

Portugal, China, Macao and the Beginning of Republican Regimes (1908-1927)

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INTRODUCTION

From 1908 to 1927, Portugal and China experienced, simultaneously, their first periods of republican regimes. Notwithstanding this assertion, we recognise that we are faced with two very distinct historical and geographical realities. These specifics do not diminish under analysis even when we highlight similar events which occurred at the same time in China and Portugal during that period. Portugal is situated in the far west of Europe, and China in the far east of Asia. Portugal was a small territory, although with the advantage of with overseas outposts, and China was an immense territory characterised by internal social and cultural diversity; Portugal was a country with centuries of history built in Jewish and Christian Europe, and China's history reached back for millenia.¹

It is clear that, between 1908 and 1927, the two nations lived a different historical process, but with simultaneous phenomena: during a period of

twenty years, they lived through common phases that reveal two parallel paths with different historical personalities, various circumstances and very distinct points of arrival.

There is an essential link between the first Republic of China and the first Republic of Portugal: Macao. On the one hand, the political influence of Portugal is visible in the government of Macao during the first years of the Portuguese republican regime. On the other hand, the geographical proximity and the social and economic networks facilitated the arrival of many from the Chinese republic.

BUILDING THE REPUBLICAN REGIME²

Between 1908 and 1913, we find the first phase of this construction period of republican regimes in Portugal and China.

Lisbon and China, 1908. On 8 February the regicide announced the end of the monarchy in Portugal and the birth of the Republic followed on 5 October 1910. The Portuguese Republican Party and Freemasonry were the protagonists of this change and also the political instability that had developed in the early years of the Portuguese Republic. The seizure of the political power by the republicans revealed different factions that existed within the Portuguese republican movement, which remained united in the fight against the monarchy. Between 1908 and 1913, Portugal built the republican regime, ending the Bragança Dynasty that had ruled the country for 270 years.

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In China, this period began with the death of the Empress Dowager Cixi 慈禧太后 on 15 November 1908. The domestic political instability that resulted was accompanied by nationalist demonstrations against foreign pressures that continued to fall on the Empire. In Chengdu, the months of May and June 1911 were marked by incidents which gave rise to a republican and nationalist movement that overthrew the Qing dynasty, but also caused the division between the Central Government and the different military powers who had settled in some provinces. To preserve the unity of the republican and the anti-imperialist movement, Dr. Sun Yat Sen (孙逸仙, who was commonly known as Sun Zhongshan 孙中山 in the Chinese world) offered to Yuan Shikai 袁世凯 the post of President of the Republic. On 1 January 1912 the Republic of China was proclaimed and on 12 February the last emperor, Pu Yi 溥仪, abdicated the throne, thus ending the imperial Qing dynasty after 268 years of rule.

In the summer of 1914, Europe was at war. The beginning of World War I is also the beginning of the second stage of the republican regimes in China and in Portugal. This phase extends until 1919, when the Conference of Paris drew up the new map of the world. Between 1914 and 1919, Portugal lived with the desire of the new republican regime to enter in World War I and, from 1916, its participation in two scenarios of war: Africa and Flanders. The great motivations of Portugal to enter the war were the need to protect their African territories, to see the new republican regime recognised by other European



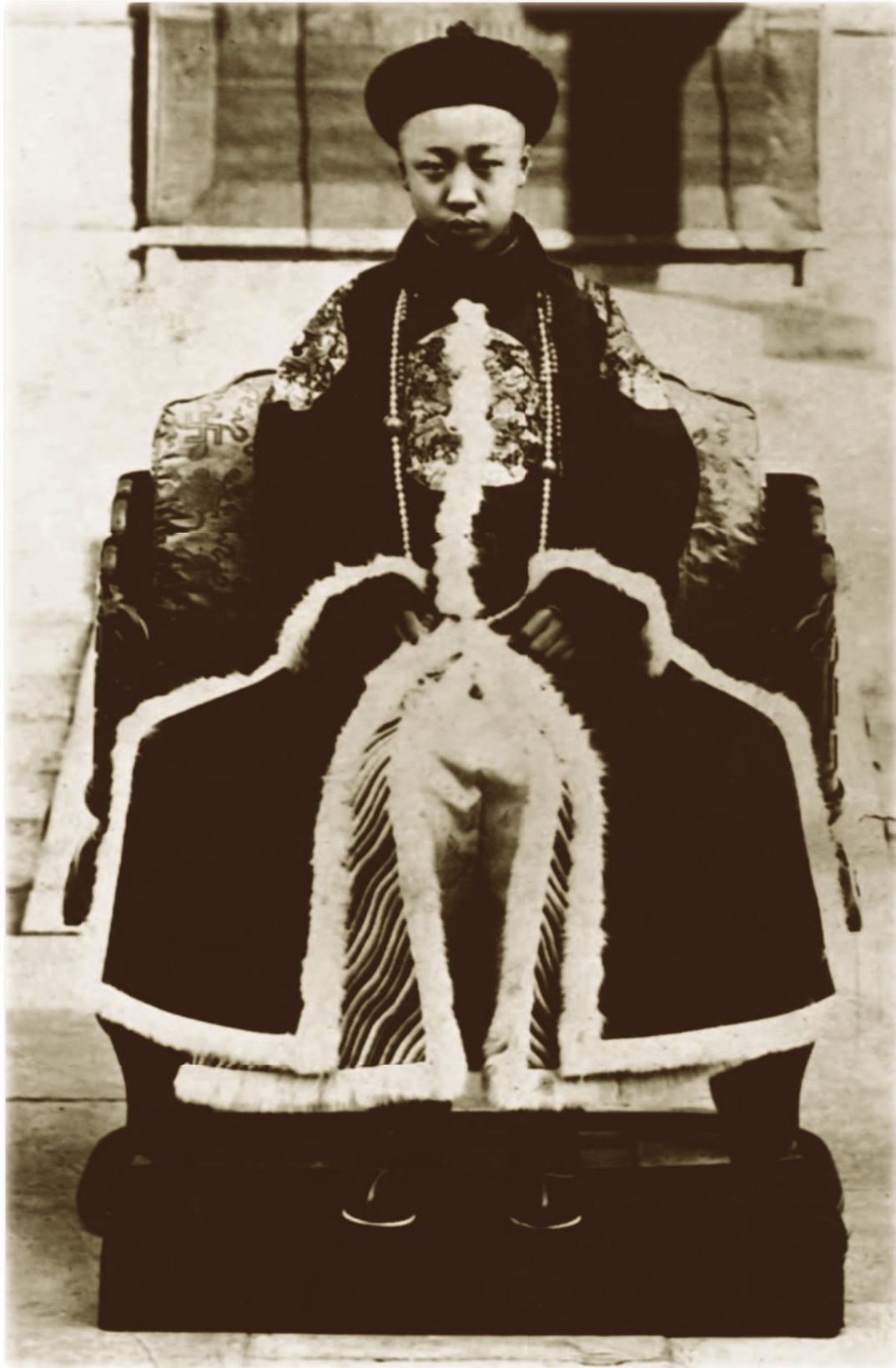
The Empress Dowager Cixi.

countries and to affirm the political autonomy of Portugal on the European continent. Ultimately, Portugal wished to secure a place in the peace conference in Paris in 1919, and to be able to have a voice, albeit secondary, in the negotiating process that enabled the consolidation of world peace. The Portuguese entry into World War I, after Germany's declaration of war on 9 March 1916, contributed to the increase of objection to the new regime, leading to the isolation of republican leaders and an attempt at new authoritarian political solutions, with the assassination of President Sidónio Pais in 1918.

In China, Yuan Shikai abandoned the imperial side to engage in the republican movement and, after taking the post of President of the Republic that Dr. Sun Yat

Sen offered, soon acquired the desire to restore the imperial monarchy, announcing it on 1 January 1916. Six months later, these imperial dreams died with him. Concerning World War I, the Republic of China also announced its neutrality, but this option was not sufficient to dispel the Japanese expansionism of Manchuria, Mongolia and Shandong, and avoid the 'Twenty-one Demands'. In February 1917 it was the turn of China to enter the war, in line with the USA position, but this effort was not enough to avoid the betrayal of Shandong; this German protectorate passed into the hands of Japan with the support of the great powers. The issue of Shandong was at the origin of the 'May 4th Movement' in 1919; the students' unrest in Beijing quickly became an important social and anti-imperialist movement.

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Pu Yi, the last Chinese Emperor.

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The third phase (1920-1927) corresponds to an intensification of the internal contradictions that never left the new republican regimes in Portugal and in China. In both countries, these eight years were marked by political and military instability, and by strong social movements. In Portugal there was the ‘Revolt of Monsanto’ and the ‘Kingdom of the North’ at the beginning of the year 1919. These attempts at restoration of the monarchy announced new political and military movement that has undermined the young Portuguese republican regime. China saw its political fragmentation and military confrontation of warlords, like Zhang Zuolin 张作霖, Duan Qirui 段祺瑞 and Xu Shuzheng 徐树铮.

In 1921 the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), inspired by the International Communist movement, gained new impetus with the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. Internally, each of the countries offered fertile ground with social movements created by the economic crisis and difficult living conditions caused by World War I.

This phase ends, in Portugal, with the Revolution of 28 May 1926 that imposed a military dictatorship led by Mendes Cabeçadas, Óscar Carmona and Gomes da Costa. In China, its ending is the affirmation of the power of the Kuomintang in the hands of Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi 蒋介石), after having repressed the revolutionary movement from 1925-1927 in Shanghai, Guangzhou and Hong Kong.

A CHANGING WORLD

Two factors have marked the beginning of the 20th century, and in particular, the first period of republican regimes in Portugal and China: World War I (1914-1918) and the Bolshevik Revolution (1917).

The war of 1914-1918 had its main stage in Western Europe but directly and indirectly drew all continents into the conflict: the most important European Powers (Great Britain, France and Germany), the emerging Powers (USA and Japan), and peripheral countries including Portugal and China. Great Britain, France, USA, Japan and also Italy were part of the Board of the Conference of Paris.



Eduardo Marques, the last monarchic Governor of Macao.

For the young Portuguese Republic, the participation in World War I, despite the opposition of some political and military sectors in Great Britain, had important results for the consolidation of the new regime. Portugal was accepted as a belligerent power and after the peace treaty was signed it received some compensation, ensuring the integrity of its overseas empire, in an era that saw the German, Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman and Russian Empire disappear. But there were other consequences for Portugal, in particular with regard to its international prestige due to difficulties experienced in maintaining a coherent military leadership because of internal political instability, especially during the governance of Sidónio Pais (1918).

For China, World War I had two fundamental results: China failed to prevent the Japanese imperialist expansion, such as the occupation of the German possession of Shandong, despite its involvement in the conflict. On the other hand, the imperial Japanese aggression provoked strong social movements, just like the ‘May 4th Movement’, which joined nationalist and

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revolutionary forces who contributed to the emergence and consolidation of Chinese Communist movement.

In 1921, in Portugal and China, the birth of the Communist parties was a consequence of the reorganisation of the International Communist movement after the Bolshevik revolution, through the creation of the Third International in 1920. Thus, the PCP and the CCP were organised as political forces to where the social discontent converged, provoked by the wartime, by political and military instability, and by the economic and financial crisis which lasted throughout the 1920s.

The revolution of 1917 in Tsarist Russia made an important contribution to the expansion of the International Communist movement, but it was in China that it offered important support, tapped by Dr. Sun Yat Sen, to bring forth their strategy for unification of internal forces against the Japanese occupation.

Álvaro de Melo Machado, the first republican to be nominated Governor of Macao.



SUN YAT SEN IN MACAO

Republican regimes in China and Portugal have had impact on the society of Macao. At first hand, the revolutionary movements that have shocked China were visible in the territory through the presence of Republican leaders, like Sun Yat Sen, and with the social unrest like the events of May 1922.

Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the founder of the first revolutionary party, the Revive China Society (Xingzhong Hui 兴中会) in 24 November 1894 in Honolulu, Hawaii, played a crucial role to start the revolutionary movement in Macao. He combined the Revive China Society with several other Chinese Revolutionary parties of China and formed a new Chinese revolutionary alliance called United Allegiance Society (Tong Meng Hui 同盟会) in 1905.

In the philosophy of Dr. Sun's revolutionary ideology, a concept called 'nationalist revolution' was advocated after 1906 following the discussion of revolutionary leaders like Sun Yat Sen, Huang Xing 黄兴 and Zhang Taiyan 章太炎. In an important historical document called *Tong Meng Hui Geming Fanglue: Jun Zhengfu Xuanyan* 同盟会革命方略·军政府宣言 (Revolutionary Tactics of Chinese United League: Inaugural Manifesto of the Military Government) (winter of 1906), they advocated that:

We today are different from people of former generations. Besides driving out the barbarians and the restoration of China, it is also necessary to change the form of the state and the people's livelihood. And though there are many complicated ways and means to achieve these goals, the spirit that runs through them all is freedom, equality, and fraternity. Therefore there were heroes' revolutions in former days, but today we have a nationalist revolution. Nationalist revolution means that all people in the nation will bear the responsibility. The Military Government is just their agent. From now on the people's responsibility will be the responsibility of the Military Government, and the achievements of the Military Government will be those of the people. With a cooperative effort, the Military Government and the people will perform their duty. Therefore, we proclaim to the world in all sincerity the outline of the

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The Four Desperados and Guan Jinliang 关景良 (standing). Seated from left to right: Yuan Heling 杨鹤龄, Sun Yat Sen, Chen Shaobai 陈少白 and You Lie 尤列.

present revolution and the fundamental plan for the future administration of the nation.³

Since then, the term ‘nationalist revolution’ has become the most popular term in the revolutionary documents. As Dr. Sun was born in Cuiheng village, which was just 26km north from Macao, he began to establish the Branch of United Allegiance Society in Macao, which started the organised revolutionary movements there.

On 20 August 1905, the United Allegiance Society was established in Tokyo with more than 800 Chinese students as well as other leaders of

revolutionary parts from mainland China. Dr. Sun Yat Sen decided to expand the revolutionary organisation to South China by creating a branch there.

As Dr. Sun worked as a medical doctor in Macao from autumn of 1892 to spring of 1893, he thought it was a suitable place to be included even though he did not plan any revolutionary organisation during that period of time. Dr. Sun appointed Feng Ziyou 冯自由 and Li Zichong 李自重 as the men in charge of recruiting new members and took Hong Kong as a base for the organisation of revolutionary activities for the three cities in the Pearl River Delta. The certificate of

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appointment of them was kept secure in the historical archives in the Chinese Nationalist Party (Zhongguo Guomindang 中国国民党) in Taipei which proved Dr. Sun regarded this region of ‘Hong Kong, Guangzhou, Macao and so on’ an important one as it was issued just 18 days after the meeting in Tokyo.⁴

The details of the Macao branch could be traced back from the book written by Feng Ziyou called *Geming Yishi* 革命逸史 (Revolutionary Stories). In 1906, Feng Ziyou sent Ruan Yizhou 阮亦周, Liu Sifu 刘思复 and Liu Yuehang 刘樾航 to Macao to establish a reading room for the Chinese revolutionaries which would be open to the public for propaganda. It was called *Lequn Shu shi* 乐群书室, literally the ‘Harmonious Group Reading Room’ or a ‘reading room for the ones who like group work’, which clearly stated that it was an organisation for recruiting new members. The biographical detail of Ruan Yizhou 阮亦周 was not clear since his name appeared only once in histories of Chinese revolutions. Both Liu Sifu and Liu Yuehang were classmates in Toyko. Liu Sifu was the most well-known as he originally came from Shiqi in Xiangshan and was an expert on making explosives.

These three revolutionaries chose 21 Rua de Vo Long, located in the district of São Lázaro, better known as the Dutch Garden (Helanyuan 荷兰园), because it was located just outside the former boundary of the Christian city of Macao with a residential area of Chinese wealthy people. However, it seems to have failed to recruit new members as Feng Ziyou closed that reading room as ‘we got only a few original members there so we had no choice but to close it down after a few months’.⁶

‘Harmonious Group Reading Room’ symbolised Macao’s first step on the path to revolution. The reason why the Harmonious Group Reading Room was declared as a failure might probably have been due to the smell of dangerous chemicals for making explosives, or the literacy rate of the common people in Macao might not have been as high as the returning Chinese students expected. Feng Ziyou blamed them saying ‘the cultural standard of the Overseas Chinese there [in Macao] was low’.⁷

The revolutionaries adopted a new strategy of organising a traditional Chinese drama association called the ‘Association of the Best Heaven’ (Yuotian She 优天社). Of course, none of the actors of this

troupe were professional. It was organised by a group of Chinese journalists, namely Huang Luyi 黄鲁逸, Huang Xuanzhou 黄轩胄, Ou Boming 欧博明, Lu Saohun 卢骚魂, Huang Shizhong 黄世仲, Li Mengzhe 李孟哲, and Lu Bolang 卢博郎. They tried to take the opportunity to spread the ideas of revolution to the masses through their performances. However, as all of them were fully occupied with the work in Hong Kong, the troupe was dissolved a few months later.⁹ Under the leadership of Huang Luyi again, the ‘Association of the Best Heaven’ was reorganised into the ‘Troupes of the Shadow of Best Heaven’ (Youtian Yingjutuan 优天影剧团) in 1909, which indicated the relation of this troupe to the previous association.

The revolutionaries also made use of the chance to advocate revolutionary ideas on ferries *Li An* 里安, *Rui Tai* 瑞泰 and *Quanzhou* 泉州 between Hong Kong and Macao as the ferry itself was not a territory owned by neither the Portuguese government in Macao, the Qing government of China nor the British government in Hong Kong. It took almost ‘half day’ to travel from one city to the other, so it was common for the hawkers to sell snacks or medicine on the ferry. Liu Zhuofan 刘卓凡, a salesman of pharmaceuticals, actively took part in such propaganda work with the excuse of selling medicine to the passengers from 1909 to 1911.

The content of his propaganda included the necessity to carry out revolution against the Manchu rule, the defects of the loyalists, the equality of men and women, and the freedom of choosing partners for marriage and anti-superstition. The Qing government was alarmed by such activities but as they had no right to stop Liu Zhuofan, the Qing government sponsored some other medicine hawkers to talk about the necessities of loyalty to the emperor. Such progressive ideas on both political and social revolution attracted Chen Fenghai 陈峰海, Li Xinghun 李醒魂, Ou Daqiu 区大球, and Wang Qisheng 王岐生 to join United Allegiance Society; they even visited the primary school in Macao run by revolutionaries every Saturday.⁹

Note from the Chinese Legation in Lisbon informing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the proclamation of the Republic of China

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Legation de Chine
Lisbonne.

Lisbonne, le 15 février 1912.

Monsieur le Ministre,

J'ai l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de votre Ex^{te} que, d'après les instructions télégraphiques qui viennent d'être reçues du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères à Pékin, sont les suivantes:

Un édit publié par l'Impératrice Souveraine à ce jour. Le Ministère des Affaires Étrangères a prié les représentants à Pékin d'en communiquer auprès de leurs Gouvernements.

Le Président Monsieur Yuan. Sh. Kai a pleins pouvoirs pour former un Gouvernement Republicain provisoire et a fait paraître un édit annonçant que l'Empereur de la Dynastie Ta. Tsing a déjà abdiqué. La nation est proclamée être sous le régime Republicain, elle doit de nommer (Chung. Houa. Min. Hou) République chinoise. Pour le moment on est occupé à constituer un Gouvernement provisoire. Tous les représentants auprès des différentes puissances resteront maintenus dans leurs mêmes attributions.

Je profite de l'occasion pour présenter à Son Ex^{te} les assurances de ma très haute considération.

Le Chargé d'Affaires de Chine.

[Signature]

À Son Excellence
Monsieur Augusto de Vasconcellos
Ministre des Affaires Étrangères
Lisbonne.

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FROM MACAO TO GUANGZHOU:
THE UPRISING OF XIANGSHAN

In 1908, one of the former returning students from Japan, Pan Caihua 潘才华, established Cultivating Fundamental Two-Level Primary School (Peiji Liangdeng Xiaoxue 培基两等小学) at 4 Rua Inácio Baptista.¹⁰ It was a school with more than 100 students which provided elementary education and promoted revolutionary ideas at the same time.¹¹ Zhao Liancheng 赵连城, the first female member of United Allegiance Society in Macao, was one of the students of this school. The extra-curricular activities were particularly important to the students and teachers. The teachers encouraged some of the students, Feng Qiuxue 冯秋雪, Gu Guifang 古桂芳, Feng Yinxue 冯印雪, and Zhou Shuxun 周树勋, to organise a student association called 'Anti-Idol Association' (Fei Ou Hui 非儒会). This was a student organisation with 19 students who started a debate with some loyalist supporters students like Wen Ruichang 文瑞昌, Ou Shaofeng 区韶凤 and Li Yanxi 黎延禧 on the issue of whether Confucianism was worth preserving or not. In fact, the revolutionaries trained up the students so that finally they 'even discussed revolution openly'.¹² There were at least eight girls, Liang Xuejun 梁雪君, Chen Xiashang 陈霞裳, Chen Yongshang 陈咏裳, Li Botao 李伯陶, Chen Xiuji 陈秀姬, He Yuqing 何玉卿, He Miaoxian 何妙仙, and Zhou Bihua 周璧华 who joined the Macao branch of the United Allegiance Society. The revolutionaries asked them to approach 'wealthy families and to raise funds from married women and their daughters', accompanied by Zhao Liancheng.¹³

After the establishment of the primary school, the revolutionaries had a stable base for coming to Macao and planning some other kind of military-oriented revolutionary movement like armed uprising, rather than educating the masses or propaganda. After the armed uprising of Wuchang on 10 October 1911, the revolutionaries realised that that was the best time to fight against the rule of Manchu in South China. The military operation from 2 to 9 November, the attack of Shiqi, the county town of Xiangshan (Fragrant Mountain), was organised by the General Headquarters (Zhongjiguan 总机关) at 41 Praya Grande, with Liu Junfu 刘君复 of the United Allegiance society in Macao in charge.¹⁴

The revolutionaries used Macao as a base to contact the New Army (Xinjun 新军), groups of newly-trained soldiers, students returning from Japan with modern Western arms, established since 1903 in Qianshan.¹⁵

There were three main aspects to the duties and responsibilities of 'General Headquarters'. The first was to provide the financial support of the Xiangshan uprising, led by Lin Jinhun 林警魂, who came from Xiangshan and had 'an excellent personal network with merchants in Hong Kong, Macao, Chinese overseas and revolutionaries in other provinces'.¹⁶ According to Zheng Bian 郑彼岸, one of the field commanders of this uprising, another important role of Macao in this military operation was 'all the weapons of this uprising were imported from Macao and Hong Kong to Shiqi'.¹⁷ The third one was providing leadership and support to back up the revolutionaries.

The actual process was quite smooth as Chen Yongan 陈永安, one of the sons of wealthy Chinese merchant Chen Fang 陈芳 of Macao, was willing to lend his ancestral house near the town government office to the revolutionaries as a temporary store of weapons. Some of the revolutionaries like Mo Jipeng 莫纪彭, He Zhen 何振, Chen Zhehai 陈哲海, Zhang Zhilin 张志林 with some female revolutionaries like Zheng Miaoqing 郑妙卿, and Huang Furong 黄芙蓉 and others, got into the fort of Qianshan secretly.¹⁸ Just after twilight on 5 November, according to Chen Pengchao 陈鹏超, who participated in the revolt of New Army at Qianshan, the revolutionaries just took away the flag of Manchu and replaced it with the flag of the Han.¹⁹

As it was urgent to start another uprising to attack the county town of Shiqi, Liu Junfu went there from the Macao 'general headquarters' the next day. He persuaded the local militia and bandits of the rural area nearby to support the anti-Qing campaign by attacking the west side of the town office. Ma Dexin 马德新, the magistrate of Shiqi, fled because he knew that they were isolated as he could not get reinforcement from the New Army to suppress the uprising. Shiqi was controlled by the revolutionaries of Macao branch.

Zheng Bian reorganised all these armed forces into a new force called the 'Army from Fragrant Mountain' that joined the campaign to besiege Guangzhou by occupied Xiguan 'under the command of Zheng Bian, Liu Junfu and the others', which reflected the

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leadership of Macao in this campaign.²⁰ Both the colonial governments of Macao and Hong Kong were alarmed by the revolutionary movements, worried they would cause instability in these two enclaves. In fact the revolutionaries at that time were only against the Manchu Imperial court in mainland China.

THE LEGACY OF REVOLUTION: 1922 AND 1926 ANTI-PORTUGUESE UPRISINGS IN MACAO

Subsequent to the formal establishment of the Republic of China in 1912, a significant number of members of the Chinese Revolutionary Party (Zhonghua Gemingdang 中华革命党) fled to Macao to pursue the anti-Yuan Shikai movement. With the major revolutionaries being closely watched over and suppressed by the Macao Portuguese government as well as the warlord administration in Guangdong, most of the military uprisings planned in Macao eventually ended in failure.

In 1923, the first leader of the Chinese Communist Party, Chen Duxiu 陈独秀, elaborated that ‘The Chinese who were now living in a semi-colonised world struggling with the fate of full colonisation’ should ‘now concentrate their power to participate in the “nationalist revolution”’ in his article entitled ‘the Chinese revolution and social classes’ that emphasised the anti-imperialist nature of the movement.²¹ That is why many historians use the term ‘nationalist revolution’ to refer to the era from the establishment of the United Allegiance Society established in 1905 to the eve of the Northern Expedition from China in 1926.

In the 1920s, led by Sun Yat Sen, the military government of Guangzhou provided armed support to the Chinese labourers in Macao and sent battleships to garrison duty in the inner harbour in preparation to reclaim the territory in 1922. Such effort, however, halted when the Presidential Palace was bombarded by an army headed by Chen Jiongming 陈炯明.

When the First United Front of the Chinese Nationalist Party and the Communist Party of China (Diyiciguo Gong Hezuo 第一次国共合作) was formed, members of both parties arrived at Macao to support the Guangzhou-Hong Kong General Strike during 1925 to 1926, as well as to plan for a strike in Macao. However, due to the struggle between the

Chinese Nationalist and the Chinese Communist Party (Zhongguo Gongchandang 中国共产党) and the subsequent Northern Expedition, Macao’s role in the ‘Nationalist revolution’ diminished and finally came to an end in 1926.²²

CONCLUSION

The establishment of republican regimes in China and Portugal occurred at the same time. In addition to the historic-geographic differences that separate the two countries, it is important to emphasise the simultaneous operation of political and social movements that, from the fall of monarchies and imperial regimes, led to the establishment of the Republics and the beginning of their consolidation in each of those national spaces. After providing the distinctions of temporal and spatial framework that shook both countries, we tried to unravel the links that give a more comprehensive understanding. These can be found when we explain the changes of regime which occurred in Portugal and China, in broader historical processes that, in this case, led to World War I and the revolution of 1917.

However, Portugal and China maintained another link that until then had lasted for almost four centuries. It is therefore important to make the analysis of the repercussions in Macao of the political and social movements that supported the Republican regimes.

The early Chinese revolutionary’s movements made use of the cultural institutions like reading rooms and schools in Macao as their shelter for the promotion of the anti-Qing government ideology to the common people. To a degree they influenced some of the youngsters in the Chinese community, especially primary school students and some Chinese young ladies. Of course, they did not provide a major military force to overthrow the Manchu rule in Guangdong, but they did donate money to the revolutionaries. The actual amount of such financial support from Chinese people in Macao to the revolutionaries was never clearly indicated in any documents, but it could have been enough to support the preparation of lobbying and smuggling of armies to Xiangshan to revolt against the Qing government in Shiqi. As most of the Chinese people in Macao originated from Guangdong, especially from Xiangshan, it was a great merit to choose Macao as a base to carry out revolution in China. As a

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port city of China, Macao was also an ideal place for the anti-Qing revolution which was located at the edge of South China with a more liberal colonial government than the one in Hong Kong.

Of course, after the 1911 revolution, the Portuguese colonial government was alerted by the unstable political situation in South China. After Dr. Sun Yat Sen established a revolutionary Government in Guangzhou, they planned two abortive revolts in 1922 and 1925-1926 to try to take over Macao. Both of those

were suppressed by the Macao colonial government. As all the above-mentioned revolutionaries belonged to the United Allegiance Society (later renamed the Chinese Nationalist Party, Guomindang 国民党, Kuomintang, or KMT in abbreviation), the disturbances in the first half of the 1920s could be regarded as the legacy of that revolutionary movement. Once the Chinese nationalist party realised they were not able to 'restore' Macao, they carried out the Northern Expedition in 1926 which ended the era of nationalist revolution in Macao. **RC**

NOTES

- 1 The first one who pointed out the similarities of the Portuguese and Chinese Revolution is in my article: Alfredo Gomes Dias, 'Macao Entre Repúblicas', *Macao*, no. 8, Outubro, 2001, pp. 74-84.
- 2 Tse-Tsung Chow, *The May 4th Movement. Intellectual Revolution In Modern China* (London: Harvard University Press, 1960); Jonathan Fenby, *History of Modern China. The Fall and Rise of a Great Power (1850-2008)* (London: Penguin, 2008); Marc Ferro, *História da I Guerra Mundial* (Lisbon: Ed. 70, 1992); Immanuel Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); John Keay, *China. A History* (London: Harper Press, 2008); José Mattoso (dir.), *História de Portugal*, vol. 6 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1994); A. H. Oliveira Marques, *História de Portugal*, vol. 3 (Lisbon: Presença, 1998); Rui Ramos (coord.), *História de Portugal*, (Lisbon: Esfera dos Livros, 2009); António Reis (dir.), *Portugal Contemporâneo*, vol. 3 (Lisbon: Alfa, 1990); Fernando Rosas e Maria Fernanda Rollo (coord.), *História da Primeira República Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Tinta-da-China), 2009.
- 3 '我等今日与前代殊，于驱除鞑虏、恢复中华之外，国体民生尚当与民变革，虽经纬万端，要其一贯之精神则为自由、平等、博爱。故前代为英雄革命，今日为国民革命。所谓国民革命者，一国之人皆有自由、平等、博爱之精神，即皆负革命之责任，军政府特为其枢机而已。自今已往，国民之责任即军政府之责任，军政府之功即国民之功，军政府与国民同心戮力，以尽责任。用特披露腹心，以今日革命之经纶暨将来治国之大本，布告天下'。Sun Zhongshan 孙中山, 'Tong Menghui Geming Fanglue: Jun Zhengfu Xuanyan' 同盟会革命方略·军政府宣言 (The Strategy of the Revolution of United Allegiance Society: Declaration of the Military Government). In *Sun Zhongshan Qiangji* 孙中山全集 (The Complete Works of Sun Yat Sen), edited by Guangdongsheng Shehui Kexue Yuan Lishi Yanjiushi 广东省社会科学院历史研究室 (Division of Historical Study of the Academy of Social Sciences of Guangdong Province); Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Yuan Jindaishi Yuanjiu Shuo Zhonghua Minguo Shiyanjishi 中国社会科学院近代史研究所中华民国史研究室 (Division of Republican History of Institution of Modern History of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), and Zhongshan Daxue Lishixi Sun Zhongshan Yanjiushi 中山大学历史系孙中山研究室 (Division of Sun Yat Sen Studies of History Department of the Sun Yat Sen University). Beijing: Zhonghua Publishing, 1985, vol. 1, p. 297.
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- 5 Tan Yongnian 谭永年, editor-in-chief; Zhen Guannan 甄冠南, ed., *Xinhai Geming Huiyilu* 辛亥革命回忆录 (The Memoirs of the 1911 Revolution). Taipei: Wenhai Chubanshe, 1976, vol. 1, p. 56.
- 6 然成立数月，仅得基本会员数人，不得已宣布解散。
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