

Ruins of St. Paul's, c. 1900.



Portugal, China and the New Republican Regimes

Continuities and Ruptures in Sino-Portuguese Dialogue Around the Macao Issue (1909-1911)

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This paper examines firstly the simultaneity and similarities of the political and social processes that led to the establishment of republican regimes in China and Portugal, and secondly the major issues that remained open between Portugal and China once the new regimes took over.

At the turn of the 20th century the world was heading towards the integration of all nations in the global economy. Technological developments; the ease of navigation, especially following the opening of the Suez and Panama canals in 1875 and 1913 respectively; the rise of migratory flows to an international level; interactions between different territories, colonies and semi-colonies in a global market led by the industrialised countries, were all factors leading to changes in the policies and social environment of many countries. All these revolutionary movements shared two main characteristics: the implementation of republican regimes and the development of a nationalistic spirit. However, world events such as the First World War and the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, were a major influence on the consolidation of these new republican regimes.

1910: THE DECADE OF ALL REVOLUTIONS

The resolution of the Russian-Japanese war heralded the end of European domination and, simultaneously, recognition of its cultural heritage, the product of centuries of colonial hegemony, industrial leadership and control of the world market.

The conflict between Russia and Japan (1904-1905) started on 8 February 1904 and ended in the Korea Strait on 27 May 1905 with the destruction of the entire Russian fleet. With the signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth on 29 August 1905 Japan was now regarded as an imperial power.¹

Japan gained Russian recognition of its freedom of action in Korea, and took over the Russian lease of Liaodong, plus that part of the railway which linked it with Harbin (renamed the South Manchuria Railway). It also secured the cession from Russia of the southern half of Sakhalin (Karafuto).²

The Japanese victory demonstrated that the world could change the impact of a Europe which continued to lose its hegemony throughout the 20th century, particularly after the signing of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919.

The various changes wrought over the 1910s reflect the revolutionary ideas of the bourgeoisie that had emerged in the shadow of republican and nationalistic ideals. In this period the Persian Constitutional

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Revolution ended with the first constitutional text signed by the Shah in December 1906. In Turkey in the same year the Young Turk Revolution restored the constitution and would open the way for the republican regime established in 1923 by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. In Mexico, a revolution started in 1910, and by 1917 the constitutional text had been approved in Congress.

In China, this movement was seen in the Wuchang Revolution in 1911, kick-starting the construction of the Chinese republican regime. At the same time, Europe was also recognising new republican movements, such as Portugal where the 1910 republican revolution toppled the Bragança dynasty and initiated the historical period known as First Republic, which in turn was brought down with the military coup of 1926.

Meanwhile, a global 'revolution' was subverting the global order. The First World War changed the map of Europe and helped to push nationalistic ideals into motion. In Russia Lenin's 1914 declaration of 'war' on the world war supported the notion that the only correct proletarian approach was to convert the on-

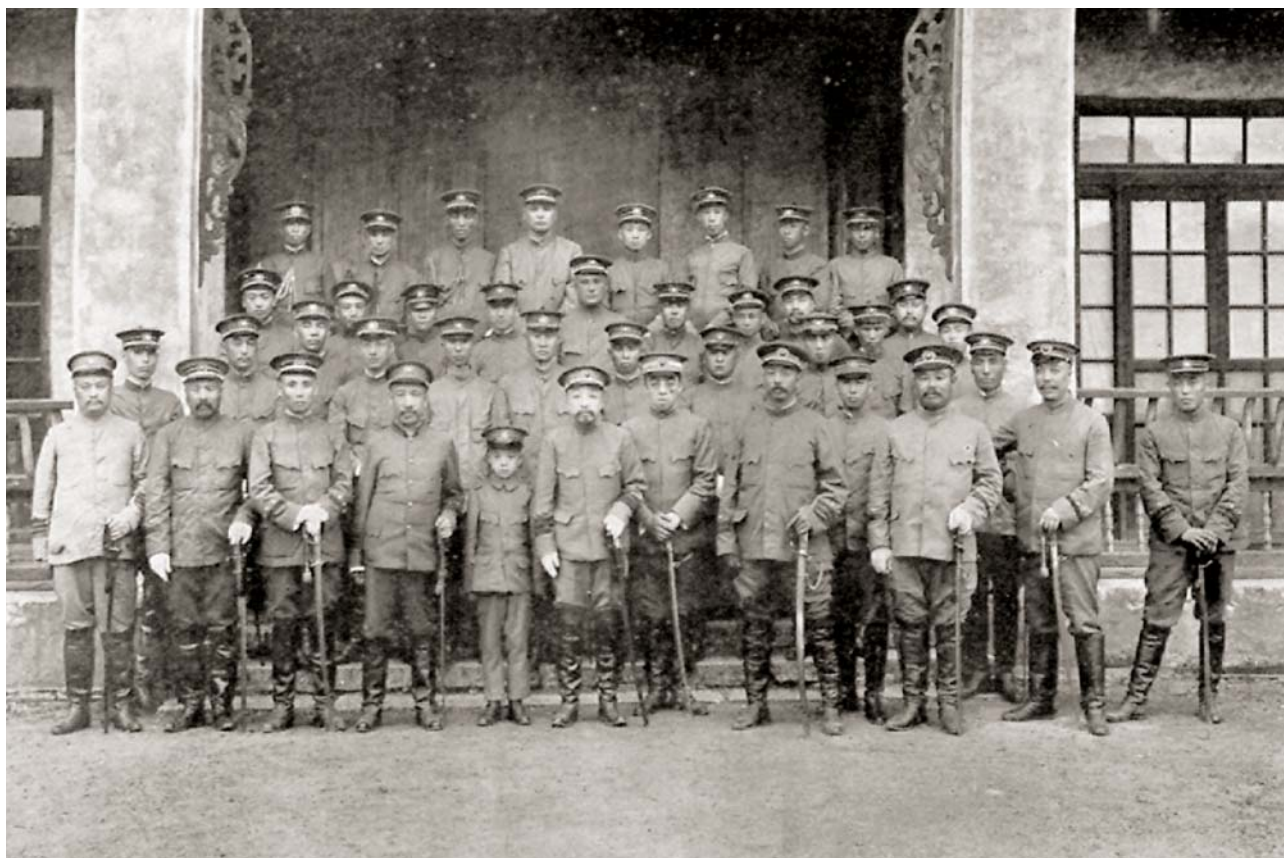
going imperialist war into a civil war.³ This call to civil war was accompanied by a proposal to form a Republic of the United States of Europe which would become the political slogan of Europe's social democrats.⁴

Lenin's call to arms resulted in the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, transforming Russia into a republican regime with new ideologies that had a huge influence on the policies and social movements that became common in the 20th century. According to Hobsbawm, the history of the 20th century cannot be understood without the revolution of 1917, mainly because it was the salvation of liberal capitalism. Indeed, it contributed to defeating Hitler's Germany, encouraged reforms of capitalism and its apparent immunity to the depression of 1929 meant that radical ideas about the free market were abandoned.⁵

THE REPUBLIC IN PORTUGAL

In 1908, King D. Carlos and the crown prince Luís Filipe were murdered in Lisbon. In the same

The dethroned Viceroy Rui Cheng 瑞澄 and the leaders of the Wuchang Revolt.



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year but on the other side of the world, this time in Beijing, in the Celestial Empire, the Empress Cixi 慈禧 died leaving the throne to a two year old child, Pu Yi 溥仪. He would be the last Emperor of China.

In Portugal the Republic was proclaimed in 1910. In China the Republic was proclaimed in 1912. In September 1908, Eduardo Augusto Marques took control of the Macao Government. The year had already been marked by the *Tatsu Maru* incident which led to a serious diplomatic dispute between the two Asian countries, and was used by the Portuguese government to place pressure on the Chinese authorities concerning maritime rights when the maritime and territorial limits of Macao were being discussed.

Thus the events of 1908 give a good picture of how Portugal and China existed, at a time of multiple simultaneities, in their respective transitions to a republican regime, away from the monarchist and imperial regimes that had governed the countries for a long time. These two very different countries, one on the western edge of Europe and the other at the eastern extreme of Asia, each one with its own history and temporal dimension, yet united over centuries via the city of Macao.

After the Portuguese regicide, on 1 February 1908, the Portuguese Republican Party (PRP) and the Freemasons remained politically active and organised the revolution that took place at daybreak on 5 October 1910.⁶

In Lisbon, the royalist resistance felt under the bombing of the *San Rafael* and *Adamastor*, accompanied by the neutrality of the *Dom Carlos*. The king fled to Mafra, and then set sail for Gibraltar before taking up exile in England. In the colonies, the monarchy faded with the messages that arrived by telegraph.⁷

Teófilo Braga was chosen as interim President of the Republic. Afonso Costa took over the organisation of the first Republican Government, which had, from the outset, suffered from opposition from the Freemasons who had not been offered any of the ministerial positions that were created. With a Government trying to reconcile different PRP sensibilities and a President of the Republic who exercised a weak influence on the new regime, it was easy for Afonso Costa to develop an important role that remained alive throughout the years of the First Republic.⁸

In addition to the legislative initiatives of the first provisional Government in social areas and education,⁹

the violent separation between Church and State left marks that deepened in the following years.¹⁰ Social discontent became widespread. The royalist conspiracy in Vila Nova de Gaia, in September 1911, and the military incursion led by Paiva Couceiro in Bragança showed that the monarchy had not been eradicated from Portuguese society.¹¹ The election of the first President of the Constitutional Republic reflected the different factions that existed within the Republican movement, which drifted increasingly to the right during the First Republic until 1926.¹²

But diplomatic initiatives were important, especially once the Portuguese Republic was recognised by Great Britain. The Portuguese Republic was established and the Bragança dynasty came to an end, after having ruled Portugal during 270 years.¹³

Bernardino Machado's government controlled its desire to enter the First World War, in line with the British Government, but it didn't take long to send military expeditions to Angola and Mozambique. Portugal was preparing to defend its main African colonies, long coveted by Britain and Germany, as demonstrated through the Treaty that these two countries signed in 1898. However, the Democratic Party took advantage of every opportunity to try to impose a Portuguese presence in the conflict. In its opinion, Portugal's political autonomy in international relations, the preservation of its territories and international recognition of the new regime were all at stake. Portugal decided to enter the war when, on 30 November 1915, Britain asked the Portuguese Government to capture all German merchant ships anchored at the Portuguese ports. On 23 February 1916, 35 German merchant ships anchored at the Lisbon port were seized, followed by other German ships in the remaining Portuguese ports. On 9 March 1916 Germany declared war on Portugal.¹⁴

War policies caused social unrest, particularly in Lisbon. Afonso Costa's government was becoming more isolated, opening the door for the coup d'état of 5 December 1917, headed by Sidónio Pais. This established a new republic lasting for only one year: in December 1918, Sidónio Pais was murdered in Rossio Station.¹⁵

The war weakened Europe's parliamentary regimes. This was also felt in Portugal, perhaps more so because the country was ruled by a new regime that was far from consolidated. The people viewed

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the new regime, the Republican Party and its elites with increasing distrust. Between 1919 and 1925, Portugal was to have twenty eight governments and three presidents.

Royalist conspiracy, government instability and on-going splits between various republican factions exacerbated workers' uprisings. 1921 is a good example of the climate of instability that marked the First Republic: during this year six governments were formed, yet not one was capable of finding solutions to the political, social and economic problems that Portugal confronted at the time;¹⁶ social unrest continued and gained a new impetus with the birth of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) in the month of March; conflict amongst the Republican leaders experienced one of its darkest episodes with the "Bloody Night".

In 1924-1925 the difficulty in forming governments persisted, while non-republic right and the monarchists were reorganising. The army was taking on a growing role in Portuguese politics: after Sidónio Pais' government the military became a stronger presence in the governments of the Republic. After the 18 April 1925 'Generals' Coup', the First Republic came to an end with the 28 May Revolution in 1926: Óscar Carmona, Mendes Cabeçadas and Gomes da Costa established the military dictatorship.¹⁷

... AND THE REPUBLIC IN CHINA

The death of Cixi and the imperial government's decision to offer a foreign consortium the contract to construct infrastructure that would allow the modernisation of the Empire, including the Sichuan-Henan railway, caused a nationalist wave that shook the central provinces of the empire, Hunan, Hubei and Sichuan, which joined Guangdong Province. Between May and June 1911, Sichuan province and its capital, Chengdu, were close to insurrection. The gap between the central government in Beijing and the interests of each province was deeper and deeper, and nationalist ideals had a growing hold in the Chinese revolutionary movement.¹⁸

In October 1911, in Wuchang, the insurgency attained new proportions, with troops taking possession of the city in a few hours. Twelve days later, the revolt spread to Hunan province. By the end of October 1911, the revolt had taken root in seven provinces. The Revolutionary United League, led by

Sun Yat Sen 孙逸仙 (who was commonly known as Sun Zhongshan 孙中山 in the Chinese world), was playing an important role in two cities that, to a large extent, represented China in the eyes of foreigners. In Shanghai, Chen Qimei 陈其美 took the position of military Governor and benefited from his connections with the business community and secret societies, while Jiang Jieshi 蒋介石 (Chiang Kai-shek) was sent by Sun Yat Sen to support the revolt in the city. In Guangdong, Sun Yat Sen's companion Hu Hanmin 胡汉民 took control of the province after the imperial governor fled, once the merchants of Guangzhou rebelled against the imperial regime.¹⁹

In response, the Qing court called up the only member of the military considered capable of conducting a successful offensive against the rebels, Yuan Shikai. While he caused the death of 28,000 insurgents in Wuhan, Yuan Shikai 袁世凯 also planned the fall of the dynasty with Li Yuanhong 黎元洪. The choice of Sun as provisional President, sworn in on 29 December, displeased Yuan who broke off negotiations with the revolutionary movement. On 1 January 1912 the Chinese Republic was declared in Nanjing, and in the following month, Sun appointed Yuan president, as he was considered best placed to succeed in getting the abdication of the dynasty and to prevent the country from falling into a prolonged civil war. On 12 February the emperor Pu Yi abdicated, ending the Manchu dynasty that had kept the imperial throne for 268 years.²⁰

Yuan Shikai, appointed by the imperial court to suppress the insurgents, chose to help them topple the Qing dynasty. Once elected President of the Chinese Republic, his government quickly adopted a dictatorial approach, eventually attempting to restore imperial power. In January 1914 he closed parliament and in May he approved a Constitution that concentrated power in his hands. On the first day of January 1916, he announced the restoration of the monarchy, but on 6 June his death put an end to his imperial desires.²¹

After initially declaring its neutrality, China decided to participate in the First World War, starting in February 1917, and this revealed the country's increasing fragility on the international scene. Although its participation in the conflict was due largely to an attuning of positions with the US, this did not prevent its betrayal over Shandong province. The Treaty of Versailles didn't meet Beijing's expectation that the

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German protectorate of Shandong would be returned to China. Japan claimed immediate compliance with the secret treaty signed with Britain, France and Italy in which they granted the rights to Shandong in exchange for military support against the central powers. After some hesitation, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson joined David Lloyd George and Georges Clemenceau on 30 April 1919 and accepted the rights of Japan in Shandong. Reactions were not long in appearing, not only in China but also in all Chinese communities around the world.²²

In Beijing, opposition to the Shandong 'betrayal' had a major political significance. On 4 May 1919, thousands of students took to the streets and, thanks to spontaneous popular support, initiated a strong movement that became a turning point in the Chinese revolutionary process. It began with two ideological mainstreams that were initially complementary but which subsequently took different stances: one with a nationalist character, led to the reorganisation of the Kuomintang (Guomindang 国民党); the other one, with Socialist aspects, gave origin to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1921.

From 1922, Sun Yat Sen, who was close to the Soviet Union position, managed to bring the two ideological tendencies together, but only until just after the death of the Chinese Republican leader and his replacement by Chiang Kai-shek. It was in southern China that the 'May 4th Movement' had major repercussions. A wave of social unrest shook everyday life in the main cities of the region, particularly Shanghai, Guangzhou, Hong Kong and Macao.²³

The death of Yuan Shikai came at the beginning of a period, from 1916 to 1926, which saw the rebirth of a desire for autonomy in the provinces, particularly those in southern China. This was in contrast to those in the North which were usually faithful to the ruling power installed in Beijing. It was the period dominated by the 'warlords' who led China into a period of profound instability.

The first warlords were rulers imposed in different provinces through military power. Within a few years, China was divided: Zhang Zuolin 张作霖 (Fengtian 奉天) governed the region of Manchuria; Duan Qirui 段祺瑞 and Xu Shuzheng 徐树铮 (Anfu 安福 group) controlled Central China and Fujian; the Yangzi Valley was in the hands of the Zhili 直隶 group (Cao Kun 曹



Yuan Shikai.

锬 and Wu Peifu 吴佩孚). Over the next years China experienced the struggles between these different lords, with the involvement of several foreign powers. Japan via their interests defended Zhang Zuolin, while Wu Peifu was an ally of Britain. In fact, this period of war only ended in 1949 with the establishment of the People's Republic of China.²⁴

After the 'May 4th Movement', while Sun Yat Sen attempted to rebuild the KMT, resuming the three objectives of the Republican Revolution (nation, democracy and social reform), Chen Duxiu 陈独秀 (one of the strong men of the 'May 4th Movement'), Mao Zedong 毛泽东 and another ten revolutionaries founded the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in Shanghai. Sun Yat Sen opted for an alliance between nationalists and communists in the hope of finishing with the 'warlords' in a few years, and returning to China its unity and its independence.²⁵

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The agreement between nationalists and communists was a tactical alliance, and ended with the death of Sun Yat Sen in 1925. Sun's successor, Jiang Jieshi, broke away from the Communist Party because he wanted to oppose the revolutionary movement of 1925-1926 in Shanghai, Guangzhou and Hong Kong, and managed to pacify the country's North and reunify China, between 1926 and 1927. There followed the split of the Communist Party which subsequently was outlawed. Workers' movements were fought and the three-day Communist occupation of Guangzhou in December 1927 was fiercely repressed. In the same month Jiang Jieshi established the capital of China in Nanjing.²⁶

PORTUGAL AND CHINA: DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION OF THE REPUBLICS

The republican regime established in Portugal with the 5 October 1910 revolution did not gain immediate recognition from foreign powers, particularly those European countries which exercised greater influence on the country's political targets. There are many oft-repeated reasons for this: the poor image left by the regicide of 1908, a distrust of the Portuguese republicans' political programme, the danger of political instability in Europe or, simply, the prestige the Portuguese royal family enjoyed in some European capitals.

The need to safeguard their interests in Portugal may have been why the major powers were forced to recognise the new political regime in the country. On 17 October Britain, through the Foreign Office, sent instructions to its representative in Lisbon to maintain any contacts with the provisional government that were considered necessary and convenient to British interests in Portugal. This was the starting signal for what happened on 10-11 November, when in a concerted manner and almost simultaneously, the embassies of Britain, France, Italy, Spain and Germany informed the Portuguese government of their 'de facto' recognition of the new political regime.

However, a few months passed between 'de facto' and official recognition. British diplomats announced to the Portuguese Republican government, headed by Teófilo Braga, that official recognition would only take place after the constitutional legitimacy of the new regime had been acknowledged.



Sun Yat Sen.

Great Britain remained a touchstone on the international political scene and thus influenced the process that would allow widespread recognition of the Portuguese Republic. Almost a year passed before the 'old ally' believed the time had come for foreign powers to recognise the new regime, after the Republican Constitution was promulgated on 21 August 1911. Thus, between August and September of 1911, the Portuguese Republic was recognised by Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Japan, Greece... and China.²⁷

China was no exception and followed the whole international community in the process that led to its recognition of the Portuguese Republican regime. This is clear in the note from China's Imperial Legation in Lisbon, dated 11 November 1910, and addressed to Bernardino Machado, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the provisional government. In this document, the diplomatic representative of the Chinese Empire stated that he had already been authorised by his government to establish relations with the new Republican government formed in Portugal, stressing that this

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was a country 'duquel la Chine désire particulièrement cultiver les rapports traditionnels d'amitié et de bon voisinage'.²⁸ The Chinese Minister also took the opportunity to request a meeting with Bernardino Machado.

By legal imperative and for international coordination, China also waited for the constitutional legitimacy of the new Portuguese regime to confirm its formal recognition. However, long time before this happened, there was news of the Beijing government's inclination to recognise the republican regime proclaimed in Lisbon. The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs conveyed its intention to the 1st Secretary of the Legation of Portugal in Beijing, Martinho Teixeira Homem de Brederode, on 24 November 1910. In response to the official note of the Portuguese Legation announcing the establishment of the Republic in Portugal, Prince Qing, Chairman of China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said to Martinho Brederode that the Imperial Government telegraphed its Minister Liu to send a note to the Portuguese Government recognising the Republic.²⁹

The Portuguese diplomat in Beijing sent the information contained in the note from the Chinese Government to the government in Lisbon on the same day. It seems to have well demonstrated the desire of imperial China to cultivate friendly relations and good neighbourliness between the two countries, as expressed in the note of 11 November, as well as its spontaneous desire to anticipate its recognition of the Portuguese Republican regime, without waiting for the constitutional legitimacy that took a few months to materialise. However, only a few months later, in two telegrams dated 21 and 22 June 1911, the Lisbon government informed Martinho de Brederode that on the 19th the Constituent Courts proclaimed the Republic and confirmed executive power by acclamation.³⁰ Thus a new power was established in Portugal, duly legalised, with all its powers conferred by representatives of the nation and able to initiate, without any restrictions, diplomatic relations with other governments. This way, an important step was taken for the recognition of the Republican regime by the international community, including China.

On 13 September the Legation of Imperial China officially recognised the Portuguese Republic through a diplomatic note signed in Lisbon by the Chargé d'Affaires and addressed to the President of the

Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs, João Chagas:

L'Assemblée Nationale Constituante ayant voté la Constitution et élu le Président de la République, j'ai l'honneur, conformément aux instructions de mon Gouvernement, d'informer V. Exc. de la reconnaissance officielle du Gouvernement Impérial à l'égard de la République Portugaise.³¹

The Portuguese Government expressed its thanks in a telegram drafted in the same day: 'Please convey Portuguese government's appreciation of its recognition of Republic'.³² Three days later, the Legation of Portugal in Beijing and Tokyo acknowledged the telegram.

PORTUGAL AND CHINA: CONTINUITIES

Despite the changes of regimes, one issue remained a link between these two countries, and that link was Macao. Therefore, the main political guidelines of the new Portuguese regime for Macao and relations with China should be understood.

As was the case in China, Portuguese republican ideology was built around a nationalist ideal. But in Portugal, nationalism was associated with the priority of preserving its overseas territories and recovering colonial prestige amongst European countries.

Regarding the Macao issue, the provisional republican government had several issues that remained unsolved between Portugal and China. They needed to study the situation and find strategies to move forward. This became a priority for the Portuguese Government's Foreign Affairs, especially because they had to reopen discussions with the Chinese authorities on defining Macao's boundaries. This was the reason given by the Government to create a *Commission Appointed to Study the Pending Issues between Portugal and China* (Comissão Nomeada para Estudar as Questões Actualmente Pendentes entre Portugal e a China), in April 1911.

They knew that it was a very delicate subject and it would be very difficult to find an answer that could satisfy both countries. After the failure of the Sino-Portuguese treaty negotiated in 1903-1904, and the negotiations in Hong Kong between Commissioner Joaquim José Machado and Commissioner Gao Erqian 高而谦, in 1909, the Portuguese government knew that it had to prepare for another diplomatic meeting with the Chinese government.

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The Commission created on 3 April 1911 began its work in the same month and finished on 19 January 1912. It was composed of several figures who were familiar with Macao's political and economic situation and who had also participated in recent diplomatic meetings between Portugal and China.

The Commission consisted of the ex-governors of Macao José Emílio de Santana Castelo Branco (1907), Pedro de Azevedo Coutinho (1907-1908), Eduardo Augusto Marques (1909-1910) and João Marques Vidal (1910). Aníbal Augusto Sanches de Miranda was appointed governor of Macao a few months after the Commission completed its work, and he stayed there from 1912 to 1914.

Two important members with diplomatic experience were Joaquim José Machado, Commissioner in the Sino-Portuguese Conferences of Hong Kong (1909) on Macao's boundaries, and Oscar George Potier, Portuguese consul in Shanghai, and member of the Portuguese Delegations at the Opium Conference, in Shanghai (1909).

The other members of this Commission were Alfredo Augusto Freire de Andrade (Senior Director of Overseas Territories), José Bernardino Gonçalves Teixeira (Senior Director of Foreign Affairs), Augusto Frederico Rodrigues de Lima, Ernesto Júlio de Carvalho Vasconcelos, Joaquim do Espírito Santo Lima and José de Moraes Carvalho Guimarães (from the Foreign Office and Ministry of Overseas Affairs).³³

To sum up, the provisional government tried to bring together in a single commission a group of people whose mission was to reflect and propose a strategy to continue diplomatic dialogue with China. More specifically, this is what explained the choice of Sanches de Miranda as governor of Macao in 1912: he was extremely familiar with all the files studied in the Commission and, importantly, he had also been appointed to participate in the preparatory meetings of the Opium Conference in Hague, in 1911-1912.

FIVE ISSUES UNDER DISCUSSION: «THE CONCLUSIONS

Over nine months, the Commission focused its attention on five points on the diplomatic agenda between Portugal and China, some of which had existed since the mid-19th century: Macao's boundaries, the Macao-Guangzhou railway, the Sino-Portuguese trade

treaty; extradition and nationality, and the opium question.

Through consultation and analysis of its final report,³⁴ in which the minutes of the meetings are transcribed, the political positions taken by the different members who participated in the meetings emerge. However, it is important to emphasise that Portugal and China were both experiencing their own complex political transitions, as each country started the process of establishing its republican regime.

Of the five issues, the problem of defining Macao's maritime and terrestrial boundaries was critical. Moreover, the creation of the Commission had been motivated by the need to resume negotiations with the Chinese authorities on this topic.

The question of Macao's boundaries had to be considered in the context of the city's history since the mid-16th century. It also needed to be directly related to the recognition and legitimisation of Portugal's presence on Chinese territory. However, changes occurring in China after the Opium War I also led to differences in how this problem was broached by the two countries in the absence of any formal understanding. Thus the issue of Macao's limits, and indeed recognition of Portugal's presence on Chinese territory, was defined more by the atmosphere of political, economic and social tolerance present in the city's everyday life, rather than by the formalisation of an agreement on its terrestrial and maritime boundaries.

In 1843, in the year following the signing of the Treaty of Nanjing, Macao's civilian and governing bodies, including Governor Adrião Acácio da Silveira Pinto (1843-1846) the judge José Maria Rodrigues de Bastos and all the members of the Loyal Senate, began a debate and reflection on the future of the territory.³⁵ It was this process that resulted in the drafting of a document to the imperial High Commissioner Qiying 耆英, on 29 July 1843.³⁶ In the first article of this document was the proposal that should clarify all doubts:

in future the land that shall rightfully belong to the Portuguese shall be all that between the Border Gates and the sea of the one side, and the river on the other, as well as Taipa harbour, and the Portuguese themselves are prepared to maintain a permanent military checkpoint at the Border Gates to prevent any wrongdoing or misdemeanours.³⁷

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The imperial High Commissioner Qiying.

This was the beginning of a long process undertaken by the Portuguese and Chinese authorities until they could reach an understanding on the question of Macao's boundaries. The issue was revisited over the years, namely during the negotiations that led to the Sino-Portuguese Treaties of 1862, 1887³⁸ and 1903.³⁹

On the eve of the republican revolutions, Portuguese and Chinese negotiators were in Hong Kong to resume negotiations on the question of Macao's boundaries. Joaquim José Machado and Gao Erqian held a series of official and private meetings, between July and November 1909, in search of a new solution. No agreement had been reached: the parties remained entrenched; the status quo was maintained. Portugal continued to assert occupation of the Macao peninsula and Green Island, Taipa and Coloane.⁴⁰ Despite the failure of the negotiations in Hong Kong, China continued to press Portugal to restart discussions, which ultimately led the first Portuguese Republican government to create the Commission on 3 April 1911.

In short, the work of the Commission had three fundamental ideas about the issue of defining

the boundaries of Macao. The first concerned Portugal's willingness to restart discussions as requested by the Chinese authorities: 'despite anticipating scant success, the commission believed that the Portuguese Government should not refuse to negotiate again'.⁴¹ The second concerned maintaining Portugal's proposed rights to territory encompassing (i) the Macao peninsula, from Ponta da Barra to Portas do Cerco; (ii) maintenance of neutral territory between Portas do Cerco and Passaleão; (iii) the inner harbour; (iv) Green Island, Taipa, Coloane, D. João, Vong-Cam and Lapa, with adjacent islets; (v) the coastal waters of the peninsula and insular territory described.⁴² The third was the result of the recommendation that, should the impasse continue, Portugal should defend the solution already advocated in article II of the Treaty of 1887, namely maintain the status quo.

After the issue of Macao's boundaries came the sensitive and complex issue of opium trafficking and consumption, taking into account the international implications and the fact that it was directly related to the other issues under discussion within the Commission.

The complexity of the matter, and the changes that occurred at the international level, forced the Commission to devote two sessions – the 13th and the 14th, on 2 and 14 June 1911 respectively – to the issue of opium. Sharply differing opinions among the members of the Committee on the correct strategy to adopt were visible. The Hague Conference was being prepared and in particular the signing of the agreement between Britain and China on the opium trade, on 8 May 1911 in Beijing, led the Commission to reflect and discuss the position that Portugal should adopt. The majority maintained the requirement for compensatory measures, but some members drew attention to the fact that this question would no longer have the same negotiating weight that it had had in 1887. On the other hand, Portugal could not withdraw from the internationally concerted positions which were being prepared in The Hague Conference, and Macao should follow the solutions that were found to Hong Kong.

However, the thesis of compensatory measures prevailed, based on the need to ensure economic alternatives to the opium trade that the Macao-Guangzhou railway could supply, and a belief that

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British concessions to China could only be explained by having obtained compensatory measures for Hong Kong. On the other hand, although the Commission members knew the preparations being made for The Hague Conference, some of them expressed doubts that it would take place or if its results would disturb the opium trade in Macao. It was along these lines that Sanches de Miranda considered '[the Conference is not certain (to take place) and thus Portugal believed that it should be at liberty to raise the issue of opium directly with China, as a concession'.⁴³ Sanches de Miranda was chosen by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to participate in the Portuguese delegation to the Hague Conference in what can be understood as a sign that it was necessary to ensure that the results of the new international forum went no further than had been seen in Shanghai.

By legal imperative and for international coordination, China also waited for the constitutional legitimacy of the new Portuguese regime to confirm its formal recognition.

In the Commission's final report, the opening pages of the chapter on opium underlined the major economic interests that 'raw' and 'prepared' opium, represented to Macao: the former still constituted a significant portion of trade at the port of Macao, while the latter, although the major foreign markets had disappeared, was one of the most significant sources of revenue for the Territory. The Commission was of the opinion that Portugal could not stay on the side-lines of the negotiating process initiated in Shanghai, or go against what the other nations decided on that matter. Therefore, the idea of Portugal requiring compensatory measures for its cooperation in helping to suppress opium in China arose as a way to make up for the serious losses that Macao would suffer when the opium trade disappeared.⁴⁴

By majority, the Commission suggested that the issue of opium should be directly related to the

construction of the Macao-Guangzhou railway and the ratification of the trade treaty as this would ensure Macao's economic development even after the trade in opium came to an end.

The Commission's proposals on the attitude that should be adopted by Portugal in the upcoming conference in The Hague were that the Portuguese Government should define in advance the compensation to be negotiated. In order to bring this proposal to a successful conclusion, Portugal should ask for British cooperation, suggesting that there should be a concerted understanding between the two nations at the conference: 'the allied nation which also has major interests the colony of Hong Kong resting on the opium issue, and which on more than one occasion has promoted Portugal's rights in the Far East.'⁴⁵

In addition to these two points, three more issues were discussed in the Commission on 3 April: the Macao-Guangzhou railway, the Portugal-China trade treaty; extradition and nationality.

Discussions between Portugal and China relating to the Macao-Guangzhou railway had begun in 1902, during the negotiations conducted by José de Azevedo Castelo Branco. The political opposition to the results achieved by Castelo Branco, in particular from João Marques Pereira, should be borne in mind. For this politician with strong links to Macao, the construction of a Macao-Guangzhou railway was impracticable, given the characteristics of the Pearl River delta, but, in addition to the technical question, the problem had to be placed in the political arena.

but should this be achieved and a railway built as far as Canton, or Peking, or even the North Pole it will still be futile unless we can assert our autonomy in Macao with possession of the islands that are ours by fact and right, and unless we can loosen the fiscal stranglehold over all the colony's trade.⁴⁶

Although, in 1911, the Commission continued to regard the construction of a railway to Guangzhou as unfeasible, it emphasised its importance for the development and prosperity of the colony, and advocated in its report that it would be beneficial for Portugal to resume the project, proposing that work proceed section by section where it was technically easier to construct it, in particular to Zhongshan.⁴⁷

The second article of the Sino-Portuguese Treaty of 1887 kept open the question of Macao's boundaries:

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China confirms the whole text of Article 2 of the Lisbon Protocol concerning the permanent occupation and government of Macao by Portugal. It is hereby stipulated that the two governments shall define the boundaries which shall be fixed by special convention, and until such time as the boundaries are defined they shall remain exactly as they are now, with no increase or decrease or change to any part.⁴⁸

Thus, until the Lisbon Protocol and the Beijing Treaty of 1887, the 'Question of Macao' focused on the issue of recognising Portugal's presence in Macao. From that moment until the middle of the twentieth century, the 'Question of Macao' went on to deal with the problem of defining the territory's maritime and terrestrial borders.⁴⁹

However, other issues had crept onto the agenda between Portugal and China, namely the international problem of opium trafficking. The Commission carried on the negotiations begun in 1902, and the Treaty ratified by Portugal in 1903, and proposed introducing some amendments to allow the Chinese authorities to intervene in the administration of the province, including fixing the annual quantity of opium needed for consumption in Macao and the right of the Chinese customs commissioner to verify the monthly balance of opium in store. However, the new treaty would only be signed in Nanjing in 1928, by Wang Zhengting 王正廷, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the nationalist government, and by João Bianchi, Minister of Portugal in China.⁵⁰

The fifth and final question discussed in the Commission related to nationality and extradition. In 1908, Portugal had published new regulations on the extradition of Chinese criminals, without the knowledge of the Chinese Government. With the new regulations extradition was more difficult and thus Chinese criminals could stay in Macao despite Chinese claims. The Chinese authorities wanted to negotiate this issue with the Portuguese Government. Until then, the Sino-Portuguese Treaty of 1887 regulated extradition, and the Governor of Macao typically accepted the orders of the Guangzhou Governor.⁵¹

The Commission's opinion on this matter was in favour of the Chinese claims, suggesting that the 1908 regulations be cancelled and that Chinese criminals should continue to be extradited under the clauses of the 1887 Treaty. Thereafter, attempts

should be made to negotiate a new extradition treaty. However, the Commission suggested that the Portuguese Government should send the governor of Macao instructions to follow when the Chinese authorities demanded the extradition of Chinese criminals: extradition should be an administrative procedure; the governor should confirm the suspect was Chinese and had not engaged in any felony in the Portuguese territory; if the Chinese request had religious or political motivations the process should be delayed; if the accused risked being sentenced to death the Governor of Macao should intercede with the authorities in Guangzhou. The nationality issue essentially focussed on how easy it was for a Chinese to gain Portuguese nationality in Macao and thus to escape Chinese justice.⁵²

MACAO: NEW ENCOUNTERS,
OLD DISAGREEMENTS

Despite the differences and distances that existed between Portugal and China, Macao witnessed the change from old monarchies to young republics which contributed decisively to the modernisation of both countries.

Despite the different routes each of the republics travelled, their convergence in the early days of establishing republican regimes in both Portugal and China should be underlined.

Macao's position in this period of simultaneous change transforms what could be regarded as an accident of history into a phenomenon whose interrelations should be stressed. Not for the first time, the tiny territory acted as a bridge between the two countries experiencing changes in their regimes.

China's recognition of the Portuguese Republic occurred under the Qing dynasty. The imperial Government's willingness to establish relations with the new Portuguese regime should not be neglected. Any study of Sino-Portuguese relations which is confined to moments of disagreement or misunderstanding will always be a poor vision of history, particularly in the case of Macao and its centuries of existence as a unique example of meetings of civilisations.

The Portuguese government's recognition of the Republic of China was more constrained by a diplomatic game involving foreign powers with interests imbued in the old empire. Portuguese diplomacy's

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dependence on Britain may have delayed its recognition of the Chinese Republic, but had as its counterpart the mitigation of the most alarming images transmitted by the government of Macao. Perhaps by being overzealous and with the aim of achieving the greatest security for the city during a period of great political and social unrest in Guangzhou, Governor Álvaro de Melo Machado feared riots, raids and wars that eventually did not materialise.

We can argue that the recognition of the Republicans was a routine process of diplomacy between the two countries. In part, we can endorse this idea: it was very difficult for China or Portugal to refuse to recognise the new regimes that replaced the Qing and Bragança dynasties respectively. But, apart from diplomatic routines, there is a further moment of meeting, with mutual wishes of friendship and good neighbourliness.

The issues that constituted the 'Macao question', in particular defining the territory's maritime and terrestrial boundaries, remained on the table of Sino-Portuguese discussions. The republics kept the same positions defended by the monarchist and imperial Governments.

In a word, this meant that Macao remained a meeting point between Portugal and China regardless of political regimes, a peace cemented in neutrality and dialogue. **RC**

Editor's note: This paper was presented at the seminar 'Allegiance of Revolutionaries: Seminar Commemorating the 100th Anniversary of the 1911 Revolution', organised by the Macao Historical Archives, September 2011.

NOTES

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- 3 V. I. Lenine, 'A Guerra e a social democracia na Rússia'. In *Obras Escolhidas*. Lisbon: Edições Avante, 1981, p. 564.
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- 5 Eric Hobsbawm, *A Era dos Extremos. História Breve do Século XX (1914-1991)*. Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1996, p. 91.
- 6 João B. Serra, 'Do 5 de Outubro ao 28 de Maio. A instabilidade permanente'. In *Portugal Contemporâneo*, edited by António Reis. Lisbon: Alfa, 1990, vol. 3, pp. 14-16.
- 7 Rui Ramos (coord.), *História de Portugal*. Lisbon: Esfera dos Livros: 1910, p. 579; João B. Serra, *ibid.*, p. 19.
- 8 João B. Serra, *ibid.*, pp. 589-594.
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- 11 Rui Ramos, 'Do 5 de Outubro ao 28 de Maio', p. 611; A. H. Oliveira Marques, *História de Portugal*, vol. 3. Lisbon: Presença, 1998, p. 247.
- 12 A. H. Oliveira Marques, *ibid.*, p. 245.
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- 14 João B. Serra, 'Do 5 de Outubro ao 28 de Maio', pp. 52-53; A. H. Oliveira Marques, *História de Portugal*, pp. 250-251; Maria Cândida Proença, 'A questão colonial'. In Fernando Rosas e Maria Fernanda Rollo (coord.), *História da Primeira República Portuguesa*, pp. 205-228;

- Aniceto Afonso, 'Portugal e a guerra nas colónias', *ibid.*, pp. 287-299; Isabel Pestana Marques, 'Portugal nas trincheiras: os combatentes portugueses em França (1917-1919)', *ibid.*, pp. 301-318.
- 15 João B. Serra, 'Do 5 de Outubro ao 28 de Maio', pp. 53-59; A. H. Oliveira Marques, *História de Portugal*, pp. 252-264; Ernesto Castro Leal, 'A transformação política da República: as direitas da direita antiliberal'. In Fernando Rosas e Maria Fernanda Rollo (coord.), *História da Primeira República Portuguesa*, pp. 485-502.
- 16 João B. Serra, 'Do 5 de Outubro ao 28 de Maio', pp. 62-67.
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- 21 Immanuel Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 470-482; Jonathan Fenby, *History of Modern China*, pp. 126-138.
- 22 Immanuel Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, pp. 494-495; Jonathan Fenby, *History of Modern China*, pp. 292-294.
- 23 Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, pp. 310-325; Immanuel Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, pp. 501-505; Jonathan Fenby, *History of Modern China*, pp. 141-149.
- 24 On this subject we recommend reading David Bonavia, *China's Warlords*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1995. Also, cf. Immanuel Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, pp. 482-486; Jonathan Fenby, *History of Modern China*, pp. 139-156.

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- 25 On this subject we recommend reading Chow Tse-Tsung, *The May 4th Movement. Intellectual Revolution in Modern China*. London: Harvard University Press, 1960. Also, cf. Immanuel Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, pp. 514-518; Jonathan Fenby, *History of Modern China*, pp. 143-144.
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- 28 Official note, November 11, 1910, from China's Imperial Legation to Minister for Foreign Affairs, Bernardino Machado (Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático-Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros: 3ºP-A.3-M.13).
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- 31 Official note, September 13, 1911, from China's Imperial Legation to Minister for Foreign Affairs, João Chagas (Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático-Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros: 3ºP-A.3-M.13).
- 32 'Queira V. Exª exprimir esse governo alto apreço do governo português pelo seu reconhecimento República', *ibid.*
- 33 *Relatório e Actas da Comissão Nomeada para Estudar as Questões Actualmente Pendentes entre Portugal e a China*. Lisbon: Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Imprensa Nacional, 1912, p. 4.
- 34 *Ibid.*
- 35 Alfredo Gomes Dias, 'As negociações de 1843/44'. *Macau* 34, February 1995, pp. 36-42.
- 36 *Artigos que foram apresentados pelas autoridades de Macau ao delegado do Alto-Comissário Imperial em 29 de Julho de 1843*. In Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, SC-DGU-SR: 005: Correspondência de Macau e Timor-CX030-1839.
- 37 'no futuro que o terreno que de direito pertence aos Portugueses é todo o que medeia entre o Cerco ou Barreira e o mar por um lado, e o rio por outro assim como o porto da Taipa oferecendo-se mesmo os Portugueses a conservar sempre um Posto Militar no lugar da Porta do Cerco para evitar qualquer transgressão ou para que sejam evitadas quaisquer desordens.' *Ibid.*
- 38 On this subject we recommend reading António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, *O Tratado Impossível. Um Exercício de Diplomacia Luso-chinesa num Contexto Internacional em Mudança, 1842-1887*. Lisbon: Instituto Diplomático-Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, 2006.
- 39 Alfredo Gomes Dias, 'Marques Pereira e as Negociações de 1902'. *Macau* 85, May 1999, pp. 72-75.
- 40 António Vasconcelos Saldanha and Carmen M. Radulet, *Missão na China. 1909-1910*. Macao: Fundação Macau, 1999 e Alfredo Gomes Dias, '1909: Os limites de um diálogo'. *Macau* 6, April 2001, pp. 34-43.
- 41 'entendeu a comissão, se bem que não alimentando uma grande esperança de êxito, que não deve o Governo Português recusar-se a mais uma vez negociar'. *Relatório e Actas da Comissão Nomeada para Estudar as Questões Actualmente Pendentes entre Portugal e a China*, p. 5.
- 42 *Ibid.*
- 43 'duvidosa a reunião da Conferência, entendia que Portugal deveria ficar em condições de apresentar livre e directamente a questão do ópio à China, como concessão', *ibid.*, p. 35.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- 45 'a nação aliada, que tem também ligados à questão do ópio grandes interesses da colónia de Hong-Kong, e que mais dum vez tem velado pelos direitos portugueses no Extremo-Oriente', *ibid.*, p. 13.
- 46 'Mas que tivessem conseguido isto, ou que o caminho-de-ferro se prolongue até Cantão, até Pequim ou até ao Pólo norte, de nada nos servirão tais coisas se não tivermos firmado a nossa autonomia em Macau com a posse das ilhas que são nossas de facto e de direito, como temos demonstrado por bastantes vezes, e se não tivermos afastado para fora das nossas águas o cordão dos postos fiscais que sugam por assim dizer todo o comércio da colónia.' João Feliciano Marques Pereira, 'A questão do Extremo-Oriente e a missão portuguesa na China'. *Ta-ssi-yang-kuo, Arquivos e Anais do Extremo Oriente Português*, 2nd series, vols. 3-4. Macao: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Juventude de Macau/Fundação Macau, 1995, p. 345.
- 47 *Relatório e Actas da Comissão Nomeada para Estudar as Questões Actualmente Pendentes entre Portugal e a China*, p. 8. For more on the negotiations in China by José de Azevedo Castelo Branco consult Documentos Apresentados às Cortes na Sessão Legislativa de 1903 pelo Ministro e Secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Negociações com a China. Lisbon: Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros/Imprensa Nacional, 1903; *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo, Arquivos e Anais do Extremo Oriente Português (1889-1903)*. Macao: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Juventude de Macau/Fundação Macau, 1995 and Alfredo Gomes Dias, 'Marques Pereira e as Negociações de 1902'. *Macau* 85, May 1999, pp. 72-75.
- 48 'A China confirma, na sua íntegra, o Art. 2º do Protocolo de Lisboa, que trata da perpétua ocupação e governo de Macau por Portugal. Fica estipulado que comissários dos dois governos procederão à respectiva delimitação, que será fixada por uma convenção especial, mas enquanto os limites se não fixarem, conservar-se-á tudo o que lhe diz respeito como actualmente, sem aumento, diminuição ou alteração por nenhuma das partes.' José Ferreira Borges de Castro, *Nova Coleção de Tratados, Convenções, Contractos e Actos Públicos Celebrados entre Portugal e as Mais Nações*, vol. VII, 1887-1888. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1912.
- 49 António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, *O Tratado Impossível*, pp. 914-915.
- 50 Wu Zhiliang 吴志良, *Segredos da Sobrevida. História Política de Macau*. Macao: Associação de Educação de Adultos de Macau, 1999, pp. 259-269.
- 51 *Relatório e Actas da Comissão Nomeada para Estudar as Questões Actualmente Pendentes entre Portugal e a China*.
- 52 *Ibid.*