

Miss Helen Sullivan Library
at
The Society of California Pioneers
San Francisco

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS.



H. T. GRAVES,

Secretary,

—AND—

EDW'D E. CHEVER.

Com. of Request for Completion of Records.

*In compliance with your request, the
information asked for, is given below:*

Name, in full, *Candido Gutierrez*

Date of Birth, *21st day of February 1824.*

Birth-place, *Staeas*

Present Post Office Address, *San Pablo Contra Costa County. Calfo*

Occupation, *Farmer.*

Date of Arrival in California, *16 day of October 1849.* Nov 11th 1849

Name of Vessel, *Spanish Barkentine Clavilleño*

If Overland, what route, *Capt^o Paraps San Juan d^o St. Cruz.*

Died.
In Oakland.
Jan'y 4th 1903.

Signature;

C. Gutierrez

A Pioneer from Macao in the United States of America

Autobiography and Reminiscence of Candido Gutierrez (1824-1903)

ROGÉRIO MIGUEL PUGA*

*"A city is how we encounter it – both in terms of our lives
in it and how we come to know it."*

Sedge Thomson, in Foreword to

Mick Sinclair, *San Francisco: A Cultural and Literary History*, 2004, p. vii.

The unpublished short *Autobiography and Reminiscence of Candido Gutierrez* (1902, Golden Gate-Alameda Co.)¹ is part of the *Autobiographies and Reminiscences of California Pioneers* (typescript: pp. 94-104, vol. 1),² and one of the many historical sources that constitute the "Institutional Records Digitization Project: Reminiscences of Early Pioneers: 1900-1904", a digitisation programme created for the institutional records of the Society of California Pioneers (San Francisco), which was established on August 20, 1850. The transcription of the long letter Gutierrez sent to his "Dear Brother Pioneers" (1) in the Society of California Pioneers was written as an institutional record for the Society, while the original handwritten version, dated February 21, 1902, is in his Member's Biographical File.³ The Society's archives also hold a Mortuary Record (1892-1906, p. 165); an Obituary Record entitled "In Memoriam Candido Gutierrez, a member of the Society of California Pioneers," written by John L. Spear in June 1903 (vol. 10, pp. 9-13); and a general Archive Record dedicated to Cândido (vol. 2,

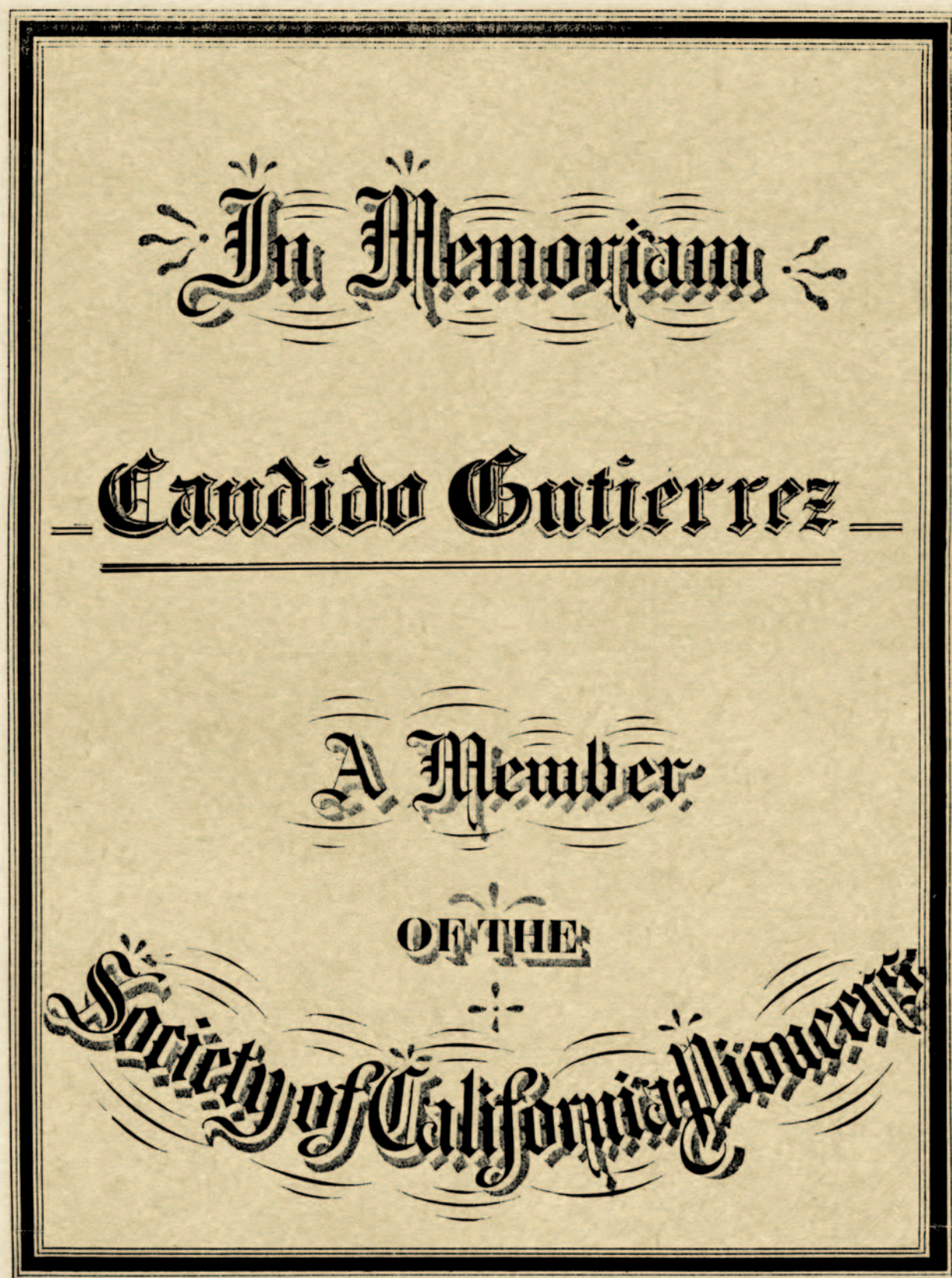
p. 102). The memorial on the death of fellow member Gutierrez was read at the Society meeting held June 1, 1903, after the death of this pioneer from Macao at the age of almost 79, in Emeryville, Oakland, on January 4, 1903.⁴ This document is a valuable source of biographical information, describing Gutierrez as a "well educated man of great energy, probity and ability [...] maintaining in all his positions a character for strict probity, consistent industry and honesty to the core, even when against his own interests."⁵

In his *Autobiography and Reminiscence*, the 78-year-old author begins his retrospective narrative with the following words: "According to your request that our Constitution requires the collection and presentation of information relating to the early settlement of California and also of the members of the Society of California Pioneers in securing biographical matter and historical material. I herewith give you as below stated" (1). The autobiography, though of little literary value, begins with a description of Gutierrez's 1849 passage to San Francisco and offers a vivid account of his first nights in the city, where he faced several problems due to the weather and other challenging circumstances.⁶ The text also deals with financial information, such as the value of gold and the cost of provisions; Gutierrez even goes into detail regarding some of his financial and legal troubles, especially those concerning his involvement in mining companies.

Cândido Gutierrez was born in Macao on 21 February 1824 and became a citizen of the United States in 1876. In August 1849, he left Manila for Hong Kong aboard the Spanish barkentine *Clavilleno*, and that same month he left Hong Kong for California.

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Frontispiece of the Obituary Record "In Memoriam Candido Gutierrez, a member of the Society of California Pioneers".

HONG KONG AND MACAO. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

After a stop at Honolulu for repairs, the ship finally arrived in San Francisco in November 1849. The short *Autobiography* describes the travels and hard times of one of the many entrepreneurs who left Macao in the 19th century in search of the American Dream.⁷ It is therefore an important document, not just for the history of American immigration and the history of San Francisco,⁸ but also as a clear example of assimilation into American society by a Portuguese emigrant from Macao—an enclave in southern China that served as the first gateway into China for Westerners, including many American families seeking their fortune in the China Trade,⁹ who went to live in Macao just as Gutierrez had done in California.

If, as Christian Joppke says, the study of immigration—long confined to the specialist discourses of demography, jurisprudence, or public analysis—is increasingly related to macro-processes of social change and the transformation of nation-states,¹⁰ it is well known that immigration was a crucial factor in the formation of the United States as a country. Marcelo Suárez *et al.* argue that immigration to the United States is both history and destiny, and that earlier waves of immigration took place in the context of nation-building efforts in which immigrants as workers, consumers, and would-be citizens played a significant role.¹¹ Studying San Francisco as an immigrant city, Charles Wollenborg says that the Gold Rush of 1849 instantaneously transformed the city into an urban centre:

“The lure of quick wealth attracted people of all races and nationalities to the city [...]. French [...and] gold seekers from Mexico, Peru, and Chile caused a dramatic increase in the Bay’s Area’s Spanish-speaking population [...]. Immigrants from Australia, New Zealand, and Hawaii pioneered transpacific routes, and significant numbers of Chinese began arriving in 1852. While many of the early immigrants soon returned home, others stayed, and the Gold Rush produced a cosmopolitan, multinational population mix that has characterized the Bay Area ever since.”¹²

Cândido Gutierrez, who was a Macanese descent on his mother’s side and Spanish on his father’s side, would grow up to become an emigrant. He was one of the thousands of foreigners who arrived in San Francisco in search of a better standard of living,

Samuel J. Clarke	
In Denver, N. B.	Dec ^r 26 th 1902
Birth place	San Heaven, Conn.
Aged 73 years 8 months 8 days	
William C. Gibbs	
In Oakland	Dec ^r 30 th 1902
Birth place	San Francisco
Aged 57 years 2 months 29 days	
Candido Gutierrez	
In Emeryville	Jan ^y 4 th 1903
Birth place	Macao
Aged 78 years 10 months 2 days	
"Ex Member"	
William H. Porter	
In New York City	Dec ^r 27 th 1902
Birth place	San Francisco
Aged 39 years 1 month 21 days	

Mortuary Record (1892-1906).

describing himself as an active, responsible and hard-working member of the city’s white community.

Cândido’s *Autobiography* begins with a short presentation of his background, informing the readers about his past and origins. His father, Matheos Francisco Gutierrez, was a Spaniard from the Philippines who worked until his death for the Spanish firm Don Gabriel Trieta Goziena y Compañia in Macao.¹³ Gutierrez makes sure his (future) readers know that he comes from a respectable European family living in Macao, where he was born. He also locates Macao and describes it as a city in China administered by the Portuguese.¹⁴

HONG KONG E MACAU. RELAÇÕES HISTÓRICAS E CULTURAIS

Messrs J. R. Holladay
W. B. Furvell
C. D. Cleveland
H. B. Paul
E. C. Chever } Committee

Dear Brother Pioneers

According to your request that our Constitution requires the collection and preservation of information relating to the early settlement of California: and also of the members of The Society of California Pioneers in securing biographical matter and historical material.

I herewith give you as below stated. My Father's name was Mateos Francisco Gutierrez (Spanish) and was in the Spanish Firm of Don Gabriel Yrieta Vizcaino y Compania in Macao until his death. My Mother's name was Juana Pires Viana of Macao, Portuguese Domain in China.

They were beloved and respected by all. I Candido Gutierrez born in Macao and Naturalized Citizen of the United States of America in 1876. U.S.

HONG KONG AND MACAO. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

"My mother's name was Juana Pires Viana of Macao, a Portuguese Domain in China. They were beloved and respected by all" (1).¹⁵

The Gutierrez family arrived in Macao via Manila. Many of its members went to Hong Kong and Shanghai to work and live, as well as to the United States, just like Cândido.¹⁶ Cândido's father, Mateus Gutierrez Manaham,¹⁷ was born in Manila around 1785, and died in Macao (São Lourenço parish) on May 4, 1843. Mateus Gutierrez Manaham was the son of Madalena Gutierrez, a Spanish woman who lived in Manila at the end of the 18th century, and Gregório João Manaham. Mateus Gutierrez married Joana Pires Viana in São Lourenço, Macao, on June 6, 1813, and they had several children together.¹⁸ Cândido's mother, Joana Pires Viana, was born in Macao (São Lourenço parish) on June 26, 1788, one month after her father's death, and died on August 27, 1866.¹⁹ According to Jorge Forjaz's research on Macanese families, Cândido Lourenço Gutierrez was the ninth son of this couple, born in Macao (São Lourenço parish, on February 21, 1824); he left Macao upon marrying, and nothing was heard from or about him afterwards. He had married Isabel Francisca Salatwichy on November 11, 1846 in Macao (São Lourenço parish) before travelling to the United States in 1849, and left no trace of his activities in Macao. He probably lived between Manila and Hong Kong, from whence he left for San Francisco, hence the lack of data about him in the Macao archives. The research for this article has enabled me to follow up his mysterious life after he left China a married man in search of a better life.

When Gutierrez left Manila for Hong Kong in August 1849, the latter had been established as a British port some eight years earlier. From Hong Kong, he began his journey to San Francisco in the barkentine *Clavilleno*,²⁰ which was commanded by his uncle, Captain San Juan de Santa Cruz.²¹ In Hong Kong he shipped several wood frame houses²² and other goods to sell in California.²³ At the time, many wood frame houses were brought to San Francisco in pieces by boat from China and England,²⁴ and his investment in the trip was therefore carefully planned. Goods that would sell well were carefully chosen to make as big a profit as possible in a city that was growing at an enormous speed.

During Cândido's voyage, the vessel experienced a strong typhoon and had to stop in Honolulu

for repairs.²⁵ Departing again from Honolulu in October 1849, it arrived in foggy San Francisco on 11 November, 1849, after three months at sea. As John L. Spear informs us, this was Gutierrez's first, and last, ocean voyage.²⁶ Once the pioneer arrived he hired rafts to bring his frame houses ashore, paying for them on credit with the promise of future profits from the sale of the buildings. He then met Captain Graham, who was coming in his boat from the Golden Gate entrance,²⁷ and the Captain helped him take his rafts to the port and lodged him in his ship, near the "Faralones" (2), or Farallon Islands.²⁸ The author enjoyed the support and hospitality of local residents from the moment he arrived, but these locals also profited from his arrival and investments. Captain Graham helped crew members land the houses at the foot of California Street,²⁹ and Gutierrez employed several other men to carry the lumber of the houses to a lot, leased from the Captain, near California and Webb Streets, where the houses were assembled. Like many other newcomers, Cândido also made the \$5 trip out to the big ship every night to sleep. Hoping to save money by finding some kind of accommodation, Gutierrez used the letters of introduction he had brought with him to introduce himself to the local "Gentlemen" (Captain Macondry, Starke Janion, S. H. William, Everett & Co, Glen Brothers, and Theodore Schilibier, 3), who kindly received him. During dinner a curious merchant who was trading in Manila informed Gutierrez that his two frame houses would make a big profit. The city was expanding,³⁰ and the area was in dire need of buildings—a fact that Gutierrez soon discovered for himself, when the merchant informed him that rooms were scarce. As Rolander Guy McClellan describes, imported frame houses rapidly substituted the city's "few adobe and frame houses, nestled around the beach and sand-hills."³¹

Gutierrez's first days in California were difficult; the Manila merchant offered him a place to sleep on top of several cases and bales of merchandise. He hired a white boat to bring his bed and blankets from the big ship, but he abandoned his sleeping place as other men in need arrived; the smell of their stockings forced him outdoors, where he built a temporary shanty using panels from his frame houses. Peter Wiley has described the impact of the arrival in San Francisco of emigrants from all corners of the globe, drawn by the heady promise of quick wealth, using

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imagery that echoes Gutierrez's own text: "The lure of diggings created a frenzied carnival atmosphere [...] Others came, however, to mine the gold that lined the miners' pockets. And there was plenty of it. [...] In short order, the city became a supply and depot and watering hole for an itinerant population. It looked most of all, diarists said, like a chaotic and poorly kept military camp. To accommodate the onslaught, *every manner of building was thrown up – tents, canvas-lined brush shelters, crude frames covered with cowhides, more conventional frame structures, some with canvas walls and ceilings*, and they sprawled up the sides of Telegraph and Nob Hills."³² In fact, another pioneer also describes his first impressions using similar imagery and symbolic comparisons: "The city presented the appearance of a vast *army encampment*, and it was evident that the advance guard of Alexander's army had arrived sure enough, and had conquered what they sought. In the contemplation of the scene as we saw it from the roof of the cook's galley, we found deep consolation in the thought that in case the future would prove that we had travelled so many thousands of miles in search for gold, only to find upon our arrival that we had been badly sold, we were not alone at any rate. There was a grim satisfaction, therefore, in viewing the great number of vessels at anchor in the harbour from the various ports of the world, that had brought to the coast thousands of others for the same purpose."³³

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The strong rain and mud of the "wading city" demolished the shanty Gutierrez built, and he wrapped himself in blankets until morning, when he decided to empty one of his hogsheads of crockery to make a shelter, where he slept for a week until a storm washed away "the scantling under the said hogshead, and it rolled down

California Street hill with [him] inside until it struck [the] foot of Montgomery Street, where [the] sea beach was at the time" (5). As we can see in this description (and as Roger W. Lotchin concludes), the early (foreign) adventurers usually arrived ill-prepared for California: "[...] they came bringing mining equipment they could never use, wearing clothes unsuitable to the climate, bearing useless directions, banded together in mining companies that dissolved upon impact with California [...]. And California was equally unready to receive them. In San Francisco and at the mines, they slept in tents [...], ate at filthy 'restaurants' or 'Bach' quarters, crammed into small lodgings [...] and went without hospitals or medical care."³⁴

In remembering his past, Cândido selects the most important facts and urban spaces of his life in California, and represents his arrival, his expenses, the wide variety of problems and obstacles he faced in the strange city, as well as the way he solved his problems one by one. Personal history becomes part of local history, and the pioneer from Macao describes how his two houses were burned down in the fires that destroyed four parts of San Francisco. He rebuilt them and occupied the corner house, selling various goods and Havana cigars that his relatives sent him on consignment. This is a reference to one of the great fires that destroyed parts of the city between 1849 and 1851. The first great fire in San Francisco took place on 24 December 1849, and destroyed fifty buildings. *The Annals of San Francisco* described this disaster, which took place one month after Cândido arrived:

"This morning about six o'clock, the awful cry of fire was raised in the city, and in a few hours property [worth more] than a million dollars was totally destroyed. The fire began in Dennison's Exchange, about the middle of the eastern side of the Plaza, and, spreading both ways, consumed nearly all that side of the square, and the whole line of buildings on the south side of Washington Street between Montgomery and Kearny Streets. This was the first of the great fires which devastated San Francisco, and it was to be speedily followed by still more extensive and disastrous occurrences of a similar character. Scarcely were the ashes cold when preparations were made to erect new buildings on the old sites, and within a few weeks the place was covered as densely as before with houses of every kind. These, like those that had just been destroyed, and like nearly all around, were chiefly

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composed of wood and canvas, and presented fresh fuel to the great coming conflagrations.”³⁵

The second fire, on May 4, 1850, broke out in the United States Exchange, a saloon and gambling house that had been built on the site of Dennison's Exchange, which had burned down in December. This fire soon engulfed the entire block bounded by Kearny, Clay, Montgomery and Washington Streets, before jumping Washington Street across from the Plaza. This fire destroyed 300 buildings. Following the great fire, in May, construction began the city's first brick building, The Naglee Building, at corner of Montgomery and Merchant Streets. The third great fire (June 1850) started in the Sacramento Bakery at the rear of the Merchants' Hotel at Clay and Kearny Streets; this one destroyed the area between Clay, California and Kearny Streets, all the way down to the Bay. Three hundred more buildings were lost. In September 1850, the fourth great fire destroyed 150 buildings. On May 4, 1851, a fifth great fire, probably set by the Hounds and Sydney Ducks, almost destroyed the whole city. The entire business district was burned as the fire jumped from street to street, and in less than ten hours eighteen blocks, with 2000 buildings, had burned. On June 22, 1851, the sixth great fire destroyed fourteen blocks within four hours. Police arrested one Benjamin Lewis for arson.³⁶ Cândido's two houses were destroyed by one of the last four fires, but unfortunately the author does not mention which fire, nor does he give dates for the episodes and facts he describes throughout the text, which also mentions living conditions in San Francisco, the early settlers and investors' strategies and opportunities, workers' wages, as well as the currencies used in those days. During the height of the Gold Rush, miners paid Gutierrez for their houses in gold dust, and the author informs us that “in early days, the Gold were of the size of grains of wheat, and some Miners got some the size of a hen egg. The value of gold was only eight dollars per ounce and silver was very scarce, the gold coin was in slugs of value of \$50 each, seldom got ten and five dollars in the gold coin” (8).

Gutierrez's enterprise created jobs for the poorer residents. Soon after the pioneer arrived from China, he built a two-storey building on the corner of California and Webb Streets, and a three-storey building on the adjoining corner on Webb Street. The city was starting to take shape, and as Roger W. Lotchin says, “the deep waters of Clark's Point drew the

warehouses, the need for face-to-face contact brought the lawyers to Montgomery; and that, plus the extra width of California Street, enticed the wholesalers.”³⁷ San Francisco's toponymy becomes a recurrent present in Gutierrez's personal narrative, which describes simultaneous happenings, as the reader can conclude from the use of expressions such as “in the mean time” (4, 16) or “at that time” (12, 17). The author also implicitly compares early San Francisco (1849) to the city at the time when he was writing (1902), when he explains that Montgomery Street was right next to the “sea beach [...] at that time” (5), or that “in early days” (7) gold nuggets were the size of wheat grains. Gutierrez finishes his description of how his shack ended up by the sea, a vivid image of his hard times, on a positive note: “I scrambled out of the hogshead shivering with the cold, and the velocity of my rolling bed down California Street hill bruised my face and hands and I felt a thankfulness in my heart that I had not reached deep water, not knowing how to swim or float” (5). The emigrant characterizes himself as determined and brave, while the text's structure is characterized by summaries and ellipses: “I then sat down between the piles of my frame houses, and I proceeded forthwith to erect the houses at any cost which I succeeded to build the two houses” (5). This same image and the words “at any cost” suggest that Cândido started his life all over again from nothing, and the episode can be read as a metaphor both for his desperate situation in the Golden City and for his power to improvise and his will to succeed after leaving the Far East. The theme of success, dear to any emigrant, enters the text gradually, and the author explains how he started to make and invest money. He rented the corner house to Ruttee Tissott & Co, for one hundred dollars per month, and the building in Webb Street to Madero Mexican, for eight hundred dollars, keeping one room for himself, until the houses were burnt down.

The “capitalists” that the author met, like Captain John Augustus Sutter of Hock Farm (1803-1880), allowed him to reinvest his earnings in different projects. Captain Sutter was an emigrant from Switzerland who came to America at the age of 39 due to business failures; he later established Hock Farm on the west bank of the Feather River, a few miles south of what would become Yuba City. This farm supplied food for the settlement at Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento River. Through Tissott, a common

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friend, Captain Sutter invited Gutierrez to dinner and offered him the possibility of building twelve frame houses in the town of “Elizaville,” “a better location than Marysville and better road to the mines” (6).³⁸ The United States’ expanding cities at the time offered many golden opportunities, and local investors used all the means they could to make money, which also meant involving Cândido and his frame houses. The pioneer visited Hock Farm and decided to join the Captain. Sutter’s home at Hock Farm was burned down by a disgruntled worker in 1865, so the meeting between Gutierrez and Sutter took place before this same year. The author then began to ship houses by boat and to contract carpenters, whose daily wages (\$10) were considered expensive. But the project was a success: “After the houses were erected; and several American gentlemen were there and built some large hotels &c; the town appeared progressing” (7). Hotels were built to accommodate wealthy miners, and, despite the great earnings, a clash of interests between investors became an obstacle. According to the author, many Swiss men owned a large portion of “Elizaville,” and charged exorbitant prices for the lot in the levee, driving “good people away from improving the Town.”³⁹ The investors and some settlers abandoned the place, and so did Cândido, who left his houses there and returned to San Francisco where he sold those same buildings to miners, losing around \$35,000. He continued to invest his profits carefully, and made remittances to his friends in Mexico for silver coin: “the gold dust sold there at sixteen dollars per ounce, and remittance of silver produced me thirty per cent in bulk; but in great risk of the Robbers of stages, so I did not continue speculation in silver” (8). For many years, he was employed as Secretary and Business Manager of the firms of Sanders & Brenham and Alexander Campbell.⁴⁰ According to John L. Spear, Cândido bought a ranch at San Pablo and built a large adobe house with the help of an Indian he hired; he then spent many years working his ranch, raising “fancy blooded stock, owning among others a very valuable stallion ‘Young Belmont’.”⁴¹

In the early days, Californians imported most of their necessities of life, like food; but as their wealth increased people saw the possibilities of non-mining activities, as Lotchin explains: agriculture and commerce boomed, and industry made a good beginning. Even mining evolved from rather crude placer mining toward hydraulic and quartz mining, involving long capital

expenditures and sophisticated works.⁴² Gutierrez started to invest in cattle, and opened a slaughterhouse at the Potrero (pasture)⁴³ of San Pablo, Contra Costa County;⁴⁴ he bought two schooners, employed two captains and enough sailors and butchers to supply 10 to 15 carcasses of beef per day, making a profit of \$100, which led him to increase his output of carcasses to 25 per day. The conflict of interests between several investors spurred him to control the activities of one Steinberger, who “made opposition to [him]” (8-9). He went to Contra Costa—where the weather was better than in San Francisco—with thousands of dollars to bond all cattle owners in the county under his power, gaining full control of the cattle market in the county and putting his rival, who was always in Sacramento, under his control.⁴⁵ The increasing debt incurred by Cândido’s former rival led him to take legal action, but the pioneer was also deceived by the law firm Checkwood Ross & Turk, confessing: “not being of a suspicious nature and believing that no one would take advantage of me in a business transaction and that their word was as good as their note, may account for my not being a Capitalist now, but at the same time I have the consoling satisfaction, at seventy-eight years of age, to know that my business career was conducted with honesty according to the precepts of the Golden Rule” (11).

The Macao pioneer met Charles Lawton, who invited him to build houses again on the same lot of California and Webb Streets. He was first afraid to do so because of fire, but Lawton also gave him a lease for part of a block on the southwest corner of California and Dupont Streets, an area protected from fire. Gutierrez built two frame houses and one iron house, but eight months later, Captain Petty, the actual owner of the lot, returned from Honolulu and demanded that he “move the houses away” (12). Some time later, while Cândido was at San Pablo, the Captain lawfully took possession of the houses. At the same time, Juan Bautista Valentin Alvarado y Vallejo (1809-1882),⁴⁶ who had been governor of (Mexican) Alta California from 1836 to 1842, wrote to him from his the family estate of his wife (Martina) at Rancho San Pablo, where he had been living since 1848, inviting him to become his business partner. Alvarado did not participate in the California Gold Rush, but concentrated his efforts on agriculture and business. He opened the Union Hotel on his ranch in 1860, but his businesses were not very successful. After Martina’s death in 1876, Alvarado wrote his *Historia de*

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California, and died six years later on his ranch. Cândido went into a partnership with Alvarado to farm 1000 acres of land in the San Pablo Valley, setting up twelve teams of different animals (mules, mustang horses and oxen), and hiring Mexican, Chilean, Irish and French hands to plough the land and plant the wheat.⁴⁷ Once again, the author shows how he was a victim of bad luck, and explains how a heavy shower of rain, followed by a hot sun, destroyed their crop. Alvarado and Gutierrez stopped the thrashing machines and abandoned the crop, “paid the working men and discharged them and lost over four thousand dollars in [their] investment” (13). As Gutierrez writes on page 11—and is keen to make sure the reader understands—he was always aware that his investments were honest; that is the reason, he informs us, that, even though he lost money on the plantation venture, he paid and discharged all the workers. John L. Spear’s memorial informs us that at one time Cândido’s property (lands, stocks and money) was worth one hundred thousand dollars, which he lost through the losses of others.⁴⁸

One of the last investments he describes was his speculation in mines, one called *La Esperanza*, and the other *Hidalgo*, with several other “gentlemen” (Colman, McLane, Judge Heydenfeldt, Saunders, and Forbes, 13). After several months, these mines proved to have more lead than silver; the group that had signed the contract with the miners abandoned their investment and, once again, Cândido lost almost everything. His last attempt at speculation, which he entered into with his second wife, Leota K. Turner Gutierrez (whom he married on Christmas Eve 1874), was in seven mines (*Richard*, *Surprise*, *Venus*, *Mohawk*, and *Leota Chick*), which were incorporated as Leota Consolidated Gold and Silver Mining Smelting and Water Company, in Darwin, Inyo County.⁴⁹ The company owned and operated these mines, and the author describes the election of the board of directors of the corporation, whom he also lists by name. He was appointed Secretary of the Board, and this new company promised to buy his Surprise Valley Mill and Water Company.⁵⁰ The seven mines were “progressing and produced well; but the expenses of fifty men and other [expenses] to work the mines was immense” (15). Mr Andrew Monger, who owned two-thirds of the Leota Consolidated Gold and Silver Mining Smelting and Water Company, proposed to buy this same company, but Judge Heydenfeldt, Colman, Saunders and Forbes refused to sell their shares to the

“Capitalist of Chicago.” As the author explains: “the balance of shareholders thought they were not willing to advance money to be of benefit [to] Monger [on] his ²/₃ interest; so the Superintendent discharged the men and stopped working [the mines]. The three instalments had not been paid [for] the contract with Surprise Valley Mill and Water Co. [so they] refused to carry on said bond; and all stood in *status quo*” (16).

*In remembering his past,
Cândido selects the most
important facts and urban
spaces of his life in California,
and represents his arrival,
his expenses...*

At around the same time, Cândido, facing serious financial problems, failed to raise the \$18,000 he needed to pay the mortgage on his 24-acre ranch of excellent valley land (San Pablo, Contra Costa County): “interests, taxes &c consumed it, and left me with empty hands” (16). But as usual, he received a new proposition, this time from Mr. Brandon, a broker for Senator Page, who proposed to buy his San Pablo Ranch and the balance of some properties in San Francisco. In the end, Mr Brandon failed to consummate the deal, and the author saw himself in “straitened circumstances” (17) when he lost all his good property and the small funds he had in the bank.

In view of the fact that he was born in Macao, and must certainly have been bred among Chinese in the streets of that enclave, it is curious that Gutierrez does not mention any aspect of the Chinese community in San Francisco, the single largest minority group in the state of California, which, from its beginnings, had been characterized by ethnic diversity. The Chinese community can also be seen as the silenced Other during the early days of the city, and maybe the nature of the text (a personal testimony of a pioneer who invested and dealt only with American “gentlemen”) justifies the Chinese absence from its lines. According to Philip J. Enthnigton,

“the search for gold and the disruptions of the Taiping Rebellion brought around twenty-five

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said Ranch for Sixty Thousand dollars and Twenty Thousand dollars in Cash, and the Balance in some properties in San Francisco, and at that time McBranden was negotiating to raise 20,000th and failed to consummate it and was reduced one of my good property and small fund that was in bank, and left me in straitened circumstances.

" I had the honor of being admitted as a Member of the Society of California Pioneers, and am a Life Member, and feel proud to know how much they have benefitted this State by their industry integrity and noble acts, and when we recall to our memories the hardships and trials that our Pioneers had to undergo in the early days of this glorious Golden State of California; We cannot be but surprised at the wonderful progress and change, and the luxury and abundance that now exists and we must all feel thankful in our hearts, that our Young Pioneers have an easier path to tread to Prosperity.

With much esteem Fraternally Yours

Candido Gutierrez
Golden Gate, Alameda Co
Calif. February 21st 1902

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thousand Chinese immigrants (almost all were men) to California by 1852. The California legislature fortified the political and economic power of the white, Anglo male citizenry by enacting prohibitive 'foreign miner's taxes' in 1850 and 1852, which effectively barred the state's skilled Mexicans and determined Chinese from the mines. [...] But by excluding women, blacks, and Chinese from the franchise, white male citizens intended to exclude them from the public sphere altogether. Denying them the ballot implied that they were to have no public voice and were to remain solely *private* beings."⁵¹

This same study recalls that this community formed the Chinese-language political subculture,⁵² the Other which was excluded from the ruling political culture of the city, and constituted California's most underprivileged caste.⁵³ In 1870, there were fifty thousand Chinese residents in San Francisco—almost 9 percent of the population—compared to the 10 percent of 1852.⁵⁴ In the 1860s, the Chinese were forced out of the mining industry through such discriminatory legislation as the foreign miner's tax, but opportunities in the manufacturing sector expanded rapidly, leading to an increase of the Chinese population in the city during the Civil War decade.⁵⁵ Most certainly there were also Chinese people working in Gutierrez's mines and lands, but the author does not mention them when he mentions the Irish, Mexican, Chileans, French, and Swiss.

All of the citizens named in the document are from the author's social and economic *milieu* ("gentlemen")⁵⁶—namely, business partners and rivals—and one must not forget that the text was written by a member of the Society of California Pioneers as a personal testimony to life in early San Francisco, to be kept in the Society's records as a contribution to the history of the state of California. The author himself finishes his short "autobiography" with the following words: "I had the honour of being admitted as a Member of the 'Society of California Pioneers,' and am a 'Life Member' and feel proud to know how much they have benefited this State, by their industry[,] integrity and noble acts, and when we recall to our memories the hardships and trials that we Pioneers had to undergo in the early days of this glorious Golden State of California; we cannot be but surprised at the wonderful progress and change, and the luxury and abundance that now exists and we must

all feel thankful in our hearts, that our Young Pioneers, have an easier path to tread to prosperity" (17). The main aim of the document is therefore to present the glorious deeds of the early Pioneers for the benefit of the San Francisco community, of which Cândido became a member after he arrived from China. The author thus signals the context for the production of this narrative, and the themes of community, honesty, hard work and determination are common in the text. Gutierrez found his public voice through perseverance and investment, and also by being accepted as a member of the Society of California Pioneers after he became an American citizen in 1876, as a white immigrant from Macao. He survived and prospered in a foreign country where Chinese faced social and political exclusion.

As the final section of the *Autobiography* shows, Cândido and his wife were victims of the instability of the mining industry and met with legal and financial troubles. The short text clearly documents both the investment opportunities that the San Francisco area offered to newcomers in the early days of the California state, and the entrepreneurial spirit of the Macao-born emigrant from the moment he landed at San Francisco Bay in pursuit of the American Dream. The narrative is not only a personal testimony of the difficult experiences of the first pioneers; it can also be used to study the demographic, structural and behavioural urbanization of the Golden City, as it describes the organizational change and the spread of the urban way of life in San Francisco and other areas of California, that former Mexican province which had recently been annexed by the Americans. It also reveals various dimensions of the represented urban space, filtered through the author's expectations, limitations and dreams. As the table of contents of the *Handbook of Urban Studies* (2004) shows, the city can be interpreted as environment/people/economy/organized polity/power/policy discourses and transition,⁵⁷ dimensions which all are present in Gutierrez's text. If Urban Studies interprets the city from an interdisciplinary perspective,⁵⁸ for Carlos Rotella real urban spaces (like San Francisco) are also shaped by imagination,⁵⁹ while Joachim von der Thüssen approaches the city as metaphor, metonymy and symbol in Western Literature:

"On the symbolic level, the city is seen as an image of something larger than itself [...]. Literature has both celebrated the city as the supreme expression of wealth, of energy, of the amalgam of living

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styles and, conversely, as representative of modern society's ills, its anonymity, egotism, oppression, and anxiety. [...] On the metaphorical level of image-making, the city is represented in terms of relatively concrete constructs and processes that often have no overt connection to urban life. Thus the city is seen as a body, monster, jungle, ocean or volcano. Such metaphorical equations usually have an ideological quality. [...] Such subsequent images complement each other or, as more often happens, cancel each other. [...] On the metonymic level [...], the image of the city is made up of customs, structures and buildings which are specific to that particular city.”⁶⁰

The analysis of Gutierrez's “autobiography” should, therefore, take into account the author's subjectivity and the choices he made when writing a text that he knew would be kept in the Society of California Pioneers as archival material and as an historical document that would shape his public

image as a pioneer for generations to come. The short text can be considered a factual autobiography, and if Lejeune described this literary genre as “a retrospective prose narrative produced by a real person concerning his own existence, focusing on his individual life, in particular on the development of his personality,”⁶¹ then this narrative can also be read as a written memory of the development of the city of San Francisco which associates biographical and historical time. The short length of the text and the fact that it consists mainly of summaries of isolated episodes in Cândido's life as a businessman in early California make it hard for us to consider it an accomplished autobiography, and we would therefore describe it as a series of loose recollections about the pioneer's main businesses.

In the 20th century, many Macanese, or “filhos da terra,” emigrated, like Gutierrez, dreaming of a better life. They and their descendants still live in the United States of America, away from home but with Macao in their hearts.⁶² This text is dedicated to them. **RC**

NOTES

- 1 Alameda County is named for the Spanish term for grove, poplar or cottonwood trees (from *alamo*, poplar) but the term also means any group of shady trees. The county was created in 1853 from parts of Contra Costa and Santa Clara counties (cf. Gudde 2004: 6). The name Contra Costa (county) lost its appropriateness when Alameda county was formed and the majority of Contra Costa was included in the new county (Gudde 2004: 89).
- 2 According to the “Guide to the Society of California Pioneers Collection of Autobiographies and Reminiscences of Early Pioneers”: “The Autobiographies and Reminiscences are made up of 153 documents varying in length from one page to over sixty pages, the average being around five pages in length. Most include details from the writer's early life, but the bulk of each document tends to be their overland journeys or voyages to the Pacific Coast and California in pre-Gold Rush times and then accounts of their lives after arrival. Many of the writers—all are men—talk of their families, education, and occupations before and after arriving out West, as well as their experiences mining, businesses, farming and ranching. Other aspects of their new lives are discussed: law and politics, the military and wars, social events, agriculture, literature and theater, shipping and leisure activities. The time period covered by the accounts is from the 1840s through 1904—when the project was completed. The geographic locations discussed range from all over the United States [...], as well as ports of call in South and Central America. Many accounts are looking back at their lives, and some are accurate and others may or may not be embellished as the writer relates a life some fifty or sixty years earlier.” (<<http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt8489q5km&cbbrand=calisphere>>). I will be quoting from the original handwritten version (pp. 1-17) and the pages of the document will

- be indicated between brackets in the body of my text. I thank Mrs. Patricia Keats from the Society of California Pioneers (SCP) for her kind and generous assistance during my research for this article.
- 3 The file includes a reference to a photograph of the member in a set of bound volumes, but this photo no longer exists in the collection. In the catalogue of the University of California library, the text's entry is listed as follows: “Subjects: Gutierrez, Candido-1824-1903/Pioneers-California-Biography/Gold mines and mining/Voyages to the Pacific Coast/Mining corporations/partnership/California-History-19th century/Contra Costa County.”
- 4 Cf. Society of California Pioneers, *Archive Record*, vol. 2, p. 102, and *Mortuary Record, 1892-1906*, p. 165. According to John L. Spear, “In Memoriam Candido Gutierrez, a Member of the Society of California Pioneers,” (in *Obituary Record*, vol. 10, Society of California Pioneers, June 1903, p. 11), the funeral departed from Pioneers' Hall (San Francisco) on January 6th: “Religious services at the Hall by Rev. S. H. Willey – at the grave Marshall W. L. Duncan read the Pioneer Ritual. Pallbearers W. B. Latham, J. M. Baker, Theodore Storm – Interment Laurel Hill Cemetery.”
- 5 Spear 1903: 10.
- 6 On autobiography as a literary genre, see Reis and Lopes 1994: 36-38, and Anderson 2001.
- 7 On the history of Chinese women in San Francisco, their Macao ancestors and the return to China (Macao) at the beginning of the 20th century, see Yung 1999: 24n1, 27, 32, 37, 42-49, 56, 60-92, 121, 359.
- 8 On San Francisco before 1906, see Kennedy 2004: 7-50.
- 9 On the early American presence in Macao, see Rogério Miguel Puga 2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2006.

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- 10 See Joppke 1998: 1.
- 11 Suárez et al. 2005: ix-x.
- 12 Wollenborg 1988: 143 (on pp. 144-145, the author discusses Irish and Portuguese immigration, and on pp. 147-148, Chinese immigration to San Francisco).
- 13 According to the USA 1880 census, Cândido Rodrigues was a 56-year-old white farmer in Contra Costa, whose father was born in the Philippines. He was married to Leota K. Gutierrez, age 47, born in New York. See (<http://www.familysearch.org/Eng/Search/frameset_search.asp?PAGE=census/search_census.asp>).
- 14 On 19th-century Macao, see Marques 2001.
- 15 John L. Spear states that Cândido's parents were both natives of Spain (Spear 1903:9), but the Pioneer himself says his mother is from Macao, a statement we were able to confirm (see the following notes).
- 16 Cf. Forjaz 1996: vol. 2, 186, 4(V).
- 17 According to Forjaz, Mateus Gutierrez Manaham's name also appears in the Macao archives as Mateus Francisco Manahão, Mateus Francisco Manahão Guterres, and Mateus Manhão. (Forjaz 1996: vol. 2, 185, n. 2).
- 18 See Forjaz 1996: vol. 2, pp. 185-212, especially 185-190.
- 19 Forjaz 1996: vol. 3, p. 964. Joana's father was João Pires Viana (died 2 May 1788), who married Ângela de Sousa on November 6, 1785, and with her had two daughters, Joana and Vitorina Pires Viana (born 17 November 1786).
- 20 See the Archive Records of the Society of California Pioneers, vol. 2, p. 102, for biographical information on Gutierrez. This same document states that Cândido arrived in California on the 16th day of October 1849, when, in fact, he only arrived on the 11th day of the following month, as the pioneer himself states in his memoirs.
- 21 Cf. Spear 1903: 9.
- 22 For a photo of the San Francisco frame houses in 1855, see Eardon 1999: 17.
- 23 In the *Reports of Explorations and Surveys, to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, published by the United States War Department, 1855-1860, we learn that granite was also imported to San Francisco from "Chinese quarries" at Macao and Hong Kong. On page 356, the same document informs us: "this is a specimen of the rock [from Macao, China] which is so extensively used in San Francisco for buildings. It has a very pleasing pinkish-gray color, and a very even and desirable texture."
- 24 Cf. Wiley 2000: 24.
- 25 For a short description of the voyage and the problems the crew faced, see Spear 1903: 9.
- 26 Spear 1903: 10.
- 27 According to Erwin Gustav Gudde, "Golden Gate" was the name given to the entrance of San Francisco Bay by Frémont in the Spring of 1846 (Gudde 2004: 147). He chose this name because he foresaw the day when the riches of the greater Orient would flow through the Golden Gate, just as the riches of the lesser Orient had once flowed into the Golden Horn.
- 28 According to Gudde, "farallón" is Spanish for "small rocky islands" (Gudde 2004: 96). The rocky islands of the Golden Gate were referred to as *farallones* by the Vizcaino expedition (1602-1603). González (1734) and Bodega (1775) also called them *Farallones*. Most of the Spanish and Mexican maps used *Farallones de San Francisco*, or simply *farallones*, but Davidson and the Coast Survey used Bodega's *Farallones de los Frayles* until the 1870s. On modern maps the islands are usually designated individually (North, Middle, and South Farallon/Farallone/Farallones).
- 29 For photos of California Street in 1855, see Eardon 1999: 40.
- 30 According to Roger W. Lotchin, the State Census found 224,000 people living in California in 1852, and the Federal Count of 1860 listed 380,000 (Lotchin 1997: 5).
- 31 McClellan 1872: 125.
- 32 Wiley 2000: 24 (emphasis mine).
- 33 Haskins 1890: 46 (emphasis mine).
- 34 Lotchin 1997: 4.
- 35 Soulé and Gihon 1855: 241-242.
- 36 These short descriptions of the six major fires were taken from: Devens 1876: 554-555; Wiley 2000: 27; and the website of "The Virtual Museum of the City of San Francisco" (San Francisco Gold Rush Chronology: <<http://www.sfmuseum.net/hist/chron1.html>>).
- 37 Lotchin 1997: 29; see also Wiley 2000: 27-28.
- 38 Bright 1998: 91.
- 39 On the Swiss early presence in California, see Lotchin 1997:104, 122-123; and Wiley 2000: 21. See also Hittell 1863: 340, who writes: "Most of the capitalists of San Francisco either invest their money in houses and lots, or let it out at interest under bond and mortgage. [...] There is a considerable amount of French and Swiss capital invested in San Francisco, most of it loaned on mortgage, and under the charge of French and Swiss bankers. In no part of the United States is there so small investment of capital, and so small an amount of real and personal property held in fee simple, by individuals and local corporations, in proportion to the area, population and amount of business done, as in the gold mining district of California."
- 40 Spear 1903: 10.
- 41 Spear 1903: 10.
- 42 Lotchin 1997: 5.
- 43 On the term "Potrero", see Bright 1998: 119.
- 44 "Contra Costa [...] from a term used by the Spanish from 1797 onward to designate the 'opposite coast' from San Francisco" (Bright 1998: 42).
- 45 The city of Sacramento, named after the Sacramento river, was founded in 1848 by John A. Sutter Jr. and Sam Brannan (cf. Gudde 2004: 32). Cities like Sacramento arose to supply gold camps (see McCabe 1871: 1033-1034).
- 46 See Miller 1998.
- 47 On the Irish presence in early San Francisco, see Maguire 1868: 267-280.
- 48 Spear 1903: 11.
- 49 Inyo County was created on March 22, 1866 (cf. Gudde 2004: 178 and Bright 1998: 71).
- 50 On the company's mines and resources before 1877, see Raymond 1877: 24.
- 51 Enthinton 2001: 31-32. See also Heizer and Almquist 1971: 92-194; Bean and Rawls 1988: 124, 127; Chin 1969; and Yung, Chang and Lai 2006: 1-97.
- 52 Enthinton 2001: 36. For a survey of the historiography of Chinese Americans, see Lai and Poon 1985-86: 101-111; and Lai 1986.
- 53 Enthinton 2001: 187.
- 54 Enthinton 2001: 201.
- 55 Enthinton 2001: 202. See also Saxton 1971.
- 56 John L. Spear informs the listener/reader: "Our pioneer had many warm friends; among them were: Governor Alvarado, Judge Campbell, Alexander Montgomery [pioneer settler, mine operator], Louis McLane [navy officer and businessman/founder of a river steamer company to serve the gold rush miners] and Gustave Touchard [lawyer and President of the Union Insurance Company]" (Spear 1903: 11).
- 57 Paddison 2001: v-11.
- 58 See Mumford 1979: 282-287; Caws 1993: 1-12; Lehan 1998: 8-9; Lynch 2000: 1-13; Bridge and Watson 2003: 1; and Thüsen 2005: 1.
- 59 Rotella 1998: 14-15.
- 60 Thüsen 2005: 1-3.
- 61 Lejeune 1982: 193.
- 62 See the website "Diáspora macaense na América": <<http://www.diasporamacaense.org>>.

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