief map of the colony in the same room and I was able to let my eyes ride along the Tai Po Road till it reached Fanling, where after lingering many moments, it continued its course past our Tower Ao-Tao, Castle Peak, and Chin Wan (all of which were marked) till once again they came to rest in Kowloon proper.' ¹

¹ *Saudade* is a Portuguese term that denotes feelings of melancholy and 'incompleteness' caused by the absence of something or someone and a yearning for the return of what is missing. Leo d'Almada e Castro, 'Letter no. 45,' 6 August 1924, Ruy Barretto Family Papers, Girassol, Hong Kong.

Through the approach of 'collective biography,' the Macanese narratives in this thesis have shown how individuals responded to colonial adversities, working beyond the colonial structure to interact with other communities and improvise their tools of survival. Rather than highlighting the dominant influence of colonial practises and racial policies in the shaping of human communities, this thesis suggests that in Hong Kong, Macanese subjects actively responded to changing historical structures by using 'race,' 'class' and 'identity' as tools of bargain. I focused on middle-class men, because those from the middle class had more time, wealth, and personal connections to challenge existing racial patterns and state practises that barred them from advancement. In the process of seeking power, these men manipulated transnational cultural markers and class status to enter the social worlds of respectable Europeans and establish themselves as leaders of the Macanese, even at the expense of segregating the community. By joining with other like-minded non-Britons to discuss social issues, a union that transcended 'race' but knotted by 'class' resulted in the formation of a new 'Hong Kong' identity. Furthermore, I chose to study a century of Macanese activity, because this allowed us to better understand the consequences of the choices that were made by first-generation migrants on the 'Macanese' experiences of their children and grandchildren. These were seen in the Anglicisation of Hong Kong-born Macanese by the late nineteenth century, and the emergence of communal tension between nationalistic Macanese subjects and those who took pride in belonging to colonial Hong Kong as British subjects.

While it is generally acknowledged that Hong Kong shaped the colony's Macanese into a new group of middle-class urbanites, we need to take note of the impact of individual decisions, and the reasons behind them, that triggered wider debates and changed the community as a whole. The influence of the individual, however, could not have been as far-reaching as it was without the existence of the urban space and the support of a flourishing print culture. This thesis, thus, further emphasised not only the effects of Hong Kong as a colonial port-city in the making of the 'Macanese' community, but also situated Hong Kong within a wider Anglophone public sphere that connected Asia's port-cities

and its English-speaking intellectuals through the printing press. As a part of a growing regional network, Hong Kong provided new outlets for middle-class Macanese men to voice their concerns and bring their initiative to a wider audience. It was through the colony's urban space and print culture that associational institutions established their footing and Macanese individuals garnered public support to realise their personal visions. In turn, Macanese actions and decisions helped shape the colony into a vibrant city, marked by inter-ethnic associations, inter-port activities and transnational connections.

The preceding chapters have explored the ways middle-class Macanese men of various backgrounds actively sought to create their lives under the contexts of migration, colonialism and port-city culture. Chapter one revealed the intimate relationship between Hong Kong and Macau, illuminated by pre-existing Anglo-Macanese encounters. Middle-class elites in Macau brought their wealth and networks across the waters and benefitted from collaborative relationships with European merchants and foreign enterprises. In the cases deployed, the power of 'class' over 'race' and the symbolic association between 'middle class' and 'Europeanness' were apparent. In subsequent chapters, I explored the various obstacles the Macanese faced in the colonial workplace, and how a group of middle-class Macanese successfully achieved social and communal prominence through the formation of the middle-class and male-exclusive Club Lusitano. These chapters showed that 'race' and colonial policy were not detrimental or instrumental in determining the success or failure of an individual. This was not only because these factors were penetrable, but also due to the fact that individuals and communities were adaptable to change and responsive to challenges.

In Chapter two, Castro and Carvalho were willing and ready to be naturalised as a British subject and in Chapter three, middle-class Macanese men took advantage of their 'Portuguese' roots to legitimise their status as representatives of Portugal in the colony. The 'Macanese,' as an identity and a community, thus, transformed according to practical needs. In the long run, the decisions of a group of middle-class men such as Delfino Noronha and João António Barretto

laid the foundations of an associational institution that continues to strive in contemporary Hong Kong as a representation of class and Portuguese heritage. In Chapter four, I explored how the advantages of being 'British' subjects in Hong Kong's imperial culture led to the emergence of Anglophile Macanese who entered the local political scene and fought for the betterment of colonial Hong Kong. By Chapter five, we observed how 'change' in self and communal identity could be diverse, influenced by local and regional issues, as well as political developments in a faraway Fatherland. The impact of print culture is especially evident in the last two chapters; through his publications and the press, Braga spoke to a wider English-speaking public while *Liga Portuguesa* encouraged the learning of the Portuguese language and advocated diasporic nationalism through *A Comunidade*. All in all, the colonial experience of Macanese individuals has shown that migrant communities are heterogeneous, and understanding the actions and decisions of colonised subjects as responses to changing social circumstances help reveal the resilience of the individual and the plasticity of 'race,' 'class' and identity' within the migrant colonial context.

Beyond Hong Kong

Much of the literature regarding the Macanese in Hong Kong has highlighted the community as a homogeneous 'Portuguese' unit and centred on their contributions to the building of colonial Hong Kong. Macanese writers, in affirming the loyalty of their people to the colonial government, have questioned the British administration for acts of racial prejudice. Historians of Hong Kong, alternatively, have simplified the Macanese as a group of 'Portuguese from Macau' and positioned the Macanese next to Americans, Armenians, Indians and Eurasians in uncovering the colony's multiethnic characteristics. There remains a void in understanding, at the micro level, how these foreign communities helped to build Hong Kong into a 'cosmopolitan' city through the ways they interacted with the state, other communities and associational institutions in Hong Kong and 'transnational' ties to other diasporic communities and their distant 'homelands.' Through the Macanese experience, this thesis argued that 'Hong Kong' lived beyond its status as a British colony sitting on the edges of the Chinese and British empires. It was, during the nineteenth century, a 'hostland'

for the preservation of the Portuguese language and Luso-Asian culture, remnants of the weakening Portuguese empire. In the inter-war years, Hong Kong served as a centre for a Portuguese diasporic nationalism that endorsed the Salazar regime's cultural diplomacy of glorifying the Portuguese empire.

The activities of the Macanese further exemplified Hong Kong's interconnectedness to the outside world, placing this thesis within literature that has shifted the focus on human communities from colonial lens to global perspectives during the modern era.² The idea of 'cosmopolitanism' illuminated the lives and activities of colonial subjects by revealing their integration into the global terrain, marked by universal values, associational institutions and regional networks. 'Transnationalism' shed light on how migrant communities constructed identities *vis-à-vis* ethnicity, nationality and other communities. The Macanese embodied both concepts in the process of constructing and reconstructing the 'Macanese' identity. This was seen in how the Club Lusitano built their legitimacy by imagining ties to the 'nation' through their activities and the ways *Liga Portuguesa* advocated patriotism amongst Macanese communities spread across the East Asian region to a dictatorial regime that was unpopular in other Portuguese colonies. Braga and D'Almada's concerns with universal values and participation in inter-ethnic alliances challenged singular definitions of 'race' and revealed a 'Macanese' identity that associated with colonial Hong Kong's growing cosmopolitanism more than old ties to Macau or Portugal. Notably, these developments begun with Macanese diaspora to British Hong Kong, complicated by the long history of Luso-Asian movement between empires.

In a way, British colonialism made the Macanese less 'Portuguese,' and the Macanese made the British colony more 'Hong Kong,' characterised by a vibrant port-city culture, and cultural and intellectual engagement with the the outside world that was directed at bettering the colony as a 'home.' This was seen particularly in the initiatives of Braga and D'Almada. Advocating racial equality and social harmony in Hong Kong, Braga joined other Britons and Eurasian

² See, for instance, Frost, 'Emporium in Imperio: Nanyang Networks and the Straits Chinese in Singapore, 1819-1914;' Lewis, *Cities in Motion*. On transnationalism, see Pence and Zimmerman, 'Transnationalism.'

subjects in responding to the 1919 Washington Conference by forming the League of Fellowship. Upon returning to Hong Kong from Oxford, D'Almada used his strong educational background and status as an unofficial member of the Legislative Council to fight for the welfare of Hong Kong-born subjects. Through engaging the colony with emerging global concerns, both Braga and D'Almada displayed local consciousness and a strong sense of belonging to colonial Hong Kong. Other middle-class Macanese shared similar affection towards Hong Kong. Speaking of his identity, Christopher d'Almada e Castro, a third-generation descendant of Leonardo d'Almada e Castro and brother of Leo D'Almada, had been quoted stating: '*Não sou português, nem inglês, sou um rapaz de Hong Kong* (I am not Portuguese, not English, I'm a man from Hong Kong).³ Claiming to be colonial 'Hong Kong,' these men were in fact cosmopolitan, active beyond the confines of Hong Kong.

The history of the Macanese, thus, tells us the story of Hong Kong's complex yet vibrant links to the world. Joining recent scholarship which has begun to throw light on the 'global' aspects of colonial Hong Kong, this thesis problematised the achievements and failures of Macanese individuals within wider cosmopolitan and transnational settings. I questioned what we could learn about the global connections of colonial Hong Kong from the individual pursuits of mixed-race migrants and their children. By being Portuguese and British at the same time, and consciously not as 'Portuguese' as Macau's Macanese and 'British' as Hong Kong's Britons, the Macanese offered another way of understanding the relationship and interaction between colonial spaces and the migrant community, as well as racial construction as a transnational process of negotiation and tension. At its peak in the 1930s, racial discussion concerning the Macanese was multi-layered, encompassing new waves of Macanese diaspora and ideas of nationalism that were circulating in other parts of the world.

Beyond 'race'

³ De Sá, *The Boys from Macau*, 11.

'Race' played an important role in the lives and pursuits of middle-class Macanese men. The Macanese negotiated for career advancement and social recognition by shifting between their Asian features and European characteristics. Being 'Asiatic' or 'European' presented the community with benefits and disadvantages. Britons employed Macanese clerks for the low cost, attributed to their adaptability to what Europeans perceived as a relatively lower standard 'Asian' way of living. Middle-class Macanese, nevertheless, became aware of the practical value of being 'European' in a British colony, leading to their cultural explorations of Portugal, as a 'fatherland,' and of 'Britishness,' as an upbringing, a lifestyle and an identity. While being 'Asian' was perceived as being 'inferior' and 'Europeanness' was a symbol of 'class' in the colonial setting, the mixed-race nature of the Macanese allowed middle-class men to shift between the two worlds. 'Race,' for those who have a choice, is a constantly changing decision. It is a dynamic response to life challenges and a mirror of how individuals and communities 'lived' and 'felt' historical transitions.

This thesis, thus, also challenges the growing body of literature that has sought to highlight 'race' as a colonial construct.⁴ This literature has shown that while colonisers used 'race' as a tool to legitimise colonial rule, colonised subjects structured their lives and created racial identities in responding to unequal colonial policies and practises. I sought to reconsider how far colonialism helped to shape racial communities by arguing that colonial inequalities did not dominantly shape Hong Kong society, but rather, colonial Hong Kong provided a space for new challenges and in response, new racial identities to emerge. It was the Macanese individuals' responses to various local and global developments that continuously shaped the 'Macanese.' As the five chapters have shown, Macanese men and women drew on cultural markers at different scales depending on the challenges they responded to. The Club Lusitano, for instance, took advantage of their 'Portuguese' roots and adopted British club culture to elevate their social standing and gain recognition as middle-class representatives of the Macanese community.

⁴ See, for instance, Fisher and O'Hara, *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity*; Stoler, 'Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality'; De Napoli, 'Race and Empire.'

During the 1930s, the global wave of nationalism, together with the dispersal of Macanese subjects to other port-cities in China and Japan, prompted *Liga Portuguesa de Hong Kong* to advocate Portuguese patriotism. Members of *Liga Portuguesa* discussed a wide array of issues, from the communal segregation of the Macanese in Hong Kong to Macau's ongoing territorial dispute with China to the diplomatic policies of Portugal's new political regime. Whether the Macanese were more 'Portuguese' or 'British' did not always reflect the actions of the colonial government. As opposed to existing literature that has shaped Hong Kong's Macanese as a homogenous group of imperial subjects and 'victims' of British racialised practises striving to go against colonial constraints, this thesis perceived the Macanese as a community that freely transformed in response to social changes that emerged through time.⁵

'Race,' thus, transcended colonial structures and imperial imaginations. It is a fluid 'status' influenced by other factors such as wealth and networks. Edward Pereira's experience revealed that while most Macanese men and women took the risk of settling in a newfound colony and struggled to enter the worlds of Britons, he carried forth his family's wealth and connections to Dent & Co. and successfully entered the cultural worlds of the bourgeois European class in Hong Kong. During the 1850s, Leonardo d'Almada e Castro attempted to use his father's ties with British officials and later, tried to attain British citizenship through naturalisation as he bagained for the position of Colonial Secretary. The founding members of Club Lusitano, mostly clerks who invested in the colony's real estate, achieved social recognition from the Macanese community, the colonial government and other bourgeois men by a public display of wealth and a 'British lifestyle' represented by Club Lusitano's facilities and 'gentlemanly' club rules. These examples help us to understand 'race' as, first, more than an imperial construct, and second, a concept that colonised subjects freely interpreted without the interference of the state.

⁵ See, for instance, Braga, *The Portuguese in Hongkong and China*, 147; Xavier, 'J.P. Braga and the Portuguese in Hong Kong,' 3.

By the early twentieth century, the racial identities of the Macanese diversified into the categories of 'Macau Portuguese' and 'Hong Kong Portuguese.' The cases highlighted in chapters four and five have shown how the various waves of Luso-Asian migration between empires created the ambiguities surrounding the term 'Portuguese' in colonial Hong Kong. The complex past of Hong Kong's Luso-Asians, which resulted in the general definition of the Macanese as 'Portuguese from Macau,' paved the way for more space in creatively reimagining the Macanese in different ways. Non-Macanese people like Major Knollys perceived the community as 'mixed-race' and a 'degradation' of the 'pure Portuguese.' Some visitors to Hong Kong highlighted the Eurasian nature of the Macanese. In 1928, the *South China Morning Post* reprinted an article about Hong Kong from the *Philippines Herald* written by Dean Jorge Bocobo, a Philippine delegate to the Jerusalem Missionary Conference. Bocobo described Hong Kong's 'Eurasians' as resembling the 'mestizo Spanish-Filipino' and identified the Eurasian as either 'a mixture of a Portuguese or English father and a Chinese mother.' He emphasised that the 'Eurasian... moves and act—or tries to move and act—like a European: his dress, his speech, his mannerisms. But the Europeans and Chinese do not consider him as of their own kind.'⁶

The fact that both Macanese and non-Macanese individuals debated on what it meant to be 'Macanese' offers us a good opportunity to contemplate the plasticity of 'race' as an openly contested and multi-layered construct. While non-Macanese debates show that diversity, tension and difference exist between communities, the tension between the 'Macau Portuguese' and 'Hong Kong Portuguese' reveals similar problems within racial communities themselves. These differences could be based on 'class,' as seen in Chapters one and three, or on associational interests as reflected in the exclusivity of Club Lusitano, Club de Recreio and *Liga Portuguesa*, or even on varying imaginations of the relationships between one's birthplace, hostland and motherland. Such diversity, nevertheless, reveals the fragility of 'race' as a determinative factor in structuring societies and emphasises individuals as members of wider local, regional and global networks. While examining human communities as colonial

⁶ 'As Others See Us, The Impressions of a Filipino,' *South China Morning Post*, 18 April 1928, 10.

constructs allows us to understand colonial societies from the aspects of collaboration and resistance between colonisers and colonised subjects, exploring human communities as a product of individual experience provides an alternative option that throws light on the dynamic interconnectivity of the world.

Towards a world without labels

In a wider sense, tension and cooperation can occur regardless of skin colour. More than a product of ethnic origin or political and institutional structures, individuals are shaped by life experiences, exposure to local and global factors and personal pursuits. At the end of the day, who a person appears to be is not the entirety of who they are, but a reflection of their response to an external world of challenges and an internal universe that seeks to dream and to survive. I argued that being 'Macanese' or 'Portuguese' meant something different for Macanese individuals, whose lives were shaped by dissimilar social circumstances, practical considerations and individual upbringing. Having documented over a century of Macanese activities in colonial Hong Kong, this thesis concludes that men and women cannot be easily defined by 'labels' that restrict lived experiences with the frameworks of 'colonialism,' 'nationalism' or 'race.' The shifts in self-identification of the Macanese situate them beyond the frameworks of the 'colony' and the 'nation-state.' As polyglot migrants, Macanese individuals had a 'cosmopolitan' outlook, anchoring themselves to wherever they found growth. From a 'transnational' perspective, the Macanese ceaselessly maintained their connections, both real and imagined, to Macau, Hong Kong and Portugal. Although the Macanese built their lives in Hong Kong, Hong Kong was certainly not all the Macanese had. Jim Silva, a Macanese born in Hong Kong in 1928, contrasted the Macanese community as different from British Eurasians. According to Silva, '[the] *filhos de Macau* were secure. We had our place, we knew our place, we accepted our place. Unfair or unjust as things may have been, we had no hang-ups. We had our own world and our community.'⁷ As opposed to understanding race, culture and identity as definite entities that define individuals and communities, the Macanese experience reveals 'race' and

⁷ Frederic A. (Jim) Silva, *Things I Remember* (Macau: Instituto Internacional de Macau, 2010), 13.

'identity' cannot be taken as crucial, definitive markers. Rather, 'identity' is a reflection of social situations, and how individuals respond to an external world of challenges and a personal world of values and ambitions.

It is undeniable that imperialism generated new racial constructs that were marked by racial prejudice and inequality. Within such constructs, the Macanese strove to find their place in the colony. Many worked assiduously in low-paying jobs and had pleasant lives in Hong Kong. Some managed to establish themselves as leaders of the Macanese community. Others sought advancement outside Hong Kong, using the colony as a stepping-stone that opened up other opportunities. Colonial Hong Kong provided a 'home,' permanent or temporary, for the Macanese to build their lives around the resources provided by the government, foreign enterprises and missionaries. Although growing up in Hong Kong made local-born Macanese more 'British,' the tension that emerged between Hong Kong-born and Macau-born Macanese shows the problem of examining communities through singular racial, ethnic, colonial or national lens. Unearthing the complex layers of identity and the irregular shifts in self-perception through individual narrative opens up the problem of over-emphasising identities, reflected in the growing body of postcolonial literature on 'mixed race' communities, particularly regarding 'hybridity' and Eurasians.⁸ By simplifying individuals as one particular community, we risk the dangers of offering only a particular side of a story and flattening out the dynamic narratives that identity shifts can tell us about the creative ways humans responded to social circumstances and historical transitions.

Normative reality orchestrates self-identification, manifested in the various identities that individuals take on throughout a lifetime. There is no definite characterisation that sufficiently encompasses the racial identity of the Macanese in colonial Hong Kong. Their actions, more than results of identifying as 'Portuguese,' 'British,' or 'Hong Kong,' were uniformly responses to the challenges of life in Macau and in Hong Kong. For over a century, the diverse

⁸ See, for instance, Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Teng, *Eurasian: Mixed Identities*; Antonio L. Rappa, *Saudade: The Culture and Security of Eurasian Communities in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Ethos Books, 2013).

ways Macanese individuals sought to grow, advance and pursue ambitions have shown the malleability of identity and the creative potential for individuals to freely interpret and recast notions of 'race,' 'nationalism,' 'otherness' and 'difference.' By perceiving these notions as dynamic and vibrant processes of change, we can look beyond identity 'labels' and come to appreciate members of racial or national communities as unique humans shaped by individual experience and collectively led by cosmopolitan participation in an increasingly interconnected world. As we live in a world where social differences and racial tension are ubiquitously present, the stories of the Macanese in Hong Kong hopefully unearths a world shaped but not dominated by discourses of 'difference,' hate, resistance and racial constructs. Today, individuals and communities continue to, voluntarily and involuntarily, move around the world. Everyday in the newspapers, we read about racial disparity, religious violence and social inequalities that spiral out of racial and cultural differences. We live in a world that claims to be striving towards progress and equality but is obsessed with notions of 'race,' 'otherness' and 'difference.' If we can acknowledge one another as individuals shaped by changing personal experiences, kinship and cosmopolitan values, then perhaps we can begin to live in a world without racial tags and thus, less judgment and hate.

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