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30 ‘... dando-nos muitas ueses sua mesa; e longas práticas na sua propria salla; e (por desejo seu) habitação nossa.’ Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Antão Gonçalves, Beijing, 20/3/1680, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 83.

31 Letter to Visitor Francesco Saverio Filippucci, Beijing, 5/11/1690, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 424.

32 For a short overview on the rivalry between the Jesuits from the Portuguese mission and the French Jesuits, see for example, Liam Brockey, ‘Root and Branch; The Place of the Portuguese Jesuits in the Early Modern China Mission’ in Artur K. Wardega, SJ, and António Vasconcelos de Saldanha (eds.), *In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor*, op. cit., pp. 31-33.

33 ‘... tinha um erro quasi irremediauel, concertei-lho; e neste mesmo tempo (pouco depois de Sua Magestade me ter chamado a sua presença como fica dito) lho leuei concertado, e foy Deos seruido, que ficasse à satisfação, e gosto do mesmo Imperador’. Letter to Superior General Thyrus Gonzalez, Beijing, 26/6/1692, in *Tomás Pereira. Obras*, Vol. I, p. 469. In a letter written in the same day for the same addressee, although in Latin, the performance was further mentioned, with some additional details. See *Tomás Pereira. Obras*, Vol. I, pp. 494-495, 526-527.

34 Letter to Visitor Francesco Saverio Filippucci, Beijing, 16/5/1689, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 288.

35 Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Antão Gonçalves, Beijing, 20/3/1680, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 83.

36 Noël Golvers, *Astronomia Europaea*, op. cit., p. 125.

37 ‘... ouuindo elle [Kangxi] tanger o Orgão, e o Crauo, que mandou buscar a nossa Caza, gostou tanto, que pegando do seu instrumento, se pos hombro, por hombro acompanhando o Padre [Pereira], que tangia o Orgão’, Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Antão Gonçalves, Beijing, 20/3/1680, in *Tomás Pereira. Obras*, Vol. I, p. 83.

38 ‘... logo uer, o que ouuia, e (de industria) escolhendo algumas peças mais difficultosas, de tanger; as tangeu em seus instrumentos, disendo ao Padre as aprendesse com a facilidade, que desia. Pegou o Padre da penna, e com a deuina graça, as pos em solfa de modo que ficou elle atordoado, e muito mais ouuindo-as logo tanger no Orgão juntas...’, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 83.

39 Letter to Baltasar da Rocha, Beijing, 1677 (?), *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 73.

40 ‘Colocou-se este anno na Igreja [o órgão], e se foi ajuntando tanta gente, que fomos obrigados a por soldadesca na Igreja, e seu pateo, para euitar desordens de gentios, e da turba, que concurria a ouuir, e uer cousa nunca nem uista, nem ouuida nesta Corte: sendo para isso obrigado o auctor a tanger mais de hum mez continuo todos os dias, e muitos delles a cada 4º para dar uasão à multidão, que a cada 4º de hora se renouaua; o que continuaria muitos meses; se se atendesse sómente a seu desejo, e curiosidade dos ouuintes’. Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco Lopes (2nd via), Beijing, 30/8/1681, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 89.

41 See the above mentioned example for 1677 of a clock composed by ten bells.

42 Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco Lopes (2nd via), Beijing, 10/6/1682, in *Tomás Pereira. Obras*, Vol. I, p. 94 and letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco Lopes (3rd via), Beijing, 10/6/1682., *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 98.

43 The bell weighted 2000 arrátels. Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Portugal Francisco de Almada (1st via), Beijing, 26/6/1685, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 105.

44 ‘... uer, ouuir, e fazer soar ... meixendo as mãos neste diante de sua Corte por muito tempo’, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 105.

45 ‘... do qual tem de comprido o mayor canudo duas braças, com sua proporcionada grossura; e de 4 registros; entre os quais há huns; que tangendo paressem uoses humanas; e outros que arrem[ê] dão uoses de animais’. Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Antão Gonçalves (2nd via), Beijing, 20/3/1680, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 84. This

organ was further depicted in the aforementioned drawing of the church frontispiece.

46 According to Pereira it was over two *varas* in length.

47 ‘4 órgãos juntos’. Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco Lopes (2nd via), Beijing, 30/8/1681, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 89.

48 Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco de Almada (1st via), Beijing, 26/6/1685, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 89. Ten years before, kangxi had visited the Xitang church for the very first time. On this visit, taken place at a period when Pereira was already living in Beijing, see the article by João de Deus Ramos, ‘Kangxi, os Jesuítas e o aforismo *Jing Tian*’ in *Daxiyangguo* 12 (2007), pp. 59-86.

49 ‘... do Cabo da Boa Esperança para cà ...’. Letter to Visitor Francesco Saverio Filippucci, Beijing, 13/4/1689, in *Tomás Pereira. Obras*, Vol. I, p. 276.

50 See, for instance: letter to the Portuguese Assistant Antão Gonçalves (2nd via), Beijing, 20/3/1680; letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco Lopes (2nd and 3rd via), Beijing, 10/6/1682 and letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco de Almada (2nd via), Beijing, 1/8/1683, *ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 84, 95, 99, 102.

51 ‘Depois da experiencia de muitos annos, em que o Emperador tinha uisto com seus olhos a uariedade de Orgãos; assim singellos como de uoses, e canudos multiplicados, assim que com tangedor, como sem elle, mas com traça de sy tangem com igual certeza suas mudanças’. Relação da jornada que o Padre o Tomás Pereira fez à Tartária, no ano de 1685, com Imperador Kangxi’, Beijing, 1686, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 19.

52 ‘... huns pratinhos de bronze, colocados em sua armação, aonde se tocão com hum martelinho ainda que no debuxo, do que aqui uaj incluso, cada pratinho tem seu martello, para poder tanger ...’. Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco Lopes (2nd via), Beijing, 10/6/1682, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 95.

53 Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco de Almada (2nd via), Beijing, 1/8/1683, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 103. Account to Superior General Thyrus Gonzalez, Beijing, 19/11/1708, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 231.

54 ‘... pera no ocio da caça por diuertimento della possais communicar com elle esta arte; pera que podendo elle faser o que uos faseis, possa tãobem compor livros em letras Chinas, pera que se communique esta arte em nosso Reyno et conserue’. Report on the journey to Tartary with Kangxi in 1685, Beijing, 1686, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 20. On this journey to Manchuria, see the article by Davor Antonucci, ‘Pereira’s trip to Tartary in 1685’ in Luís Saraiva (ed.), *History of Mathematical Sciences: Portugal and East Asia IV – Europe and China: Science and the Arts in 17th and 18th Centuries*, op. cit., pp. 115-134.

55 ‘... aprender a arte, e ciencia de nossa musica’. Daily report on the journey to Nerchinsk and of the negotiations with the Russians in 1689, Beijing, 10/11/1690, in *Tomás Pereira. Obras*, Vol. II, p. 66.

56 ‘... de Muzica composto pello Padre Thomas Pereyra, reduzindo a praxi, o que ensinaua na espiculação com não pequena admiração de todos ...’. Memorial presented by Tomás Pereira and Antoine Thomas to Kangxi emperor, Beijing, 2/2/1692, included in the ‘Relação em que se contem o felis successo, e inestimauel beneficio da liberdade da Rellegião Christã’, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 208.

57 Letter to the the Portuguese Assistant Francisco Lopes (2nd via), Beijing, 10/6/1682, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 95. Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco Lopes (3rd via), Beijing, 10/6/1682, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 99.

58 See Noël Golvers, ‘F. Verbiest, G. Magalhães, T. Pereyra and the other. The Jesuit Xitang College in Peking (1670-1688) as an extra-ordinary professional milieue’ in Luís Filipe Barreto (ed.), *Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1646-1708)*, pp. 277-298.

59 Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco Lopes (2nd via), Beijing, 10/6/1682, in *Tomás Pereira. Obras*, Vol. I, p. 95. Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco Lopes (3rd via), Beijing, 10/6/1682, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 99.

Formation and Evolution of Macao Tung Sin Tong’s Management in its Early Stages (1892-1949)

KAI-CHUN LEUNG*



THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TUNG SIN TONG: THE ORIGINAL CONCEPT OF TONGSHAN

‘The Tongshan Association’s concept of *shan yu ren tong* should be originally from *Gong Sun Chou 1* (The Works of Mencius), meaning to practice virtue and doing good is everyone’s business and is not the obligation of only some people’.¹ Many literati of the late Ming and early Qing period took this tongshan spirit as their maxim for doing good. In the Preface of the *Book of Tongshan*, the Qing scholar Xu Bingyi said, ‘if society is full of philanthropists, [then] it can be seen as a world of common good (*tongshan*). The goodness

* 梁佳俊 Ph.D. degree in Sociology from Hong Kong Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Hong Kong. His research interests covers philanthropy, civil society and NGO, social history of Southern China, quality of life of Macao residents, and Chinese family business.

Doutorado em Sociologia pelo Instituto de Hong Kong para as Humanidades e Ciências Sociais (Universidade de Hong Kong). Filantropia, sociedade civil e ONGs, história social do Sul da China, qualidade de vida dos residentes de Macau, e os negócios da família chinesa são as áreas preferenciais da sua investigação.

of a person is dependent on giving aid to all of the people and not being selfish. One philanthropist is not as good as thousands of philanthropists, thousands of philanthropists are not as good as a world of common good’.² To build a world of virtue was the core concept of the members of the Tongshan Association.

The emergence of the Tongshan Association was closely related to the trend towards associating among literati in the late Ming period. ‘And it was also a reflection of the literati’s discontent and resistance to the government, therefore, the Tongshan Association had political overtones to some extent’.³

Yang Dongming founded the first charitable association of Tongshan in a county named Yucheng in Henan province in 1590.⁴ Gong Panlong established a charitable association of Tongshan in Wuxi in 1614. It was regarded as a mutually beneficial charity at the local level. Members of charitable associations came from every sector of society. They not only joined as members but also needed to donate money to help the underprivileged. Therefore, members of the charitable

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association were required to raise funds, discuss the allocation of the money, and organise campaigns for promoting public donations and giving aid.⁵

‘The Tongshan Association is not merely a charitable organisation, but also an institution of education and edification’.⁶ This is a very precise description. Thus, we can see that the Tongshan Association had a very obvious moral standard. ‘They did not intend to help all the poor and helpless people. Instead, they had used this moral standard to classify those who were worthy of aiding and those were not worthy of helping. Filial sons (*xiaozi*) and dignified matrons (*jiefu*) were highly praised. On the other hand, they punished immoral activities by stopping aid to anyone they considered unfilial and undignified. In this way, they attempted to rectify morality and defend the social order’.⁷

‘In 1652, the Qing government suddenly banned all charitable association activities run by literati. Thus, the development of the Tongshan association also went quiet’.⁸ ‘In 1736, the Tongshan Association got recognition from officials and became active again’.⁹ In short, one can see that charitable organisations in the Ming dynasty were focused on handling secular issues and rebuilding the social order.¹⁰ In the Qing dynasty, charities clearly changed the direction of their service by giving up their old targets and trying to concentrate on persuading people to support philanthropy.¹¹

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MACAO
TUNG SING TONG

‘Let’s work together to save the society, and treat everyone with a friendly heart (*Tongxin jishi, shan qi ying ren*)’.¹² This maxim reflects the purpose and origin of the idea behind the establishment of Tung Sin Tong (hereafter TST). It became the charity’s motto. In fact, the words were engraved at the main entrance of the TST Building when it was rebuilt in 1924. This proverb derived from *Xinshu 2, Guanzi*.¹² However, the whole passage from *Xinshu 2* talks about how to purify people’s hearts and pursue virtue as well as manage the country. It does not mention any philanthropic concept or Confucian doctrine. In addition, there is no evidence to show that Macao TST had any kind of links with the traditional Tongshan association. It had no other connection with Tongshan associations elsewhere at any time. The founders may have adopted the name

‘tongshan’ because they had agreed with the concept that the most good could come from the most people doing good deeds together.

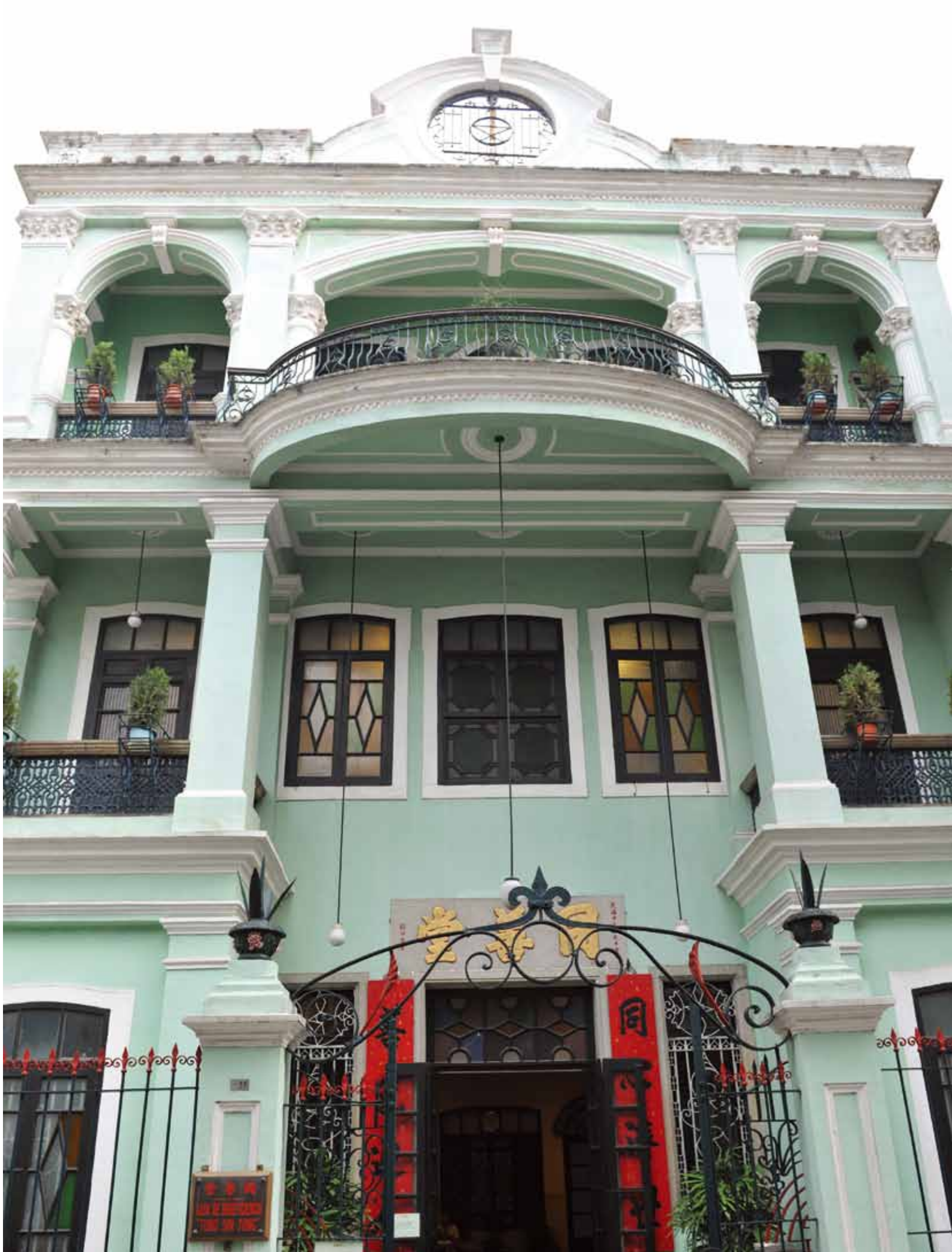
The Tong Shan Villa (*Tong Shan bie shu*) was the predecessor to TST, and was established in 1888. According to the *Special Issue of the 90th Anniversary of the Founding of Tung Sin Tong*, Tong Shan Villa ‘was a charitable organisation initiated by a group of public-spirited Hong Kong and Macao merchants. They had rented the second floor of a building as their office in the very beginning. [They] disseminated free medicine to heal epidemics [*shi zheng wan san*] and collected and worshipped papers with words [*jing zhi zi zhi*] as major services of Tung Sin Villa’.¹³ On 1 December 1892, the six representatives and all 46 joint-signatories submitted an application letter to the governor asking for permission to establish TST. They wrote:

We have raised funds and bought an old house located at No. 14 in the Square of Leal Senado. We intend to set up a public association there and name it Tong Sin Tong. Major services will include preaching the Sacred Edict, [offering] free medicine, disseminating books of goodness, and collecting and worshipping the papers with words. Now, construction work on the building will finish very soon and [then] we will open. In this circumstance, we would like to submit the regulations of the charity to you for your approval.¹⁴

On 21 February 1893, Govenor Custódio Miguel de Borja signed Governor’s Order No. 31, which approved the application, and posted the TST Charter in the government’s gazette on 25 February 1893.¹⁵ So, TST won its official endorsement and completed the procedure of registration.

Compared to the case of Kiang Wu Hospital (hereafter KWH) in 1871, the application process for TST shows us that the measures that the colonial government took to manage Chinese affairs had become more specific and effective. Of course, one can say that compared with the 1870s, Chinese elites of the 1890s were more accustomed to the ruling style of the Portuguese. The obedience of the Chinese community leaders and their associations and community leaders had grown in tandem with the legitimacy of the colonial government.

Tung Sing Tong building façade.



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Tung Sing Tong courtyard.

TST officially opened in the autumn of 1892 and received the government's approval in early 1893. However, the name of Macao TST already appears on an 1890 list from Liangyue Guang Ren Charitable Hall listing its directors. One can infer from this that the registration of 1892 was only a routine procedure, and that the charity began to operate under its name earlier than that.

There is no conclusion regarding the number of advocate-directors at TST. According to its establishment application letter, there were 46 joint signatories, and they were regarded as advocate-directors (*changjian dongshi*); Zhang Jingtang, Ho Lin Vong, Cai Hepeng, Wang Linsheng, Lu Cao, and Wang Airen were the six main petitioners (*jubing ren*).¹⁶ The *Special Issue of the 110th Anniversary of the Founding of Tung Sin Tong*, published in 2002, mentions that TST had 408 initiators (*changjian ren*).¹⁷ However, when I checked the annual *Annual Report of Macao TST 1940*, I found only 406 advocate-directors (*changjian zhishi*), including 331 people and 75 shops.¹⁸ In total, about 2,400 people (both local and overseas) and shops donated money for the establishment of TST.¹⁹ The number of TST's founders was much higher than for other associations—in fact, some affiliated associations with TST were even set up after its founding. The number of initiators was huge by any standard. The Association of Care for Pregnant Women (*Baochan shanhui*), the Association for Free Coffins and Burial Services (*Shi guanmu wugong shanhui*), and Association for Free Medicines (*shi yaoji shanhui*) recruited 32, 89, and 180 initiators respectively.²⁰ The founders of TST included most of the successful merchants in Macao, including those who worked in groceries (*nanbei hang*), banking, textile manufacturing, gambling, and comprador services. The network of merchants that intersected with TST's membership rolls even extended overseas.

From the perspective of TST, the process of fundraising helped it to not only win the support of different sections of society but also serve as a platform for integrating Chinese from different dialects or backgrounds. This in turn helped the charity to build its reputation and consolidate the foundation of its power in Macao society. From the perspective of the donors, many Chinese believed in the idea that 'one good turn deserves another' and wished to earn a better life for themselves or their offspring by doing good. Indeed, their contributions of money earned more than merit.

Donors could join in and utilise the social network of TST, too. It is worth mentioning that many Hong Kong merchants were involved in the early work of TST.

According to theories expounded by Chen Longzheng and other Tong Shan Association leaders, 'the belief in supernatural retribution supported a social and political ideology that tended to encourage social mobility by requiring the vigorous and benevolent leadership of local elites within their communities and the uncomplaining acquiescence of those of low status'.²¹ As newly emerged elites, 'they should dedicate more for enhancing the better lives of the community and should take more responsibility in order to consolidate the legitimacy of their noble positions'.²² In this context, newly-arrived Hong Kong immigrants needed to make a greater contribution to the community in order to put down roots there. Also, one can see clearly in the establishment of TST that Chinese society is neither individual-based nor society-based, but relation-based. 'With a relational orientation, the individual is certainly not an isolated entity. He must be a 'social' being. However, his 'social characteristic' can only be meaningfully expressed through differentiated relational terms'.²³ In short, philanthropy became a way for Hong Kong merchants to get into the business network of Macao.

On October 1894, TST established the Association for Care of Pregnant Women (*Baochan shanhui*) for poor families. It planned to raise 3,000 dollars for a fund whose interest might be able to sustain its operation. Hong Kong merchants were very pleased to give aid when they heard the news and they donated 2,000 dollars immediately.²⁴ Reviewing the list of TST directors, one can easily find that the names of many famous Hong Kong merchants. For example, Liang Yuming (1892-1893, Hong Kong Mayor Company), Zhang Jiantian (1892-1893, Hong Kong Mayor Company), Liu Jinqiao (1892-1893, Hong Kong Yi An Hao), Liang Renfu (1895, a comprador for Gibb, Livingston & Co.), Wu Rentang (1896, Chang Long Hao), Tang Liquan (1897, Yuan Quan Long Hang), Mo Qingjiang (1917, Youcheng Company) and Lee Hysan²⁵ (1923, Licheng Company).²⁶ In addition, some merchants from peripheral areas, such as Huang Juzhi and Bao Qiming, joined TST as well.²⁷ Even when TST rebuilt its new site on Camilo Pessanha Street in 1924, Hong Kong merchants donated a lot of money and took a very active role in the project. It appears

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that there were two major reasons why so many Hong Kong people and new immigrants joined TST. First, with the development of Macao's economy, the business networks of Macao merchants had expanded, and some of them perhaps invited their Hong Kong counterparts to join their charity in Macao. For example, Mo Qingjiang and Lee Hysan were probably invited by Kou Ho Neng, because they were partners in an opium business in Macao. Also, newcomers to Macao lacked a communication platform, so they would be able to more effectively integrate into the local community and acquire more favourable positions by connecting with the city's merchants through charities like TST.

Specifically, economic strength alone would not have ensured that Hong Kong merchants could establish their leading roles in the newly established TST. They still needed the help of some 'big brothers' in order to enhance their social impact on the organisation.

Zhang Jingtang, Ho Lin Vong, Cai Hepeng, Wang Linsheng, Lu Cao, and Wang Airen were the six main petitioners behind TST's registration application.²⁸ With the exception of Zhang Jingtang, the petitioners, or someone in their family, had all participated in KWH as directors. Indeed TST was similar to KWH in every aspect—in its services area, its targets, and even its very idea. It was unusual for local tycoons to set up a new charity and create a communications platform. Perhaps news reported by *Jinghai congbao* may help give us some clues to solve the puzzle. Interestingly, *Jinghai congbao* indicated that TST was formed because of the poor management of KWH. 'If we established a hospital that only earned the title and praise for giving aid, but actually did not make any contribution, just like KWH, we would rather save the money', the article reported.²⁹ Another report includes the comment that the 'doctor was the key part of a hospital. In KWH, most doctors were not qualified, some of them had before been greengrocers or coolies, [and] everyone could get a post with [only] the recommendations of the directors of KWH management board'.³⁰ In short, the paper concluded: 'in this circumstance, the philanthropists of Macao would like to establish a new charitable organisation, TST, for providing professional medical services'.³¹

Taking this report at face value, we might conclude that poor medical services at KWH mainly motivated Macao's merchants to set up a new charitable institute. 'TST was founded by newly immigrated merchants,

Canton and overseas merchants and those local elites who were dissatisfied with the management of KWH. [They found that establishing a charitable organisation] was a good way of building social prestige in Macao'.³² Judging from the social environment in Macao, the new merchants wished to have a channel through which they could be heard and the old merchants wished to create greater support from the masses by providing better social services. The association brought these two types of merchant groups with different motivations together into a common cause. Moreover, from my preliminary observations, I surmise that TST may have emerged because KWH was rotating its management board members annually. The merchants wanted to organise a new platform that could accommodate performance. This explains the overlapping board members and interlocking relationships. Furthermore, some non-local merchants might not have intended to promote their business interests in Macao, but saw the charities was a way to establish a social network in Macao at a low cost.

In his analysis of the Chinese community in Thailand, G. William Skinner writes: 'In the absence of formal organisational hierarchy and of formal lines of authority among the Chinese associations, the functional importance of interlocking officerships is obvious. They are the main channels of communication and influence uniting the various organisations. It is largely because of the fact that groups of Chinese associations can coordinate policy and exercise unified control'.³³ The establishment of KWH and TST could be seen as part of a big transformation in the charitable organisations of Macao, which meant that they had transcended the boundaries of kinship, townsmen, and business to become 'concrete, open, and public-mind organisations'.³⁴ Moreover, the establishment of KWH and TST could be regarded as symbols of the emergence of the Chinese merchant class in Macao.

THE MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF TUNG SIN TONG: THE TRANSFORMATION OF ITS ORGANISATIONAL CHARTER

TST submitted its charter to the colonial government when it established itself in 1892. The governor approved it on 21 February 1893. The TST charter was composed of 24 articles, which aimed to establish the organisation, its method of electing

leadership, procedures for formulating ordinances, format for preparing financial management, and way of managing public services.³⁵

Reviewing the TST charter, one can easily find that Macao's colonial government had full control over the organisation in the 1890s. For example, the additional term in Article 2 stipulates that 'all official affairs and other issues which are not related to charity will not be accepted by TST'. The charter then reiterates this position in Article 7.³⁶ In fact, many charities at that time contained a similar statement. In the Regulations of Liang Yue Guangren charitable hall (1890), Article 1 stipulates that 'the aim of the charitable organisation is uniting the philanthropists to do good together. We will only concentrate on charity and not interfere with other things'.³⁷ Article 4 of the *Registration Charter of Macao Kiang Wu Hospital of 1942* states: 'We will not get involved in any non-charity related affairs'.³⁸ Obviously, this position could be regarded as clear evidence that the organisation did not intend to be a political hub for discussing public issues or challenging the government. It would not interfere with official issues, and maintained philanthropy as the organisation's principal aim. The statement was simply intended to put the government at ease so that it did not need to worry about the organisation. However, as the situation changed, charity and political affairs became inseparable. Afterwards TST participated in many public affairs of Macao. Moreover, Article 7 of the charter indicates that 'TST should inform the Administrator of the colonial government if the organisation is going to hold a general assembly, so that officials can attend the meeting'. Article 9 notes, 'if the organisation needs to revise the charter in the future, it should get over 50 per cent of the members' support and the approval of the governor'. Article 24 also states that, 'according to the relevant laws, TST has to submit its income and expenditure statements to the Administrator of the colonial government for the record'.³⁹ The above content in the charter shows that the colonial government's management of Chinese had further improved, and the Chinese in turn had grown accustomed to obeying the colonial government's laws by the end of the 19th century. This submissive attitude displayed by TST clearly led it to win both the recognition and trust of the colonial government

In addition, the charter further standardised the following aspects. Insofar as organisational form was

concerned, TST, in Article 3, welcomed everyone to join the association. It stated that anyone who donated five dollars to charity would be able to become a member of the organisation. Insofar as leadership was concerned, Article 5 stipulated that on every 1st of December, according to the Chinese calendar, TST would nominate ten directors, of which two would be selected as the premiers. Article 6 calls on the elder premier of TST to chair the general assembly. If the premiers were not present, the eldest director would take charge of the meeting, in which he held the right to make a final decision in case people were at loggerheads. Insofar as financial management was concerned, Article 13 ruled that if there was a surplus, TST could add new service items, but only when all of the existing services ran smoothly. In Article 14, if the savings of TST surpassed 100 dollars, the directors had to deposit it with a trustworthy bank, so that the company could earn interest on it. If the savings exceeded 1,000 dollars, the directors should convene an assembly to discuss how to handle the money. The money could not be used as a security deposit for others or lent to anyone without security. Insofar as openness was concerned, Article 17 demands that TST's profit and loss accounts must be posted in the organisation's hall lobby on the first day of every month. Article 18 states that all of the charity's accounts should be listed clearly and incense burned before *Wudi*, in order to declare that all was executed in a clean and honorable way.⁴⁰

From TST's annual report for 1940, we learn that in addition to the charter, the charity also promulgated regulations, including Regulations on Grand Hall (*da gong tang*) (a total of 5 articles) and Regulations on the Medical Hall (12 articles total) in 1892. Also, it had proclaimed Regulations of Directors (9 articles total) and Regulations of Workers (8 articles total) in 1915.⁴¹ It can be said that the rules of TST remained approximately the same as they were at the time of its establishment. TST did not revise its charter or regulations before 1949.

LEADERSHIP SYSTEM AND BIRTH OF COMMUNITY LEADERS

Article 5 of TST's charter stipulates that 'TST would nominate two premiers and eight directors on every 1st of December according to the Chinese calendar and compose the board of directors'.⁴² The board also

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emphasised that the directors were nominated by the entire public, and those nominations were open to discussion by all the charity’s members, so as to ensure that everyone received adequate representation. Also, the results from the election for directors were reported to the Civil Affairs Department for filing.⁴³ However, it seemed that the charter was not fully implemented. In the same year that the charter was promulgated, TST formulated the Regulations of the Grand Hall (*da gong tang*), which added two more directors because of the heavy workload.⁴⁴ This means that since 1892, there were 12 members of the board of directors.⁴⁵ From 1892 to 1909, the number of members of the director board remained at twelve. From 1910 to 1920, it was reduced to 10 persons. Then, from 1921 to 1922, it returned to 12 persons. Between 1923 and 1926 the board expanded to 15 persons, probably because of the heavy workload of the construction work on the hospital’s new site. Then, between 1927 and 1940, it changed back to 12 persons again.⁴⁶ Uncompleted TST documents kept by the Historical Archives of Macao show that in 1941 the charity elected one president, one vice-president, and 22 directors;⁴⁷ in 1948, members elected one president, two vice-presidents, 10 directors, and 11 associate directors (*xieli*).⁴⁸ A year later, in 1949, they elected one president, two vice-presidents, 12 directors, and nine associate directors.⁴⁹ However, as far as any increase or decrease in the number of directors during the 1920s, and the structural changes of the 1940s, my research has failed to find any evidence of relevant content in the annual reports, government records, or newspapers. It seems that the charter did not completely execute its leadership system.

The method of forming TST’s board of directors did not change for years, even in 1948, when the 12 members of the board were still nominated by different industry representatives and presidents were selected by an internal election.⁵⁰ This conservative electoral system was actually criticised by media in the 1940s.

A 1949 article in *Dazhong bao* reports:

The organisational structure of the charitable hall (TST) was different from the other social associations. They had set the positions of director and associate director. Directors were generated by internal mutual election rather than general assembly. According to TST’s regulation, new member used to work as associate director in the first year and then were promoted to

director in their second year. One could not run for a third term. However, the charity always misinterpreted the meaning of this rule, and the director frequently was demoted to work as associate director, but still became the director of the board in the third year, re-elected in disguise.⁵¹

In fact, probably due to the great tasks of building the new site for the organisation, Zhou Fengchi, Kou Ho Neng, Cao Ziyang, and Xu Junting of the 1922 board became the first four persons to renew their terms of directorship in 1923. From that moment, the door of re-electing leadership opened.

TST’s re-election system enabled further development and could stabilise the organisation. The relatively close nomination process, the internal consultation mechanism, passing the directors’ candidates list by acclamation, and the inheritance of posts from father to son, all were factors that created room to generate paternalism.⁵³ In addition to the liminal social conditions of Macao during the war period and the new immigrants’ strong demand for patronage from social organisations, these elements together laid a solid foundation for community leaders—especially the charismatic leaders—to be dominant.

TABLE 1.
The Directors’ Re-elected Cases of TST 1920s⁵²

NAME	YEARS WORKING AS DIRECTOR OF TST
Zhou Fengchi	1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926
Kou Ho Neng	1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928
Cao Ziyang	1922, 1923, 1924, 1926, 1927
Xu Junting	1922, 1923, 1924, 1926, 1927
Li Jitang	1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928
Anok Choi	1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928
Mai Ming	1923, 1924, 1926, 1927
Zhong Shoushi	1925, 1926

Anok Choi was one of the most prominent figures in TST during the 1920s through 1940s. Choi first joined TST as director in 1923, and he was continuously re-elected thereafter. From 1930 to 1945, he held the position of president.⁵⁴ Besides working with TST, Anok Choi also played important roles in both KWH and the Macao Chinese Chamber (hereafter MCC). Choi’s background differed from that of the ordinary Chinese merchant in Macao. He was not only a community leader in Macao, but also a trustworthy consultant to the colonial government. The identity of businessman, social leader, and political participant made him the most suitable person to work as the bridge between the Chinese and Portuguese, and between the society’s summit and its grass-roots.

Anok Choi was born in 17 March 1867 in Macao. His native place was Shatou in Nanhai County where, it is believed, he belonged to a big family.⁵⁵ They were Catholic:⁵⁶ ‘Choi’s father had studied in the Sacred Heart Cathedral of Guangzhou. He moved to Macao and operated a small company that operated all the streetlights [there]. But the business was not a success and he became a worker in St Augustine Church’, according to Yanming Liang.⁵⁷ ‘The young Anok Choi learned Portuguese in St Joseph’s Seminary (next to St Augustine’s Church) and [then] started his career on an ocean vessel at the age of fifteen. He worked with Governor Tomaz de Rosa and accompanied him to Beijing, Japan, Siam, Vietnam, Brazil and Spain. Moreover, he had also at an early age been a colleague of Governor Firmino da Costa and Governor Custodio Borja. Anok Choi had stayed in Lisbon for five years and had connections with the Prince of Portugal. When he went back to Macao, he was appointed the Director of General Affairs in the Macao governor’s palace. It was reported that no Chinese had previously worked in this position. More importantly, Choi held this position for 30 years’.⁵⁸ Choi’s special experience made him the best person to enhance exchange and communication between the Chinese and Portuguese communities. With Choi’s repeated persuasion the colonial government even began to give a fixed allowance to TST in 1925 and thereafter. ‘With the subsidies of the government, the financial situation of TST became much better and gained abundant funding’. ‘In addition to donating a lot of properties, Mr Choi also raised funds actively and collected more than 10,000 dollars for TST’.⁵⁹

Besides TST, Choi also engaged in work for KWH enthusiastically. When the hospital intended to build the inpatient building in 1918, Choi helped to raise 16,000 dollars from the public, making him the city’s top fundraiser. Furthermore, Anok Choi also worked as a member of Macao’s Municipal Council and a Chinese Representative in the government.⁶⁰ During the Second Sino-Japanese War, Choi worked as the president of the Macao Disaster Relief Association, where he vigorously organised mass donation activities, charity bazaars, and free performances in an effort to raise funds. Moreover, he also trained medical talent and bought medicines for the frontlines.⁶¹ In recognition of his dedication to the society, 77 Macao celebrities initiated the publication of *A Sketch of Mr. Anok Choi’s Good Deeds*. Leaders of KWH like Lu Xuanzhong, Liu Xutang, and Cao Zishan and MCC’s leader Xu Weiqing all participated in this endeavour.⁶² Choi passed away on 22 August 1945.⁶³ In order to recognise and reward Choi’s great contributions to TST, the society designated him as an eternal director of TST in 1940.⁶⁴

The case of Kou Ho Neng represents a more typical narrative about the emergence of Macao’s Chinese merchants. Kou, alias Gao Fushun, was son of Gao Maosheng. His family came from Panyu County in Guangdong Province, however, Kou himself was born in Macao on 9 February 1879 and obtained Portuguese nationality on 22 February 1915.⁶⁵ Kou Ho Neng accumulated his first fortune by working with Macao tycoon Siu Tang and founding the De Cheng Company. This company operated *fantan* gambling in Macao during the 1910s.⁶⁶ ‘On 1 August 1913, collaborating with Pang Weiting, Mei Weitang, Li Runsheng, Liang Yujian, Huang Kongshan, Zhou Zhongpeng, Liang Ziguang, Mo Qingjiang, and Huang Yaochu, Kou established Shi You Tang, which ran a monopolised opium trade in Macao. He obtained a five-year opium monopoly license on the behalf of You Cheng Company’.⁶⁷ In 1917, Kou set up De Cheng Pawn Shop, Fu Heng Yin hao,⁶⁸ and Zhao Feng Rice Shop. In 1918, Kou started the Ji Yi Entertainment Company, in which he owned 31.2 per cent of the shares. He also operated the Daxin Pupiao Company as well.⁶⁹ In 1920, Kou Ho Neng founded both the Fu Yuan Lottery Company and Fu Hai Salt Company.⁷⁰ His business empire sprang from gambling, opium, pawning, banking, grocery, and lotteries, covered almost all of the important industries in Macao at the

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time. His abundant fortune made Kou Ho Neng one of the most powerful social figures in Macao.

Kou also actively participated in Macao’s philanthropic society. Insofar as KWH was concerned, Kou donated 10,000 dollars on behalf of You Cheng Company and contributed 2,000 dollars on behalf of Shi You Tang to support the construction of KWH’s inpatient building,⁷¹ which greatly resolved the project’s inadequate funding. In fact, Kou frequently made donations to KWH whenever need arose. For example, in 1948, Kou donated 3,000 dollars to KWH when he attended the hospital’s convention as a guest.⁷² As for TST, Kou Ho Neng did his utmost to sustain the charity. When TST built its new site in 1924, Kou donated 5,000 dollars. When the charity set out to establish a free school in the same year, Kou underwrote the project’s entire expenditure. ‘The free school was initiated by Kou Ho Neng and Li Jitang, [and] they passed the operation rights to TST once the school was on the right track. They donated thousands of dollars for setting up an operating fund and building the new campus. There was no possibility of establishing the school without their help’. ⁷³ In 1927, Kou donated the interest from 10,000 dollars to TST. Furthermore, in 1939, he donated properties to TST valued at 7,000 dollars.⁷⁴ The next year, he dedicated 10,000 dollars to set up the TST Pharmacy. His 3 wives and 11 sons each dedicated 400 and 500 dollars respectively.⁷⁵ In order to single out their big contributors, in 1939, TST built statues of Anok Choi and Kou Ho Neng in its grand hall. Zhou Ruzhen, a famous gentry of the Qing dynasty, wrote Kou’s dedication. Like Anok Choi, Kou was conferred as eternal director of TST in 1940.⁷⁶ Moreover, Kou received four medals from the colonial government for his significant contribution to Macao society.

The years from 1849 to 1949 could be regarded as a liminal period in Macao’s history, especially during the time when the turbulent social conditions during the Second Sino-Japanese War shook the city. As the only neutral zone in South China, Macao attracted a flood of war victims looking for patronage and a chance to take root there. The timely help of charities helped these refugees to overcome the most urgent problems of living and created a solid social foundation on which to support the development of philanthropy. Along with the government’s suspension of elections in the city’s social organisations and the continuation of leaders in office, charismatic leaderships were born.

The cases of Anok Choi and Kou Ho Neng reveal the characteristics that social leaders during this period faced. Shenghua Lou observes: ‘They were usually successful merchants and keen to do good, [and] they had abundant resources to help the disadvantaged. Most of them were born in Guangdong and Fujian. They had close relationships with the colonial government and had obtained Portuguese nationality. At the same time, they also had many connections with different political powers in mainland China and had won honorary titles there. Most of them worked in several social associations. Such phenomena indicated that interlocking leadership was common’.⁷⁷ ‘The Chinese merchants’ increasing wealth and rate-paying ability transformed their self-image as well as their position *vis-à-vis* the government, the foreign communities, and the common people, and gradually led them to demand a greater voice in public affairs.’⁷⁸

In addition to these interlocking relationships, more and more positions in different sectors of society were filled with members of the city’s dominant families.⁷⁹ Prominent merchant families occupied leading positions for long terms. This, and the interlocking relationships, encouraged the growth of paternalism in Macao. As a consequence, some of these families came to exert a strong political influence over the colony. Lou Lim Ioc, Lu Xuanzhong, and Lu Yiruo inherited the positions of their fathers, along with the networks that sustained their interests. Some families even inherited positions over as many as four generations; indeed, many are still active in charitable organisations and the political arena in Macao today. Writing about the Chinese in Thailand, G. William Skinner observes: ‘In the absence of a formal organisational hierarchy and of formal lines of authority among the Chinese associations, the functional importance of interlocking officerships is obvious. They are the main channels of communication and influence uniting the various organisations. It is largely because of them that groups of Chinese associations can co-ordinate policy and exercise unified control’.⁸⁰ The same could be said for late-19th and early-20th century Macao.

TST’S FINANCIAL SITUATION

TST had developed sound financial-management regulation ever since the charity was first established and it set up its ‘balanced budget’ principle. Article 13

of TST charter stipulates: ‘if there is a surplus, TST has to call for a general assembly and discuss whether should it expand its services. The charity should run the service very well before adding a new item’.⁸¹ In 1944, TST intended to provide meals to refugee children of the war. However, the management board decided that ‘we would stop providing food if the charity uses up all the money and without further donations’.⁸² This issue had clearly reflected TST’s financial logic: ‘cut the coat according to the cloth’. In addition, the TST charter also stipulates how the charity should handle its savings and when should it report its financial conditions to relevant departments.⁸³

By reviewing the *Annual Report of TST in 1940*, we could have a brief outline of TST’s financial situation in the 1940s. According to the record, TST earned \$113,953.10 from 28 lines of income in 1940. The first ten items totalled around \$98,396.64, which constituted 86.35 per cent of the total. There were 34 items of expenditure that totalled \$113,814.28. The first ten items made up a total of around \$95,673.01, 84.06 per cent of the annual total. The surplus for 1940 totalled \$118.92.⁸⁴ Besides the start-up capital for the TST pharmacy, rent received from the donated properties of benefactors, income from Fu Heng Yin hao, and rent received from TST properties were TST’s top three sources of income. Charges for purchasing properties, expenses for free medicine, and the proportional rent for the donors of properties constituted TST’s main expenditures in 1940.

INCOME FROM THE PROPERTIES

Buying properties was a very popular method for raising funds for charity in traditional China. The charter of Tong Shan Hui, which was complied in the *Deyi lu*, stipulated that ‘if there is a surplus, the charity can only buy properties rather than save the money in the bank’. Just like the case of KWH, income from real estate made up the major portion of TST’s revenue. In 1940, property-related income totalled \$35,259.95, which constituted 30.94 per cent of the charity’s total annual income. Simultaneously, TST also spent \$33,999.40 for purchasing houses.

TST set up its regulation on donating properties at an early stage in its history. ‘TST is the permanent manager of the properties, and the donation contracts should register with the Civil Department of the Macao government’. Its annual report for 1940 states, ‘TST

cannot sell the properties and the descendants of the donor cannot retrieve the properties. Donors will get a rent book and collect their proportion of rent quarterly. When properties need any renovation, TST and the donors have to make contributions according to their proportional share of the real estate’.⁸⁵ As in the case of KWH, donors used to donate part of their rent to philanthropy and keep the rest for their descendants. In this way, they could prevent the prodigal descendants from using up their wealth and ruining the family business. The records of donated income from properties were commonly published in newspapers. Therefore, benefactors not only supported the works of charities but they also won praise from their community. Leaders of society, like Anok Choi, Kou Ho Neng, Cai Wenxuan, and Xian Bishan, had all donated many of their properties to TST.⁸⁶ According to the Monument to Buying Properties, TST had bought 62 properties under its name.⁸⁷ On the list of top taxpayers in Macao for 1917, TST was ranked number 47 in Macao.⁸⁸ By logical estimation, the tax mentioned here should come from property tax.

SPONSORSHIPS FROM THE AFFILIATED ASSOCIATIONS AND OTHERS

Like the case of KWH, directors initiated most of TST’s affiliated associations and handed the operational rights to TST once they were deemed to be on the right track. In this situation, they would pass the savings, interest and properties of the affiliated associations to TST.⁸⁹ The Association for the Care of Pregnant Women, the Association for Free Coffins and Burial Services, Association for Free Medicines, and most of the other affiliated associations all held their own properties and sources of income. Their profit and loss accounts had to be made public in separate annual reports. Once done, their mother organisation, TST, would allocate funds to its subsidiaries.

As the business of directors expanded, the fundraising network of TST grew more widespread. Reviewing the Monument to Rebuilding Tung Sin Tong in 1924, the *yuanbu*-based fundraising method became the predominant one in the 1920s. For example, Mo Qingjiang, Liang Yujian, Pang Weiting, and Huang Kongshan had each donated 500 dollars to the rebuilding project. They all belonged to Kou Ho Neng’s clique and were business partners with Kou’s Shi You Tang. Some of them were core members of

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TABLE 2. THE INCOME OF TST IN 1940 (ABSTRACT)⁹⁰

Rankings	Items	Amount (\$)	Proportion of total income (%)
1	The start-up capital for TST pharmacy	28,738.86	25.22
2	The rent from the donated properties of benefactors	21,652.51	19.00
3	Income from Fu Heng Yin hao	12,743.57	11.18
4	The rent from TST properties	9,632.44	8.45
5	Foreign exchange income	5,754.65	5.05
6	Benefactors' donations for free medicine	5,454.92	4.79
7	Income from the Cishan yuehui	5,160.00	4.53
8	The rent from the properties of Liang Zhong Shu Tang and TST	3,975.00	3.49
9	Donation for free medicine from street fundraising	2,725.70	2.39
10	Income from benefactors	2,558.99	2.25
Total		98,396.64	86.35

the Bank of East Asia of Hong Kong. Other examples include Jian Zhaonan, Nanyang Tobacco Company, Lu Xuanzhong, and Bao Hang Yin Hao, who had donated money as well and were business partners or relatives of Lu Lim Ioc. Jian Kongzhao, the cousin of Jian Zhaonan, made contributions too. However, he belonged to Cao Ziying's clique. Moreover, Tang Liquan, Lee Hysan, and many other Hong Kong merchants were dedicated to the reconstruction project. In addition, many people from neighbouring areas such as Jiangmen, Guangzhouwan, Zhaoqing, Dongguan, and Shiqian donated money to TST's new building project. Elizabeth Sinn's study found that 'yuanbu placed on passenger ships became a major source of income'.⁹¹ Following this logic, one can see that it was possible that ships plying Guangdong waters might also collect peripheral donations as they travelled. The TST building project eventually raised 42,863.96

dollars.⁹² Surprisingly, even brothels and prostitutes made their contribution, too. It was easy to see how people's support for the work of TST was strong by any standard. The philanthropic network of TST enlarged with the expansion of the merchants' business and the growth of their influence. It is worth mentioning that, besides providing social networks or social capital through its charity channels, TST might also have played a role in the financial turnaround. The author has found a 'letter of loan assure' for TST. The letter clearly states the amount of money lent, repayment period, and guarantor. It is obvious that TST had provided a basic money-lending service, even though the TST charter prohibited this kind of lending. Even in the *Registration Charter of Macao Kiang Wu Hospital of 1942*, the additional terms in Article 7 note that 'the properties of the hospital will never be lent to the directors for their own uses,

and the hospital cannot vouch for the directors even if they obtain collateral'.⁹³ Despite this, the Wan Shan Hui of Liang Yue Guan Ren Shan Tang provided loans. According to the donation record, 'when anyone wants to borrow money from the association, he has to register in the charity and secretariat of directors, and he must have businesses or shops as collateral. The interest rate for 100 taels is 0.9 per cent per month. The directors will check the actual situation of the shops and issue the certificate of mortgage in public'.⁹⁵ This receipt for a loan by itself cannot prove whether TST played any financial role in moneylending. However, if this assumption is valid, then it could better explain why Chinese merchants wanted to join the charities so earnestly.

CONCLUSION

People might think that the emergence of TST happened because of the poor medical services of KWH

and the newly immigrated merchants who needed a new platform from which to represent their interests. However, TST had never challenged the leading position of KWH. Instead, the two charities maintained a long-term cooperative relationship, in which it is easy to find evidence of interlocking leadership. The background of leaders at institutions, the formation of organisations, and the fundraising methods used were all very similar. 'By providing philanthropic services to the grass-roots and new immigrants, the elite class integrated the Macao Chinese into a united Chinese community and generated a whole geographical concept of Macao'.⁹⁶ In this context, KWH and TST collaborated together and transformed the charitable organisations into influential social organisations and even quasi-governmental associations. The directors of the charities also won prestige, official appointments, and commercial advantages by giving aid. Moreover, the size of Macao's economy was tiny, so the leaders of KWH and TST mastered almost all of the city's

TABLE 3. THE EXPENDITURE OF TST IN 1940 (ABSTRACT)⁹⁴

Rankings	Items	Amount (\$)	Proportion of total expenditure (%)
1	Charges for purchasing properties	33,999.40	29.87
2	Expenses for free medicine	19,533.22	17.16
3	The proportional rent for property donors	16,333.17	14.35
4	Expenses for free coffins and free burial services	8,002.70	7.03
5	Expenses for foreign exchange	4,891.28	4.30
6	Expenses for rewarding the properties donors	3,794.43	3.33
7	Money for Fu Heng Yin hao	3,073.59	2.70
8	Workers' salaries	2,235.07	1.96
9	The proportional rent for Liang Zhong Shu Tang	1,987.50	1.75
10	Miscellaneous expenses	1,822.65	1.60
Total		95,673.01	84.06

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most important industries. The cost of joining the well-established organisations was much lower than the cost of setting up a new one. The conservative social atmosphere furthermore gave room for the development of patriarchyism. All these social factors consolidated the dominant position of KWH and TST. Also, the characteristic of heroism could be regarded as one of the necessary conditions to becoming a community leader in Macao. This was true of many of the early leaders of KWH and TST, such as Chow Yau, Lu Cao, Ho Lin Vong, or the leaders of the 1940s. For

example, Anok Choi, Kou Ho Neng, and Ho Yin were all famous for their chivalry and philanthropic works. In a society with a relatively simple social structure, the above features were enough to make the merchants into community leaders. With the combination of traditional Chinese culture and ideology in Macao’s social environment, the Macao system tended to seek ‘wise leaders’. In this circumstance, personal attraction and exemplary characters became very important. All of these features coincide with those described by Weber’s charismatic authority. **RC**

NOTES

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6 Fuma, *Zhongguo shanhui shantang shi yanjiu*, p. 110.

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8 Leung, *Shishan yu jiaohua*, p.117.

9 Ibid., p. 119.

10 Ibid., p. 39.

11 Ibid., p. 121.

12 The original sentence is: ‘If you treat others with a friendly attitude, everyone will love each other like brothers. If you treat others with a bad attitude, the bad impact you make may surpass war’. Bo Sun, ed., *Guanzi* (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2000), pp. 234-237; Ngan-hong Wong, *Tongshantang yu Aomen huaren shehui* [Tong Sing Tong and the Chinese Society of Macao] (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2012).

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