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HONG KONG E MACAU RELAÇÕES HISTÓRICAS E CULTURAIS

HONG KONG AND MACAO HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

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RC é uma revista de Cultura e, domínio do Espírito, é Livre. Avassalada ao encontro universal das culturas, servente da identidade cultural de Macau, agente de mais íntima relação entre o Oriente e o Ocidente, particularmente entre a China e Portugal. RC propõe-se publicar todos os textos interessantes aos objectivos confessados, pelo puro critério da qualidade. Assim, as opiniões e as doutrinas, expressas ou professas nos textos assinados, ou implícitas nas imagens de autoria, são da responsabilidade dos seus autores, e nem na parte, nem no todo, podem confundir-se com a orientação da RC. A Direcção da revista reserva-se o direito de não publicar, nem devolver, textos não solicitados.

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RC is a cultural magazine published quarterly in two versions — Chinese and International (Portuguese/English)—whose purpose is to reflect the unique identity of Macao. The magazine also seeks to promote freedom of expression and through the articles published we hope to stimulate ideas and discussion of topics related to Western/Eastern cultural interchange, especially between China and Portugal.

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A globalização do conhecimento começou em Macau no século XVI quando os *saberes* do Oriente e do Ocidente se cruzaram nesta terra singular do Sul da China.

No século XXI, o intercâmbio cultural entre os *dois mundos* continua a ser a vocação de Macau.

A *Revista de Cultura* é o veículo dessa vocação.

Knowledge entered into an age of globalisation in Macao in the 16th century when the *wisdoms* of East and West met in this unique part of South China.

In the 21st century, Macao remains dedicated to cultural interchange between *both worlds* in a vocation maintained by *Review of Culture*.



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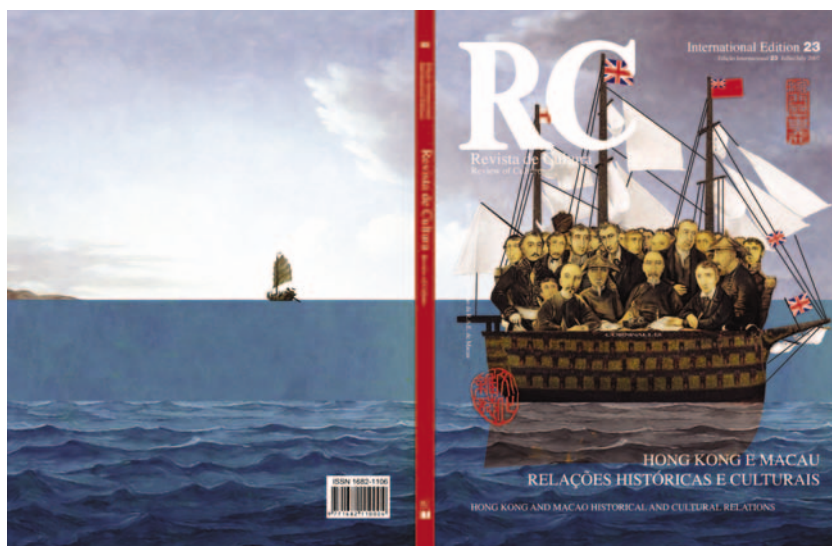
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A NOSSA CAPA

Neste número de RC analisamos a forma como o estabelecimento de Hong Kong, a meio da centúria de Oitocentos, foi visto, temido e relatado (a Pequim ou a Lisboa) pela comunidade local. Aos piores augúrios dos homens do Senado deram razão os anos seguintes: Macau assistiria à ascensão meteórica do vizinho “rochedo inhóspito” a um dos maiores portos e praças financeiras do planeta, enquanto sentia na pele o declínio da “sua” próspera rota mercantil na Ásia do Sul.

Rivalidades e disputas sociais, políticas e históricas (sentidas ou induzidas), por um lado, e, por outro, complementaridades, intercâmbio. Especificidades partilhadas e, semanticamente, um passado e um destino comuns. De tudo um pouco se fez e se faz a história das relações (e das comparações) entre Macau e Hong Kong. Se bem observarmos, veremos uma sociedade (uma identidade?) paralela ou acima da conjuntura político-social que se estende a ambos os lados do delta e se rege por um conjunto único ou muito similar de comportamentos e ambições. Uma comunidade “informal” feita de laços de negócios, de amizades, de sangue, que, historicamente, vai de Macau a Hong Kong, Xangai e aos quatro cantos da diáspora macaense.

É, assim, mais curioso olhar para o que une as gentes de Hong Kong e Macau e perscrutar – poeticamente, como Leung Ping-kuan – por entre as multidões de dois dos sítios mais densamente habitados do mundo, essoutra entidade (identidade?) comum: de hábitos, costumes, trocas, gostos, expectativas e fraternidades de graus diversos.

OUR COVER

This issue of RC looks at how the Macanese community viewed and relayed to both Peking and Lisbon the establishment of Hong Kong in the mid-18th century. The ensuing years vindicated the warnings of the Senate’s good men; from the sidelines Macao watched the meteoric rise of the neighbouring “barren rock” into one of the biggest harbours and financial markets in the world while its own prosperous trading routes in south Asia fell into decline.

Social, political and historical rivalries, whether arising naturally or by provocation, were held in check by complementary benefits. Shared characteristics and a common past and destiny form the basis for the history of relations and comparisons between Macao and Hong Kong. Close examination reveals a society operating in parallel, or beyond, the socio-political environment on both sides of the Pearl River delta, a society governed by a single set of behaviours and ambitions. The Macanese diaspora, an informal community of business networks, friendships and blood ties spread out from Macao to Hong Kong, Shanghai and across the globe.

Through his poetry, Leung Ping-kuan provides an insight into what brings the entities/identities of Hong Kong and Macao together: the habits, tastes, expectations and varying degrees of fraternity between the inhabitants of two of the most densely populated areas in the world.

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Pórtico principal do Templo de Lianfeng.

Prenúncios Sombrios

A Concessão de Hong Kong Exposta pelos Portugueses aos Chineses como Factor de Perturbação da Ordem Imperial

ANTÓNIO VASCONCELOS DE SALDANHA*

As relações entre as antigas colónias portuguesa de Macau e inglesa de Hong Kong foram pontuadas ao longo da sua história por frequentes rivalidades suscitadas pelo papel que uma e outra desempenharam ou pretenderam desempenhar no contexto político e comercial regional.

Foram naturalmente os Portugueses de Macau os primeiros a aperceberem-se e a visionarem, pessimistas, as repercussões da concessão original desse estabelecimento pela China aos Britânicos. Foram também os Portugueses a tentar desde o primeiro momento despertar as autoridades chinesas para o carácter pernicioso dessas consequências. E foi esse o sentido da reunião que no dia 6 de Novembro de 1841 teve lugar no Templo de Lianfeng 蓮峰廟, em Macau, uma reunião cujo significado histórico tem passado desapercibido nos estudos dedicados às relações luso-chinesas do período da 1.ª Guerra do Ópio e que neste artigo é analisada¹.

Melhor conhecido é o contexto da reunião, ocorrida no período chamado da 1.ª Guerra do Ópio²: em Agosto e Setembro de 1840, na sequência da eclosão de confrontos violentos entre os Ingleses e as

forças imperiais que tinham levado os primeiros até às portas de Tianjin, o vice-rei de Sichuan, Qi Shan 琦善, um alto dignitário manchu da confiança do imperador Daoguang 道光, lograria persuadir os Ingleses a deixar o Norte da China e a regressar a Cantão onde seriam retomadas as negociações³. O sucesso da iniciativa levaria a que o imperador nomeasse Qi Shan para o lugar do famoso comissário imperial Lin Zexu 林則徐 em Cantão e pouco depois vice-rei dos Dois Guangs, com a função específica de retomar na metrópole provincial as negociações iniciadas em Tianjin. Em Janeiro de 1841, pressionado pela crescente hostilidade dos Ingleses, Qi Shan chegava a um acordo com os Ingleses, resultando daí a célebre Convenção de Chuanbi, nos termos do qual, além de ser aceite o pagamento de uma pesada indemnização, permitida a comunicação directa dos Ingleses com o funcionalismo Qing e prometida a reabertura do comércio em Cantão, era cedida a ilha de Hong Kong.



Estátua de Lin Zexu no Templo de Lianfeng

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Uma proclamação do plenipotenciário George Elliot, datada de 20 de Janeiro, selaria o acordado, anunciando publicamente as condições da convenção:

*“Her Majesty’s plenipotentiary has now to announce the conclusion the preliminary arrangements between the imperial commissioner and himself, including the following condition: 1. The cession of the Island and Harbour of Hong Kong to the British Crown”.*⁴

Embora esta cessão estivesse votada ao repúdio tanto das autoridades centrais da China como da Inglaterra e que, de facto, só viesse a ser confirmada pelo Tratado de Nanquim em Agosto de 1842, o alcance e as consequências não escaparam às autoridades de Macau, mais do que experientes no que às tendências hegemónicas da Grã-Bretanha na China respeitava⁵. Para isso mesmo se alertou de imediato o Governo de Lisboa. Pedindo medidas excepcionais destinadas a obstar ao que se definia como um “triste quadro futuro de ruína e desgraça”, Rodrigues de Basto, o juiz

de direito de Macau, classificava a cessão territorial efectuada como

“um golpe fatal sobre Macau com semelhante arranjo e estabelecimento de Hong Kong mui perto desta Cidade. É voz pública entre todos os nacionais, estrangeiros e chins que o comércio de Macau, rendimentos públicos, alfândegas, etc. acabar-se-ão brevemente para os Portugueses...”⁶

Em paralelo, as autoridades de Macau decidiam-se a alertar rapidamente as autoridades imperiais, acreditando que a consciencialização dos Chineses para o movimento dos Ingleses poderia de algum modo sustentar uma política de solidariedade dos interesses da cidade com os do Império. Para o efeito, na tarde do dia 6 de Novembro de 1841 tinha lugar no Templo de Lianfeng, não longe da Porta do Cerco de Macau, uma reunião cujo significado histórico, como notámos, foi ignorado ou descurado pela historiografia das relações luso-chinesas do período da 1.ª Guerra do Ópio⁷.

Assinatura do Tratado de Nanquim a bordo do *Cornwallis* em 29 de Agosto de 1842. Gravura de J. Burnett sobre pintura de John Platt. Cortesia do Hong Kong Museum of Art.



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Do lado dos Chineses, o *zuotang* Zhang Yu 左堂张裕, dito mandarim de Macau, Xie Muzhi 谢牧之, *qianshantongzhi* 前山同知, dito mandarim da Casa Branca, e Yi Zhongfu 易中孚, *daotai* 道台 de Gaolien, um alto funcionário chinês encarregue desde 1840 pelo comissário Lin Zexu de exercer em Macau o mais severo controlo sobre estrangeiros e Chineses durante os momentos dramáticos do conflito sino-britânico⁸. Do lado português, o procurador do Senado de Macau, Bernardo Estêvão Carneiro⁹, os dois intérpretes oficiais, José Martinho Marques e José Rodrigues Gonçalves¹⁰, e, a pedido expresso do *daotai*, o ex-procurador José Vicente Jorge, que, nesse mesmo lugar e desde 1840, negociara com Yi Zhongfu as condições da difícil neutralidade que o governador Silveira Pinto decretara pautar as relações de Macau com Ingleses e Chineses¹¹.

Possivelmente por esse ascendente, coube de facto a Jorge a condução da reunião e o esforço de persuasão manifesto em todo o discurso a Yi Zhongfu

na reunião de Lianfeng: por um lado, convencer os Chineses da irremissibilidade da cessão e das perniciosas consequências daí advenientes para o Império, despertando-os para a necessidade de obstar ou neutralizar por completo as vantagens obtidas pela Grã-Bretanha. Mas, sobretudo, sugerir como solução adequada a esse fim – consagrada sem recurso a qualquer tratado mas apenas aos mecanismos tradicionais que pautavam as relações dos Portugueses na China – a valorização do estabelecimento de Macau através de uma reforma profunda do seu estatuto comercial, de modo a poder este cativar (antes mesmo de Hong Kong ter oportunidade de se desenvolver) todo o movimento de negócios e investimentos doutro modo canalizados para a nova colónia britânica.

A acta da reunião de Lianfeng é muito explícita no tocante à reacção imediata dos três mandarins que, inicialmente, ainda

“nos queriam persuadir que Qi Shan não podia nem tem autoridade para tal [cessão] fazer. Contudo, produziu ele [Jorge] tais razões, que fez convencer aos Mandarins e ao Daotai que a Ilha de Hong Kong sempre será dos Ingleses, e sem a posse legal jamais poderia o Plenipotenciário Britânico fazer a proclamação [...] E da maneira como ela foi cedida, manifestamente se conhece que foi pelo medo de Qi Shan, e por isso mesmo ninguém duvida que os funcionários britânicos consigam do Qi Shan tudo quanto seja necessário para se tornar o estabelecimento de Hong Kong livre e independente, e que seja o ponto mais importante da China do seu comércio com a Europa”¹².

E, na palavra persuasiva e premonitória de José Vicente Jorge, era isto, precisamente, que o governo imperial mais devia temer: Hong Kong

“será o foco de contrabandos, refúgio dos criminosos chinas e, por fim, a causa da diminuição das rendas imperiais, atraindo, tanto pelo seu comércio como pelas leis que hão-de reger o estabelecimento, milhares de Chinas que, acostumando-se às novas leis e novos costumes, virão ao continente espalhar novas doutrinas aos seus conterrâneos e, em breve, se deve por isso contar com revoluções no Império e sua decadência, e por conseguinte os Mandarins ficarão perdendo a preponderância que têm sobre eles...”.



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Sir Henry Pottinger (1789-1856). Cortesia do Hong Kong Museum of Art.

Reforçando a visão assustadora que assim ia levantando diante dos olhos dos Chineses, José Vicente Jorge avançaria, em final, com uma das mais proféticas visões de toda a reunião, na verdade um quadro real das relações da China com o Ocidente até ao início do século XX:

“... florescendo o estabelecimento de Hong Kong como é de esperar, fará induzir às mais Nações ter um ponto igual na China como os Ingleses; e como estes o conseguiram tão facilmente, eles também procurarão qualquer pretexto e em breve tempo todas as Nações da Europa terão os seus estabelecimentos na China, não porque todas elas os precisassem, mas para honra e decoro hão-de querer ter o mesmo, como possuem os Ingleses, e os Chinas, tendo cedido aos Ingleses, hão-de ser obrigados a ceder aos outros; e havendo no Império da China diferentes estabelecimentos europeus, havendo guerra na Europa, os pontos na China serão os primeiros que serão tomados, e por conseguinte devem contar com contínuas guerras e desassossegos para o Império”.

Aparentemente abalado com essa catastrófica visão, Yi Zhongfu – descrito pelo próprio Jorge como

“um alto funcionário chinês cujo carácter altivo e cioso é conhecido por todo o mundo”¹³ – acabaria por perguntar “qual seria o meio de remediar tudo isso, dado o caso que a Ilha de Hong Kong fora cedida aos Ingleses, (o que ele ainda está convencido ao contrário)?”. Perante isto o ex-procurador estava preparado para avançar imediatamente com um projecto de reformas do estatuto comercial de Macau:

“... o único meio e o mais eficaz e que é preciso que se ponha em execução o mais breve [possível]: diminuição dos direitos de importação e exportação das fazendas; aumento do número dos vasos a 50; medição livre [dos navios]; comércio livre”¹⁴.

Poderia, é certo, pensar o *daotai* “que o que expomos seja para benefício de Macau, o que não duvidamos”. Porém, continuava o ex-procurador Jorge, avançando para o cerne do seu plano,

“maior benefício há-de redundar para as caixas imperiais, porque deste modo farão atrair os outros estrangeiros para este ponto, e por isso, sendo possível, deve permitir-se comércio livre para Macau. Não queremos dizer com isso que devem consentir os vasos estrangeiros dentro do porto, mas permitir que eles possam descarregar as suas fazendas para a nossa alfândega e exportar o que quiserem para fora, e deste modo até os mesmos Ingleses preferirão comerciar em Macau e terão de abandonar o estabelecimento de Hong Kong. Não duvidamos que eles formarão ali suas fortalezas, terão ali forças, tribunais de justiça e polícia, oficinas públicas, mas quanto ao comércio será bem pouco ou nenhum, porque os comerciantes ingleses que vêm da Europa não vêm para aqui com outra ideia senão fazer dinheiro e podendo eles consegui-lo mais fácil e comodamente aqui, para que hão-de ter o incómodo de empatar seus capitais em propriedades no Estabelecimento de Hong Kong para conseguir um comércio mais moroso do que em Macau? E, portanto, faltando o comércio em Hong Kong, nenhuma será a concorrência dos Chinas, os antigos costumes não serão prevaricados e não haverá meios de subtraírem-se as rendas imperiais e os Chinas continuarão sossegados em Macau, como tem sido há mais de trezentos anos. Porque neste

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Estabelecimento, posto que português, os Portugueses vivem debaixo das leis portuguesas e os Chinas chinesas, e nunca o Governo português tem embaraçado isso, o que não acontecerá com o Estabelecimento de Hong Kong, que desde já os Ingleses têm declarado que todos os que forem para lá viver serão sujeitos às leis britânicas”¹⁵.

O próprio risco da cobiça territorial das outras nações europeias, suscitado pelo sucesso de Hong Kong

“não há-de acontecer se florescer o estabelecimento de Macau, por ser um estabelecimento muito antigo e porque este florescido por força ficará o de Hong Kong abatido, o que jamais poderá ser invejado pelas mais nações da Europa, porquanto os Portugueses já o possuem há trezentos anos e tem estado na perfeita independência tanto das mais nações europeias, como mesmo da China...”.

O rasgo final do persuasivo discurso de José Vicente Jorge dirigiu-se certamente a tranquilizar os magistrados chineses na matéria que mais poderia ferir a sua sensibilidade: a do grau de perturbação do estatuto que permitia a secular inserção de Macau no

Império exigido pelo plano de reforma dos Macaenses. Questão que de modo algum devia interpor-se entre os esforços mutuamente desenvolvidos para o sucesso do projecto. E isto por duas ordens de razões. Em primeiro lugar, porque o pedido “não é nenhuma exigência nova, mas sim concessões dos antigos Imperadores de que temos sido esbulhados”. Em segundo lugar, porque, ao contrário do que sempre tinham exigido os Ingleses, o pedido português “não é nenhum tratado, é simplesmente uma concessão que pedem ao Imperador; e se, com o andar dos tempos, se observar que o resultado desta lembrança foi prejudicial aos interesses das caixas imperiais, o mesmo Imperador a fará abolir”¹⁶.

Diz-se na acta respectiva que a reunião de duas horas no Templo de Lianfeng terminou com Yi Zhongfu e os dois outros mandarins “inteiramente convencidos de que este seria o único meio de poder obstar aos males que estão ameaçando o Império com o novo Estabelecimento de Hong Kong, e o consideravam como o mais pronto remédio que se deve adoptar com a brevidade possível; e por isso prometeram todos eles que procurariam fazer subir quanto antes estas ideias ao Alto Comissário Qi Shan e esperam que brevemente teríamos de nos encontrar em outra conferência para consolidar melhor tudo isso”¹⁷.

Auguste Borget, Vista geral de Macau, 1838, desenho incluído na sua obra *La Chine et les Chinois*, Paris, 1842.



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Ignoramos qualquer resultado saído desse propósito, sendo certo que nunca as autoridades chinesas acolheram a proposta portuguesa de rápida e oportuna reforma do estatuto de Macau; possivelmente devido ao facto simples de entretanto ter ocorrido a desgraça política do comissário imperial Qi Shan (e com ela, possivelmente, a de Yi Zhongfu). As entrevistas pessoais de Qi Shan com Elliot em finais de Janeiro e meados de Fevereiro terão permitido aos seus opositores – reforçados com a falência da prevenção do ataque britânico a 23 de Fevereiro e a queda dos fortes de Bogue a 26 – fazer vingar as acusações de acordos secretos com o inimigo lançadas sobre Qi Shan. Nesse mesmo dia 26 o imperador decretou a condenação da política e dos métodos do comissário imperial, que, a 12 de Março, privado de todos os seus cargos, honras e bens, partiu acorrentado de Cantão rumo ao exílio.

Por outro lado, os eventos precipitar-se-iam desde o acordo que, em Janeiro de 1841, consagrara a cessão de Hong Kong. De facto, o imperador Daoguang mostrara-se pouco disposto a aceitar a convenção celebrada em Chuanbi, pelo que rapidamente a ignorou, punindo Qi Shan, que a assinara, e Yi Libu 伊里布 que, paralisado pelo acordo, se negara a marchar sobre os Ingleses em Dinghai. A guerra estava declarada, mas com pouca fortuna para a China: sob o comando de Sir Henry Pottinger e com o apoio de imponentes forças navais, Amoi (Xiamen) foi ocupada em 26 de Agosto de 1841, Tíng-hai em 1 de Outubro e Ningbo em 13 do mesmo mês. A sucessão dos desastres continuaria em 1842 com a tomada de Wusong em 16 Junho, Xangai a 19 e Zhejiang a 21 de Julho. Com a queda deste derradeiro nó vital de comunicações e abastecimentos, o Império compenetrara-se da ruína iminente. Num movimento desesperado, o imperador acabou por ordenar a Qi Ying 耆英, general tártaro (*jiangjun* 将军), e ao antigo comissário imperial (*qingchai dachen* 钦差大臣) Yi Libu que iniciassem as negociações de paz com os Ingleses, efectivamente levadas a cabo e consagradas na convenção que, assinada por Pottinger e pelos dignitários manchus no dia 29 de Agosto de 1842, passou à História com o nome de Tratado de Nanquim¹⁸.

Resumindo o sucedido, é num ofício do juiz de Macau ao ministro do Ultramar, em Lisboa, que vamos encontrar um dos mais expressivos testemunhos da

impressão que este desfecho da Guerra do Ópio causou no ânimo da governação de Macau:

“Os acontecimentos da China têm sido um terramoto político e comercial que agitou não só a China, mas a todas as Nações que com ela comunicavam. Um abalo que fez a China mudar a sua antiga política para com os Estrangeiros. Um abalo que produziu uma ilha para os Ingleses (Hong Kong). Um abalo que abriu cinco portos ao comércio estrangeiro. Um abalo que destruiu as antigas restrições das suas alfândegas, que diminuiu consideravelmente a tarifa dos Direitos Imperiais e que igualou tudo. Um abalo que moveu as principais nações da Europa e mesmo da América a mandar à China representantes revestidos de alto carácter e não pouca ilustração para tratar com o Delegado Imperial o que julgaram o bem do seu comércio, não reparando estas nações em despesas com vasos de guerra porque os seus interesses assim o reclamavam...”¹⁹

Será ocioso especular sobre os eventuais resultados da conferência de Lianfeng caso se tivesse mantido o valimento de Qi Shan e prevalecido a tese do Governo de Macau. O que nos interessa de tudo colher para a nossa análise é fazer ressaltar algumas das linhas de força cuja invocação é essencial para a compreensão da política portuguesa face à China nos anos subsequentes²⁰. Uma de carácter substancial – a compreensão antecipada da profundidade da crise em curso, a noção clara das consequências por ela acarretadas para a sobrevivência de Macau, a insistência num enunciado preciso e temporão das medidas exigidas para obstar a essa situação, a convicção da existência para os Portugueses de um regime preferencial de negociação das mesmas com a China – e outras de carácter formal que também não é demais sublinhar: a assunção das iniciativas “diplomáticas” pelas autoridades de Macau com plena autonomia em relação a Lisboa, o protagonismo político-comercial da oligarquia mercantil do Estabelecimento aqui bem representada por José Vicente Jorge, o seu mais eminente representante nas décadas de 40 e 50, e, enfim, a voluntária submissão à necessidade sentida de preservar o estatuto e a pauta tradicional de relacionamento com a China, em detrimento da invocação ou do recurso às inovatórias formas convencionais de relacionamento internacional anunciadas pelos Ingleses. **RC**

HONG KONG AND MACAO. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

NOTAS

- 1 O tema deste artigo foi tratado com maior detalhe e contextualização in António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, *O Tratado Impossível. Um Exercício de Diplomacia Luso-Chinesa num Contexto Internacional em Mudança 1842-1887*, Lisboa, Instituto Diplomático / Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, 2006.
- 2 Sobre este período *vide per tot.* H. B. Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, I, “The Period of Conflict 1834-1860”, Londres, Longmans, Green & Company, 1910, John King Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast. The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842-1854*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1969, *passim*, e James M. Polachek, *The Inner Opium War*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1992, *passim*.
- 3 Sobre o papel de Qi Shan nestes acontecimentos, *vide* Arthur Hummel (ed.), *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, Taipei, SMC Publishing Inc., 1991, I, *sub voce* “Ch’i-shan”, pp. 126-129, bem como John King Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy...*, Caps. V e VI, e, particularmente, James M. Polachek, *The Inner Opium War...*, Caps. 4 e 5.
- 4 Anexo ao ofício do governador ao ministro da Marinha e Ultramar, de 21.1.1843, in Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino [AHU] – 2.ª Secção, Macau, 1841, p. 8.
- 5 Sobre Macau e as tendências hegemónicas inglesas, *vide* António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, *Estudos sobre as Relações Luso-Chinesas*, Lisboa, Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas/Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1996, pp. 224-259.
- 6 Ofício do juiz ao ministro da Marinha e Ultramar, de 21.1.1841, in AHU – 2.ª Secção, Macau, 1841, P. 8, Cap. n.º 3. Também o governador Silveira Pinto escreveu ao ministro da Marinha e Ultramar a anunciar achar-se “já tratada a cedência de uma pequena Ilha (Hong Kong)” para que os Ingleses tivessem “um estabelecimento propriamente seu à maneira deste de Macau, mas provavelmente com mais segurança do que a que possuem os Portugueses. Esta concessão, a verificar-se, deve ser fatal a esta Cidade, se não já, dentro de 10 ou 12 anos...”, ofício do governador ao ministro da Marinha e Ultramar, de 18 de Janeiro de 1841, in AHU – 2.ª Secção, Macau, 1841, P. 8, Cap. n.º 1.
- 7 A acta da reunião – “Relatório do Procurador da conferencia havida com o Tau-tai. 1841” – foi publicada in *Arquivos de Macau*, vol. II, n.º 6, Junho de 1930, pp. 311-315, segundo o texto manuscrito de um livro do Leal Senado de Macau sumariamente referenciado como “Arquivo do Leal Senado X”. Recentemente, a sua existência foi notada e parcialmente transcrito por Ângela Guimarães, *Uma Relação Especial. Macau e as Relações Luso-Chinesas (1780-1844)*, Lisboa, Edição CIES, 1996, pp. 263-264. Como acima referimos, o tema foi tratado por nós em *O Tratado Impossível...*
- 8 Vulgarmente conhecido na documentação portuguesa por “*I, Taotai de Caolien*”. Sobre a nomeação de Yi Zhongfu veja-se o memorial apresentado ao trono por Lin Zexu e outros. Segundo o comissário imperial, “após ponderarmos em conjunto, propomos que esse *daotai* seja destacado durante algum tempo para Macau a fim de inspecionar e tratar dos assuntos dos bárbaros, auxiliado pelo subprefeito de Macau e outros funcionários. Estará encarregado de inspecionar os barcos do número dos bárbaros de Macau, de exterminar a presença dos bárbaros ingleses e de capturar os traidores chineses que dão apoio logístico aos bárbaros”, in “Memorial ao Trono apresentado por Lin Zexu, entre outros, no sentido de solicitar autorização de S. Majestade o Imperador para mandar temporariamente o *daotai* [intendente do Circuito] de Gaolien a Macau com o fim de tomar conta dos assuntos dos bárbaros”, reproduzido na *Crónica de Xianshan [Xianshan Xianzhi 香山縣志]*, edição de 1873, compilada por Tian Mingyao 田明曜 e redigida por Cheng Feng 陳澧, vol. 8, “Defesa Marítima”, pp. 38b-39a. O pormenorizado e interessante relato da primeira entrevista que o *daotai* Yi Zhongfu teve com o procurador José Vicente Jorge, no edifício do *hopo* de Macau em 31.1.1840, bem como as proclamações chinesas relativas à presença dos Ingleses em Macau, podem ser vistas in *Mosaico. Órgão do Circulo Cultural de Macau*, vol. VII, n.º 41-43, Jan.-Mar. de 1954, pp. 178-186.
- 9 Sobre o papel do procurador no contexto das relações da cidade de Macau com as autoridades portuguesas, *vide per tot.* António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, Wu Zhiliang 吳志良 e Jin Guo Ping 金國平, “Introdução. As ‘Chapas Sínicas’, a História de Macau e as Seculares Relações Luso-Chinesas” in *Sob o Olhar de Reis e de Imperadores. Documentos do Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo Relativos à Administração Luso-Chinesa de Macau Durante a Dinastia Qing*, Macau, Instituto Português do Oriente/Instituto Para os Assuntos Cívicos e Municipais, 2004 (em português, inglês e chinês).
- 10 J. R. Gonçalves viria mais tarde a desempenhar um papel importante como intérprete oficial da missão portuguesa que, em 1859, em Pequim negociou o 1.º tratado luso-chinês. Por esse tempo, as autoridades chinesas notariam que “o intérprete oficial da missão portuguesa, o Sr. João Rodrigues Gonçalves, é astuto que nem uma raposa, nada inferior ao Sr. José Martinho Marques, [ao serviço] da [Legação da] Prússia. As suas palavras, agradáveis ao ouvido, mas não sem ataques pungentes, muitas vezes nos deixaram sem resposta imediata”, ofício de Heng Qi 恒祺 a Chong Hou 崇厚, ministro superintendente do Comércio Estrangeiro dos Três Portos, de 28 de Junho de 1862, in *Colecção de Fontes Documentais para a História das Relações Luso-Chinesas*, Macau, Fundação Macau, II, doc. 55. J. R. Gonçalves (1806-1870) era indubitavelmente um intérprete categorizado. Intérprete oficial da Procuratura dos Negócios Sínicos desde 1840, acompanhara várias negociações com as autoridades chinesas, íntimo do governador Ferreira do Amaral, encarregue no seu tempo de toda a correspondência com as autoridades imperiais, e ainda intérprete do ministro de França M. de Bourboulon durante a sua missão em Pequim. Cf. Manuel Teixeira, *Galeria de Macaenses Ilustres do Século XIX*, Macau, Imprensa Nacional, 1942, pp. 141-150.
- 11 Um dos mais destacados cidadãos de Macau do seu tempo, um comerciante abastado que, segundo o ministro de Espanha escreveu em 1849, era “*uno de los portugueses mas influyentes en Macao por sus cualidades personales y por el dinero que en varias ocasiones ha facilitado*”, cf. Archivo General Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid [AGMAE], Legación China, H 1445, despacho n.º 138 de 11.11.1849.
- 12 “Relatório do Procurador da conferencia havida com o Tau-tai”, cit.
- 13 “Synopse dos Assumptos tratados em Sessão do Leal Senado” (Fev. 1840-1841, com documentos apensos, anexo ao ofício do ministro da Marinha e Ultramar ao ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros [MNE], 3.2.1842, in Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo [ANTT], Fundo MNE, Correspondência do Ministério da Marinha e Ultramar, caixa 385, p. 76.
- 14 “Relatório do Procurador da conferencia havida com o Tau-tai”, cit. p. 314.
- 15 *Ibidem*, pp. 313-314
- 16 *Ibidem*, p. 314.
- 17 *Ibidem*.
- 18 Sobre a situação conducente às negociações do Tratado de Nanquim e sobre o seu significado, *vide per tot.* os supracitados H. B. Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, I, “The Period of Conflict 1834-1860”, John King Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast. The Opening of the Treaty Ports, 1842-1854*, *passim*, e James M. Polachek, *The Inner Opium War*, *passim*.
- 19 Ofício do juiz de Macau ao ministro da Marinha e Ultramar, de 26.1.1846, in AHU – 2.ª Secção, Macau, 1846, P. 15, Cap. n.º 6 (1).
- 20 A matéria foi desenvolvida substancialmente no que às décadas seguintes respeita in António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, *O Tratado Impossível. Um Exercício de Diplomacia Luso-Chinesa num Contexto Internacional em Mudança 1842-1887*.

De Macau para Hong Kong De Hong Kong para o Mundo

ALFREDO GOMES DIAS*

A expansão mundial da economia de mercado, iniciada no século XV, manteve sempre uma relação dialéctica entre os progressos que se foram registando a nível científico-tecnológico e a crescente facilidade de mobilidade de pessoas e produtos. Com a expansão marítima ibérica/europeia, o capitalismo emergente nos finais da Idade Média desencadeou um processo de mundialização, alargando a sua influência a todos os continentes e mobilizando saberes, técnicas, capitais e pessoas. Também desde o Renascimento que as cidades passaram a desempenhar um papel central na concentração de gentes e de capitais. O desenvolvimento económico foi acompanhado por processos de urbanização cada vez mais intensos e, actualmente, as cidades e as metrópoles constituem-se como elementos estruturantes, hierarquizados, numa rede de fluxos e de relações. Deste modo, a globalização acelerou a construção de arquipélagos urbanos e, indo mais longe, de um imenso arquipélago de metrópoles que se dispersam pelo mundo e onde se concentram os poderes político, económico e científico-tecnológico.

À globalização e ao crescente protagonismo das cidades encontram-se associados os movimentos migratórios que, também eles, devem hoje ser observados e analisados à escala global. Movimentos de gentes que procuram nas cidades o bem-estar material e a concretização de sonhos mais íntimos e pessoais, que os seus locais de origem não estão em condições

de proporcionar. Assim, as cidades reforçaram nos últimos anos o velho papel que sempre desempenharam ao longo da sua história: lugar de encontro de pessoas com diferentes origens geográficas e sociais; encontros tecidos por complexas teias de conflitos e de cooperação, com motivações de ordem social, cultural, económica e política.

É nesta complexidade de relações que o mundo assiste ao nascer do terceiro milénio, profundamente marcado pelo fenómeno da globalização, um processo que ultrapassa as dimensões da economia: mercado, competição e concorrência. Citando Teresa Barata Salgueiro e Malcolm Waters, o conceito de globalização é apresentado por Jorge Malheiros vincando o seu carácter multidimensional, acrescentando aos aspectos económicos outros domínios da vida das sociedades, nomeadamente o cultural e o político¹.

Dez anos após a transferência da soberania para a República Popular da China (RPC) mantêm-se os laços entre Hong Kong e Macau na região do delta do rio das Pérolas e as pontes com os espaços políticos e económicos mais vastos que estiveram na sua génese histórica: a China, um antigo império que todos os dias se transforma numa nova potência mundial; a Europa, que tenta afastar a ideia de “Velho Continente”, construindo um projecto político, económico e social comum, num processo ímpar na história das nações.

Reflectir sobre as cidades de Hong Kong e de Macau, nestes primeiros anos do século XXI, obriga a que se identifiquem e analisem aqueles laços e aquelas pontes, reconhecendo que conferem às duas cidades as suas especificidades históricas e potencialidades presentes.

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HONG KONG, 2007

Em 1999, o governo da Região Administrativa Especial de Hong Kong definiu uma grande finalidade estratégica: Hong Kong, uma cidade mundial na Ásia, a maior cidade da China². Este desiderato, tal como foi formulado, posicionava Hong Kong em três diferentes escalas de integração articuladas entre si – a China, a Ásia e o Mundo –, colocando-a na rota da formação das Cidades Globais, pelo seu duplo estatuto de motor de desenvolvimento regional e de praça financeira internacional.

Desde 1997 que diferentes autores, como Peter Newman e Andy Thornelei, reconhecem à cidade de Hong Kong potencialidades para se assumir como uma Cidade Global: (i) reforço da sua integração na economia mundial; (ii) afirmação de um lugar de destaque na ligação da China à nova economia global; (iii) desenvolvimento de uma política de redes económicas e sociais na região do delta do rio das Pérolas.

No que respeita à integração na economia mundial, Hong Kong tem vindo a definir fórmulas de planeamento e desenvolvimento que reflectem as influências da economia global, num processo iniciado após a II Guerra Mundial, na década de 1950, mas que se acelerou nos anos 80 com a globalização. Destacam-se o programa público de habitação³, a revitalização da “baixa financeira”, a renovação de infra-estruturas portuárias e a construção de um novo aeroporto.

As suas políticas urbanas, sob a influência da economia mundial, têm permitido a Hong Kong (em competição com Xangai) desempenhar um papel central nas ligações da China aos mercados internacionais, particularmente após a integração da RPC na Organização Mundial do Comércio, em 2001. Com um tecido empresarial dinâmico – comercial, industrial e financeiro – Hong Kong tem cumprido a sua função de ponte entre a China e as outras praças comerciais e financeiras, reforçando simultaneamente a sua influência na região do delta do rio das Pérolas.

Finalmente, reside aqui a sua terceira potencialidade: beneficiando da criação e do dinamismo das Zonas Económicas Exclusivas, desde 1997 que Hong Kong tem construído uma teia de relações económicas e sociais na região do delta, arquitectando diversos núcleos funcionais que servem o propósito de garantir um desenvolvimento económico que a transforme no

centro de um importante espaço metropolitano e, deste modo, afirmar-se como Cidade Global. Apesar da sede das empresas se manter em Hong Kong, assistiu-se à deslocalização de cerca de 25 mil manufacturas para os arredores do delta, aproveitando os baixos custos de produção e absorvendo directamente cerca de três milhões de trabalhadores; três quartos da produção “made in Hong Kong” são já produzidos na região; a cidade é o maior investidor de toda a região do delta.

Analisando estas três potencialidades, podemos inferir que as possibilidades de Hong Kong se afirmar como Cidade Global dependem das mudanças internas que for capaz de desencadear, revitalizando, em simultâneo, os laços internos locais e regionais – *bonding capital* – e as pontes que a ligam às comunidades do exterior, transnacional ou global – *bridging capital*⁴. Deste modo, deve destacar-se que o protagonismo de Hong Kong no desenvolvimento económico da região onde se insere só foi possível graças à grande concentração de capital social que a governação da cidade tem sabido reproduzir em benefício do seu desenvolvimento. Considerando que o capital social é formado pelas redes sociais e normas de reciprocidade que a elas se encontram associadas, geradoras de valor, tanto individual como colectivo⁵, importa sublinhar que a cidade de Hong Kong se tem constituído como um importante elo de ligação ao tecido empresarial da China Continental e, ainda, às redes empresariais ligadas a Taiwan e aos chineses ultramarinos, criando fortes laços socioculturais, quer no seu espaço urbano, quer na região do delta do rio das Pérolas.

A década de 1950 constituiu um importante ponto de viragem, com o arranque económico proporcionado pelo empréstimo internacional (*Reform Club*) de 25 milhões de dólares e um outro, americano, de 9 milhões. Seguiu-se o “milagre económico”, que se explica pela intervenção de diferentes factores. (i) Depois da II Guerra Mundial, com a chegada dos refugiados, a população de Hong Kong passou de 600 000 pessoas para 1,8 milhões; em meados da década de 1950, as mudanças políticas que se operaram na China provocaram uma nova vaga de refugiados, fazendo ascender a população do território a 2,2 milhões de pessoas. (ii) Este aumento da população permitiu a Hong Kong ter mão-de-obra à qual se juntou a chegada de capitais vindos de Xangai: concentrou-se na cidade uma mão-de-obra disponível para suportar trabalhos difíceis, mas também com competências de empreendedorismo, à qual se juntou

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capital acumulado. (iii) À importação de gente e de capitais juntou-se a iniciativa política habitacional/urbanística do governo, desencadeada por um incêndio que ocorreu em Dezembro de 1953: os primeiros blocos habitacionais, muito simples, mas localizados perto das áreas industriais, permitiram poupar tempo no transporte casa-fábrica; o compromisso do governo da cidade na criação de infra-estruturas essenciais ao desenvolvimento económico desencadeou acções nos domínios da habitação, transportes, aviação civil, regulação do porto e, mais tarde, reconhecimento da necessidade de uma mão-de-obra qualificada⁶.

Em 2007, atrevemo-nos a pensar que a projecção de Hong Kong como Cidade Global depende, em grande medida, do reforço da sua influência na região do delta (*bonding capital*), onde se localizam duas outras cidades que a História tem mantido em estreita relação – Cantão e Macau –, a partir das quais se construíram as redes sociais que, nesta primeira década do terceiro milénio, são um recurso fundamental para o seu desenvolvimento económico. Se Cantão pode desempenhar um papel activo na rede de mercados chineses, Macau está a introduzir dinâmicas sociais e económicas que ajudam a projectar a região a nível internacional, nomeadamente através da sua política de dinamização das indústrias do jogo e do turismo e dos

contactos políticos e económicos chineses em África. Todavia, esta é uma realidade que começou a desenhar-se em meados de oitocentos, mais concretamente em 1841, ano que viu germinar uma nova cidade no âmbito do vasto império colonial britânico.

DE MACAU PARA HONG KONG, 1841

Os personagens históricos, particularmente aqueles que ocupam lugares de decisão política, dificilmente têm consciência das consequências das suas opções. É o lado mais humano da História Política, mais individualizado, que oferece um rosto à história dos povos e das nações. Quando, em 1839, o governador de Macau, Adrião Acácio da Silveira Pinto, recusou a instalação da comunidade britânica expulsa de Cantão, tornou inevitável o nascimento de uma nova colónia britânica na ilha de Hong Kong.

Os comerciantes britânicos e o poder político em Londres estavam longe de desejar esta solução. A sua preferência recaía sobre Cantão ou Macau, mas nenhuma delas era viável: Cantão era a cidade donde tinham sido expulsos pelo alto comissário imperial Lin Zexu 林则徐, na sequência das suas acções para terminar com o tráfico do ópio; Macau era a cidade que, receando a ocupação britânica e privilegiando a

Lam Qua, Varanda da residência de Nathaniel Kinsman sobre a Praia Grande, vendo-se a Fortaleza e o Convento de S. Francisco e, ao fundo, a Fortaleza da Guia. Óleo sobre tela, c. 1843. Cortesia da Martyn Gregory Gallery, Londres.



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aliança com a China imperial, optou pela neutralidade e pela recusa em acolher no seu seio a comunidade britânica⁷. Deste modo, a única solução que restou ao superintendente Charles Elliot foi negociar com o comissário Qi Shan 琦善 a proposta de instalar a comunidade britânica na ilha de Hong Kong⁸.

Nesta época, Macau era uma cidade que tentava sobreviver através do seu envolvimento no tráfico do ópio, nos estreitos limites impostos, por um lado, pelas proibições chinesas e, por outro lado, pelo domínio marítimo e comercial da Grã-Bretanha que, de facto, controlava em grande parte aquele circuito comercial entre a Índia e a China. Com um porto limitado por factores naturais, na medida em que o seu assoreamento o impedia de acompanhar os progressos que se registavam na navegação a vapor, Macau beneficiava ainda, nos anos da I Guerra do Ópio (1839-1842), da sua adaptação secular ao aparelho político-administrativo imperial. Por isso, a cidade mantinha-se como o espaço exclusivo por onde passavam os laços entre as diferentes comunidades estrangeiras e as elites comerciais e mandarínicas da região do delta do rio das Pérolas.

Quando correu a notícia da ocupação de Hong Kong pela comunidade britânica, ela foi recebida em Macau de formas diferentes. A imprensa, pela voz de *O Português na China*, desvalorizou a nova colónia britânica, quando chegaram à cidade os primeiros rumores sobre o assunto, logo em Janeiro de 1841:

“Dos Periódicos Ingleses da China colhemos, que se trata de se estabelecerem os Ingleses em Hong-Kong ou Cantão; mas pouco inclinados estamos a dar importância a essa ideia; porquanto estamos bem ao facto das ideias radicais dos chinas a respeito da concessão de terreno; o tempo manifestará tudo. As vantagens que julgam os Ingleses terem alcançado são aparentes, e pouco satisfatórias para quem pensa bem, e conhece a política chinesa”.⁹

Já no que diz respeito ao governador Silveira Pinto, este parecia ter uma opinião mais cautelosa sobre os perigos que Hong Kong poderia representar para Macau num futuro próximo, chamando a atenção do governo de Lisboa para a necessidade de criar um novo projecto para a cidade... em 1841... 1842.

[1841] “As Tropas Inglesas já vão de novo retirando-se para Hong-Kong, e o pior é que os Ingleses já ali se vão estabelecendo consideravelmente

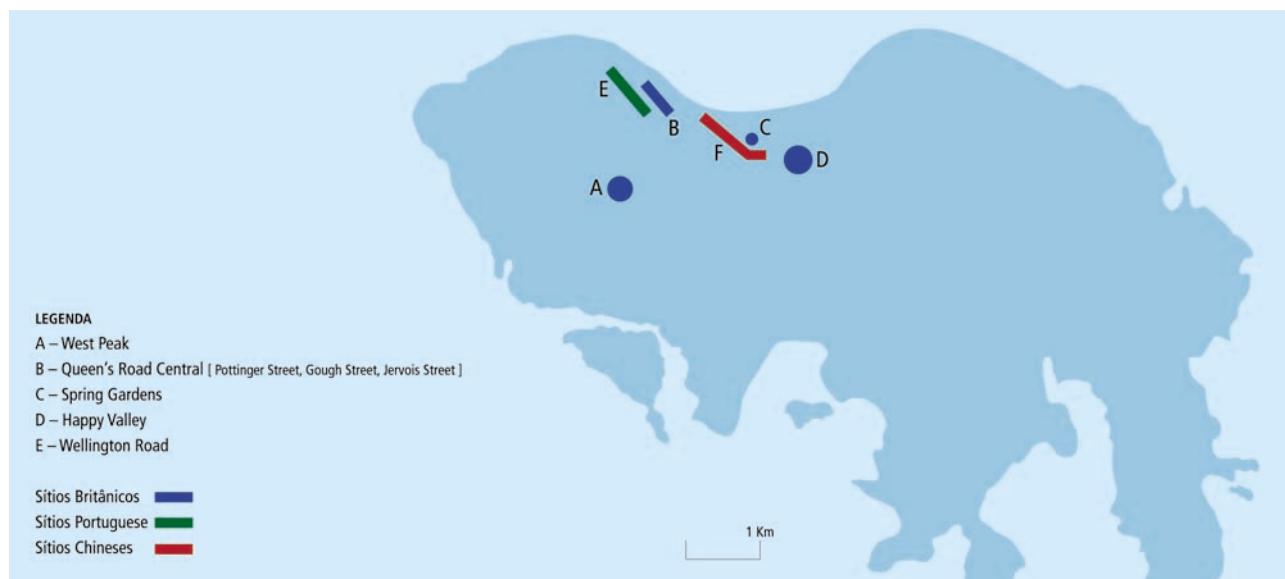
e Edifícios públicos, e armazéns já se vão construindo com toda a força. No entanto eu ainda estou pelas ideias que emiti em um dos meus anteriores ofícios aquele Estabelecimento não deve fazer muito mal a Macau se o Governo daqui souber ter juízo, e se ele for autorizado a obrar segundo as circunstâncias.”¹⁰

[1842] “O novo Estabelecimento Inglês de Hong-Kong vai progredindo com uma rapidez inconcebível e é essa mais uma razão porque eu rogo a V. Ex^a se digne atender a esta minha representação que eu faço só com o fim de não ver aniquilado este Estabelecimento, que aliás se pode tornar muito florescente segundo eu entendo se o Governo de Sua Majestade se dignar prestar-lhe sua particular atenção, não podendo também deixar de chamar a de V. Ex^a por esta ocasião para que se sirva lançar as suas vistas para as minhas anteriores representações. O sossego do País continua sem interrupção e por ora o Comércio em grande escala o Céu continue por largo tempo este bom estado.”¹¹

Parece evidente que, para o governador Silveira Pinto, as repercussões de Hong Kong em Macau dependiam, em última instância, da capacidade de reacção que a sua cidade demonstrasse. Mas, a ausência de um projecto político e económico para Macau empurrou esta cidade para o seu envolvimento na construção da nova cidade britânica na ilha de Hong Kong. Como? Para responder a esta questão importa rever o modo como reflectimos e buscamos novos olhares sobre o impacto do nascimento de Hong Kong na cidade de Macau.

Depois de 1841, entre os políticos e os cientistas sociais que se dedicam ao estudo de Macau, manteve-se sempre no ar a seguinte questão: “Qual o impacto de Hong Kong em Macau?” Muitas respostas foram ensaiadas, talvez repetindo sempre as mesmas “ideias feitas” da miséria, decadência e dependência de Macau; da riqueza, prosperidade e desenvolvimento de Hong Kong. Os textos produzidos sobre as relações entre Hong Kong e Macau tendem sempre a seguir duas linhas de orientação que, de algum modo, surgem como faces da mesma moeda: uma, para explicar a decadência e dependência de Macau; outra, para acentuar as diferenças entre as duas cidades. No entanto, não obstante ser incontornável repetir que nos encontramos perante duas realidades históricas

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Os sítios de Hong Kong. Fonte: Ernest John Eitel, *Europe in China. The History of Hong-Kong*, Taipei, Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company, 1968 (mapa do autor).

bem distintas, também não é possível ignorar que os percursos político, económico e social de Hong Kong e Macau estão associados por força das mudanças que ocorreram no mundo e na Ásia Oriental em meados do século XIX, tendo por protagonista a Grã-Bretanha e o desígnio de estender o seu domínio colonial aos impérios asiáticos. Hong Kong foi o resultado deste longo processo, mas as suas especificidades como cidade instalada em território chinês resultaram da realidade social e económica que lhe estava mais próxima: Cantão, Macau, a região do delta do rio das Pérolas e, posteriormente, a sua ligação aos portos chineses abertos ao comércio internacional após o tratado de Nanquim de 1842, em particular Xangai.

Este concerto regional entre as cidades permitiu-nos experimentar uma reflexão e análise orientadas para as suas semelhanças e características comuns, valorizando os factores que as aproximam. Um exercício que nos conduz à génese da cidade de Hong Kong e ao papel desempenhado pelas três comunidades nacionais e étnicas distintas que nela vão estar presentes: ingleses, chineses e macaenses.

HONG KONG E OS MACAENSES, 1841-1844

Os sítios de Hong Kong, naquela época cidade de Victoria, cobrem uma área que inclui Queen's Road (o primeiro eixo urbano desenhado pela administração britânica em 1842), Pottinger Street, Gough Street,

Jervois Street, Spring Gardens e Happy Valley: a área onde se fixou a comunidade britânica. Muito próximo, na Queens Road, iniciou-se também a construção do Bazar Chinês, onde se concentraram a mão-de-obra e as actividades que apoiaram o início da construção da cidade e a fixação das outras comunidades. Em Wellington Road, uma rua paralela a Queen's Road East, fixaram-se os primeiros macaenses, cerca de cinquenta em 1846¹³.

Estas três comunidades, que estão na origem do processo de repovoamento¹⁴ da ilha, transportaram consigo as redes sociais que garantiram toda a actividade económica no delta do rio das Pérolas antes da I Guerra do Ópio ter eclodido.

A comunidade britânica, numa primeira fase, deu alguns sinais de oferecer resistência à mudança para Hong Kong e envolver-se na construção de uma nova cidade. Charles Elliot e, depois, Henry Pottinger (o primeiro governador de Hong Kong) desenvolveram um conjunto de diligências no sentido de incentivar/obrigar as casas comerciais britânicas a instalarem-se em Hong Kong. Deste modo, entre 1841 e 1844, os comerciantes britânicos foram-se instalando na ilha, retirando-se de Cantão e Macau. Com eles criou-se um novo poder político em torno da figura do “governador de Hong Kong” e introduziram-se novas regras no comércio externo chinês. Mas o ópio manteve-se como o principal produto donde se retiravam os proveitos que viabilizaram a nova cidade.

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Em Hong Kong fixou-se uma importante comunidade chinesa, ligada às casas comerciais da região, os “hong”, e fornecedora de mão-de-obra e serviços: comerciantes com ligações a Cantão e Macau, população marítima dos tancares, pilotos marítimos, pequenos comerciantes de víveres e artesãos. Seguindo o testemunho de E. J. Eitel, em 15 de Maio de 1841, data do primeiro censo, a população chinesa contava com 5 650 pessoas. Em Março do ano seguinte este valor já havia ascendido a 12 361 chineses e, dois anos depois, em 1844, já rondava as 19 mil pessoas¹⁵.

A comunidade portuguesa, constituída por macaenses, concentrou-se inicialmente na Wellington Road, mas dispersou-se pelas principais actividades que insuflaram o primeiro oxigénio à cidade nascente. Leonardo d’Almada e Castro e o seu irmão, José Maria d’Almada e Castro, são os nomes mais conhecidos desta primeira comunidade de macaenses que se instalou na nova cidade, por muitos considerados como os primeiros emigrantes que deram origem à diáspora macaense. Funcionários da Superintendência do Comércio Britânico em Macau, eles acompanharam a transferência deste organismo para Hong Kong, em 27 de Fevereiro de 1842¹⁶. Em 1846, outros macaenses já

colaboravam na administração colonial de Hong Kong: João de Jesus (intérprete no Chief Magistrates Office), F. de Noronha (Police Rate Assessment Office), e J. B. dos Remédios e D. J. Barradas (Post Office). Para além do sector público, encontramos os primeiros macaenses no sector tipográfico, área de actividade que vai contar com uma forte presença da comunidade macaense. O primeiro jornal, *Hong Kong Gazette*, foi publicado no dia 1 de Maio de 1841, noventa e quatro dias depois de ter sido içada pela primeira vez a bandeira britânica, o que revela da importância da imprensa na construção da cidade, constituindo-se como um importante canal de circulação da informação. Segue-se o sector bancário, nestes primeiros anos ainda apenas representado por José M. de Noronha no Oriental Bank. Finalmente, o sector comercial que absorveu o número mais significativo dos macaenses que decidem partir da sua cidade natal com destino a uma “promessa” de cidade. As principais firmas ocidentais que operavam na região do delta instalaram-se em Hong Kong, progressivamente, e sob a pressão das autoridades políticas britânicas que desejavam garantir o sucesso do novo espaço inserido no seu mundo colonial. “*Ever since this belief in the permanency of the British occupation of Hongkong gained*

Marciano Baptista, Vista da ilha de Hong Kong. Aguarela sobre papel, c. 1875-80. Cortesia da Martyn Gregory Gallery, Londres.



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*ground, some of the leading British merchants, instead of merely opening branch offices at Hongkong, began to break up their establishments at Macao and Canton and to remove their offices to the new settlement.*¹⁷ Uma rede empresarial que contará com a colaboração de muitos macaenses. A título de exemplo, Eduardo Pereira e Joaquim Caldas (Dent & Co.); I. P. Pereira e J. A. de Jesus (Rawle, Duus & Co.); Q. da Silva, S. Rangel, P. J. Loureiro, D. Eliado Sasson e A. de Miranda (Russel & Co.); João Braga, Miguel do Rozário e José Leão (Victoria Dispensary).¹⁸

Considerando que a actividade comercial ofereceu uma razão de ser à cidade e lhe garantiu a viabilidade económica indispensável à sua sobrevivência e ao seu posterior desenvolvimento, Hong Kong preparou-se para o futuro da Ásia Oriental que naqueles anos se ia construindo. O porto foi a grande infra-estrutura que fez a diferença, não só pelas suas condições naturais, permitindo a acostagem de navios a vapor de grande porte, como também pela fórmula adoptada para o seu funcionamento – porto franco. Por isso, não obstante as hesitações e dificuldades iniciais que conheceu na instalação de um fluxo populacional acelerado, não é difícil explicar a atracção que Hong Kong exerceu desde o seu primeiro ano de existência sobre a actividade comercial que se desenvolvia em toda a região do delta, o que é corroborado pelo testemunho de A. Matheson, em 1847:

*“When the first Europeans settled in Hongkong, the Chinese showed every disposition to frequent the place; and there was a fair prospect of its becoming a place of considerable trade. The junks from the coast made up their cargoes there, in place of going to Canton and Macao; these cargoes consisted of opium, cotton shirtings, a few pieces of camlets, and other woollens, and Rtraits produce, such as pepper, betel-nut, rattans, &c.”*¹⁹

Os sítios de Hong Kong, revelando a proximidade das três comunidades que fizeram germinar a cidade de Victoria, são a primeira prova da existência de uma rede social regional e transnacional que garantiu sucesso ao novo projecto do poder colonial britânico, em meados do século XIX. Neste caso, a proximidade espacial das comunidades britânica, chinesa e macaense traduz a concentração do capital social que estas três comunidades transportaram e que investiram na construção da cidade. A nível local e regional, criaram-se e mantiveram-se os laços sociais, culturais e étnicos

inter e intracomunitários em Hong Kong e com as outras cidades do delta: Macau e Cantão. A nível transnacional, o desenvolvimento de Hong Kong e de toda a região onde se insere só foi possível devido às pontes que se lançaram com os espaços imperiais que nele se envolveram, a saber, o Império da China e o Império Britânico.

Em síntese, Hong Kong foi o resultado da acumulação de um capital social que resultou da interacção entre as três comunidades em presença e das redes que criaram com as suas cidades de origem: Cantão e Macau. Desde sempre, o desenvolvimento de Hong Kong dependeu da sua afirmação na região do delta, fenómeno facilitado por este capital social que soube atrair, gerir e reproduzir ao longo da sua história.

A partir de 1841, a história da cidade de Macau vai ficar estreitamente ligada aos destinos de Hong Kong, importando reconhecer o papel que a comunidade macaense desempenhou no processo de criação da nova cidade. Para além dos fenómenos de decadência e/ou de dependência de Macau encontramos o envolvimento de uma comunidade que iniciou então um movimento migratório que a levará a outras nações e a todos os continentes. Depois de Hong Kong, o primeiro destino da diáspora, os macaenses foram ao encontro de Xangai. Seguiu-se a Austrália, Grã-Bretanha, Canadá, Estados Unidos da América, Brasil...

As potencialidades de Hong Kong, logo nos seus primeiros anos de existência em meados do século XIX, garantiram a esta cidade transformar-se no pólo de desenvolvimento da região do delta do rio das Pérolas, e hoje, nos primeiros anos do terceiro milénio, assumir o objectivo de adquirir o estatuto de Cidade Global. O poder atractivo de Hong Kong ofereceu à comunidade macaense a possibilidade de, também ela, se projectar no mundo, ao desencadear o movimento migratório que dará origem à diáspora macaense, contribuindo para o reforço da sua identidade.

HONG KONG E MACAU, 1997-1999

Recuemos à década de 1980²⁰. A fórmula “um país, dois sistemas” permitiu a Deng Xiaoping 邓小平 abordar a questão de Hong Kong com Margaret Thatcher, num encontro realizado em 1982. Seguiram-se vinte e duas rondas negociais entre diplomatas dos dois países, de Julho de 1983 a Setembro de 1984, que culminaram com a assinatura, em Pequim, da “Declaração Conjunta

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Vista da Baía de Hong Kong. Guache sobre papel, 1858, atribuído a Guan Lianchang. Cortesia do Hong Kong Museum of Art.

do Governo da República Popular da China e do Governo do Reino Unido da Grã-Bretanha e Irlanda do Norte sobre a Questão de Hong Kong”, no dia 19 de Dezembro de 1984. Ficava agendada a transição da soberania de Hong Kong para a RPC para o dia 1 de Julho de 1997.

Quando Portugal reatou as relações diplomáticas com a RPC, em 1979, reconheceu explicitamente que Macau era território chinês sob administração portuguesa. Apontava-se a porta de saída da soberania portuguesa, mas a China reservou para si o direito de marcar a data da sua abertura. Tal só aconteceu depois do processo negocial sobre Hong Kong estar concluído. Com apenas quatro rondas negociais, entre Junho de 1986 e Março de 1987, foi possível chegar a acordo sobre o texto da “Declaração Conjunta do Governo da República Popular da China e do Governo da República de Portugal sobre a Questão de Macau”, assinada também na capital chinesa em 13 de Abril de 1987. Ficava definida a data da transferência da soberania de Macau para a RPC: 20 de Dezembro de 1999.

As diferenças entre os textos destas duas “Declarações Conjuntas” espelham as especificidades históricas e as diferentes realidades políticas, económicas e sociais de Hong Kong e Macau, facto que tem sido sobejamente sublinhado. No entanto, mais uma vez, não é nas diferenças que gostaríamos de centrar a nossa análise mas, principalmente, nos aspectos que lhe estão próximos. As datas acima enunciadas indiciam-nos a estratégia seguida pelas autoridades de Pequim de associar a transferência de Macau ao processo já iniciado com a Grã-Bretanha em torno de Hong Kong. Mas, talvez seja possível ir um pouco mais longe.

Tendo por base um texto de John Darwin²¹, publicado numa obra particularmente importante para se compreender todo o processo que conduziu à transferência da soberania de Hong Kong – *Hong Kong's Transitions, 1842-1997* –, propomo-nos enunciar alguns traços comuns entre os dois processos de transição. Neste texto, o autor tenta demonstrar que Hong Kong não deve ser considerado como um espaço colonial igual a outros que a Grã-Bretanha possuiu, decorrendo

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daí as especificidades do seu processo de transição, o qual se afasta dos movimentos de descolonização que ocorreram noutras partes do mundo. Alguns dos tópicos avançados por John Darwin, relativamente a Hong Kong, são pertinentes para reflectirmos também sobre Macau e identificarmos algumas semelhanças nos processos políticos de transferência da soberania das duas cidades para a RPC.

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político-administrativo
imperial.*

É particularmente significativo que Hong Kong e Macau não tivessem conhecido movimentos nacionalistas que visassem a sua autonomia política. Os movimentos sociais e políticos, particularmente os que ocorreram nos primeiros anos da República, tiveram sempre por pano de fundo a situação política e social chinesa e, em particular, as mudanças políticas que se foram registando no Sul da China, com especial destaque para a cidade de Cantão. Associada a este contexto encontramos também a orientação da política externa chinesa que sempre visou enquadrar Hong Kong e Macau como questões que apenas diziam respeito, por um lado, à sua política interna e, por outro lado, às relações bilaterais com as potências administrantes, recusando a sua internacionalização ou

colagem às questões coloniais que, ainda nos anos de 1970, continuavam por resolver. Finalmente, um outro tópico de reflexão diz respeito ao facto de Hong Kong e Macau não darem origem a um governo soberano local, mas à integração no seu espaço nacional de origem: a China.

Estas notas sobre as especificidades comuns de Hong Kong e Macau permitem-nos considerar que as duas cidades construíram uma identidade própria – o que justificou a opção pelo estatuto de Regiões Administrativas Especiais –, não se afastando dos quadros político, económico e social de referência que a China sempre emprestou, nem fomentando uma oposição à administração gestora do Território que pusesse em causa o *status quo* vigente, o mais consentâneo com os objectivos da República Popular da China.

As semelhanças das soluções encontradas para Hong Kong e Macau, em 1997 e 1999, revelam, mais uma vez, a pertinência em se analisar o passado histórico, o presente e as perspectivas futuras das duas cidades, integrando-as no seu espaço regional com as suas redes sociais continuando a operar e reconhecendo o protagonismo de Hong Kong que, estando em condições de se assumir como Cidade Global, arrastará consigo toda a região do delta do rio das Pérolas, incluindo as cidades de Cantão e Macau. Esta realidade confirma-se, observando o crescimento urbano nesta região que está a fazer emergir uma vasta área metropolitana de elevada densidade populacional. Entre os muitos projectos que se anunciaram, um que consideramos muito significativo é o da construção da ponte Hong Kong/Macau/Zhuhai. Um projecto emblemático que, concretizado ou apenas sonhado, torna evidentes os laços económicos, sociais e culturais que mantiveram as cidades de Hong Kong e Macau numa estreita relação de inter-influência regional, hoje, cada vez mais, projectadas para o futuro.

NOTAS FINAIS

De 1841 a 2007, Hong Kong e Macau trilharam um caminho comum, apesar dos ritmos e das especificidades de desenvolvimento de cada uma das cidades serem diferentes. Com mais de século e meio de existência, sobressaem as redes sociais que garantiram a Hong Kong afirmar-se como pólo de desenvolvimento de toda a região do delta do rio das Pérolas e abriram as portas do mundo à comunidade macaense.

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Nos anos de viragem para o século XXI, tal como aconteceu no período do nascimento da cidade, Hong Kong desenvolveu-se, em última instância, graças à sua capacidade de atrair e reproduzir o capital social que viabilizou a sua construção. Chineses, macaenses e britânicos, todos foram agentes activos deste processo de mudança que transformou a região do delta num espaço privilegiado do comércio externo chinês, provocando a ruptura com o sistema tradicional da China se relacionar, política e economicamente, com o resto do mundo.

Hong Kong e Macau, na alvorada do século XXI, juntamente com Cantão, constituem uma nova realidade social e económica ao transformar a sua região num espaço metropolitano com potencialidades para se desenvolver internamente e, desse modo, projectar-se no mundo, associando-se às Cidades Globais que, hoje, concentram o poder conferido pelas novas sociedades das tecnologias da informação e do conhecimento, controlando os fluxos mundiais de gentes e de capitais. **RC**

NOTAS

- 1 Cf. Jorge Malheiros, *Arquipélagos Migratórios: Transnacionalismo e Inovação*, Lisboa, Faculdade de Letras, 2001 (dissertação de doutoramento), pp. 29-30.
- 2 Cf. Peter Newman e Andy Thornley, *Planning World Cities*, Nova Iorque, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, p. 237.
- 3 Sobre o programa público de habitação recomenda-se a leitura de Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, Oxford/Cambridge, Blackwell, 1993, pp. 355-358. Neste texto, o autor sublinha o pioneirismo deste programa como modelo de revitalização das cidades, criando aquilo que designa por *city of enterprise*.
- 4 "... Putnam defende que a prosperidade de certas regiões está mais associada ao capital social do que ao capital económico ou humano [...] o capital social assume duas formas diferenciadas: uma correspondente aos laços internos, no interior de um lugar/comunidade (*bonding capital*); a outra decorrente das relações com o exterior, entre lugares/comunidades distintos (*bridging capital*).” Isabel André e Alexandre Abreu, “Dimensões e Espaços da Inovação Social” in *Finisterra*, XLI, 81, 2006, p. 128.
- 5 Para Robert Putnam capital social deve ser entendido como “*features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit*”. Robert Putnam, “Bowling Alone: America’s Declining Social Capital” in *Journal of Democracy*, 6, Janeiro, 1995, p. 67. Ainda sobre este conceito é fundamental a consulta dos textos deste autor, nomeadamente *Bowling Alone. The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, Nova Iorque, Simon and Schuster, 2000. Pela reflexão que ensaia em torno deste conceito sugere-se também o artigo James Farr, “Social Capital. A Conceptual History” in *Political Theory*, vol. 32, n.º 1, Fevereiro, 2004, pp. 6-33.
- 6 Cf. Ian Scott, “Administration in a Small Capitalist State: the Hong Kong Experience” in *Public Administration and Development*, vol. 9, 1989, pp. 187-188.
- 7 Sobre a I Guerra do Ópio e a ocupação da ilha de Hong Kong uma vasta bibliografia podia ser referenciada. No entanto, salientamos três títulos: Ernest John Eitel, *Europe in China. The History of Hong-Kong*, Taipei, Ch’eng-wen Publishing Company, 1968; Gerald S. Graham, *The China Station. War and Diplomacy. 1830-1860*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1978; e Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, New York, London, W. W. Norton & Company, 1990. Sobre a neutralidade de Macau na I Guerra do Ópio: Alfredo Gomes Dias, *Macau e a I Guerra do Ópio*, Macau, Instituto Português do Oriente (IPOR), 1993 e, do mesmo autor, *Sob o Signo da Transição, Macau, IPOR*, 1998; “Documentos relativos à neutralidade portuguesa durante a I Guerra do Ópio (1839-1842)” in António Vasconcelos Saldanha (dir.), *Colecção de Fontes Documentais para a História das Relações entre Portugal e a China*. Série Especial, vol. 1, Macau, Fundação Macau/Universidade de Macau, 1998.
- 8 Ernest John Eitel, *ob. cit.*, pp. 121-122.
- 9 *O Português na China*, Macau, vol. 3, n.º 21, 21 de Janeiro de 1841.
- 10 Ofício n.º 153, de 26 de Junho de 1841, do governador Adrião Acácio da Silveira Pinto, para o ministro da Marinha e Ultramar. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Macau, ACL/SEMU/DGU/Série 005, caixa 0008 - 1841.
- 11 Ofício n.º 223, de 12 de Abril de 1842, do governador de Macau, Adrião Acácio da Silveira Pinto, para o ministro da Marinha e Ultramar. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, MNE-MMU.
- 12 Conceito de “sítio”, enquanto núcleo urbano que está na origem de uma cidade. Cf. Teresa Barata Salgueiro, *A Cidade em Portugal: Uma Geografia Urbana*, Edições Afrontamento, Porto, 1992, p. 149.
- 13 Num dos primeiros recenseamentos publicados em Hong Kong, em 1846, são indicados cerca de 50 portugueses com actividade profissional, um terço dos quais funcionários do governo. Luís Andrade de Sá, *The Boys From Macau. Portuguese in Hong Kong*, Lisboa/Macau, Fundação Oriente/Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1999, p. 30.
- 14 O número de chineses que viviam em Hong Kong antes da presença britânica varia, consoante os autores consultados, entre 2000 e 5000 pessoas.
- 15 Ernest John Eitel, *ob. cit.*, pp. 171, 186 e 197.
- 16 Ernest John Eitel, *ob. cit.*, p. 182 e Luís Andrade de Sá, *ob. cit.*, p. 27.
- 17 Ernest John Eitel, *ob. cit.*, pp. 182-183.
- 18 *The Hong Kong Almanack and Directory for 1846 with an appendix*, ed. China Mail, Hong Kong, 1846, pp. 994-977, 1027 in Luís Andrade de Sá, *ob. cit.*, pp. 28-29.
- 19 Ernest John Eitel, *ob. cit.*, p. 169.
- 20 Sobre a transferência da soberania de Hong Kong e de Macau para a República Popular da China, para além da obra *Hong Kong’s Transitions, 1842-1997*, Londres, Macmillan, 1997, sugere-se a consulta de Fernando Lima, *Macau. As Duas Transições*, 2 vols., Macau, Fundação Macau, 1999; Joaquim Pintado Nunes e Paulo Manuel Costa, *Macau e Hong Kong. Que Futuro?*, Lisboa, Livros Horizonte, 1997; Miguel Santos Neves e Brian Bridges, *Europe, China and the Two SARs: Towards a New Era*, Londres, Macmillan, 2000; Moisés Fernandes, *Sinopse de Macau nas Relações Luso-Chinesas. 1945-1995. Cronologia e Documentos*, Lisboa, Fundação Oriente, 2000.
- 21 John Darwin, “Hong Kong in British Decolonisation” in Judith M. Brown e Rosemary Foot (eds.), *Hong Kong’s Transitions, 1842-1997*, pp. 16-32.

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

SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS.



H. T. GRAVES,

Secretary,

—AND—

EDWD E. CHEVER.

Com. of Request for Completion of Records.

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

Name, in full, *Candido Gutierrez*

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

Birth-place, *Staeas*

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

Occupation, *Farmer.*

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

Name of Vessel, *Spanish Barkentine Clavilleño*
Capt^o Paraps San Juan d^o St. Cruz.

If Overland, what route, _____

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

Signature;

C. Gutierrez

A Pioneer from Macao in the United States of America

Autobiography and Reminiscence of Candido Gutierrez (1824-1903)

ROGÉRIO MIGUEL PUGA*

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

Sedge Thomson, in Foreword to

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

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

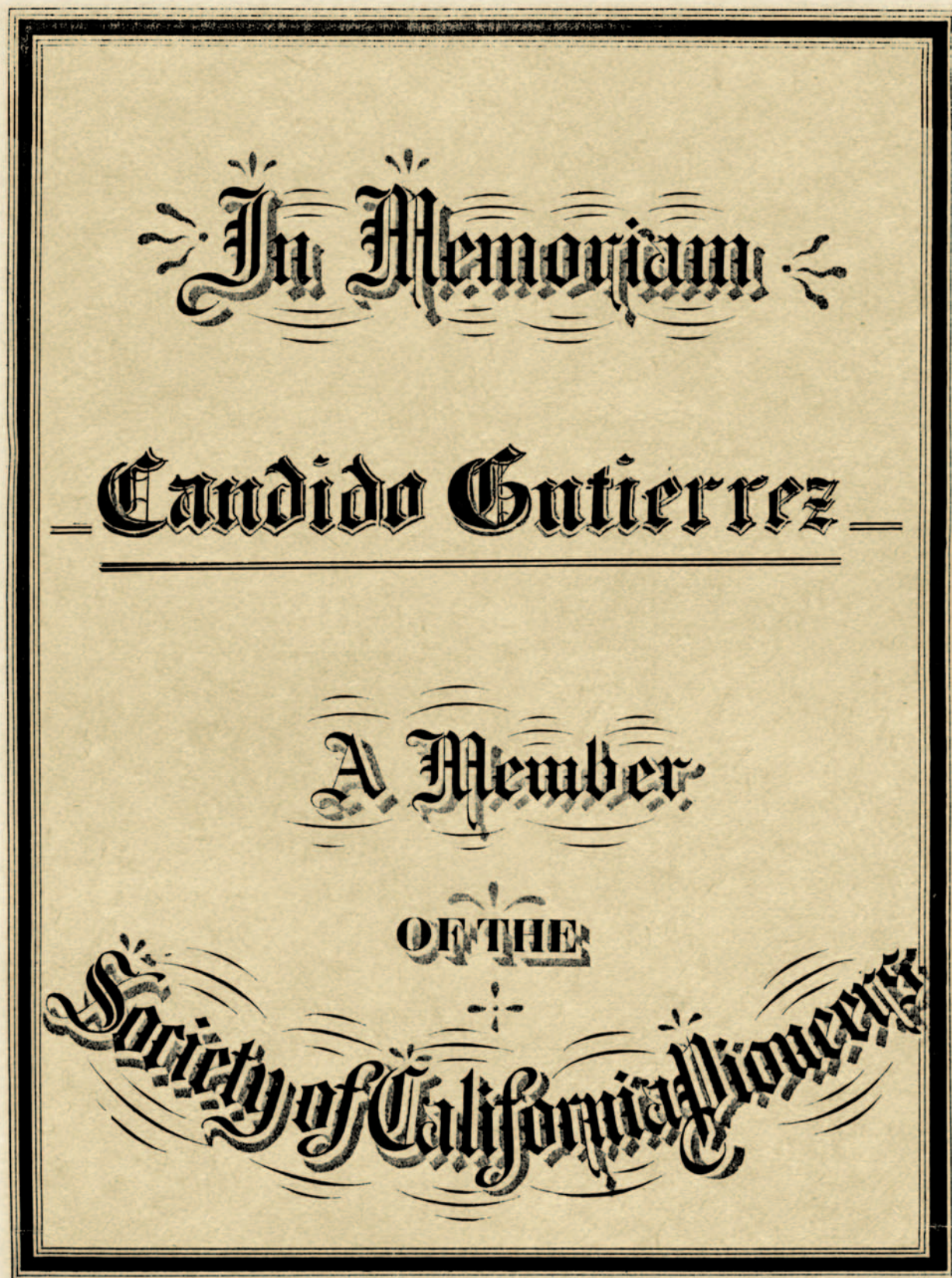
p. 102). The memorial on the death of fellow member Gutierrez was read at the Society meeting held June 1, 1903, after the death of this pioneer from Macao at the age of almost 79, in Emeryville, Oakland, on January 4, 1903.⁴ This document is a valuable source of biographical information, describing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

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

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

* Ph.D. in Anglo-Portuguese Studies; researcher at the Centre for Anglo-Portuguese Studies and at the Centre for Overseas History in Lisbon's Universidade Nova, and at Lisbon University's Centre for Comparative Studies.

Doutorado em Estudos Anglo-Portugueses; investigador do Centro de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses, do Centro de História de Além-Mar, da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, e do Centro de Estudos Comparatistas da Universidade de Lisboa.



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

HONG KONG AND MACAO. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

Mortuary Record (1892-1906).

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

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

HONG KONG E MACAU. RELAÇÕES HISTÓRICAS E CULTURAIS

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

Dear Brother Pioneers

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

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

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

HONG KONG AND MACAO. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

HONG KONG E MACAU. RELAÇÕES HISTÓRICAS E CULTURAIS

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

*The Gutierrez family arrived
in Macao via Manila.
Many of its members went
to Hong Kong and Shanghai
to work and live,
as well as to the United States,
just like Cândido.*

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

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

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

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

HONG KONG AND MACAO. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

With much esteem Fraternally Yours

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NOTES

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

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

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

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John Pownell Reeves, His Majesty's Consul in Macao 1941-1946.

The John Reeves Memoir, “The Lone Flag” Lifting the Veil on Wartime Macao

WILHELM SNYMAN*

Alone in a hostile world, keeping the Union Jack flying in the turbulent years of Macao during World War II was the nigh-unsung hero, John Pownell Reeves, British Consul from 1941-1946. Thousands of people who sought refuge in Portuguese Macao while Hong Kong was under Japanese occupation owed their care and indeed their survival to the efforts of this compassionate and dutiful civil servant.

Macao? Macao? Where the devil's Macao?
We're bothered by telegrams all the time now.
By Golly; it's true we did send a Consul
But forgot him as we would a lost tonsil.

There he is cocooned like the smallest of larva
The only one left from Siberia to Java,
And, look again, from Chungking to Chile.
It's really absurd; the position too silly.

But in they kept coming, these bothersome cables
They are filling the pigeon-holes, piling the tables.
Then give him routine, this solitary fellow
Alone in the East so fast turning yellow.

When did you say was his telegram one?
January 1st? Well, it's got to be done
It's only March now; we'll send him a word.
What? Answer his question? Don't be absurd.

Surely by now we've learnt to use phrases
Which leave every question in primeval hazes.
Remember our motto, now how does it go?
“A fig for all Consuls. God bless the F.O.”¹

John Reeves astride one of the stone guardians of the Ming tombs in Nankou, Hebei Province in the early 1930's.

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"I think we all miss Macao now we are no longer there, and the friends we made there. We all had much to be thankful for in its mere existence."²

These words set the tone in John Reeves' memoir "The Lone Flag", a remarkable document that has surfaced in Cape Town, South Africa, where Reeves retired after an eventful life in the Far East and Rome. The memoir—which is now in the care of Cape Town businessman David Calthorpe, who was a close friend of the Reeves family—provides an invaluable record of and insight into Macao during those dark days when, despite the neutrality of the Portuguese enclave, the threat of Japanese occupation was ever-present. With Japan's might in the region so overwhelming at the time, there was no room for complacency; the menacing mood of the era colours every page of the memoir.

Besides the tales of heroism and betrayal, the memoir is that much more a valuable document in that it gives a first-hand account by a person in an official position who had a keen human and political sensibility and was observant of all that went on around him. As a diplomat, Reeves was aware both of the local situation and of the wider ramifications of his role in the beleaguered enclave. Far from being a mere observer, though, he intervened and took initiatives that saved the lives of many, and ensured the well-being of thousands of bewildered and destitute refugees whom he took into his care.

As can be gleaned from reading the remarkable document, Reeves does not talk about himself; rather, he describes what had to be done primarily to alleviate the plight of the refugees—especially those who held British papers—who effectively became his responsibility. He tells us about the intrigues, espionage and the rich panoply of characters with whom he had dealings in trying to do what he could with limited resources to help those in his care. Throughout, the reader is struck by the humility and sincerity of John Reeves, his sense of irony and his ability not to take himself too seriously, while still drawing his reader into his world: Macao during World War II.

The *London Gazette* tells us that Reeves was "appointed after open competition to the Foreign Office as a Student Interpreter in the Far Eastern Consular Service, on October 31, 1932."³ He was appointed a Vice-Consul in His Majesty's Consular

Service in China in 1935.⁴ Reeves was promoted and appointed to be His Majesty's Consul at Macao in 1941.⁵ He was then appointed to be His Majesty's Consul for the Compartimenti of Latium, the Abruzzi, Molise and Sardinia and the Sardinian Islands, to reside at Rome (with effect from September 15, 1947).⁶ Later, he was appointed to be His Majesty's Consul for the Province of East Java, to reside at Surabaya (with effect from October 1, 1949). In his capacity as HM Consul in Macao, he was made Officer of the Order of the British Empire in the New Year Honours of January 1, 1946.⁷ He also received a Cross of Merit from the Portuguese Red Cross.⁸

The Macau Tribune of September 16, 1945,⁹ reported: "On March 13th 1945 an acknowledgment of Mr Reeves's invaluable service came from his government. The British Foreign Office conferred upon him a double honour: they upgraded his post to the status of full consul, notwithstanding the rule that there should be no promotion in the Consular Service during the war. Telegrams of congratulations on this promotion from H.B.M. embassies at Lisbon and Chungking, greetings both official and unofficial poured into H.B.M. Consulate, Macau, from all parts of the city. Mr Reeves's indefatigable efforts on behalf of the refugees under his charge will never be forgotten by the refugee community and all others who have known him. That he may long be spared to continue his splendid work and be blessed with many years of good health and happiness are the sincere wishes of all sections of the community." The article also refers to a "free school for the poorer children, a milk supply for needy children as long as it was possible to maintain this service, cheap rice when prices in the local market rose to exorbitant rates, were a few of the most obvious of the services which Mr Reeves established in Macau."¹⁰

Reeves's birth was registered in the Registration District of Lewisham (Greater London) in the quarter ending June 1909, and he died of pneumonia at the Swartland Hospital on May 28, 1978, at Malmesbury, Cape Province, in South Africa (death certificate No B567812). These are the perfunctory details of the man's life, but they hardly reflect his exotic career in tumultuous times. The memoir—which he started aboard *H.M.S. Ranee* in August 1946 and completed in Rome in 1949—shows us, on one level,

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a diplomat writing for other diplomats. While the details of protocol and procedure of diplomatic life are presented with an easy familiarity, the memoir has the added advantage that with the many people it refers to, Reeves can tell us what happened to certain individuals after the war, whether they got their comeuppance or were suitably rewarded for their efforts. War, as the adage goes, brings out the best and the worst in people. Pirates, pimps, black-market profiteers, secret agents, double agents, and opportunists of every sort were the kind of people Reeves describes, as well as those who lived up to the highest ideals of self-sacrifice. Reeves reveals, too, that often his judgement proved to be sound. At other times—as he admits—he had misplaced his trust in people who challenged his abiding faith in human nature.

The value of the memoir as an historical document is underscored in a footnote in Dauril Alden's recently published biography of the famed historian of the Lusophone world, Charles R. Boxer.¹¹ Alden devotes virtually an entire appendix in his Boxer book to Reeves, inasmuch as Reeves was among the important public figures at the time when Boxer himself was in Hong Kong. In one of the few published references to Reeves, Alden says the following, which the memoir subsequently corroborates.

"The care of the Anglos and the Americans became one of the burdens of Hong Kong's hardworking British consul, Mr John P. Reeves, a remarkably cool and resourceful official who deserves to be resurrected from the oblivion to which he has seemingly been confined."¹²

Some of Alden's information on Reeves, gleaned from various sources, is corroborated by the memoir, such as his espionage activities. Citing Edwin Ride's *BAAG: Hong Kong Resistance 1942-1945*,¹³ Alden writes, in a footnote: "What Reeves did not reveal was that one of his most important intelligence sources was a network operated and paid for by Jack Braga (whose father is referred to by Reeves in his memoir as "one of the grand old men of Hong Kong"), who was never even thanked by the British government after the war for his efforts to aid downed fliers and to provide the BAAG [British Army Aid Group] with information concerning conditions within Hong Kong."¹⁴ Reeves discreetly makes no precise mention of the help he received in acquiring essential intelligence. However,

Reeves did receive the following acknowledgement from the Governor of Hong Kong:

26 July 1946 Government House,
Hong Kong

My Dear Reeves

Before you go on leave I want to express on behalf of this government and of the people of this colony our very sincere gratitude for all that you did on behalf of the Hong Kong refugees who were dependent on you in Macao during nearly four years of war. I have heard from many quarters the most appreciative accounts of the pains you took to meet the manifold needs and distresses of the refugees and all who were in Macao during those hard years have spoken most warmly of your kindness and understanding as well as your untiring energy.

The difficulties of building up within a consulate a charitable organisation of such magnitude must have been immense, and I have no doubt that erratic communications, shortage of commodities and political uncertainties added greatly to your formidable task.

Your achievements in the face of such obstacles were quite remarkable and, in addition to thanking you, I should like to congratulate you most cordially on the success of your efforts.

I wish you a pleasant journey home and a very enjoyable leave.

When you come back to the East, as we all hope you will some day, you may be assured that you will always receive a very warm welcome in this colony.

Yours very sincerely

Governor

Mark Young¹⁵

However, Reeves seldom mentions his wife, and then only in passing, even though Alden's sources do. She was a Miss Rhoda Murray-Kidd, of a well-known family in Shanghai. They were married in Hankow in 1936 and their daughter was born a year after the marriage.¹⁶

Alden goes on to say that "Reeves, his wife and their young daughter came to Macao in June

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1941 after a six-year stint in Mukden. He was sent down for a rest, but five days after his arrival he was instructed to take charge of the consulate. Reeves's wife, reputedly a source of comfort to the refugees, though she maintained a much lower profile than did her husband, was caught by the war in Hong Kong and was not permitted to rejoin her husband and their six-year-old daughter for several months.¹⁷

Alden makes further reference to Reeves, emphasising the important role he played, a role dictated not by the daily routine of a consul in peacetime, but by clearly understanding the duties and obligations imposed on him by the particular circumstances of being in neutral territory lying adjacent to British territory occupied by the enemy. This is borne out by a number of diverse sources published shortly after the war that refer to Reeves and his efforts on behalf of the refugees.

As Reeves himself observes: "The situation was now not a little interesting. My flag, floating next door

to the Japanese Consul's, was the only allied flag, apart from Chinese, for some distance, west to Yunnan and Chungking over 700 miles, north to Vladivostok 1800, east into the Pacific some 4000 miles, south east to Port Moresby over 3000 and south to Australia 2700. It was to remain the only one constantly floating until the end of the war, when it was described by the press as 'The Lone Flag.' It is possible that no other British flag has ever been so alone from the point of view of distance to the next."¹⁸

Reeves certainly was keenly appreciative of the moment in history he was living through. But more than that, we see in the memoir that Reeves acted out of a sense of humanity, implicitly understanding that the circumstances required more of him, of his qualities as a compassionate human being as well as those of efficient administrator and diplomat. "By cable and short-wave Reeves kept London informed concerning the success of the Japanese attack on Hong Kong, the conditions that obtained within the bastion after

Mrs. Rhoda Reeves, nee Murray-Kidd, with John Reeves holding their first-born child, Letitia, at the nursing home in Mukden in 1937.



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its fall, including the state of the inhabitants' morale and the effectiveness of Allied bombing raids, and continued Japanese pressure on the Macao government. Part of his information came from Allied refugees, whom he always interrogated and actively assisted. One of the first was Phyllis Harrop who arrived in Macao at the end of January 1942. For her, Macao was only the first stage of a long journey home. She reported that Reeves came to her hotel to see her but insisted that she accompany him to the consulate to continue their discussion. He contended that the hotel was not secure and she later discovered that he was quite correct. Like James Bond, she left strands of wool arrayed across the locks of her suitcases. When she returned to her room she found them strewn about the floor. Subsequently when Mrs. Harrop resumed her journey, she did so with funds and letters of introduction that Reeves provided, for which she later expressed her gratitude. So did another grateful escapee, Mr A. W. ("Fred") da Roza, a formerly affluent merchant in Kowloon who later left Macao the next year with his wife and youngest son in a sampan on a flight that would eventually take them to Australia."^{19,20}

Reeves in his memoir sees the assistance he offered refugees as part of his duties, but it becomes clear from the above that it was left to others to pay tribute to him. Typically, he himself never boasts of deeds he performed, which were obviously vital to the survival of others.

Alden goes on to mention further that the well-known figure of Lindsay Ride, "organiser of the BAAG, established contact with Reeves. He arranged for one of his agents, Mrs Joy Wilson, wife of Geoff Wilson, former chief of police in Hong Kong's New Territories and then, of course, interned at Stanley camp, to work in the consulate. Reeves sent reports to the BAAG via its couriers and by radio. He did so, fully appreciative of the risks that he was taking, for the Japanese consulate was situated next door to his residence and the two properties were separated by a low wall. There were always observers in the Japanese consulate who watched the coming and going of visitors to its neighbour's office. Beginning in 1943, the Japanese posted eight guards on the street conspicuously near the British consulate. Whenever Reeves himself left the consulate by car, he was always tailed by several Japanese vehicles. He claimed that he was usually able to evade his pursuers because he knew the streets better than

they did. On the other hand, when he went to the bar on one occasion a group of Japanese thugs appeared menacingly and occupied a nearby table to keep watch on him as he drank. Rather than become party to an incident, Reeves left."^{21, 22}

Of course, Reeves's relationship with his Japanese colleague is of particular interest, and he devotes a significant part of the memoir to his dealings, directly and otherwise, with him. A major fear he had was of being captured and forced under torture to reveal the secret cyphers he used in his communications with London and via the British Embassy in Lisbon. In the memoir Reeves says the following about memorising the cypher: "Clever as it was it gave me endless anxiety; what you have in your head can be forced out of it by the delirium of torture, and I was under no illusions as to the sort of treatment I could expect if the Nips laid their hands on me." Reeves goes on to say, rather enigmatically: "I tried therefore to drive into my subconscious a story about the cypher which I hoped would form the basis of my "confession" which might be forced from me. I was once accused of that truly frightful thing, compromising the cipher; but I believe the blame was not ultimately mine, and [was] put where it belonged."²³

Under the subheading "Thrills, More or Less," Reeves deals with the espionage aspect of his work in Macao in a characteristically euphemistic fashion: "Let me make the position clear, however; I do not think that what I was up to could be regarded as espionage. My main objective was to collect information about individuals which might, after the war, be useful to the British authorities, particularly in Hong Kong. I was neither spying on the Portuguese nor on the Japanese when I collected information on a Eurasian British subject who later appeared in court on grave charges of assisting the King's enemies..." Reeves concludes this excerpt on his "non-spying" activities by saying: "Finally I consider that gathering information as a result of which my own existence was prolonged hardly struck me as espionage but rather as common sense."²⁴

When it comes to the physical dangers he faced, real or imagined, Reeves tells us the following: "How much the Japanese really wanted me removed I have never known. I know the reward for me once went up to £4000 and one immediately asks why it was not earned. The answer is not too far to seek; in this sort

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of job the Japanese were working through Chinese gangsters and these somewhat low types were aware that they were unlikely to live to collect in view of the way I was armed, of the fact that my bodyguard was always with me and that I was normally shadowed by one or two Chungking gunmen. And the Japanese could certainly not be trusted to pay a widow.”

Reeves goes on to describe three attempts made on his life, including an abortive attempt to place a time bomb at his house. The explosion, he says, “was heard half a mile away,” but only a quarter of the charge actually exploded, hence damage was limited and Reeves unhurt. Reeves mentions a further attempt that was supposed to have been made upon his return from the funeral of Mr Rodrigues, president of the Portuguese Red Cross. Mr Rodrigues had been shot returning from a funeral, and that seems to have been a pattern. The assassins would have quite correctly guessed that Reeves would have been at the funeral of an official personage such as Rodrigues, someone with whom Reeves would have had ample dealings in view of his responsibilities vis-à-vis the refugees. Reeves recounts: “I was already dressed for this when I was telephoned to the effect that the idea was to get me on the way back from Rodrigues’ funeral. I did not go. This spoiled a succession of similar events as the further idea was to get the chief of police on the way back from my funeral and so on. I interrupted this sequence, a typical product of the Japanese mind.”²⁵

While Reeves makes some awkward observations about the Japanese which would be deemed prejudiced, such as this one immediately preceding, and referring to the Japanese as “Nips,” one cannot be too surprised in light of the circumstances and the time of writing, so soon after the war, with the feelings still running high because of the animosity engendered by the war.

However, this attitude did not persist on an individual level, Reeves being, it seems clear, primarily a keen observer of people as individuals before the political circumstances prevailed: “Mr Fukui, my Japanese colleague, was a fine man. The Governor once remarked of him that he ought to be promoted to another nationality. Even after hostilities had started he did all he could to assist, from a humane point of view, activities which could not hurt his country. He was known to have put all his weight into the return of my wife from Hong Kong; he was known to have facilitated the despatch of food parcels to prisoners

in Hong Kong and he was known to have personally brought letters from prisoners to their families in Macao. He was killed by an assassin hired by the Japanese Gendarmerie.”²⁶

This is quite a moving tribute to any man, let alone the official representative from a country with which one is at war. Reeves’s observation is of course all the more interesting in that it would seem to corroborate what Alden mentions regarding Sergeant Major Honda Isumu.²⁷

Reeves goes on to mention the other members of the Consular Corps, most notably one Mr Nolasco, who was in charge of Dutch interests in Macao, and a Mr Fernandes, who represented Thailand. He mentions one French family: “there was one French family, the Fays. Jean was Commissioner of Chinese Maritime Customs. . . I had no doubt of Jean’s sympathies; he was definitely Free French and I had pleasure in putting that opinion in writing; I am convinced that the fact that some Customs equipment went to the Japanese was not his fault, but rather of a doubtful Chinese doctor, who was convinced that he, and he alone, could arrange the peace of the world. He went so far as to ask me to get him appointed as a delegate to the peace conference, but I had to tell him I was not quite that powerful.”²⁸

Reeves goes on to say that “there were citizens of quite a number of Allied nations in the town and all came to me, as I had the only allied brass plate up; but I could do very little for them.”

Of the Malay and Indian community, he says “the two merged into one while in Macao, developed a high sense of community life and even, from their meagre resources, started a welfare centre where the children of the communities could, once or twice a week, get a scientifically arranged meal of high vitamin content.”²⁹

Reeves also speaks fondly of a Norwegian, nicknamed Trigger (real name Trygve Jorgensen), who was captain of the *Masbate*. As well as having a personal affection for its captain, Reeves had another reason for remembering the ship, besides the fact that she was hit in a subsequent American air raid. As he recalls: “The *Masbate* figured in one other adventure

The staff of the British Consulate in Macao, photographed on the day that Hong Kong fell to the Japanese. J. P. Reeves is seen top right wearing a blazer.

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when she went to Indo-China under Portuguese charter and colours to bring back coal for the Colony. She had Allied and Japanese safe-conducts and carried out her mission slowly but surely. When she was about to leave for the second time, the safe-conduct was withdrawn and I believe I know why. I found out later that the Portuguese had signed on two Japanese as signallers under Chinese names, knowing perfectly well they were Japanese. This rather childish piece of deception was evidently discovered by our people and she did not sail again until after the Japanese surrender.” Reeves goes on to point out that “the beneficiary owner, a Chinese, could have sold the ship a dozen times over to the Japanese and it is very much to the credit of his loyalty that he never contemplated doing such a thing though he could easily have made out that he had been forced to do so.”³⁰

As to the Portuguese attitude towards the war, Reeves makes the following observation: “Some were completely in favour of Germany, though not of the Japanese. I remember one in particular, whose moustaches had earned him the soubriquet of ‘Handlebars’ though it might as well have been ‘Kaiser Bill,’ had been pro-German in 1914, pro-German in 1918 and was still pro-German; he probably still is. For a person with such unwavering views one had genuine respect.” This view is consistent with Reeves’s general tendency to look beyond partisan considerations, so tempting at a time of war, and look instead at the person behind the social and political masks by which people would under the circumstances be more readily judged. Reeves goes on to say that “some were genuinely pro-Allied or pro-British; amongst these I remember unhesitatingly the Governor [Gabriel Maurício Teixeira, governor from October 20, 1940 through August 31, 1947], the then Secretary for Chinese Affairs who on VE day disclosed beneath his waistcoat a portrait of Churchill.” Reeves doesn’t reveal his name, but mentions the well-known figure of Mr Pedro José Lobo, of whom he says: “Mr Lobo may certainly be mentioned as a friend of Britain, all the more valuable a friend for the appearance of strict neutrality he managed to maintain vis-à-vis the Japanese who also regarded him as friendly. Perhaps the finest compliment ever paid to him was by a Japanese: Lobo is a very good friend of ours but nothing could buy his loyalty to Portugal.”^{31,32}

Reeves’s observations about Governor Teixeira would seem to be borne out by the following report,

which appeared in *The Macau Tribune* of September 12, 1945, reporting on VJ Day in an article headlined “Consul Cheered, Chaired—VJ Day Celebrations at Melco Club.” In his address, Reeves said the following:

“Your Excellency, our guests, ladies and gentleman. On behalf of the committee I thank you and all our guests for the honour they have done us by coming here this afternoon. By miraculous statesmanship, Sir, you have kept Macau neutral to the great benefit of us all. But we have sensed where your personal sympathies lay: you have felt for us in our black days and now you rejoice with us in our victory. The flags of the United Nations have gone a long way since those black days but now are planted firmly in Berlin and in Tokyo where they will remain till the lesson is learnt that aggression simply does not pay. But victory means more to most of us than that. It means return to our homes and to our lives. On behalf my diminishing refugee family, I thank the government of Macau for all it has done for the citizens of the United Nations. And for myself I wish each and every one prosperity and peace.”

The article goes on to report the Governor’s reply as follows:

“In reply, His Excellency the Governor expressed his thanks for all the kind references to him. He stated that from the beginning his heart was always with the Allies (loud cheers), but his duty was to maintain the neutrality of the colony at all costs. In conclusion His Excellency wished all the refugees a speedy return to their homes and reunion with their families. He wished them all luck and expressed the hope that they will remember Macau, where they will always find friends.”³³

Typically, Reeves’ speech was short, sincere and to the point. There is of course the added irony that the VJ celebrations took place in the Melco Club, from which Reeves earlier had withdrawn due to the use made of it by local Japanese, as we read below. He recounts how the Melco Club’s race track was used “between rounds” for golf by the Japanese – the principal golfers in the territory—who thus became regular frequenters of the club. Reeves reluctantly resigned and pointed out to the president “my displeasure that a Club run on

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British money should be open to the Japanese.” Another incident he recalls gives some idea of the tensions which were bound to arise under the circumstances: “at a Charity dance when a drunken Japanese tried to force the Portuguese-Philippino band to play nothing but Japanese tunes. He got more and more threatening till he remarked ‘we have thirty armed men in the Hotel; you had better do as I say.’ At that moment he was tapped on the shoulder by a Chinese who said, ‘Our Consul is here, we have forty.’ The Japanese left, but our guns were loosened in their holsters; we did not know for certain that the drunk would not bring reinforcements. We were always on the edge of trouble like that; how it never came to a shooting war I have exactly no idea.”³⁴

Reeves elsewhere states that “it was believed that an actual armed attack on the Consulate was possible or probable. Do not be surprised that we considered such a thing as possible or probable...But when we really mobilized the Consulate became an arsenal of fifteen or twenty Chungking strong-arm boys from the roof down. Every half-hour I went my rounds which meant not more than ten minutes sleep at a time and might go on for two or three nights.”³⁵

Refugees and their care remained Reeves’s main day-to-day concern, along with the provision of food, medicine and money. Reeves points out that the British Consulate handled HK\$25,000,000 during the course of the war, and that all but three cents were unaccounted for at the end of it. The money included that spent on intelligence, salaries, rents, telephone and stationery, which accounted for

“HK\$330,000, less than two percent of the total. He dealt with 4118 [but various estimates put the figure at over 9,000] cases and up to 70 to 100 people knocked on his door daily for payment.”³⁶

Of course the major headache was deciding who was eligible to receive help and who not. Reeves also took responsibility for 940 US citizens, as a courtesy to an ally.³⁷ The monies received by the refugees were in theory loans from H.M. Government, and that repayment could be claimed.³⁸

However, in his memoir Reeves gives exact details of the criteria used for aiding refugees. Among these, such as a refugee’s capacity to earn, the number of dependents, record of service during the war in Hong Kong, length of service of government officials, he adds: “date of arrival; this again seems a queer thing to take

into consideration but there was good reason for doing so, namely that many remained in Hong Kong, making a good or at least a fair living under Japanese occupation for quite a time, and only came over [to Macao] when persuaded to do so by the collapse of their business, the increasing unpleasantness of the Japanese or allied bombing of Hong Kong. On the other hand, many, in the early months, abandoned all that they had and came to Macao some at least with the intention of volunteering for further service. The latter plainly deserved more sympathy. My graphs of refugees coming under my care showed, incidentally, a marked increase after each allied bombing of Hong Kong.”

Reeves also tells of a racket by which would-be refugees would invent fictitious families, just so as to cash in on the relief funds. The racket was broken with the help of his staff and the Portuguese police, but the organisers of the racket, Reeves regrets to add, were subsequently re-employed by the Hong Kong authorities.³⁹

But on the whole the Reeves is very positive about his work co-ordinating refugee relief and says, albeit in a rather fatherly tone: “As a matter of fact I think the general moral standard of the refugees was very high indeed though there were bad examples; you will find them in every community of ten thousand.”⁴⁰ In fact, Reeves often refers to the refugees as his “family.”

Clearly a constant concern for Reeves was sorting out the provision of medical services. He says: “It was obvious from the beginning that the Government medical service could not possibly cope with the problem with the best will in the world. It must be remembered that there were not many doctors and these were only part time Government officials; when they were not on duty they had to earn their livings by private practice and one period or the other would have been swamped by the refugee clientele who had not normal health on the whole.”⁴¹ Reeves goes on to praise the Portuguese medical authorities, while adding that “very many drugs were in terrifyingly short supply” and the word “esgotado” (“run out” in Reeves’s translation) was frequently heard. But there was much to be grateful for: “What would have happened if a real cholera epidemic had broken out I hesitate to think; in those crowded streets half the population would have been swept away. It was owing to the vigilance of the Macao Medical authorities that this did not happen, and they deserve credit for this fact.”⁴² Reeves says

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rather dryly: "We did our little bit about epidemics by insisting on regular inoculations of the refugees; no compulsion was used, but a refugee could not get his subsidy until he produced his immunization certificate; this worked well!"⁴³

Regarding the dealings Reeves was forced to have with a variety of operators and agents in order to ensure supplies of medicines and food, a lengthy memorandum⁴⁴ was submitted to Sir Horace Seymour, the British Ambassador in Nationalist Chungking. The memorandum was signed by one Ernest Heenan. All we know about Heenan is that he was (according to Seymour's letter of June 3, 1942, to Foreign Secretary Sir Anthony Eden) the Far Eastern Representative of the Royal Insurance Company based in Liverpool. Further details about him we have thus far not been able to obtain. His memorandum covering the period December 1, 1941, to May 24, 1942, is entitled: "Information About Macau and the Macau Area," and was written in Chungking upon its author's return from Macao, around June 11, 1942. He makes extensive mention of the smuggling activities in Macao and gives a lengthy description of the difficulties faced by Reeves. He says the following about Reeves:

"The Consul, Mr. John Reeves, had at first some difficulty in obtaining funds through the delay in telegraphic communications with the F.O., but Mr. Reeves gave me to understand this situation has in some measure been remedied, although his monthly consular bill must necessarily be heavy."

Reeves even goes into detail about dental problems and with his usual euphemism mentions that "there were practitioners in Macao some good, some not so good, amongst the latter to be included the gentleman who was using lead fillings in teeth." It is interesting to note at this juncture that, as a token of gratitude, a group of refugees had the gold extracted from their teeth, had a miniature aeroplane made with it, and presented the aeroplane to Reeves.⁴⁵

Among the various incidents mentioned in the memoir are mine-laying activities and the American air raid on January 15, 1945. Reeves describes the event as follows: "Another exciting day was had by all when the Americans started raiding us. One lone plane, unidentified, had laid mines by night in the channel and three small Japanese craft went up without noticeable regret being shown in the Colony; the last

victim unfortunately was the Portuguese water-boat and roused a certain amount of indignation."^{46,47} But on January 15th 1945 we had our first real air raid. Let us confess immediately that the reclaimed land with the Portuguese Naval Air Service hangar and slip-way looked like an aerodrome; on the other side it must be acknowledged that, as we learnt first-hand, the pilots had not been told there was any neutral territory around, and did not know the Portuguese colours or badge.... The Governor's car was burnt out and ...the hangar caught it and some 1500 gallons of petrol went up in a nice black cloud of smoke."

Reeves goes on to mention that the air raid did nothing for the popularity of the Allies, and Reeves's hockey team, the "Valentes", were greeted by cries of "yellow spies" when they took the hockey field.⁴⁸

Reeves mentions a few unnamed individuals of whom he was clearly suspicious: "One never knew in this part of the game who was saint or sinner, who was friend or foe. There was for instance a mysterious German doctor who was always on the verge of producing the most terrific bit of news if a little cash was forthcoming; but the news never came. There was the proprietor of a restaurant who suddenly disappeared from Macao and went into free China where I believe he was arrested as a spy. There was the curiously helpful Portuguese policeman who definitely was arrested by the Chinese and who is still, in 1949, in detention on a charge of spying for the Japanese. People like these raise the further question of how much one should use people who are possibly working for both sides. I was frankly frightened by this type and did my best to avoid them." Significantly, Reeves balances his account by saying: "On the edge of my knowledge were a very different type, that devoted band, chiefly of Chinese and Eurasians who worked for others than me in Hongkong and the French port of Kwangchow. They would not like their names to be mentioned but they will know who I mean; more than one went through torture and came out to risk the same thing all over again; such cold blooded heroism is a thing I wish I would have in similar circumstances."

One significant figure whom Reeves mentions dealing with, and to whom Alden also refers, is the Hong Kong magnate Jack Braga. Both Reeves and Braga shared their concern for the welfare of Macao and its citizens; and, as Alden pointed out earlier, Braga funded anti-Japanese activities. Both men, according

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to Reeves, were concerned with “rehabilitating” Hongkong after the war. Reeves says of Braga: “The idea was that of Mr J. P. Braga, one of the grand old men of Hong Kong; on his death the legacy fell to me to try and translate his idea into action with the constant aid of his son Jack Braga. A Committee was formed of Senior Chinese, Portuguese, Indian and Eurasian representatives then in Macao of the Hongkong community and we did our best to prepare plans for the renaissance of that colony.”⁴⁹

Curiously, Heenan’s memorandum to the British Embassy in Chungking, referred to earlier, in which he describes his attempts to escape into free China, casts doubt—perhaps maliciously—upon Braga’s integrity: “According to many people in Macau Braga and [Warren H.] Wong are not to be trusted and have dealings with the Japanese. Wong has made many business ventures and none has been very successful; Braga has interests in some of these ventures I believe; they were considering a scheme to get rice into Macau at the price at which the government was selling (the government was at that time selling rice at a loss) but in return they expected a free hand to export goods into the interior.”⁵⁰

While Heenan’s claims are unsubstantiated, and Reeves certainly does not seem to share his views, it could also be true that Heenan was annoyed at the difficulties he describes in getting out of Macao, and in obtaining Braga’s and Wong’s help to do so. However, the extract does shed light on the kind of difficulties Reeves had to face to ensure food supplies to the refugees. One can also better evaluate Reeves’ role in the inflationary and corrupt context of the times and the attempts by the British to keep the flag flying in a disgruntled free China, frustrated and appalled at Britain’s imperial collapse at the hands of the Japanese.

Reeves’ valiant work in Macao could also be seen as diluting, in some way at least, the loss of British prestige in the Far East.⁵¹

Besides the decorations he earned, Reeves received recognition for his valiant activities in Macao, of which the following letters sent to Sir Anthony Eden are examples. Seymour’s letter to Eden, which is referred to above and which accompanies Heenan’s memorandum, mentions Reeves in the following context: “Supplies of all sorts are running short, are difficult to obtain and are expensive and this creates special problems

The Macao Hockey team, the “Valentes”, in which J. P. Reeves appears wearing his Cambridge colours. Reeves was very involved with the team which he mentions in his memoir.



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in view of the large influx of refugees into Macao in recent months. His Majesty's Consul, Mr. J. P. Reeves, however, is clearly handling the problems he has to contend with marked efficiency."⁵²

Further evidence that the powers-that-be knew of Reeves' daunting task in Macao takes the form of a letter from Sir Reginald Campbell, H.M. Ambassador to Lisbon. Of course, Lisbon was pivotal in the Reeves story because it was only through the Lisbon Embassy that he could communicate with London. As we can see from various sources, communications were expensive and often took weeks to get through to the Foreign Office.

In a letter to Sir Anthony Eden, dated July 28, 1944, Campbell says the following, after having interviewed Luiz da Camara Menezes Alves, who had been, until shortly before, colonial secretary to the Government of Macao, and who had gone to the Lisbon Embassy to express his gratitude for the assistance given him by the Royal Air Force and B.O.A.C. to return to Portugal: "Snr Alves said that his Majesty's Consul had done magnificent work for British interests. He himself had always maintained friendly relations with Mr Reeves and in spite of occasional disagreements the latter got on well with the Governor." Campbell's letter also sheds some light as to why the Japanese did not make an outright attempt to invade Macao. In his summary of the conversation, Campbell remarks that Alves was of the opinion that "if the pressure of international events forced Portugal to take up an attitude in regard to Timor, the Japanese would at once seize Macao, probably not directly but by employing puppet Chinese and disclaiming all responsibility. He thought the results in the colony would be horrible. [...] Asked why he thought the Japanese had not up till now gone so far as to seize Macao, he said he thought there were many reasons. Partly the Japanese Government attached for reasons of their own some importance to the attitude of the Portuguese Government. Secondly, for propaganda purposes they liked to be able to refute the charge that they were making war against the white race as such." Also in this letter Campbell suggests that there were between 10,000 and 15,000 British subjects among the refugees in Reeves' care.⁵³

Why exactly Reeves moved to South Africa in the early 1950s remains unclear, but his intention was to do some small-scale farming in Africa. It was a romantic idea, though, alas, unsuccessful. South Africa at that

time, with the apartheid government having come to power in 1948, was beginning to acquire its status as a pariah state, and seems a strange choice for Reeves to make; but there may have been undisclosed personal reasons for his choice. He curtailed his diplomatic career by going to South Africa, where he started a successful career in broadcasting. In 1957, he was already working for the South African Broadcasting Corporation, and became a well-known and much-admired announcer.

An earlier attempt to publish the memoir was met by the following response from the Foreign Office in a letter dated October 15, 1949,⁵⁴ addressed to Reeves while was stationed in Surabaya:

Dear Reeves

The account of your experiences in Macao during the Pacific War, which you sent to Fone on 22nd August, has been carefully examined by the departments of the Foreign Office concerned. I regret, however, to have to tell you that there does not appear to be any justification for waiving in your favour the general rule that serving members of the Foreign Service are not permitted to publish accounts of their official experiences.

I return the typescript herewith

Yours ever (signed)

F. Tomlinson

Reeves's affection for Macao did not end when he left his posting and went on to Rome. In a letter sent to the editor of the *Notícias de Macau*, dated March 7, 1967,⁵⁵ Reeves sent the following letter from Cape Town:

To the Editor

In view of my association with Macau during previous times of trouble I should be very grateful if you would convey my best wishes for the future of Macau to my old friends, among whom I count Macau itself. I would be glad to receive, at the above address, any news of those who may remember me. In the meantime, Saudades.

John Reeves

British Consul Macau

1941-1946

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In an article dated September 16, 1945, and headlined “High tradition of the consular service maintained by Mr J. P. Reeves – unceasing labour for the welfare of refugees will not be forgotten,” *The Macau Tribune* reported the following:

“Of all the members of this service during the war just ended, it is more than likely that few of his colleagues were called upon to face such problems as John Pownell Reeves, the genial British Consul in Macao. Few have tackled these problems with such enthusiasm and with so much interest in the welfare of those who looked to him for guidance and help.”⁵⁶

In another article in *The Macau Tribune*, published during the week preceding the governor’s birthday on September 22, 1945,⁵⁷ the following comments were included in a tribute to Reeves by the British Eurasian community of Macao, which was chaired by Mr C. G. Anderson. “Sir, the time has now arrived for us to part, and, before we part, I beg of you to tender the gratitude of my community to our government for its help without which the lot of many of us would have been simply unthinkable. In the name of the committee and members of the associations of British Eurasians of Macao, and of our children, I have the honour to ask you to accept this souvenir of our great respect for you as our consul and our kind regards for you as a man; our gift is both humble and inadequate, but if only a small part of our good wishes accompanying it comes true, this screen, wherever it may be—in the home or in the *yamen* in Macao or elsewhere—will serve as a sure shield against the slings and arrows of misfortune that may afflict one who, though young in years, has by his remarkable achievements as a wartime British Consul in a neutral colony endeared himself to thousands of different nationalities and who is justly entitled to be considered to his family, to his university and to his country.”

The *Los Angeles Times*, in an article headlined “Chinese Want British Rule for Hong Kong,” mentions Reeves in the following context: “Then, too, Britain enjoyed considerable goodwill, standing by the native population as best it could during the period of Japanese conquest. Several thousand Chinese who made their way to nearby Portuguese Macao during the war were given subsistence allowances by the British Consul on no other proof of British citizenship

than sworn statements that they were born in Hong Kong.”⁵⁸

In the *China Mail*, reference was made to “the untiring work by the British Consul—all who spent any time at all in Macao owe a big debt of gratitude to Mr. J. P. Reeves, the British Consul, who worked untiringly to improve conditions for all.”⁵⁹

The Portuguese press paid tribute to Reeves in an article headlined “Festa de Homenagem”:

“Com numerosa assistência, onde predominaram os membros das Comunidades filipina e sino-americana, realizou-se ontem à tarde, no Club Melco, a anunciada festa de homenagem e de gratidão das duas citadas comunidades ao Cônsul da Inglaterra sr. J. P. Reeves pelos serviços e protecção prestados durante os críticos anos da guerra.

*Foi uma festa extremamente simpática e mais uma a ajuntar às outras em homenagem ao simpático Cônsul que vê agora recompensados os seus esforços e os seus trabalhos particularmente árduos e difíceis com que teve de arcar durante quâsi quatro anos.”*⁶⁰

David Divine, *The Manchester Daily Sketch*’s correspondent in Macao, captured well the significance of Reeves’s achievement in Macao, which he wrote about shortly after the war in an article headlined “He kept the Flag Flying for 4 years”: “The Union Jack has flown unchallenged in the Far East throughout the years of war beneath the balcony on which we sat yesterday when I heard the story of the British Consulate of Macao. Cut off from the world in this tiny two-mile square fragment of Portuguese territory at the mouth of the great Pearl River, from the moment of the capture of Hong Kong, the Consulate has maintained its tiny fragment of British territory intact. More it has performed a magnificent work for refugees of British, Portuguese, Chinese, and other nationalities from Hong Kong.” The article ends by saying “the Union Jack of Macao should be given an honoured place among the treasures of the Foreign Office.”⁶¹

David Calthorpe gives the following moving tribute to John Reeves:

“For some of us memories, especially of difficult childhoods, are subconsciously hidden in a veil of mist; very often there are moments that evoke warm reminiscences and some that even change our lives in a most wonderful way.

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Of John Reeves, the latter is most certainly the case. He taught me at a young age to play mah-jong (the clatter of tiles certainly reminds one of the twitter of sparrows) and to drink red wine and to appreciate the art of conversation, even if one found it difficult to follow a patter of high English mixed with Mandarin and Malay about subjects and people that really were a part of history.

But more often than not, about China and Macao: China of the warlord period and its infancy as an emerging republic, and Macao as the last bastion of hope in a sea of the Rising Sun. I came to hear about people and events in Macao, as yet to me an unknown part of an empire struggling to survive the destruction that mankind so often imposes on itself in its lust for power and dominance. Macao gathered itself like an old Portuguese dowager whose faded gown of Chinese silk held stories of secrecy and mystery.

I came to know the streets, sounds and smells of the East, that, once tasted, one will always crave! On the tip of Africa beneath the shadows of our great Table Mountain I dreamed and conjured up images of dusty temples, rickshaws and cool echoing churches. John's home was always filled with books, animals and strange exotic furniture, each with its own tale to tell; cabinets filled with porcelain and riches of the East gathered in that

land of mystery and enchantment—China. The smells from their kitchen, where John practised his culinary creations garnered in the East under the all-seeing eyes of the kitchen god, mixed with the fragrance of incense always wafting silently in front of Buddha, whose lacquered smile and hooded eyes epitomised all those things I had read and come to love of John's former homes, Macao and China.

The ruins of St. Paul, St. Dominic's Church, Father Teixeira, the honourable East India Company, Chinnery and Smirnoff were strange names that I mulled over like a good wine. John always said that if you wish to know the history of a city, then visit its graveyards, for there you will find resting the names of those who helped forge, for better or worse, the dreams of their children. The Protestant and Catholic cemeteries did not disappoint me when finally I visited them, and John's words came so clearly over the decades to the fore of my memory that it was as if he stood there once again viewing Churchill, Chinnery and Morrison, and I wept in the early morning light as flocks of tiny Macao sparrows flitted through the damp, dappled stones, bringing life to those whose memories helped build a most remarkable and wondrous place—the City of the Name of God.” **RC**

NOTES

- 1 Reeves 1949: 1.
- 2 Reeves 1949: 31.
- 3 *London Gazette*, Issue 33880, 4 November 1932.
- 4 Notification dated Foreign Office, 3 February 1935, *London Gazette*, Issue 34159, 10 May 1935.
- 5 Notification dated Foreign Office, 9 June 1941, *London Gazette*, Issue 35251, 19 August 1941.
- 6 Notification dated Foreign Office, 29 January 1948, *London Gazette*, Issue 38192, 30 January 1948.
- 7 Notification dated Foreign Office, 9 January, 1950, *London Gazette*, Issue 38810, 10 January 1950.
- 8 *The Cape Times*, 3 October 1961.
- 9 *The Macau Tribune*, 16 September 1945, Vol 1, no 19.
- 10 Reeves 1949: 63. Reeves refers to the school as “an M.S.” school or “minimum subsistence” school. He reports that it grew to 471 pupils of all races, and that freedom of religion was a guiding principle. “The school was extremely well run by a board, largely of my staff and a very devoted band of teachers who produced an astounding scholastic standard.”
- 11 Alden 2001.
- 12 Alden 2001: 545. According to the *London Gazette*, Reeves held no post in Hong Kong, but was officially appointed to serve in Macao.
- 13 Alden 2001.
- 14 Alden 2001.
- 15 Letter in the Calthorpe Collection, Cape Town.
- 16 See notes 3 & 4 above.
- 17 Alden 2001: 546.
- 18 Reeves 1949: 10.
- 19 For this information, Alden refers to Phyllis Harrop's *The Hong Kong Incident*, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1943, pp. 137 & 139.
- 20 Reeves 1949: 15. Reeves refers to a Pam Harrop who he writes had “written of her experiences.” It is possible that Reeves may have meant Phyllis Harrop, (referred to by Alden above), since, having written his memoir years later he may well have mistaken the name. He could also be referring to a different individual entirely.
- 21 Alden 2001: 546.
- 22 Reeves' account corroborates the incidents Alden refers to. Reeves 1949: 70-74.

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23. Reeves 1949: 70.
24. Reeves 1949: 73.
25. Reeves 1949: 74.
26. Reeves 1949: 11.
27. Alden 2001: 548. Footnote 11 on this page says: "Sergeant Major Honda Isamu asserted during his war crimes trial that he had defied orders to facilitate Mrs Reeves to return to Macao in March or April of 1942." Alden goes on to point out, this time quoting from the *South China Morning Post & Hong Kong Telegraph* of September 15, 1945, that "Mrs Reeves was described as 'a friend to all, and her charming disposition and understanding nature made her a welcome guest everywhere. She received from all the high respect due to her position.'"
28. Reeves 1949: 56.
29. Reeves 1949: 63-64.
30. Reeves 1949: 80.
31. Reeves 1949: 13-14.
32. Reeves 1949: 106. Reeves at times even acted as deputy at official functions for the Governor – highly irregular under normal circumstances, but an indication of the mutual esteem that existed between the two men. Reeves recalls one occasion after the war when he had to receive the French Navy's Admiral d'Aubignan: "He arrived just as H.E. and I were on the cathedral steps waiting to go in for some celebration. So the strange solution was made of H.M. Consul deputising on the wharf for the Governor of Macao. Looking back on it perhaps H.E. will not mind my saying that this incident reflected the close personal relations between us. My deputising for him did not seem incongruous."
33. *The Macau Tribune*, September 12, 1945.
34. Reeves 1949: 82.
35. Reeves 1949: 74.
36. Reeves 1949: 41.
37. Reeves 1949: 52.
38. Reeves 1949: 39.
39. Reeves 1949: 60.
40. Reeves 1949: 42.
41. Reeves 1949: 43.
42. Reeves 1949: 43.
43. Heenan, Ernest. *Memorandum to H.M. Embassy, Chungking*, 11.6.42 PRO (FO 371/41620).
44. This miniature aeroplane is now in the possession of Mr David Calthorpe of Cape Town, who owns the memoir and who is in possession of Reeves's ceremonial uniform as well as all the decorations bestowed on Reeves by the British and the Portuguese Red Cross. The memoir came into Mr. Calthorpe's possession via his mother, Marjorie, a friend of Reeves's second wife, the latter whom Reeves met en poste in Surabaya.
45. Reeves 1949: 76. It should be mentioned that Reeves was a keen hockey player and was "largely responsible for the reorganisation of the Macau Hockey Club and he represented Hong Kong in the inter-port hockey matches" (*The Macau Tribune*, September 16, 1945). According to an unpublished missive in the Calthorpe Collection sent from Chungking and dated August 13, 1942, an evacuee from Macao said that "Reeves plays hockey with a revolver strapped to his body and ignores Japanese spectators on the touch line."
46. Correspondence R. B. Legget-Mr Ashley Clarke, PRO (F/O 371/41619). In a letter dated 22nd January 1944, addressed to Mr Ashley Clarke of the Foreign Office and designated "Secret". R. B. Leggett, of the Intelligence Division of the Admiralty, says the following: "I think we must dismiss any idea that the Japanese themselves could have laid mines as they are the only people, apart from the Portuguese, who would be likely to suffer by such action. I think the explanation is that six U.S. aircraft who were supposed to have laid mines off Hongkong on the night of 16th/17th November actually laid them nearer Macao. This would make the incident an American responsibility and perhaps enable Sir Reginald Campbell [H.M. Ambassador in Lisbon] to say that the British were not concerned". This might well be the incident Reeves refers to on page 76, which elicited the Portuguese hostility which he describes.
47. Reeves 1949: 76.
48. Reeves 1949: 79-80.
49. Reeves 1949: 24
50. Heenan, Ernest. *Memorandum to H.M. Embassy, Chungking*, 11.6.42 PRO (FO 371/41620).
51. Bickers 2001: 11-37. On page 17 of this illuminating study, Bickers makes reference to the "Nationalist rage at the collapse of British imperial interests in the face of the Japanese assault."
52. Correspondence between Sir Horace Seymour and Sir Anthony Eden, PRO (FO 371/41620).
53. Correspondence between Sir Reginald Campbell and Sir Anthony Eden, PRO (FO 371/41620).
54. Foreign Office reference number F12557/1676/10. Calthorpe Collection, Cape Town.
55. *Notícias de Macau*, March 7, 1967. Calthorpe Collection, Cape Town.
56. *The Macau Tribune*, September 16, 1945.
57. *The Macau Tribune*, October 17-22 (?), 1945.
58. *Los Angeles Times* Part 1, December 30, 1945, p. 4.
59. *China Mail*, September 13, 1945.
60. *A Voz de Macau*, October 22, 1945.
61. *The Manchester Daily Sketch*, 1945 (exact date illegible).

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My Poetry, Macao and the Cultures of the Sea

LEUNG PING-KWAN*

I enjoyed visiting Macao, and writing about it. I am particularly interested in the cultural encounters that have taken place in Macao in the past centuries.

When I first started writing poetry in the 1970s, I was interested in classical Chinese poetry, and tried to transfer what I learned from classic poetics to write about modern cities. When I first visited Macao I had written a series of seven poems, which were later collected in my first book of poems “Thunder Rumbles and Cicada Chips” (1979). This group of poems is more descriptive of places and streets in Macao, in which I followed the Chinese tradition of landscape poetry in containing feeling and ideas in imagistic presentation. I tried to capture the atmosphere and did not comment directly. I remembered I was at the Border Gate looking at China from a distance, and wrote a line to describe how the winds have torn the map at the hands of a tourist.

I since returned to Macao many times, for the food, the beach, and the atmosphere of old alleys and old houses. In the 1990s I had friends living in Macao,

and I brought friends from Europe there, having great parties from time to time!

Since 1997 I have worked with a friend on a project called Foodscape, using poetry and visual images to focus on the theme of food to explore the cultures of different cities. We first started in the Artspeak Gallery in Vancouver, then went on to Tokyo and Munich. We have had great times getting into the various facets of cities through food. In 1998 we returned to Hong Kong to do a new Foodscape exhibition at the Arts Centre, and among the works I had newly written there was one on Bela Vista, a hotel that we frequented a lot, to which we had just bid farewell in a grand party held before it closed down. I had by that time written a few new poems about food in Macao, so people suggested we do a Foodscape in Macao.

I was very excited about the idea, and we met some very encouraging and enthusiastic art administrators. So while I was an artist in residence in Berlin in the summer of 1998 working on a book of poems *Dong Xi* 东西 (East West Matters) I naturally took the time to write on the few figures from Macao that I am interested in: Camilo Pessanha, George Chinnyer, Zheng Guanying 郑观应 and later Wu Li 吴历. In the postscript to the book *East West Matters*, I said that there wasn't just one East and one West, there are in fact many, and that the encounters of Easts and Wests created numerous ‘dong xi’, things and matters. Among the poems I worked on then, there was in particular a section called “Macao: East and West”. It contained

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Escritor, poeta, tradutor, ensaísta, crítico cultural e de cinema, professor de Literatura, Leung Ping-kwan (pseudónimo, Yesi) é uma das mais personalidades mais importantes no mundo das letras de Hong Kong. Nasceu em 1949 em Xinhui, Guangdong, e doutorou-se (1984) na Universidade da Califórnia (San Diego), com uma tese sobre o Modernismo na poesia chinesa.

eight poems about Macanese history and culture, about people and places and cultural encounters.

We had tentatively fixed the dates of the exhibition to be in 1999, in time for Macao's return to China. It was tentatively fixed to hold the exhibition in the City Hall museum. We went to visit and found the place beautiful, with a very pretty garden and, upstairs, a very impressive library.

But when I returned in 1999 I found the situation changed a bit. The art administrators that we approached were no longer in office. And management and schedules had changed, so other exhibitions were already arranged instead. My artist friend was also moving to Toronto, and was busy packing and did not have time to work out a new schedule. So we didn't pursue it any further.

It was a great regret to me. I had done Foodscape projects with poems and photos about different cities, I would have loved to explore further the links among

China, Portugal, Macao, Hong Kong and Canton in terms of cultures and perhaps with a focus on food.

But anyway I have not stopped writing about Macao. I am still very interested in East West Matters, I wrote about Asian or Pearl Delta cities. And among the series of Lotus Leaves poems there's a "Neighboring Leaf" which is about Macao too!

Then my wine critic friend Annabel Jackson finished a book on Macanese cooking, and asked me if I would be interested in contributing a poem. I had heard about her experience in searching for secret family recipes and I was very interested in the topic. Therefore I wrote the poem with great pleasure.

The poems have not been published in Macao so far. I would love to pursue a future project working further on Macao and on the encounters of Portuguese and Chinese cultures, or in a broader sense, the encounters of many Eastern and many Western cultures.



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WU LI PAINTING BY THE BAY

from an ancient exhausted dynasty
you were asking Honolulu about the sailing date in vain
you are marooned on the little island, hearing the sea breeze say
the new boat has steamed off on an even vaster voyage
your friend should already have crossed the equator

on the road you looked for local accents and the customs of spring ploughing
but only found women in down jackets on the flower-spread street
you lift your brush, to single-mindedly surpass what's before your eyes
specific city sounds come back to miraculous landscapes
beyond your tiny *flyheads* are *birdclaws* – brush strokes from an exotic land

sleepless evenings like hearing the ship has put to sea
but mornings bring only the boats carrying homefresh fish for lunch
the steps of the Ruínas de São Paulo are all heaped with red and yellow fruit
black people dancing on the street, and strange customs
follow new colours and slowly they'll enter your daily life

a tranquil idle afternoon, you steal a moment
unroll a canvas, wanting to paint our ancient country's hills and rivers
sinuosity of bright and dark, front and back, who'd have thought a short visit
would turn into a long-term stay! and many storms on the homeward journey too
your mountain trees are stained with new lights and shades

(September 1999)

Translated by Brian Holton

HONG KONG AND MACAO. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

吴历在湾畔作画

来自古老疲倦的皇朝
向香山索问却未有船期
你滞留小岛上，听海风说
新船已迈进更淼瀚的水程
你的友人该已越过赤道了

沿路寻觅乡音与春耕的风俗
只找到铺花的街上锦衣的女子
你端起笔来，一心超越眼前
具体的市声，回到神逸的山水
你的蝇头外边尽是异地的鸟爪

不眠的晚上似听见有船出海
早上但见渔舟带回午饭的鲜鱼
大三巴教堂阶前摆满红黄鲜果
黑人在街上跳舞，陌生的风俗
随新的颜色逐渐进入你的家常

太平无事的下午，你偷闲
舒开画幅，想要绘画故国山水
阴阳向背的曲折，不想短留
竟变成长居！归途风雨还多呢
你的山树上沾染了新的光影



HONG KONG E MACAU. RELAÇÕES HISTÓRICAS E CULTURAIS

A TAPESTRY, GIVEN BY THE KING OF PORTUGAL
TO THE EMPEROR OF CHINA

1

from the Paço da Ribeira
to the Yonghe Palace
from the mighty Dom João V
was sent a messenger bearing other gifts
to be given to the Yongzheng Emperor

and a lofty diplomatic mission
to return a favour between the nations
to commemorate the Yongzheng Emperor's accession
to ease the severity of recent diplomatic policy
to guarantee the safety and the profits of the Portuguese in Macao

it boarded to the exalted sound of trumpets
crossed an endless roaring ocean
red silk backing criss-crossed with gold and silver threads
weaving out heroic deeds of officers of state
to be presented by one palace to another
each a residence protecting a Son of Heaven, from one mighty monarch
to another, on the admiring eye imprinting
heroic achievements, daily affirming eternal glory

HONG KONG AND MACAO. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

2

everyone knows
 in nine pieces
 packed in two wooden chests
 the tapestry
 was stuck in the bottom of the ship's hold
 and first had to wait for the [proper] wind direction
 before it could set out on its voyage
 then in Rio, in Brazil
 it suffered a hard winter
 waited till the weather turned warm
 then sailed out for Batavia
 stayed a month
 waiting for provisions
 meanwhile Dom João V, King of Portugal
 ate legs of lamb
 drank wine
 arrested commoners
 erected magnificent buildings
 celebrated his birthdays
 dispatched armadas
 went ashore on all kinds of islands
 and gave orders for the weaving of tapestries
 waiting for the recording of these things
 and at this stage of waiting
 the Yongzheng Emperor
 also did things
 he had people put to death
 had people put in prison
 carried out a Literary Inquisition
 and the people he disliked
 he had them dug up from their graves
 to make them to die again
 he sent armies everywhere on punitive expeditions
 and killed a good many people
 while he was waiting
 he did things like that
 what was he waiting for?
 no-one knows
 but maybe it included
 the far-voyaging
 narrative of immortal events
 the heroic tapestry?

3

the heroic tapestry
 as it was sailing toward him on its long voyage
 was it as if it had crossed eternity?
 no, it was merely that
 a voyage of one year and two months
 was nothing
 except the sun rising and setting
 the weather changing
 except for life
 and moths
 in the wet and the emptiness
 coming every day to eat
 mouthful by mouthful
 for breakfast
 lunch
 afternoon tea
 at midnight
 bit by bit
 enjoying it
 so there was nothing
 left for
 His Majesty
 the
 Emperor

(September 1998)

Translated by Brian Holton

葡萄牙皇帝送给中国皇帝的一幅挂毯

一

从里贝拉宫
到雍和宫
由伟大的唐·若昂五世
派遣使者带着其他礼品
一起送给伟大的雍正皇帝

背负了崇高的外交使命
为了两国之间礼尚往来
为了庆贺雍正皇帝登基
为了缓和迺来的强硬外交政策
为了保障葡人在澳门的利益与安全

在高昂的号角声中起航
越过波涛汹涌的无边大海
红色丝绸衬里上面纵横金银丝线
织出了御前大臣的英雄事迹
要从一所宫殿送往另一所宫殿
保护天子的居所，从一个伟大的帝皇
到另一个，在赏玩的目光中印证
英雄的业迹，朝夕肯定永恒的光辉

HONG KONG AND MACAO. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

二

谁知道
分成九块
装在两个木箱里的
壁毯
呆在船舱的底层
先是等待现实的风向
才可以启程
又在巴西里约热内卢
度过严冬
等待天气转暖
再航至巴塔利亚
停了一个月
等待补给

其间葡萄牙皇帝唐·若昂五世
吃了许多条羊腿
喝了许多葡萄酒
捕捉了许多平民
去建筑许多宏伟的建筑物
去庆祝他的许多个诞辰
派遣许多舰队
去登陆各种各样的岛屿
又再下令编织许多壁毯
等待它们记载这许多事情
在等待的过程裡
雍正皇帝
也做了许多事情
他把一些人处决
把一些人关入大牢
推行文字狱
把他不喜欢的人
从坟墓里挖出来
叫他们再死一次
他发动军队到处征伐
又杀死了不少人
他在等待的时候
就做了些这样的事情
他在等待什么？
谁也不知道
也许也包括了
远道而来的
记述不朽盛事的
英雄的壁毯？

三

英雄的壁毯
正在远道向他航来
好像渡过了永恒？
不，只不过是
一年又两个月的航程
什么也没有
除了日出日落
天气的变化
除了生活
在潮湿和空虚中的
蠹虫
每天来咬吃
一口一口的
把英雄事迹
当早餐
午餐
下午茶
宵夜
一点一滴的
欣赏了
没有什么
留给
皇帝
大老
爷

HONG KONG E MACAU. RELAÇÕES HISTÓRICAS E CULTURAIS

IN FRONT OF THE MA JU TEMPLE

the temple is closed
even Ma Ju has time to rest
we'll just have to sit by the sea
and run our own maritime matters

drinking, we face the rolling grey waves
on the bottle gold characters celebrate Macao's return to China
today's weather is unsettled: cloudy or clear
when dusk comes it's a little stifling
the beer is cold enough
but can't slake our thirst

why are the distant hills split in half?
those plants drifting on the water
can they be leaves in self-banishment?
when, through layered clouds,
will break bright starlight?

(June 1999)

Translated by Brian Holton

妈祖庙前

庙关门了
妈祖也有休息的时候
我们只好面海而坐
治理自己的海事

面对起伏的灰色波涛饮酒
酒罐上有庆回归的金字
今天天气阴晴未定
黄昏来时有点翳热
啤酒够冰凉
可止不住我们的渴

远山为甚麽给劈开了一半?
那些随水飘流的植物
可是自我放逐的花叶?
甚麽时候, 云层里
会透出清明的星光?

HONG KONG AND MACAO. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS



HONG KONG E MACAU. RELAÇÕES HISTÓRICAS E CULTURAIS

SHELTERING FROM
THE RAIN IN THE CAFÉ CARAVELA

the rain began during our chat
unavoidable as our chat
the Portuguese in the shop were drinking wine
behind them, the boat that had sailed every ocean
had it really been a treasure ship?
now it has congealed into a shop sign

sitting by the shop we idly watched
the day-long rain pouring and pouring down
and unavoidably tired by the dark green
reflection from the puddle of the little harbour
upturned chairs and tables waited for closing time, dogs
all gone too, café feasts drawn near to their codas

they'd all gone to Xinkoudian's grocers
maybe talking politics, maybe kowtowing to a new Guan Yin
we few nostalgic incorrigibles
lingered on by the old shop
you said not long before there had been a gun-battle here
it all seemed ideal, but even here had not escaped

even you who took the long road from the tropics had buried
your grudges
your kindness always feeling there was no way to change an
ice-cold world
you wanted to go, but the Portuguese photographer said to
stay
unavoidable that my friends wanted to go too
so many boats crossing the world's oceans
hoping everyone could find their own rain and snow or
sunshine

unavoidable that so many tall block-printed buildings were
going up
the sorry little harbour watching each closed shop
we knew too that the vulgar little harbour hadn't developed
into a peaceful place, but we could remember
we had gathered here to take a drink
trying to help each other relieve life's sorrows

(June 1999)

Translated by Brian Holton

在金轮饼屋避雨

雨突然落下来了
我们没法走避
店内的葡萄牙人在喝酒
背后是远渡重洋而来的船只
现在凝止成为一块招牌
坐在店前我们眼看
满天的雨水倾泻下来
冷巷的水潭有惨绿的反光
桌椅复转快要关门
窄巷里我们可以逃忙到那儿呢？
你也曾从热带远道而来
向善的心总觉没法改变冰冷的世界
你将要离此地而去
家升也要离去了
葡萄牙摄影师倒是留下来
这么多的船舶来往不绝
我们此刻困处小巷
看着关了门的小铺
零星的食物
你说这儿不久前曾发生枪战
真可惜这隘巷未发展成一个安居的社团
可以让来自不同地方的我们
不时聚首
喝一杯酒
吃一个马加休球
帮助大家
解决日常生活遇到的难题

HONG KONG AND MACAO. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

CITYSCAPE

The city is always the colour of neon
 Secret messages hidden there
 The pity is only, you're wearing a mask
 No way to know if it's you that's speaking

Fruit from many different places
 Each with its own tale to tell
 In newly dressed shop windows
 "Che" rhymes with the latest in shoes

In your little cafes I bump into
 Friends I haven't seen in years
 Between pickles and green tea porridge
 A cup of tea has drunk away a lifetime

Have you any spare change then?
 There are plenty of gods on sale in the market
 She cherishes the memory of her last life's rouge
 He likes the celadon green of city dust

So sing me a song then
 On the winding midnight street
 Yesterday and us, we've come face to face
 But however we try, we can never recall today

Translated by Brian Holton

城市风景

城市总有霓虹的灯色
 那里有隐密的讯息
 只可惜你戴起了口罩
 听不清楚是不是你在说话

来自不同地方的水果
 各有各叙说自己的故事
 橱窗有最新的构图
 革命孩子和新款鞋子押上韵

我在你的食肆里
 碰上多年未见的朋友
 在渍物和泡饭之间
 一杯茶喝了一生的时间

还有多余的银币吗
 商场里可以买回许多神祇
 她缅怀前生的胭脂
 他喜欢市廛的灰绿

给我唱一支歌吧
 在深夜街头的转角
 我们与昨天碰个满怀
 却怎也想不起今天

HONG KONG E MACAU. RELAÇÕES HISTÓRICAS E CULTURAIS

THE POET CAMILO PESSANHA
SLEEPS CURLED UP ON A MACAO BED

this is your world
 stinking red hangings, enclosing
 the iron bed on the Persian rug, the coloured blankets
 enwrapping you who sleep curled up in layer upon layer
 of the exotic scents of joss-sticks and opium
 faithful pekinese crawling close to you
 licking your beard
 your knees below your chin
 as though you were mumbling new words
 only the parrot repeats what you have said
 you have abandoned all the houses on the other shore
 and come here far across the oceans
 roamed all the earth to find a bed
 no matter what turbid river flows outside
 or where in the world its confluence
 bishops and viceroys constantly changing
 your eternity is a bead-roll of roses
 tear upon tear wept by an unlucky mother
 you said farewell to every treasure in your past home
 navigating between these Chinese relics in the mirror
 your destination never reached, the scroll's flowers unwithered too
 you leaned on the weathered blue and white porcelain
 the Bodhisattva wound with spider webs
 escaped the original order and drifted here
 forever at rest, a fossil life
 the peeling mirror reflects a bed of old blankets
 folded into desires, carrying curses
 to put someone forever into deep sleep
 in this warm, narrow, humid cave
 your woman of the East lit your opium pipe
 you slept into a womb, you are a pupa
 sunk in sleep you saw the demon that overflies reality
 oh sleep, sleep well
 things in dreams are more real
 in those dreams you own
 the whole world

(October 1998)

*Translated by Brian Holton*诗人庇山耶
蜷睡在一张澳门的床上

这就是你的世界
 腥红帷幔低垂，围绕
 波斯地毯上铁床彩毯纵横
 把蜷睡的你包卷在层层
 线香与鸦片的异香之中
 忠心的北京犬爬近你
 用嘴擦你的头发
 你的膝盖抵着下巴
 仿佛在喃喃说新词
 只有鹦鹉重复你说过的话
 放弃了所有彼岸的房子
 你远渡重洋而来
 走遍地球找到一张床
 不管外面混浊河流
 在世界何处交汇
 主教或总督换个不停
 你的永恒是一串玫瑰念珠
 坎坷母亲的一滴滴眼泪
 你告别了过去故乡所有珍寶
 在镜中这些中国文物间航行
 永不抵达，画轴中的花朵，也不凋零
 你倚偎着破损的清花瓷器
 蛛网缠绕的菩萨像
 离开了原来秩序流浪到此
 永远在休憩，生命是化石
 剥落的明镜照一床旧被
 褶成欲望，带着咒语
 教人一直沉睡下去
 潮湿温暖狭窄的洞穴
 你的东方女人为你烧一口鸦片
 你睡成胚胎，你是蛾蛹
 沉睡中飞过现世的魅魍
 睡吧，好好地睡吧
 梦中的事物更真实
 你在梦中拥有
 整个世界

HONG KONG AND MACAO. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS



HONG KONG E MACAU. RELAÇÕES HISTÓRICAS E CULTURAIS

SECRET FAMILY RECIPES

the swirling flicker begins from a lamp
 an always unsustainable accident at your ear
 some say you're hot-tempered but you're already
 no longer that; people from later on
 boiled that dish dry, forgot
 the original theme, as we stirred
 we slowly lost ourselves
 too vague, too weak, too compromised
 impossible to arrive at the shape of dawn-to-dusk thought
 from beyond a mediocre cuisine we keep on wanting
 to recover those lost notes

no matter where we go we always carry with us
 from our youth the aromas that drifted through
 lanes and alleys from big colonial houses after school
 from the faraway town, renewing our desires
 the comforting embrace we repeatedly lose
 grown up, the subtly sweet and bitter sourness
 disclosed in unavoidable depression
 the secret escape route whose direction is unknown
 eternal secret, stuck between the teeth like
 Granny's paradoxical fishcakes:
 an undifferentiable blend of sweet and salty

if you have the best *bacalhau*, if you have
 Portuguese olive oil, strong enough and mellow enough
 can everything then be magically reproduced?
 the dinners our godmothers cooked for us on Sundays
 in every attic, behind every closed curtain and
 shutter inside southern European-style windows
 in these dusty yesterdays, what was so subtly shining?
 sisters recorded it, kith and kin noted it down
 and the paper slowly and gradually faded
 impossible to hold on to these mysterious rites
 performed with such wizardly perfection

remember the flavours of aniseed and nutmeg
 those *balichão* stir-fries really mouth-watering
 remember Granny used to cook a mysterious dish
 (neighbours all knew in the kitchen she'd do her stuff)
 the aroma was a lingering one, but after she was gone
 there was no-one who could blend the same flavours again
 our nickname was *muchhi-muchi*, and after school
 whoever lost a bet invited the others to eat *cha-cha* sweet bean soup
 we grew up between meals, faintly remembering
 grown-ups had shown us a mysterious album
 we just mix food in the pan, not knowing if we can reclaim those riches

Translated by Brian Holton

HONG KONG AND MACAO. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

家传食谱秘方

从一盏灯旋转的闪烁开始
 永远无法持续的意外在耳边
 有人说你是辛辣的但你已经
 不是辛辣的，后来的人
 把这道菜煮得太干，忘记了
 原来的主题，我们在搞拌中
 逐渐失去了自己
 太模糊、太软弱、太妥协
 难以达到朝思暮想的形状
 我们继续在平庸的烹饪以外
 想去寻回那些失落的笔记

不管去到哪里我们总带着
 童年放学经过巷道间
 那些殖民地大屋中传出的香味
 来自遥远的市镇，修葺我们的欲望
 是我们屡屡失落的安慰的怀抱
 成长时那微甜的苦酸
 在那些无法逃避的沉闷中
 发现了逃走的暗道却不知通往何方
 永恒的秘密，如牙缝中吊诡的
 老祖母的鱼饼：无法分辨的
 咸和甜的混合

要得有上好的百加休鱼，要得
 有够强够醇的葡萄牙橄榄油
 然后那一切就可以像魔法般重现？
 教母在星期天晚上给我们煮的晚餐
 在某一个阁楼，某一道壁上的
 南欧风味的木窗里面窗帘和窗罩下
 那尘封的昨天里，微微闪光的是什么？
 姊妹们曾经记下、亲友反复钞写
 而纸张逐渐褪色了
 难留下那无法挽回的
 巫师般准确搬演的神秘仪式

记得那些茴香与肉豆蔻粉的味道
 那些葡式虾酱炒菜特别惹味
 记得祖母煮过的一道神秘的菜
 (左邻右里的人都知道，是她下厨一显身手了)
 那气味历久不散，但自从她去后
 没人能再调出同样的味道
 我们被唤甜角的浑名，放学后
 打赌输了请吃杂豆渣渣甜汤
 我们在零食间长大，隐约记得
 大人们曾向我们显示一本神秘的册页
 我们搅拌锅中食物，不知能否寻回那丰富

HONG KONG E MACAU. RELAÇÕES HISTÓRICAS E CULTURAIS

GEORGE CHINNERY
PAINTING THE FISHERWOMAN OF MACAO

Sniffing at a snuff bottle, laughing out loud again and again
Strange, this ugliest of men has the biggest of appetites
he can shove everything into his mouth and chew upon them
and still his hungry stomach remains empty: cups and plates from breakfast
a cathedral completed and then burnt down, leaving just a façade
upper class Britons who gossip about one another, and even
their ludicrous scarves? He chewed on the vanity of a foreign land
the long robes, loose sleeves, bygone prosperity buttoned with trivialities
Sitting in a circle on the balcony, those merchants grown rich from opium
are his close friends, and he a regular guest at their dining tables,
but perhaps he'd like to quietly remove his collar
stiff, like an ex-wife ugly fierce and impossible to break away from
debtors from India, or court cases that drag on forever, it makes him
yearn to forget the over-elaborate age-old European attire

to rest his eyes on the natural grace in the fishing boat? Perhaps he knows too
there is no forgetting the gulf spanning the swaying vessels
But driven by an inner hunger, he would willingly abandon his
table manners, yet the local spices prove too much for his foreign constitution
strong as his stomach is, the radiant beauty draped in crimson
belongs to the other shore forever unreachable, eliciting glances from afar
yearnings, its shimmering reflections on the waves easily make one drown
On the embankment where heavenly feet so lithely tread, does he dare venture?
It's clear a war will break out—flashing swords, dark smoke, perils
perilous—still he loathes to keep warm behind the walls and sigh
He still wants to go up and down the streets and alleyways, to forget
his background, his upbringing, and live anew the lives of others
and from the hearty laughs, the gentle embrace of sea breeze
to paint afresh the story of his life and fate

(August 1998)

Translated by Martha Cheung

HONG KONG AND MACAO. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

钱纳利绘画濠江渔女

嗅着鼻烟，并不断纵声大笑
 奇怪，这最丑陋的人有最好的胃口
 他可以把一切都放到嘴里咀嚼
 总填不满空虚的饥肠：早餐的杯盘
 建设了又烧剩一面前墙的大教堂
 互说闲话的上流社会英国人、还有
 他们可笑的围巾？他嚼烂异乡的虚荣
 阔袖的长袍，满是繁琐钮扣的旧日繁华
 围坐阳台上那些从鸦片谋利的商人
 他们是他的好友，他们是他们餐桌上的
 常客，或许他想悄悄脱下那硬领
 如摆脱不了的一个又丑又凶的前妻
 印度的债主、那些永远打不完的官司
 令他想偷偷越过繁褥的古老欧洲装扮

望向水边渔舟上的轻盈？也许他也知道
 舟揖摇摆水波的鸿沟永远无法跨越
 不过由于内在的饥渴，令一个人宁愿背弃
 餐桌礼仪，但本地的辛辣挑战外来肠胃
 管他胃纳再好，那些红巾围绕的明媚
 是永远无法触及的彼岸，总令人远望
 寄情，是容易令人溺死的波光倒影
 天足轻快走过的堤岸，他敢走出去吗？
 那儿将有充满匕首与黑烟的危险战争
 他害怕可又不甘心在围墙内取暖与慨叹
 仍想要再走遍大街小巷，要忘记
 自己的出身，重新活一次别人的生命
 从那爽朗的笑声和海风温柔的胸怀里
 从头绘画出自己的身世和归宿

HONG KONG E MACAU. RELAÇÕES HISTÓRICAS E CULTURAIS

AT BELA VISTA

I look at the traffic on the bridge, a glass of wine in hand
Next year today, no more parties on the veranda for us
Someone remembers it used to be a refugee camp during the war
providing shelter from catastrophes. Like in a disaster film?
I turn round to look at the elegant colonnades, renovated many times
Let's not forget the ghosts of history

Who plays the lead in this scene?
The imposing walls of the seventeenth century fortress had crumbled
at the deserted well in the courtyard servants had gathered to wash clothes
Before me now people embrace and applaud in front of a birthday-cake
As always we play walk-ons in historic scenes
Sitting at this long table tonight, we sail
as if on a luxurious liner towards the twenty-first century

Will these stairs vanish? Will the restaurant,
forsaken, sink deep into the ocean of oblivion?
I sit here drinking in silence, listening to
but not hearing any dramatic explosions
Behind the bela vista one sees are the boa vistas
everyone imagines for himself. Candlelight dinners
never match one's imagination. Beyond the music
one hears, another music plays on

This place had seen the nights of our youth, the time we first explored
tirelessly those narrow alleys, watching people make their humble living
along the streets, and at night we checked in – a mere grotty hotel then
Local wisdom will not easily disappear
Buildings the British and the French had fought to purchase
bear witness to the rise and fall of different masters, and now
on this stretch of land newly reclaimed, pagodas and towers
may rise to attract tourists. Who plays the lead in this scene?

We try Macanese and Cantonese food, which change with time
There are no more waiters in uniforms neatly starched
only new dishes of hotchpotch stews made from old recipes
bean stew Brazilian style, squids Mozambique in coconut juice
In the end it is they that remain. Keeping them company on the table
a simple drink made from sugar cane

(Macao, February 1998)

Translated by Martha Cheung

HONG KONG AND MACAO. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

峰景酒店的一夜

把酒望大桥上车辆穿梭
 明年今日再难在回廊上喝酒了
 战时它曾是难民营
 庇护逃离战火的众生。
 我回首看几经翻修的优雅廊柱
 我们不要忘记历史的鬼魂

谁是这场戏的主角？
 十七世纪巍峨古堡的城墙逐渐崩塌
 院落弃置的水井有下人来洗衣服
 眼前男女在生日蛋糕的掌声中拥吻
 我们老是在历史的场景里当临时演员
 今夜我们围坐在长桌旁，仿如
 乘坐豪华邮轮航向二十一世纪

这些楼梯真的将要消失？餐厅
 丢空，沉进遗忘的海洋深处？
 我坐在这儿默默喝酒，听着
 却没有听见戏剧性的隆然巨响
 看得见的美景背后有每个人
 自己想像的好风景，烛光晚餐
 总没有想的美味。听得见的音乐背后
 另外一种音乐继续弹奏下去

这儿曾有我们年轻的夜晚，第一次
 不觉疲倦地走遍小巷，沿街看
 谦卑的营生，夜来投宿破落的旅馆
 民生的智慧总不会轻易消失
 英国人和法国人曾经争着收购的建筑
 见证了不同的起伏，现在面对
 填出来的烂地，也许要建新的塔楼
 招徕游客。谁是这场戏的主角？

澳门菜和粤菜，在年月中演变
 没有穿着浆硬制服的待者了
 只有本地的杂烩把种种旧菜翻新
 巴西的红豆煮肉、莫三鼻给的椰汁墨鱼
 到头来是它们留下来，伴着桌上
 一种从甘蔗调制成的饮品

Macao Through the “New Poetry” of Leung Ping-kwan

CHRISTINA MIU BING CHENG*



Leung Ping-kwan 梁秉鈞, born in 1949 in Xinhui 新会, Guangdong province, is popularly known by his pen-name Yesi 也斯. He received his doctorate in Comparative Literature from the University of California (San Diego) in 1984, and his doctoral thesis

was on Modernism in Chinese poetry.¹ Being a writer, poet, translator, essayist, film and culture critic, the multifaceted Leung is lauded as Hong Kong's leading man of letters. Among his prolific literary creations and diversified interests, he has composed volumes of modern Chinese poems, also called “new poetry” [*xinshi* 新诗],² about different places and people.

Raised in Hong Kong, Leung first visited Macao in 1973. Macao became his creative muse and he began writing modern poetry on this Portuguese overseas province. These poems are descriptive of landscapes and historic landmarks, and at the same time interwoven with his discerning sentiments. In 1978 he left Hong Kong for the United States to pursue his Masters and Doctoral Degree. After two decades, his interest in

Macao was rekindled. He continued composing poems on various subjects, such as the cultural encounters between the East and West, historical figures, and Portuguese/Macanese cuisine. Some poems also readily speak for his ambivalent feelings towards the change of power in Macao at the end of the 20th century. His oeuvres relating to Macao are discussed in chronological and thematic order. Readers can have a retrospective look at the visage of this former Portuguese colony through his poetic lens.

LANDSCAPE

The poems we refer to, portraying places and streets in Macao, were published in Leung Ping-kwan's *Travelling with a Bitter Melon: Selected Poems* (2002). The following poems were written in 1973, and translated by Martha Cheung.

Quoted from “The Steep Alley at Santo Agostinho”:³

An old woman in black
plants incense sticks into a crevice on the
cobble street
Behind the gloomy door
one only sees a green brazier with paper
money for the dead
Wisps of smoke
drift towards those bamboo scaffolds

Kang Youwei 康有为 (1858-1927), an official of the Qing dynasty, visited Macao and bemoaned in a seven-character classical poem, “Macao—how

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like a landscape at dusk!" [*Hao jing shanchuan dui xiyang* 濠镜山川对夕阳].⁴ For Kang, the golden age of Macao was gone. "A landscape at dusk" renders an image of desolation and agedness. Quite in the same vein, Leung's poem evokes the imagery of a decaying Arcadia. Macao is sluggish and declining: "the cobbled street"; "the gloomy door"; "stacks of mossy bricks"; "a shabby garment factory"; and "muddy murky sea". It is listless and senile: "an old woman in black"; and "an old man wordless". The street scene also suggests superstition: "incense sticks"; "paper money for the dead". These are familiar Oriental images often accorded to Macao by Westerners.⁵

Quoted from "Sheltering from rain in a coffee shop in Praia Grande":

"When the sky clears
we can pop over there for a cup of
coffee,"
but now there wasn't even a sunshade
just an iron rod sticking up from the
middle of the table
supporting god knows what
behind it an old tree much stronger and
tougher
rising straight
as if from the yet unfinished Macao-Taipa
Bridge
from the very gap where its two sections
in future shall meet

Macao undergoes a significant change of landscape in this poem. In a coffee shop near the Praia Grande Bay, Leung is drenched in thoughts on a rainy day. The rain seems to be his sentimental muse. He expresses his puzzling feelings by employing the trope of the weather: "Over there dim and blurry/there was no telling if it was rain or shine". It plainly implies that the future of Macao is uncertain and dubious—would it be rainy or shiny?

The sleepy Portuguese enclave was moving towards modernization by building the first Macao-Taipa Bridge, called Ponte Governador Nobre de Carvalho, which was inaugurated in July 1974. It is certainly inconceivable for Leung to project in 1973 that Macao's landscape would be tremendously transformed in the years to come: the second Macao-Taipa Bridge,

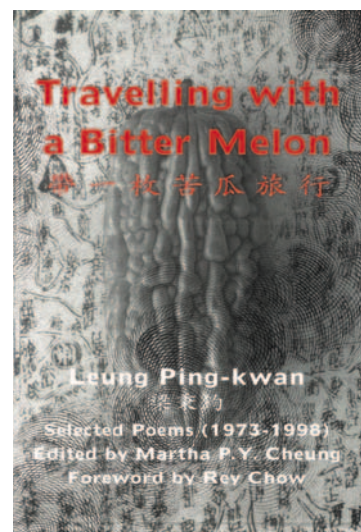
Ponte de Amizade, or the Bridge of Friendship, was inaugurated in April, 1994, and the third Macao-Taipa Bridge was finished in December 2004.

Quoted from "St. Paul's Ruins":

Next to this façade⁶
a small temple for the Buddhist god
Nalakubala [*sic*]⁷
different statues, equally dilapidated
in front of the door a pile of rusty iron
wheels
not turning but at a stand-still
inside the dark temple choked with incense
and strayed objects
a fading scroll with one line of a couplet
"our god a true god does not confuse or
confound our people"

Leung juxtaposes the monumental fire-baptized façade of the Church of the Mother of God and the nearby diminutive Nezha Temple, presenting an East-West encounter in architecture. The poem portrays a leisurely and tranquil scene "under the arched gateway" in Pátio do Espinho at the end of Calçada de S. Francisco Xavier: "two humble old men in the neighbourhood/pass the day chit-chatting". It is, of course, impossible for the "two humble old men" to chit-chat something in the distant future—"the ruins of this cathedral" and "the dilapidated, dark temple" are to be put in the limelight on the world stage.

These two contrastive architectural structures were among a list of East-West landmarks to have been included in the World Heritage List on 15 July 2005. The façade has long been called *Dasanba* 大三巴 by the Chinese, meaning the Big St. Paul; and the temple has now been proudly called *Dasanba Nezha Miao* 大三巴哪吒庙 (the Nezha Temple of the Ruins of St.



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Paul's), capitalizing on its world-famous neighbourhood. After all, their synchronizing co-existence cogently exemplifies Macao's specific identity, which has been richly invested with Lusitanian ambience and Chinese cultural traits.

Quoted from "Barrier Gate":

Eyes turn
to watch an empty truck driving through
the gate
past this muddy ground
of crisscrossing trails
then up another road and off
Winds on an overcast day
rustle and tear a tourist's map

The Barrier Gate (or Border Gate) was first built in 1573 serving as the "borderline" between Macao and China. The present structure, emulating a triumphal arch, was rebuilt in 1870. The historic gate, in Leung's poem, is merely a tourist spot for selling vulgar souvenirs. It is an obsolete place with an "old woman"; a "rickshaw driver"; an "empty truck" and "muddy ground"—a picture of the poor and dejected East.

The Barrier Gate chronicles two decisive dates, which were inscribed vertically on each side:

22	25
Agosto	Agosto
1849	1849

On 22 August 1849 the 53rd Portuguese Governor of Macao João Maria Ferreira do Amaral (1803-1849) was killed not far away from the Barrier Gate by the Chinese. He became a Portuguese martyr. On 25 August 1849 Colonel Vicente Nicolau de Mesquita (1818-1880) crossed the Barrier Gate and retaliated by attacking the Chinese. He became a Portuguese hero. On the lintel of the Barrier Gate, Luís Vaz de Camões' (1524?-1580) famous aphorism: *A Pátria Honrai Que A Pátria Vos Contempla* (or Honour your country and your country will look after you)⁸ was inscribed. This quotation metonymically commemorates these two men's patriotism to Portugal. Do tourists ever notice these inscriptions and stop for a while to ask what their meanings are?

EAST AND WEST

Leung's poetic creation on Macao can be distinctively demarcated into two phases. While the

poems discussed above represent the first phase, the following poems, under the subject of "Macao: East and West",⁹ are the second phase. This group of new poetry, written between 1998 and 1999, illustrates a thematic change from simply descriptive of places and streets. Rather, he pays more attention to the history and culture of Macao, and specifically, the cultural contacts of the Occidentals and the Orientals. In addition, his disquietude towards the momentous return of Macao to China is lyrically and repeatedly revealed.

Quoted from "George Chinnery painting the fisherwoman of Macao" (translated by Martha Cheung):

Sniffing at a snuff bottle, laughing out loud
again and again
Strange, this ugliest of men has the biggest
of appetites
he can shove everything into his mouth
and chew upon them
and still his hungry stomach remains empty:
cups and plates from breakfast
a cathedral completed and then burnt
down, leaving just a façade
upper class Britons who gossip about one
another, and even
their ludicrous scarves? He chewed on the
vanity of a foreign land
the long robes, loose sleeves, bygone
prosperity buttoned with
trivialities

Macao was home (and resting place) to the Irish painter George Chinnery (1774-1852),¹⁰ who was active in Macao between 1825-1852. His artistic creation mainly reflected in the vivid portrayal of the Lusitanian/Iberian churches, street scenes, the Tanka 蛋家 minority,¹¹ and his friends. He left an invaluable visual chronicle of nineteenth-century Macao, which was a charming fishing village dotted with beautiful churches. In the poem, Macao is the rendezvous for "the fisherwoman of Macao"; "upper class Britons"; "merchants grown rich from opium"; and "his close friends". It also becomes Chinnery's asylum to seek refuge on the South China Coast from double embarrassments: his financial problems and his estranged wife. In "the paradise of debtors and of Tankas" (William Hunter's description of Macao),¹²

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Chinnery can “forget his background, his upbringing”, and “live anew the lives of others”. Above all, he can “paint afresh the story of his life and fate”.

Quoted from “A Tapestry, given by the king of Portugal to the Emperor of China” (translated by Brian Holton):

from the Paço da Ribeira
to the Yonghe Palace
from the mighty Dom João V
was sent a messenger bearing other gifts
to be given to the Yongzheng Emperor

and a lofty diplomatic mission
to return a favour between the nations
to commemorate the Yongzheng Emperor’s
accession
to ease the severity of recent diplomatic
policy
to guarantee the safety and the profits of
the Portuguese in Macao

In the first stanza, Leung stitches two contemporaneous rulers from apart—Dom João V (r. 1706-1750) and Emperor Yongzheng 雍正 (r. 1723-1735). The “heroic tapestry” from Portugal, carrying “a lofty diplomatic mission”, is “to guarantee the safety and the profits of the Portuguese in Macao”. Macao is portrayed as the bridge linking Portugal and China for mutual benefits. In an anti-climatic rhetoric, the magnificent tapestry has been consumed by moths, and never reaches the “Son of Heaven” in China!

Leung nakedly welds together the limp historical reality under the reign of the two rulers from the East and West. While Emperor Yongzheng “had people put in prison/carried out a Literary Inquisition”, Dom João V “arrested commoners/erected magnificent buildings”. Dom João V’s most ambitious project was the construction of the grandiose Basilica, the Convent for the Franciscans, and the adjacent Baroque Royal Palace in Mafra, north of Lisbon. The foundation stone of the Basilica was laid in 1717 and it took seven years to complete. The colossal Palace was inaugurated in 1730 with a lavish celebration that lasted for eight days.

The Portuguese King’s extravagant accomplishment is the backdrop of the award-winning

novel, *Baltasar and Blimunda*, by José Saramago, Portugal’s laureate of the 1998 Nobel Prize for Literature. Saramago pens a bitterly ironic comment on royalty and religion in 18th-century Portugal. The novel leaves an unrelieved catharsis of the tragic fate of the common people, who were forced to help building the Mafra project.

Quoted from “The Poet Camilo Pessanha sleeps curled up on a Macao bed” (translated by Brian Holton):

forever at rest, a fossil life
the peeling mirror reflects a bed of old
blankets
folded into desires, carrying curses
to put someone forever into deep sleep
in this warm, narrow, humid cave
your woman of the East lit your opium
pipe
you slept into a womb, you are a pupa
sunk in sleep you saw the demon that
overflies reality
oh sleep, sleep well
things in dreams are more real
in those dreams you own
the whole world¹³

Camilo Pessanha (1867-1926) is considered the chief precursor of Modernist poetry. His work is the representative in Portuguese poetry of Symbolism in its purest and most genuine form.¹⁴ He was born the illegitimate son of a law student and a maid. Graduated in law from the University of Coimbra in 1891, he came to Macao in 1894 and took up a teaching post at the newly formed Macao Lyceum.

As the title suggests, it is a portrayal of Pessanha’s miserable sojourn in Macao. The poet leads a distressed and lonely life, accompanied only by a faithful dog. His unpleasant past could perhaps lead him to abandon “all the houses on the other shore” but to find a bed “far across the oceans”. “The Bodhisattva wound with spider webs” cynically suggests that the inefficacious Buddhist Guan Yin fails to bless him in Macao. He is addicted to opium “in this warm narrow, humid cave”. It is only after he is intoxicated by opium that he can sleep well in a dream world, and forget “the demon that overflies reality”. Opium seems to be Pessanha’s only solace, but he died due to his chronic use.

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Quoted from “In front of the A-Ma Temple”
(translated by Brian Holton):

drinking, we face the rolling grey waves
on the bottle gold characters celebrate
Macao’s return to China
today’s weather is unsettled: cloudy
or clear
when dusk comes it’s a little stifling
the beer is cold enough
but can’t slake our thirst

The A-Ma Temple, properly known as Ma Ge Miao 妈阁庙 (or in Cantonese, Ma Kok Miu), is dedicated to Tian Hou 天后 (Empress of Heaven), the Daoist Goddess of the Sea. It is claimed to be first built during the Ming dynasty in 1488. The Chinese in Macao are always proud of this temple, because it predated the arrival of the Portuguese navigators, and the name “Macao” is believed to be derived from A-Ma-Gau 亚妈港, or the Bay of A-Ma.

This poem was written six months before the return of Macao to China. Leung again employs the weather as a metaphor to show his uncertainty, if not anxiety, of the future of Macao: “today’s weather is unsettled: cloudy or clear” and “through layered clouds/will break bright starlight?” Moreover, he appears perplexed whether people in Macao would “float” away like duckweeds: “those plants drifting on the water/can they be leaves in self-banishment?” He seems to ask, “Will Macao be abandoned?”

Quoted from “Sheltering from the rain in the Café Caravela” (translated by Brian Holton):

the rain began during our chat
unavoidable as our chat
the Portuguese in the shop were drinking
wine
behind them, the boat that had sailed
every ocean
had it really been a treasure ship?
now it has congealed into a shop sign

“Sheltering from the rain in a coffee shop” is a recurrent subject matter in Leung’s poetry. Towards the demise of the colonial rule, his feelings are ruffled. Not only does he drink by the sea just opposite the

A-Ma Temple, pondering whether people would abandon Macao; he also drinks in the Café Caravela (caravel) and idly watches “the day-long rain pouring and pouring down”. The Chinese temple and the Portuguese café are *lugares* where Leung is wrapped in sentimental thoughts. And again, the pouring rain is his poetic muse.

He pertinently chronicles a deplorable contemporary picture of Macao: “there had been a gun-battle here”;¹⁵ “so many tall block-printed buildings were going up”;¹⁶ “the vulgar little harbour hadn’t developed”. In a somewhat sorrowful mood, he hopes that the emigrants can settle down with their needs met: “so many boats crossing the world’s oceans/hoping everyone could find their own rain and snow or sunshine”. “The rain”, “snow”, and “sunshine”, are figuratively used to imply the unknown future for those who have left Macao.

Quoted from “Wu Li Painting by the bay”
(translated by Brian Holton):

from an ancient exhausted dynasty
you were asking Honolulu about the
sailing date in vain¹⁷
you are marooned on the little island,
hearing the sea breeze say
the new boat has steamed off on an even
vaster voyage
your friend should already have crossed
the equator¹⁸

on the road you looked for local accents and
the customs of spring ploughing
but only found women in down jackets on
the flower-spread street
you lift your brush, to single-mindedly
surpass what’s before your eyes
specific city sounds come back to
miraculous landscapes
beyond your tiny *flyheads* are *birdclaws*—
brush strokes from an exotic land¹⁹

Wu Li 吴历 (1632-1718), alias Wu Yushan 吴渔山 (also known as *Mojing Daoren* 墨井道人), was an acclaimed painter, poet and calligrapher. He was hailed by later art critics and art historians as one of the “Six Masters of Early Qing” of the Orthodox School of Chinese painting.²⁰ Unlike Chinnery and

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Pessanha who came to Macao to escape the bleak and grisly reality, Wu Li arrived at Macao in early 1681 to look for the “Western Lantern” in order to revivify his religious vision and illuminate his inner self.²¹ Wu Li entered into a new Christian world, and witnessed the heyday of Macao.

Did Wu Li ever paint by the bay in Macao? Given his devotion to Western knowledge and Christianity after he became a Jesuit novice in 1682, Wu Li put more emphasis on salvation than on the art of painting. In a collection of his poems in “Sanba ji” 三巴集²², he denounced painting as “an old habit”, to which he wanted to put an end (poem 28). It is believed that he started re-collecting and destroying his own paintings because he regarded them as an expression of superstition.²³ However, he continued writing Christian hymns and poetry (in traditional classical style), which were also collected in “Sanba ji”. Wu Li created something totally innovative in Chinese literature: Chinese Christian poetry.

In the poem, Leung suggests that Wu Li’s paintings are influenced by the Western technique of chiaroscuro:²⁴ “your mountain trees are stained with new lights and shades”. In an interview Leung reiterated, “The Chinese painter Wu Li came to Macao to study religion and became Catholic and his painting also received influences from Western paintings”.²⁵ The issue of Western influence on Wu Li’s paintings already aroused controversial debates by contemporary Chinese artists and art critics during the symposium on Wu Li in Macao in 2003. Some scholars arguably denied any Western influence because he was trained to look for his models among the old masters of the Song and Yuan dynasties. In his famous history of Chinese painting, James Cahill could assert that Wu Li’s conversion in no way affected his painting which shows not the slightest trace of Western influence.²⁶

FOODSCAPE

Leung has pursued a project exploring gastronomy about various cities in poems and photos. He labels the poetic and photographic works as “foodscape”. The following two poems on food culture, translated by Martha Cheung, were also published in *Travelling with a Bitter Melon*.

Quoted from “Salted Shrimp Paste” (1997):

Dear friend, how do I explain why some
of us here keep saying
this paltry thing is better put out of sight

Back alley culture it is—a few hawks
hovering in the sky
the odd trees for shelter, a pond—
Has anything good ever been bred here?
Then at your insistent questions, they hang
their heads in silence

The poem begins by inviting a dialogue with the reader. “This paltry thing”, *balichão* in Portuguese (*blachan* in Malaysia, *terasi* in Indonesia, *gapi* in Thailand, *bagoong* in the Philippines), is an essential seasoning in many South East Asian dishes. It is believed that the Portuguese traders brought the shrimp paste from Malaysia to Macao. It goes well with pork for its pungent aroma and flavour. The shrimp paste is made from very tiny shrimps, salted, sun-dried, pounded into a paste and fermented in the humid heat. It was once a minor industry in Macao; and the stone grinders for shrimp paste are presently exhibited at the Historical Museum of Coloane and Taipa in Macao. Nowadays, it is surely not a “back alley culture” to dine on dishes marinated with shrimp paste, which are promoted as unique Macanese cuisine in travel books.

Quoted from “At Bela Vista” (1998)²⁷:

Someone remembers it used to be a refugee
camp during the war
providing shelter from catastrophes. Like
in a disaster film?
I turn round to look at the elegant
colonnades, renovated many times
Let’s not forget the ghost of history

At the Bela Vista Hotel, Leung sits “drinking in silence”—a moment he is absorbed in solipsism. “Drinking wine” and “sipping coffee/tea” are recurrent motifs in his poems. In a solipsistic mood, he feels nostalgic of this exquisite hotel, which is described as “the single most compelling reason to visit Macao” (*South China Morning Post*, 5 February, 1998), and “the most elegant of Macao’s many excellent restaurants” (*Hong Kong Standard*, 10 May, 1998). He laments that

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he can't drink again on the veranda after the hotel is to be closed on 31 March 1999, because it is to become the residence of the Portuguese Consul-General to the Macao Special Administrative Region after the reversion of political power.

Towards the imminent change of the Bela Vista Hotel, he sentimentally wonders if "the flavour of African Chicken will too be lost". While he is sure that there are "no more parties on the veranda" and "no more waiters in uniforms neatly starched", he foresees the hybrid food, "bean stew Brazilian style, squids Mozambique in coconut juice", will remain. Also, "a simple drink made from sugar cane", properly known in its indigenous name *a cachaça*,²⁸ will keep them company on the table.

The poem "Secret Family Recipes" (2003) (see p. 70 in this issue) was the only one written after the change of power. It was published as preface in Annabel Jackson's *Taste of Macau: Portuguese Cuisine on the China coast*.

It is a nostalgic poem in "a mysterious album" which contains unforgettable recipes: "from beyond a mediocre cuisine we keep on wanting/to recover those lost notes". In Leung's school day, he was fascinated with the scent of delicious food: "from our youth the aromas that drifted through/lanes and alleys from big colonial houses after school". He remembers the flavour of the food prepared by his granny, and is disconsolate that "those riches" of the food cannot be reclaimed: "after she was gone/there was no-one who could blend the same flavours again".

The exotic food mentioned in the poem includes "fishcakes: an indifferentiable blend of sweet and salty"; *bacalhau* (dried codfish); "the favours of aniseed and nutmeg" and *balichão* (shrimp paste); and "*cha-cha* sweet bean soup". *Bacalhau* and *balichão* are Portuguese/Macanese *comidas*. Macanese food has been "invented" by the Macanese, who are the hybrid Portuguese in Macao after centuries of miscegenation. This distinctive cultural invention in food is given a status as cuisine.²⁹ Macanese cuisine is in fact the pioneer of fusion food. It mainly combines the spices and flavours of Goan and Malay cooking, and has some influences from the Portuguese, Chinese, Brazilian and African culinary practices. Despite historic changes, Macao is still a city for gourmets, offering delicious and unique Portuguese/Macanese cuisine, on which Macao's cultural identity is predicated.

All Leung Ping-kwan's poems (except "Secret Family Recipes") on Macao were composed before the return of Macao to China on 20 December, 1999. In the eye of Leung, Macao in the 1970's was a sleepy backwater; its heyday was gone and it was getting "senile". His portrayal of Macao in 1973 was embedded with a range of familiar stereotype images of the East. These Oriental images are often constructed and represented by the West in the colonialist signifying system. In the last two years of the twentieth century, Leung recollected that Macao was once a new Christian world for Wu Li, a paradise for George Chinnery, and an intoxicated Shangri-la for Camilo Pessanha. In light of the foreseeable political and legal changes, he cast doubts on post-colonial Macao, and was grieved at the vicissitude suffered by the Bela Vista Hotel.

It is perhaps out of Leung's imagination that at the dawn of the third millennium Macao's international profile rises to new heights. Macao also realistically vindicates the hasty and pessimistic prediction by a Western writer who foretold that Macao would become an "abandoned city" after 1999.³⁰

Since the Macao Government passed a new Heritage Law in 1984 with the aim of preserving Macao's heritage as a tourist asset, twenty-two architectural sites of cultural importance and eight *largos* (or public squares) were successfully added to the World Heritage List in 2005 (*Macao Daily News*, 16 July 2005). This historico-cultural zone has been given a remarkable name—The Historic Centre of Macao, making it the thirty-first designated World Heritage site in China.³¹ The year 2006 was proudly designated as Macao World Heritage Year.

Post-colonial Macao has been crowned a "World-heritage City", concomitant with its identity as Asia's foremost modern "City of Gambling" in the wake of the permission of new gambling licences in 2002. Notably, by December 2007 there were a total of 28 casinos (equaling to the number of churches and chapels there) and gambling revenue from these leapt 46.6 per cent to reach about US\$10.4, according to industry analysts and officials. The booming Macao is shedding its status as second city to Hong Kong, and is enjoying new found recognition on the world stage. **RC**

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NOTES

- 1 On Leung Ping-kwan's doctoral thesis, see *Aesthetics of opposition: a study of the modernist generation of Chinese poets, 1936-1949* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1986).
- 2 All the traditional forms of Chinese classical poetry are rhymed. These poems are composed of lines of five-character [*wu yan* 五言] or seven-character [*qi yan* 七言]. Modern Chinese poems, however, usually do not follow any prescribed pattern, but are free verse in style. New poetry came into being after the May Fourth Movement in 1919.
- 3 Not "A. Agostinho" as it in fact appears in the title of the published translation. There is an obvious translation error for 巴掌围斜巷.
- 4 *Renditions* Nos. 29 & 30, 1988:64.
- 5 On familiar colonial stereotype images, see Christina Miu Bing Cheng, *Macao: A Cultural Janus*, Chapter 5 "Colonial Stereotypes, Transgressive Punishment and Cultural Anthropophagy".
- 6 The remaining façade of the former Church of the Mother of God is nowadays better known as the Ruins of St Paul's. The church was first built in 1594, and after two fires in 1595 and 1601 respectively, it was re-erected in 1602. The façade was completed in 1640; unfortunately a disastrous fire in 1835 turned the whole building complex into rubble except the façade and the walls.
- 7 The spelling of this Hindu-Buddhist deity should be Nalakubara 那罗鸠婆, or in Pali, Nalakuvāra. The translation of Nezha 哪吒 as Nalakubara is anachronistic here, because Nalakubara was appropriated and sinicized as Nezha during the mid 7th century in China. See Christina Miu Bing Cheng, "In Search of Folk Humour: The Rebellious Cult of Nezha" 民间幽默的探讨—哪吒反叛精神的崇拜 (in English). To be published in Jao Tsung-I (ed.) 饶宗颐主编, *Huaxue* 华学 Vol. 9 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, April 2008).
- 8 Luís Vaz de Camões is one of Portugal's most illustrious poets who composed the ten-canto *Os Lusíadas* (the Sons of Portugal), which was first published in Lisbon in 1572.
- 9 The Chinese version of these poems are collected in Yesi 也斯 (Leung Ping-kwan 梁秉钧), *Dong xi* 东西 (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press (China) Ltd., 2000).
- 10 On George Chinnery's artistic creation, see *George Chinnery: His Pupils and Influence*. On his chronicle of the images of Macao, see Patrick Conner, *George Chinnery: Artist of India and the China Coast*, Chapter 13 "Macao".
- 11 The Tanka are a small ethnic group of boat people in South China. They are often marginalized as a race inferior to the Chinese and pejoratively put at the lowest social stratum.
- 12 See William C. Hunter, *Bits of China*, p. 272.
- 13 The wordplay of this format is based on the Chinese version.
- 14 On Pessanha's poems, see Camilo Pessanha, *Clepsidra: poemas de Camilo Pessanha*. On the Chinese translation, see *Di Lou* 滴漏 (Clepsidra), trans. Chen Yongyi 陈用仪.
- 15 Macao was dubbed the "Eastern Chicago" (the crime city) just before the historic handover because of spiralling crime rates.
- 16 In Macao, there was an over-development in real estate from the 1980's, but when China's austerity measures were announced in 1993 the property market sharply declined. In 1996, it was estimated that there were about 40,000 to 50,000 vacant flats.
- 17 The poem was also translated by Martha Cheung, and this line was translated as "Honolulu is your destination but there is yet no sailing schedule". Both Brian Holton and Martha Cheung wrongly translated 香山 as Honolulu. Honolulu in Chinese is Tan Xiangshan 檀香山. In fact, Wu Li planned to go to Rome but not Honolulu. The Chinese version tells that he asked the sailing date in Xiangshan 香山. In Wu Li's time, Macao was part of Xiangshan province (now Zhongshan province).
- 18 "Your friend" refers to the Jesuit missionary, Philippe Couplet (1623-1693) (his Chinese name is Bo Yingli 柏应理). Couplet and Wu Li arrived at Macao in 1681. While Couplet went to Rome, Wu Li was admitted to the Society of Jesus as a novice at the age of fifty-one.
- 19 This line is predicated on poem 26 in Wu Li's "Sanba ji": 门前乡语各西东，未解还教笔可通。我写蝇头君鸟爪，横看直视更难穷。
In front of the door people speak different native languages, If they cannot understand one another, they communicate in writing. I write Chinese characters like a fly's head, while they write like a bird's claw [Latin],
Looking at them horizontally or vertically, it is difficult to understand.
- 20 The other five were: Wang Shimin 王时敏 (1592-1680), Wang Jian 王鉴 (1598-1677), Wang Hui 王翬 (1632-1717), Wang Yuanqi 王原祁 (1642-1715) and Yun Shouping 恽寿平 (1633-1690).
- 21 See Christina Miu Bing Cheng, "Wu Li 吴历: In Search of the 'Western Lantern'". In *Culture, Art, Religion: Wu Li (1632-1718) and His Inner Journey*, p. 429-457.
- 22 In "Sanba ji", there was a total of 110 poems. Thirty poems on Macao were grouped as 'Ao zhong za yong' 澳中杂咏 (Rambling Songs on Macao). The remaining eighty poems were about the church and religion called 'Sheng xue shi' 圣学诗 (Poems of Holy Learning). On the English translation of Wu Li's poems, see Jonathan Chaves, *Singing of the Source: Nature and God in the Poetry of the Chinese Painter Wu Li*.
- 23 See Wolfgang Kubin, "Crossing the Border, Breaking with the Past: Wu Li's Iconoclasm". In *Culture, Art, Religion: Wu Li (1632-1718) and His Inner Journey*, p. 332.
- 24 The term "chiaroscuro" refers to strong contrasts of light and shade in a painting. In the West, Caravaggio (1573-1610) was one of the first artists to use this technique extensively.
- 25 An interview on 6 November 2006 by Régis Poulet.
- 26 See James Cahill, *La Peinture Chinoise*, p. 165.
- 27 Bela Vista was built by an English couple as a private mansion in 1870 on the slopes of Penha Hill. It has undergone dramatic transformations. It was first converted to a hotel, and then became an alms house, a high school, a hotel again, and a refugee centre during World War II. It was renovated in 1990 at a cost of nearly 50 million patacas and reopened as a resplendent five-star hotel in 1992. See Luís Andrade de Sá, *Hotel Bela Vista*.
- 28 *Cachaça* is a national drink of Brazil. Brazil became a Portuguese colony in 1500 but declared independence in 1822.
- 29 On Macanese cuisine, see Annabel Doling, *Macao on a Plate: A Culinary Journey*.
- 30 See Jonathan Porter, *Macao: The Imaginary City, Culture and Society, 1557 to the Present*, p. 193.
- 31 Macao was the only site nominated by China for the World Heritage List in 2005. It received official recognition from the UNESCO World Heritage Committee (meeting in Durban, South Africa) on 15 July 2005.

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The Fiction of Henrique de Senna Fernandes and Leung Ping-Kwan Urban Space and Social Change in Macao and Hong Kong

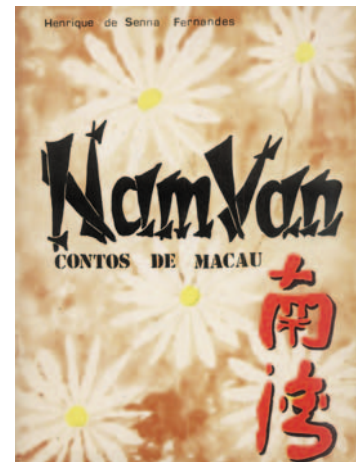
DAVID BROOKSHAW*

Urban literature often contains as one of its most abiding themes a nostalgia for a city or, occasionally, particular areas of a city that seem to incarnate for the author a more personalised environment, in which traditional rural values of collectivity and community still survive over and against the growing impersonality of the modern city. In this sense, literature emerging from Hong Kong and Macao over the last two decades is probably not radically different from literature from other Chinese urban environments over a similar period, nor indeed literature from western cities. What is perhaps unique in these two special administrative regions of China is that it is impossible to divorce attitudes on the part of authors towards their cities from the more general context of the major political changes that those regions have undergone. By this, I mean that in depictions of Hong Kong and Macao, authors have been more conscious of a need to evoke a specifically regional identity based on their particular histories, and their status as both cosmopolitan points of cultural encounter but also peripheral cities,

whether as colonial territories or as special administrative regions of China.

The two writers I will be considering are both intricately linked to the lives of their cities, and this is reflected in their work. At the same time, they are from different cultural backgrounds and different generations.

Henrique de Senna Fernandes was born in Macao in 1923 into an old Macanese family with deep roots in the city. He is considered the doyen of Macanese literature in Portuguese, being the author of two novels, both of which were made into films, and two collections of short stories. One of his novels, *The Bewitching Braid*, appeared in English translation in 2004 (1992), and two of his stories, 'Candy' and 'Tea with Essence of Cherry', both of which were originally published in Portuguese in the collection *Nam Van* (1978), appeared in English in an anthology in 2002.¹ Some of his work was translated into Chinese during the transition years in Macao, and although Fernandes himself is to all intents and purposes a lusophone author who claims to have been



Nam Van Contos de Macau (1978)

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Professor de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros na Universidade de Bristol, Inglaterra. Autor de Perceptions of China in Modern Portuguese Literature – Border Gates (2002), organizou a antologia Visions of China: Stories from Macau (2002). No âmbito da sua especialidade, interessa-se principalmente pelo discurso literário pós-colonial em Português e pela tradução literária.

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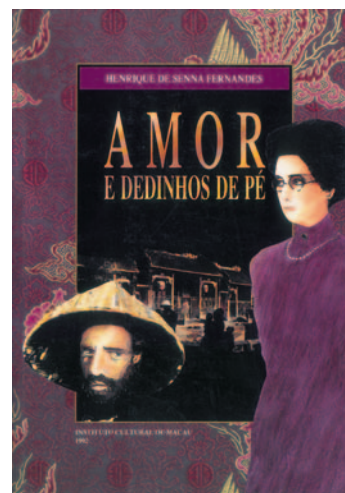
brought up culturally and educationally in Portuguese (he attended the Portuguese school and went to study law in Portugal after the War of the Pacific), he is fluent in spoken Cantonese and versed in the popular Chinese culture of his city, which, after all, is part of his own heritage. From a purely literary point of view, his major influences are 19th-century realism, and its 20th-century variant, neo-realism, but with strong romantic sentiments that are reminiscent of Brazil's 19th-century novelist, Bernardo Guimarães, and the more recent Jorge Amado.² Indeed, Fernandes is inextricably linked with his native city, much as Amado is with Bahia, and the strongly moral purpose of his work and harmonious endings are also redolent of both the Brazilian writers mentioned, as they are of the stories of the North American writer O. Henry, an acknowledged source of inspiration³.

Leung Ping-Kwan, or P. K. Leung as he is sometimes known, is of a very different background. Born in 1948 into a family that had its roots in mainland China, he studied French, and is a professor of comparative literature at Lingnan University in Hong Kong. He is essentially a Chinese-language writer, although he has also written through the medium of English. He is largely a poet (some of his poems have been translated into English), but has also published fiction, including the short stories and novellas first translated into French under the title *Îles et continents et autres nouvelles* (2001).⁴ Like Macao for Fernandes, Hong Kong is the centre of Leung Ping-Kwan's world. That said, a number of the stories in the above-cited collection are set in other places the author has

visited—the United States, Europe, and continental China—although there is always a reference back to Hong Kong, often through an addressed 'you' whose identity is vague. It may well be that these two writers' differing narrative strategies

— Fernandes's conventional realism, with a strong current of romanticism, and Leung's rather looser, less traditional narrative structures, deriving from the French 'nouveau roman'—believe differing attitudes towards their respective visions of their home cities, in spite of the nostalgia both convey for an older world.

Fernandes's stories, especially his two novels, both of which were published in the 1980s and early 90s (therefore in the period closely corresponding with the Sino-Portuguese declaration setting the agenda for the return of Macao to Chinese administration), are situated in a more or less distant past: *Amor e Dedinhos de Pé*, his first novel, takes place at the beginning of the 20th century, while *The Bewitching Braid* is set during the 1930s. Apart from being a period that corresponded to the author's youth, these were also years in which Macanese identity is recalled as still unthreatened by the social and cultural changes that were to occur, firstly as a result of the War of the Pacific (during which the population of the city more than doubled with refugees), and later as a result of the political changes in mainland China after 1949, which once again saw widespread migration into the territory. While in more recent, unfinished novels, the author has managed to focus on Macao in the 1960s, it is significant that his attraction is for a type of pre-modern city and the relations that existed between what some have termed the 'Chinese city'—that is, the part corresponding to the Inner Harbour, where many of the incoming migrants from rural China traditionally settled, and where the fishing port was situated—and the 'Christian city,' the part stretching along the spine of the peninsula and the so-called Outer Harbour, facing out into the Pearl River estuary, where the Portuguese administrators and the Macanese elite resided. The ethnic or 'colonial' distinctions between these two quarters have, of



Amor e Dedinhos de Pé (1992)



The Bewitching Braid

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course, long been eroded, especially with the emergence of a new Chinese bourgeoisie since the 1950s, which transformed the socio-economic characteristics of the territory long before it was formally returned to China. But in Fernandes's childhood and youth, the so-called Chinese quarter of Cheok Chai Un, where some of the most dramatic scenes of his novel *The Bewitching Braid* are set, exerted a certain fascination upon him, for it was where, to him as a middle-class Macanese, rural China existed within the borders of the city, contrasting with the sheltered and often constraining world of the Christian city in which he had been born and raised:

"My contact with Cheok Chai Un began when I was at secondary school. I lived on the Estrada de S. Francisco, which was then lined with trees and paved in the Portuguese style, and I had a choice of two routes to school. I either skirted the Boca do Inferno and crossed the Estrada dos Parses and then descended the Calçada do Paiol, or I turned into the Rua Nova à Guia. I would get to the top of the Rua Tomaz da Rosa and rush stumbling down the steps into the heart of Cheok Chai Un. I would pass the well and the old Tou Tei Temple and come out in the Rua do Campo. From there, I would turn right and in five minutes I would reach the entrance to the secondary school at Tap-Seac. My preference was for this second route."⁵

Perhaps the roots of Fernandes's nostalgia are for a Macao which was paradoxically both more traditionally Chinese and more traditionally Portuguese, before the onslaught of modernisation that swept away what was in effect the Chinese village of Cheok Chai Un just as it was, more recently, to sweep away the tree-lined waterside boulevard of the Praia Grande, hemming it in with land reclamation:

"That was what Cheok Chai Un was like and how it remained, more or less, up until the end of the 1950s. When the old city began to be knocked down indiscriminately, Cheok Chai Un didn't escape either. The construction of multi-storey buildings from reinforced concrete deprived it of its own characteristic features, just as happened, of course, with other neighbourhoods in Macao, and it blended into the rest of the city in an irksome move towards monotonous and unsightly uniformity."⁶

For Leung, too, there is an older, more time-honoured Hong Kong, one that he has somehow grown away from, forgotten, and is only reminded of again when he wanders into certain areas. In his story 'Eléphants,' in which some elephants from Thailand somehow get stuck in transit in Hong Kong and are kept on a patch of waste ground in the city, where one of them dies, Leung seems to be resorting to an ironically incongruous image to contrast nature's greatest animal achievement – the dignified, mighty, but ultimately vulnerable elephant – and man's greatest achievement – the mighty and depersonalised city. As the narrator and photographer wanders through the city, looking for somewhere to have dinner, he enters older streets:

"As a result of my wanderings, I had arrived in those old streets behind Central District. An older, simpler world had been left there, that contrasted with the modern bustling one further away. These streets had the air of being closer together, more real, they seemed to depend less on the epoch, they had existed no doubt since the depths of time, and would always be the same. Shops selling fish, seafood, were aligned north to south, stationers, pharmacies selling traditional medicine of every description, bazaars with large pairs of scissors over the door. I don't know how long it was since I had last walked past these shops. Yet they had remained there, behind the tawdriness of the city. I had merely distanced myself from them, that was all. For I had grown up in simple streets like these."⁷

Yet there is a difference between these two writers. Leung's stories are set largely in the Hong Kong that most of us have come to know, the city of skyscrapers of the last three or four decades. His work is more self-reflective, more existential and ultimately more prone to use the modern, cosmopolitan city as a metaphor for a type of frontier identity, demonstrated in the wandering characters in the aptly entitled stories such as 'Frontières' and 'Îles et continents.' Leung's Hong Kong may be an island on the edge of Mother China (or on the edge of the British colonial world), but it is a world too, while the continents that his characters wander through (North America, Europe) are also islands of isolated individual and groups. At the same time, the fragmented structure of Leung's stories incarnates the fragmented lives led by isolated, alienated individuals in the modern, impersonal metropolis. It

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is this implied lack of harmony, coupled with Leung's self-reflective, ironic tone, that differentiates the Hong Kong author's work from that of Fernandes, whose fiction is more concerned to evoke the identity of an ethnic community within a fast-changing world, while also, during the transition years, to reconcile that group with its Chinese roots, as well as with its traditionally upheld Portuguese identity. That said, both writers seek to evoke a particular type of regional or local identity that has to be forged out of the respective histories of these two cities.

Both these writers express a nostalgia that in many ways is remarkably similar. It reflects not

only their concern at the depersonalisation of their respective cityscapes, but also a yearning for apparently long-forgotten foods prepared and eaten when their communities were, perhaps, more cohesive. Yet it is worth recalling here the words of Michael Pickering and Emily Keightley: 'Nostalgia can (...) be seen as not only a search for ontological security in the past, but also a means of taking one's bearings for the road ahead in the uncertainties of the present'.⁸ **RC**

Author's note: Originally read as a paper at the conference of the Association of Chinese and Comparative Literature, Chengdu, 6-7 August 2007.

NOTES

- 1 These two stories were included in the anthology *Visions of China, Stories from Macau* (ed. David Brookshaw), Providence RI/Hong Kong, Gávea-Brown and Hong Kong University Press, 2002.
- 2 Guimarães (1825-1884) was the author of one of the best known novels about slavery, *A Escrava Isaura* (1875), 'The Slave Girl Isaura,' which was made into Brazil's first internationally famous television soap opera. Amado (1912-2001) is one of his country's most widely acknowledged social realist novelists of the 20th century.
- 3 O. Henry (1862-1910) was a popular short story writer in the United States, whose work was widely published in magazines.
- 4 Leung Ping-Kwan, *Îles et continents et autres nouvelles*, Paris, Ed. Gallimard, 2001. Since reading the fiction of Leung in French, I have discovered that the collection has been published more recently

in English, as *Islands and Continents* (Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2007).

- 5 Henrique de Senna Fernandes, *The Bewitching Braid*, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2004, p. 3.
- 6 *Ibidem*, pp. 2-3.
- 7 Leung Ping-Kwan, *Îles et continents et autres nouvelles*, pp.13-14. My translation from the French.
- 8 Michael Pickering, and Emily Keightley, 'The modalities of nostalgia', *Current Sociology*, 2006, 54, pp. 921. Leung's poem, 'Secret Family Recipes' is, for example, very 'Macanese' in its nostalgia for certain foods, similar in its elegiac tone to some of the descriptions of Macanese dishes and family meals in the writing of Senna Fernandes.

Hokkien Merchants in Maritime Asia prior to 1683 Bridging the East Ocean and the West Ocean

JAMES K. CHIN*



There is an old saying in China: *Min zai haizhong* 闽在海中, or “Fujian is in the sea,” implying that the local economy and daily life of this coastal province in southern China have long been closely related to maritime activities. The people of southern Fujian, better known as “Hokkien” 闽南人, have a long seafaring tradition. With the development of maritime trade, an increasing number of Hokkien who sailed overseas for trade had to stay temporarily at foreign emporia, waiting for the monsoon winds to make their return voyage. Thereby Hokkien sojourning communities gradually came into being in maritime Asia. While their commercial activities in some of the major ports of Southeast and East Asia have been examined, few studies have yet been done from the perspective of a regional maritime system, especially viewing the Hokkien merchants as a whole. The purpose of this article is thus to examine the Hokkien merchant group and their activities in maritime

Asia—the entrepôts of East Asia in particular.

The article is structured in the following way. First, I will give a brief account of the early Hokkien maritime activities in Southeast Asia, which will be followed by a survey of a number of major ports within the East Asian maritime system. Three representative entrepôts are chosen for examination: Korea, Kyushu and Taiwan. In addition, Manila is added to the picture as a typical Hokkien maritime hub. In the concluding remarks, the contribution made by Hokkien merchants will be further examined within the context of the transformation and development of the regional maritime system.

EARLY MARITIME ACTIVITIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

It is believed that Hokkien relations with the maritime world of Asia can be traced back at least to 84 A.D., when seven prefectures in Cochinchina sent their tribute by sea to the court via the port of Dongye 东冶, Fujian.¹ Archaeological discoveries in Fujian suggest that the early Hokkien were skilful canoe-builders.² In the early 3rd century, Fujian became the shipbuilding centre of the Kingdom of Wu 吴国. A sizable shipyard was established by the Wu ruler on the coast of Fujian to facilitate maritime expeditions,³ and a superintendent known as *Dianchuan xiaowei* 典船校尉, who was in

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Tem leccionado em várias Universidades da China, Hong Kong e Singapura. Neste momento é “Research Fellow” no Centro de Estudos Asiáticos da Universidade de Hong Kong. A sua investigação abrange a história marítima da Ásia, a emigração chinesa e as relações entre a China e os países do Sudeste Asiático.

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charge of the shipbuilding for the kingdom, had his headquarters established in Jian'an (i.e. Fuzhou).⁴ The number of junks and warships produced by the shipyard over the 59 years of the Wu period must have been significant. This is evident from the fact that in 280 A.D., when the kingdom of Wu surrendered to the Kingdom of Jin 晋国, more than 5,000 junks were captured.⁵ Regular maritime traffic between south Fujian and the early port-polities of Southeast Asia was well-established by the early 6th century, as monks from India who preached Buddhism in China frequently had to go to Liang'an (i.e. Quanzhou) to embark on large vessels to return home. In 558 A.D., for instance, an Indian monk named Kulanatha went to Liang'an with the aim of setting sail for the Kingdom of Lankasuka in what is today southern Thailand.⁶

According to *Xishan zazhi* 西山杂志, a privately compiled history of Dongshi, Jinjiang, there was a burgeoning trade between south Fujian and the peoples of Southeast Asia by the 8th century. It records, for example, that in 720 A.D., Lin Luan 林銓, a Hokkien merchant from Dongshi, led a group of clansmen to set sail overseas, and with the help of a sea-route guide left by his great-grandfather Lin Zhihui 林知慧, they finally reached Borneo. This initial voyage gave birth to trade between Quanzhou and Borneo, and a large number of Borneans were subsequently brought to the coast of south Fujian, bartering spices and other tropical products for embroidered and coloured cloth made by Quanzhou women.⁷ However, the golden age of Hokkien maritime trade did not come until the Song dynasty (980-1279), especially the Southern Song during the 12th and 13th centuries, when Quanzhou rose as the most important seaport for China's foreign trade, as well as the most famous ship-building centre in the country.

Sporadic records suggest that during this period Hokkien merchants were actively engaged in trading at emporia ranging from Korea in the north to Sumatra in the south. Of the emporia in Southeast Asia, Champa, Annam and Java were certainly the port-polities most favoured by the Hokkien merchants, and frequently Chinese records of the era link these ancient polities to itinerant Hokkien. Thus, the year 992 saw Mao Xu 毛旭, a rich Hokkien merchant, acting as a guide for a tribute mission from the Kingdom of Shepo or Java. This was because Mao Xu had regularly travelled to Java on business and was personally familiar with the ruler of the kingdom.⁸ When Wang Dayuan 汪大渊

visited Gulidimen 古里地闷 (Timor) in the 1330s with a group of Hokkien merchants, he was told that in the past, a Quanzhou family surnamed Wu 吴 had organised more than one hundred of their fellow villagers to trade at this port.⁹ A similar situation can be found in Champa, which was situated on the central coast of present-day Vietnam. In 1166, for instance, a Hokkien *gangshou* 纲首 or head merchant by the name of Chen Ying 陈应 led five junks to barter with local people in Champa. This team of junks returned to Fujian in the following year loaded with frankincense, ivory tusk and a tribute mission dispatched by the king of Champa.¹⁰ Soon afterwards, another two Hokkien merchant groups led by Wu Bing 吴兵 and Chen Yingxiang 陈应祥, respectively, were seen doing business in Champa.¹¹

Commercial acumen was an acknowledged gift of the Hokkien merchants; this much can be seen from an anecdote of the late 12th century. In 1173, a Hokkien junk was blown to Champa by typhoon winds, and a Hokkien merchant on board the junk happened to witness that the kingdom of Champa was at war with the kingdom of Zhenla, or Cambodia. Since the soldiers of the two belligerent sides were fighting each other by riding elephants, no one could take an upper hand in the war. The Hokkien merchant, who had probably previously served in the Song army, persuaded the Champa king to change his strategy and replace his elephants with Chinese horses. In order to convince the Cham warriors, he even taught them how to shoot arrows while riding. The king was delighted to accept the advice and gave him large sums of copper coins to purchase the horses needed. Subsequently, several dozen horses were sent to Champa. The Champa forces won the war the following year, as the Hokkien merchant expected, while the merchant who had skilfully taken advantage of the conflict between two indigenous polities himself profited accordingly.¹²

It should be noted that some of the Hokkien merchants from Quanzhou who engaged in overseas trade became very wealthy in the course of their maritime activities. Fo Lian 佛莲, for example, a local Quanzhou merchant and the son-in-law of Pu Shougeng 蒲寿庚, possessed, among other properties, 80 junks and 130 *dan* 石 of pearls when he died in 1293.¹³ Taking into account the fact that Quanzhou was ranked the top entrepôt in China during the 11th and 13th centuries, a prominent merchant like Fo

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Maritime Asia in 1660 or *Asia Noviter Delineata* by Willem J. Blaeu and Johannes Blaeu, 1660. Reproduced from Shi Shouqian ed., *Ilha Formosa: The Emergence of Taiwan on the World Scene in the 17th Century*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2003.

Lian could certainly be termed “the merchant prince of China.” In fact, one of the prerequisites set by the Chinese government in 1094 for any merchant to gain permission to engage in the Korea trade was that he should have, at the very least, capital of more than thirty million *guan* 贯 and two junks.¹⁴ Given that in 11th century China the price of one *dan* of rice was 600 or 700 *wen* 文,¹⁵ the capital requirement was obviously a huge amount. However, it confirms from another angle the fact that maritime merchants, especially those from Quanzhou rather than from Zhangzhou, were quite wealthy by the 14th century.

The sworn brotherhood had been a popular cooperative type among the Hokkien merchants since the 13th and 14th centuries. Sun Tianfu 孙天富 and Chen Baosheng 陈宝生, two late 14th century maritime

merchants from Quanzhou, can be advanced as an example. Forging a sworn brotherhood, they sailed together overseas to engage in trade. Over the ten years during which they visited most of the major emporia in maritime Asia, such as Korea, Japan, Java and Lopburi (i.e. Ayutthaya), they helped each other and shared everything they had. Consequently, they not only both succeeded in becoming well-to-do merchants, but were also called by their foreign business partners “the two chivalrous merchants from Quanzhou.”¹⁶

With the development of maritime trade, Hokkien merchants started to sojourn overseas. Some of them even stayed abroad for a very long period of time, but eventually they would return to their home villages in south Fujian. An interesting story relates to Wang Yuanmao 王元懋, a Hokkien merchant from

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Quanzhou, who went to Champa during the Chunxi 淳熙 period (1174-1189). As Wang had learned the Cham language when he was a child at one of the Islamic temples in Quanzhou, he became a bilingual expert in that country, and the king of Champa held him in great esteem. Wang Yuanmao was thus invited by the king to be his honourable guest, and subsequently married a princess of Champa. He stayed in Champa for ten years before finally returning to Quanzhou with capital worth a million strings of copper coins. Nevertheless, this is not the whole story. With the capital he carried with him from Champa, Wang started his own business in Quanzhou and organised a large group of Hokkien to trade overseas. Subsequently, Wang Yuanmao became one of the wealthiest merchants in the city, which in turn induced two influential court officials to forge marriage links with his family.¹⁷

Sojourning overseas for a while therefore seemed to have become a common practice among Hokkien merchants. Another contemporary source also mentions that these maritime merchants would sometimes ship off to foreign countries literati who failed the national examinations, released criminals, and petty officials; they called this practice *zhu dong* 住冬 or “passing the winter.” In fact, these early sojourners would not usually return after the winter. Instead, they would stay overseas for several years; some of them even sojourned overseas for more than twenty years, marrying local women and producing children.¹⁸ As a result, in a report submitted by the Fujian Maritime Trade Supervisory Board dated November 28, 1167, there are references to *tusheng tangren* 土生唐人 or local-born Chinese in Champa.¹⁹

Early Hokkien merchants’ activities overseas were not only recorded in the contemporary Chinese sources, they have also been corroborated by archaeological discoveries. In early 1972, for example, Wolfgang Franke and Ch’en Tieh-fan 陈铁凡 were invited by the curator of the Brunei Museum to determine the date of two Chinese tomb inscriptions unearthed in that country. To their surprise, what they discovered turned out to be the earliest extant Chinese tomb inscription in Southeast Asia; one of the tomb inscriptions, dated 1264, belonged to a Hokkien who was a former officer in Quanzhou.²⁰

Admittedly, the rapid growth of Hokkien overseas commercial activities during the 12th and 13th centuries was to a large extent encouraged by the

Chinese Southern Song government.²¹ The favourable treatment offered by the local regimes in both Northeast and Southeast Asia, on the other hand, also played an important role in attracting the Hokkien merchants to trade or sojourn in those societies. In Java, for example, the Chinese merchants as a rule would be installed in a guesthouse provided by the indigenous chief.²² The most compelling case, however, may be found in Annam, where the Vietnamese established their Dai Viet polity. Various contemporary Chinese sources point out that there were many Hokkien merchants sojourning in 11th century Annam, and one of them was named Li Gongyun 李公蕴, better known in Vietnam as Ly Cong Uan (and known posthumously as Ly Thai To). Li was proclaimed King of the Ly dynasty by general acclamation in 1010.²³ Very likely, this Annam king of Hokkien origin heard stories about the sages of early Chinese history when he was a child; therefore after he had assumed the throne he affirmed a golden age like that during the Shang and Zhou dynasties of Chinese antiquity.²⁴ Whatever the case, the years after the 11th century saw many Hokkien merchants invited to be court officials of the kingdom. The reason given by contemporary Chinese historians was that “the local people are generally illiterate; therefore the Hokkien merchants who travel to the kingdom in sea-going vessels will be given exceptionally good treatment and will be appointed as court officials to participate in policy-making. All official documents of this kingdom have thus been drafted by these sojourners.”²⁵ Presumably, it is also because the royal family had Hokkien connections, so merchants from home villages would be trusted and employed in the Ly dynasty. The fact that nepotism among the Hokkien was widespread in the Ly dynasty court is confirmed by another contemporary Chinese account. According to *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* 续资治通鉴长编, an official history of the Northern Song dynasty written between 1159 and 1183, a *jinshi* 进士 (third degree literati) from Lingnan named Xu Boxiang 徐伯祥 sent a letter to the King of the Ly dynasty in the early 12th century, asking for a position at the court. The reason that Xu wished to seek refuge with the Ly dynasty was that, as he explained in his letter, he had repeatedly failed the national examinations and he knew that the ancestor of the king of the Ly dynasty was Hokkien. Also, he had been told that many of the nobles and senior officials of the kingdom were Hokkien. Since

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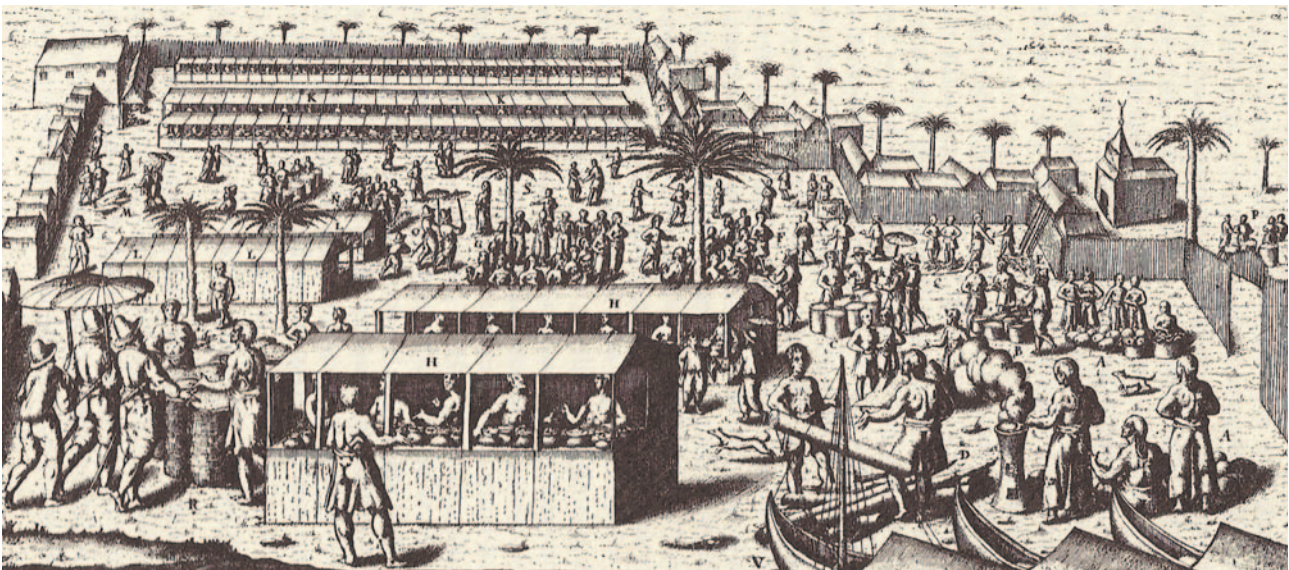
the Song court did not want to make use of his talent, he would prefer to serve the Ly dynasty like those Hokkien sojourners.²⁶ Without belabouring the point, it seems clear that a Hokkien sojourning community was formed gradually in the years following the 11th century at the site of present-day Hanoi, which the Vietnamese called Thang-long.

The sojourning Hokkien merchants were not active only in the Ly dynasty; a similar story can also be found in the Vietnamese Tran dynasty. The founding king of the Tran dynasty was a Hokkien by the name of Chen Rizhao 陈日照, known as Tran Thu Do in Vietnamese. It is worth noting that both contemporary Chinese sources and the later Vietnamese records are all consistent about the origin of the royal family; even authoritative Vietnamese history sources *Dai Viet su ky toan thu* affirms that the ancestor of their founding emperor was a Hokkien named Tran Kinh (Chen Jing 陈京).²⁷ Equally interesting is a note by Zhao Rugua 赵汝适 in his famous *Zhu Fan Zhi* 诸蕃志. When describing the kingdom of Jiao-zhi or Annam, Zhao remarks that “the surname of the Jiao-zhi king is Tang”²⁸ A careless glance at this sentence would probably lead people to think what Zhao Rugua means simply that the king had a Chinese surname, since the character “Tang” 唐 can be used to refer to anything from China. Nevertheless, a second thought would definitely help people, especially those who are familiar

with the Hokkien dialect, understand that here “Tang” actually refers to the popular Chinese surname “Chen,” because the character “Chen” 陈 is pronounced “Tan” in Hokkien, which in turn points to the Chen family, originally from Fujian. Considering the fact that Zhao stayed in Quanzhou for a long time in the 1220s when he was in charge of the *Tiju shiboshi* 提举市舶司 or the Maritime Trade Supervisory Board, that all the information contained in his book was extracted from reports or interviews with Hokkien maritime merchants returned from overseas, and that geographical and personal names were, as a rule, recorded in accordance with the Hokkien pronunciation, the explanation suggested above is probably applicable also to the Tran dynasty of Vietnam.

On the other hand, new sojourning Hokkien merchants were seen in most of the port polities of Southeast Asia in the early 15th century. In Palembang, before the late 1420s, there was a sojourning community consisting of thousands of Cantonese from eastern Guangdong and Hokkien from Zhangzhou and Quanzhou.²⁹ In eastern Java, many Hokkien were said to have settled down among local Javanese and Muslim traders. A number of early sojourning communities, scattered across ports like Tuban, Majapahit and Gresik, thus came into being. When Zheng He’s 郑和 fleet arrived in Java in the early 15th century, there already existed a Chinese sojourning village at Gresik named

A Dutch engraving based on contemporary descriptions of the Banten great market of West Java. Reproduced from G. P. Rouffaer and J. W. Ijzerman eds., *De eerste schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman, 1595-1597*, The Hague: Nijhoff for Linschoten-Vereeniging, 1915.



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Xin Cun 新村 (or “New Village”), with a Cantonese as its head.³⁰

Sojourning Hokkien merchants in Java were usually employed by local rulers to serve as interpreters or envoys in the tribute missions sent to the Chinese court, but some of them would ask to be allowed to return to their home villages when they arrived in China. In 1436, for example, a Javanese envoy by the name *Caifu bazhi manrong* 财富八致满荣 told the Ming court that he was a Zhangzhou Hokkien and his original Chinese name was Hong Maozai 洪茂仔, and since he had been captured at sea by a band of pirates before he fled to Java, he would be very happy if the court would send him back home. As he hoped, the court provided him with food and silver and sent him back to Zhangzhou in southern Fujian.³¹ Two years later, another Javanese tribute mission led by three Hokkien sojourners reached the Ming court. The envoy named *Ya-lie Ma Yongliang* 亚烈马用良, together with his two fellow villagers, Liang Yin 良殷 and Nan Wendan 南文旦, applied to go back to Zhangzhou prefecture with their families to build ancestral shrines and offer sacrifices. Of them, Liang Yin decided to stay at home permanently.³² Without doubt, Hokkien merchants' contributions to the regional maritime trade in the early period under discussion here laid a solid foundation for their further development overseas in the years after the 15th century.

The early Ming maritime expeditions led by Zheng He doubtless promoted Hokkien maritime activities in Southeast Asia.³³ The empire-launched expeditions stopped abruptly in 1433, but soon afterwards, a large-scale private maritime trade, characterised by armed smuggling and collaboration with both the powerful local gentry and the Portuguese, was seen on the southeast coast of China. Patronized and supported by members of the influential local official-cum-gentry, such as Lin Xiyuan 林希元 and Xu Fuxian 许福先, more and more Hokkien ventured to sea to pursue profit without paying any attention to the maritime prohibition imposed by the Ming court. In one coastal village in Zhangzhou, for instance, there were about ten thousand families, and all of them were engaged in the smuggling trade. It was a local custom that when the smuggling merchants returned from overseas safely, they only told people that they had been away somewhere as guests, and all of their neighbours would come to congratulate them.³⁴ As

lamented by Zhu Wan 朱纨, the Governor of Zhejiang and Commander-in-Chief of the Maritime Defence, who was sent by the court to curb smuggling on the coast of Fujian and Zhejiang in 1547 but who ended up committing suicide, the inclination among Hokkien for trafficking overseas was irresistible.³⁵

KOREA

Apart from various port polities in Southeast Asia, Korea was an influential kingdom in East Asia and an important emporium frequented by Hokkien merchants after the early 11th century. According to the Korean historian Jeong In Ji, of the Chinese merchants, the Hokkien merchants were the biggest business partners of Korean merchants during the 11th century, and almost every year a group of Hokkien merchants from Quanzhou would visit the kingdom of Korea. In some years, this group was as large as several hundred merchants. According to the figures provided in Jeong's *Ko-ryo Sa* (A History of Korea), 117 groups of Chinese merchants from the Song dynasty visited Korea between 1012 and 1192, and their total number amounted to 4,548. While most Korean documents only vaguely address these maritime merchants from China as “Song-shang” or merchants from the Song dynasty, occasionally they do record the places of origin of these merchants. Of them, the majority was from Fujian, especially from the Quanzhou region of southern Fujian. In other words, it could safely be assumed that the “Song-ren” (citizens of the Song dynasty) or “Song-shang” mentioned in the Korean documents would frequently refer to the Hokkien merchants from Quanzhou. Table 1 furnishes data on the Hokkien merchants trading with Korea from 1013 to 1091.

When the capital of the Southern Song Dynasty was moved to Lin'an (today's Hangzhou) in 1138, the lion's share of national revenue had to be sought from the duties levied on the maritime trade, which in turn facilitated the rapid rise of Quanzhou as one of the major foreign trading ports in China in the 12th century. Unlike the Guangzhou harbour, which remained largely an official entrepôt, Quanzhou was traditionally a port for private maritime trade. Nevertheless, in the years following 1138, the junk trade with Korea conducted by Hokkien merchants entered a boom period. It is affirmed that sixteen groups of Chinese maritime merchants sailed to Korea in the six years from 1147

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TABLE 1.
HOKKIEN MERCHANTS TRADING TO KOREA DURING
THE 11TH CENTURY³⁶

YEAR	NAME AND NUMBERS OF HOKKIEN MERCHANTS
1013	Zai Yi 载翼
1015	Ouyang Zheng 欧阳征
1017	Forty merchants headed by Lin Renfu 林仁福
1019	Two hundred merchants led by Chen Wengui 陈文轨 and Yu Xuan 虞瑄
1020	A group of merchants led by Huai Zhi 怀贲
1022	A group of merchants headed by Chen Xiangzhong 陈象中
1023	Chen Yi 陈亿
1028	More than thirty merchants led by Li Shan 李善
1030	A group of merchants led by Lu Zun 卢遵
1033	Fifty-five merchants headed by Lin Ai 林蔼
1045	A group of merchants led by Lin Xi 林禧
1049	Sixty-two merchants headed by Wang Yicong 王易从
1060	A group of merchants led by Huang Wenjing 黄文景 and Su Zongming 肃宗明
1064	Lin Ning 林宁
1065	A group of merchants led by Lin Ning and Huang Wenjing
1068	Huang Shen 黄慎 and Lin Ning
1070	Huang Shen
1074	Fu Xuan 付旋
1087	Twenty merchants led by Xu Jin 徐晋
1088	Liu Zai 刘载
1089	Fifty-nine merchants headed by Xu Cheng 徐成
1090	A group of merchants led by Xu Jin
1091	A group of merchants led by Xu Cheng

to 1152, and their number totalled 1,332. Again, most of them were Hokkien merchants.³⁷ Commodities shipped from Song China included silk, coloured and white satins, clothing, porcelain, tortoise-shell, Chinese herbs and drugs, tea, wine, books, musical instruments, candles, copper coins, peacocks and parrots. With these goods Hokkien merchants were able to barter with their Korean counterparts for local products such

as gold, silver, copper, ginseng, sulphur, tuckahoe, animal furs, yellow lacquer, linen, horses, saddles and reins, long gowns, perfume oils, various fans, white paper and brush pens.³⁸ The Korean government even entrusted individual Hokkien merchants to purchase books or order Buddhist scriptures for them in China. Xu Jin, a merchant from Quanzhou, is such a case in point. Xu frequented Korea with his business and was thus familiar with the Korean royal family. The Korean court asked Xu to place an order at a print shop in Hangzhou for a specially made wooden copy of the Buddhist scriptures for the Korean government. When Xu shipped the copy, which comprised more than 2,900 wooden leaves, back to Korea in the spring of 1087, he was rewarded by the Korean government with 3,000 taels of silver—clearly a huge sum in the early 11th century.³⁹

An interesting phenomenon to be noted here is that some Hokkien merchants were actively involved in diplomatic affairs between the Song dynasty and the kingdom of Korea, and sometimes they quite simply functioned as diplomatic agents for the two countries. In 1068, for example, a group of merchants from Quanzhou, including Huang Shen, Lin Ning and Hong Wanlai 洪万来, were sent by the Song government to Korea with a confidential letter written by the Emperor Shenzong 神宗, asking to establish friendly relations with the kingdom of Korea. Huang Shen and Hong Wanlai were warmly received by the Korean authorities, and returned to Quanzhou with an official reply from the Ministry of Ceremonies of the Korean kingdom the following year.⁴⁰ The Chinese records reveal that Huang Shen was dispatched to the kingdom of Korea again in 1070, but remains silent about the aim of his second mission.⁴¹ Considering the fact that the year 1068 happened to be the first year of Shenzong's reign, it is very likely that the Song emperor was eager to create a new and stable diplomatic scenario in Asia for both the dynasty and himself; but because the Song court had no direct diplomatic channels through which to communicate with Korea, the Hokkien merchants who regularly plied the route between Quanzhou and Korea were asked to transmit important messages. Similarly, in 1075 a Quanzhou merchant named Fu Xuan asked to borrow a group of Chinese musicians to give a performance at the Korean court, via an official document issued by the Ministry of Ceremonies of the Korean kingdom.⁴²

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The private junk trade between south Fujian and Korea declined drastically after the 15th century, with the rise of official trade that accompanied the frequent tribute missions and the flourishing overland trade in horses and Chinese drugs in the border region. Maritime smuggling activities carried out by Hokkien merchants in the 16th century, however, were occasionally documented in Korean sources. The Jiajing 嘉靖 period (1522-1566) thus saw the Hokkien maritime smuggling trade with Korea reach its peak for a short period. In 1544, for example, more than 150 Hokkien merchants from Tong'an and Quanzhou (in southern Fujian) were caught off the Korean coast by the Korean coast guard.⁴³ Moreover, between December 1544 and March 1547, more than 1,000 Hokkien merchants who had drifted to Korea on their way to Kyushu Island were sent back to their home villages. Again, in February 1547, 341 Hokkien merchants headed by Feng Shu 冯淑 were sent home from Korea.⁴⁴

KYUSHU

The island of Kyushu, thanks to its natural harbours and numerous scattered islands, provided Hokkien maritime traders with excellent port bases for smuggling and sojourning beginning in the early 16th century. The history of Hokkien sojourning communities in Kyushu can be divided into three periods. During the first, roughly from the 1540s to 1635, the Hokkien merchants were allowed to trade freely with their Japanese partners, and were able to sojourn at any port on Kyushu Island with the encouragement of the local *ryoshu* or lord, which in turn created several sojourning communities, large or small, in Kyushu. The second period comprised the years from 1635 to 1689, when the *bakufu* (shogunal government) ordered all foreign trading ships to use the port of Nagasaki, and succeeded in restricting the Chinese merchants to living in Nagasaki. To be exact, from 1635 onwards, the activities of the sojourning Hokkien in Kyushu—even in the whole of Japan—were completely confined to this small commercial port. In 1689, the Tokugawa *bakufu* built a *tojin yashiki* (the Chinese Quarter) in the village of Juzenji, Nagasaki, and ordered all the sojourning Chinese to be moved into this walled quarter under the close watch of the Tokugawa authorities. The third period, after 1689, thus witnessed the decline of the Hokkien community in Kyushu; large

numbers of Hokkien merchants moved to Taiwan and other major trading port polities in Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia.

In other words, the period before 1635 can be termed as the Golden Age for the development of private Hokkien merchants on the island of Kyushu, as those scattered islands along the jagged coastline of Kyushu were easily accessible from their home villages in south Fujian. In addition, their smuggling activities and sojourning on the island were welcomed and protected by the feudal lords of Kyushu within their respective *han* (domains), since the latter were eager to strengthen themselves economically by fostering overseas trade with the Ming merchants. Gradually, at least seven Chinese sojourning communities emerged on the island of Kyushu, particularly in Bungo-no-kuni, Hirado of Hizen and Satsuma, populated by merchants from south Fujian, Huizhou, and coastal Zhejiang.

The earliest Chinese sojourning community in Kyushu was probably formed in Hakata. According to *Riben Kao* 日本考 (Records on Japan), one of the contemporary Ming sources on Japan, the number of Chinese maritime traders sojourning in Hua-xu-ta (Hakata) was so large that the street where these merchants congregated was named Da Tang Jie 大唐街 (Great Tang Street). Some of these merchants were even unwilling to leave the community; they established their families there and produced offspring.⁴⁵ One thing is certain: the Chinese sojourning community of Hakata must have come into existence in the mid-16th century, as the book *Riben Kao* was compiled and published before 1593 by Ming military officials dealing with the *wako* or Japanese pirates.

Satsuma was another important settlement for sojourning Hokkien. It seems that the first group of Hokkien in Satsuma were the victims of *wako* in the early 16th century. Zheng Shungong 郑舜功 affirms in his travel accounts that about 200 to 300 Hokkien people were sojourning in Gaozhou (Takatsu) as slaves; all of them had been captured by Japanese *wako* from Fuzhou, Xinghua, Quanzhou and Zhangzhou, and had been living in Takatsu for more than twenty years.⁴⁶ Probably for this reason, the Shimazu family that controlled the *Satsuma han* enjoyed close commercial relations with Fujian by the end of the 16th century. In August 1600,

Trading in the Chinese sojourning quarter of Nagasaki, Japan.
Reproduced from Ishizaki Yushi, *Illustrated Scroll of Chinese Quarter (Tokan)*
in Nagasaki, Nagasaki: Nagasaki Bunkensya, 2005 reprint.



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when Shimazu Yoshihiro was commissioned by the *Gotairo* (Five Regents) of the *bakufu* to repatriate the Ming general Mao Guoke 茅国科, who had been taken hostage when Japanese forces withdrew from Korea, this leading *ryoshu* appealed to the Fujian authorities through his family merchant, by the name of Torihara Soan, for the assumption of *kango* or tally trade relations between south Fujian and Satsuma. With the persuasion and assurance of the Shimazu family, 1607 saw a Quanzhou merchant named Xu Lihuan 许丽寰 anchor his junk off Satsuma. Xu traded at Satsuma for a year before returning to Quanzhou. During the next year (1609), ten Fujian trading junks entered the harbours of Satsuma, obviously encouraged by the example of Xu Lihuan as well as by the promise given and the protection provided by the Shimazu family.⁴⁷

It is interesting to note that some of the Hokkien smuggling merchants sojourning at Satsuma even entered into special relations with the local *ryoshu*. Zhou Hezhi 周鹤芝 was an excellent case in point. Zhou was from the village of Rongtan, in Fuqing, southern Fujian. He joined the smuggling trade groups when he was a teenager because he could not afford to go to school. However, because he was very smart and good at archery, all of his fellow countrymen acknowledged allegiance to him. Since he usually sailed to Kyushu and traded in Satsuma, he gradually formed intimate relations with the Shimazu family by becoming the adopted son of the Satsuma *ryoshu*. When Li Dan 李旦 died and Zheng Zhilong 郑芝龙 took over Li Dan's commercial and maritime empire, Zhou became Zheng Zhilong's valuable assistant in expanding Zheng's maritime empire. Later on, Zhou accepted the amnesty and enlistment offered by the Ming Dynasty, and was appointed by emperor Longwu 隆武 to be the Commander-in-Chief of the Ming naval forces. What needs to be noted here is the pivotal role Zhou played on the eve of the fall of the Ming Dynasty. In December 1645, Zhou sent an urgent letter to his adoptive father in Satsuma, asking the Japanese *bakufu* to lend him 3,000 Japanese soldiers to rescue the Ming court.⁴⁸

At about the same time, another community of sojourning Hokkien merchants emerged in Higo, nowadays Kumamoto. Similar to the community in Satsuma, the earliest residents of this Hokkien community also consisted mainly of common folk kidnapped from coastal Fujian by the *wako*. According to Kobata Atsushi 小葉田淳's study, the Higo Hokkien

sojourning community was established before 1589. The quarters of this community or *tojinmachi* were moved twice in the following 26 years. Moreover, at Tamana, one of the flourishing foreign trade ports in Higo *han*, there was another Hokkien sojourning community during the Genna period (1615-23), as evidenced by several Hokkien graves such as those of Lin Junwu 林均吾 and Guo Binyi 郭滨沂 from Haicheng.⁴⁹ As regards the merchants, what we see from the contemporary records is that Si Guan 四官, one of the famous Hokkien merchants engaged in the *shuinsen boeki* (the vermillion-seal ship trade) with Cochinchina, had his business based in Higo, and was therefore called by his fellow countrymen Higo Siguan 肥后四官 even after he moved to Nagasaki later on.⁵⁰

The final case with regard to the Hokkien communities on the island of Kyushu before 1635 concerns Hirado and the Goto Islands, a group of islands southwest of this hub of commerce. According to local legend, the sojourning community of Hirado was initially set up by private maritime traders from Fujian in around 1535.⁵¹ This sojourning merchant community was joined by Wang Zhi 王直, a well-known smuggling merchant from Huizhou, and his men in the early 1540s, before they were defeated by the Ming naval forces at Shuangyu, Zhejiang, in 1548. According to contemporary Japanese and Chinese sources, Wang Zhi and his business partners constructed a *tojinmachi* at *yashiki* of Hirado in the Chinese style. Encouraged by Matsuura Takanobu, the *daimyo* of Hirado, these venturesome traders not only induced many private Chinese maritime merchants to trade at Hirado, but also set up large, well-secured bases in the Goto Islands. It was only because of these Chinese smugglers, led by Wufeng 五峰, or Hui Wang 徽王 (King of Huizhou) as Wang Zhi called himself, that Hirado suddenly rose, in the 1540s and 1550s, to become a commercial port of the first importance in Kyushu (referred to as the "West Capital" in contemporary Japanese documents), with large numbers of merchants and a wide variety of goods flooding into it, either from Kyoto and Sakai or from southern China and Portuguese Macao.⁵²

It is intriguing to notice that many of Wang Zhi's leading associates and the majority of his buccaneers were Hokkien private merchants. The notorious *wako* raid on Zhejiang in 1552, for instance, was led by Deng Wenjun 邓文俊 and Shen Nanshan 沈南山. Deng was from Fuqing with his base at Yobuku in the same

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Market in the Chinese Quarter of Nagasaki, Japan. Reproduced from Oba Osamu ed., *The Compilation of Paintings of the Chinese Residences (Token) in Nagasaki*, Kansai: Kansai University, 2003.

Matsuura *han*, while Shen was from Zhangzhou.⁵³ When Wang Zhi was trapped and killed by the forces of the Ming court in 1559, some of his Hokkien congeners, such as Xie Ce 谢策, Hong Dizhen 洪迪珍, Zhang Wei 张维 and Wang Jingxi 王靖溪, shifted their bases to the coast of Fujian and eastern Guangdong, while others continued their smuggling trade based in Hirado.⁵⁴ In other words, during the period under review, the Chinese sojourning community of Hirado was virtually dominated by private Hokkien merchants who took over the leadership from the Huizhou merchant group and integrated the community into the overseas Hokkien network.

A great deal of evidence shows that the Hokkien community that settled on the north-western coast of Hirado Bay reached its heyday in the early 17th century, especially under the leadership of Li Dan or Andrea Dittis, as he is usually referred to in Western-language records, a remarkable Hokkien merchant from Quanzhou.⁵⁵ The diary of Richard Cocks and the detailed archival records of the English East India

Company Factory at Hirado from 1613 to 1623 give us a fragmentary but fascinating picture of this Hokkien captain. In a letter sent to the East India Company, dated February 25, 1615, Cocks reports:⁵⁶

“These 2 Chinas brothers, Andrea Dittis & Whaw, are greate merchantes & will contynewally [bring more?] merchandiz in this place then all the Japons in Firando. Andrea Dittis was governor of the Chinas at Manila in the Phillippinas and in the end the Spaniardes picked a quarrell on purpose to seize all he had, to the vallew of above 40,000 taies, [and put him?] into the gallis, from whence he escaped som 9 years since & came to Firando, where he hath lived ever since.”

It could be safely inferred from the above information that Li Dan had been a very rich merchant and the governor or leader of the Hokkien community of Manila before he escaped from the Spanish galleys in 1606, soon after the first Chinese massacre of 1603. Also, it seems evident that Li Dan established himself at Hirado very quickly, and regained his influence

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among his fellow countrymen within a few years. We do not know exactly when he became the Captain of the Hokkien community at Hirado. What we hear from the English sources is that when the fleet of the English East India Company first reached the entrepôt in 1613, Captain John Saris had to ask the Chinese Captain Audassee (Li Dan) to rent one of his houses at Kibikida for the purpose of setting up the English Factory, at a rent of 95 reals for six months.⁵⁷

In the early decades of the 17th century, the two Hokkien sojourning communities in Hirado and Nagasaki were closely connected. It was common for wealthy Hokkien merchants to have residences and warehouses in both towns, as is confirmed by Richard Cocks' diary. If one community had something important to discuss or celebrate, relatives, friends and fellow countrymen from the nearby community

would immediately come. For instance, on November 23, 1617, Li Dan held a grand birthday celebration for his younger daughter at Hirado, which was attended by a large group of Hokkien merchants coming from different parts of Kyushu. Of the guests, more than fifty were prominent Hokkien from the community of Nagasaki, "and each one hath brought a present, most of plate, and some of eatable stuffe."⁵⁸

Kinship was regarded as very important among sojourning Hokkien merchants, particularly if differences in their place of origin would have otherwise created suspicions or prevented business expansion. Consequently marriage and sworn brotherhood were widely employed to bolster commercial relationships and enhance social status during the early days of the Hokkien sojourning communities. The same was true of the Hokkien merchant community

in 17th century Kyushu. From Cocks' account we understand that Li Dan had a brother, Whowe (Ouyang Huayu 欧阳华宇) by name, who was a sojourner in Nagasaki, whilst he had another younger brother named Niguan (Er Guan 二官) living at Hirado. Nevertheless, Whowe was not Li Dan's blood brother as declared by Iwao Seichi 岩生成一. According to *Nagasaki meishou zue* 長崎名勝圖繪, Whowe was from Zhangzhou, while Li Dan was from Quanzhou, though both prefectures were the famous homes of Hokkien merchants overseas. In addition, their surnames were different. Since both of them were Captains of the early Hokkien sojourning communities in Kyushu,



Chinese sojourning quarter of Nagasaki, Japan. Reproduced from Ishisaki Yushi, *Illustrated Scroll of Chinese Quarter (Tokan) in Nagasaki*, Nagasaki: Nagasaki Bunkensya, 2005 reprint.

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and they definitely needed to rely upon each other for assistance in expanding their business, the only effective and safe way under such a circumstance was to create some sort of fictive kinship ties between them. It is true that the relationship between Li Dan and Whowe was very intimate. On April 11, 1616, for instance, Li Dan set sail for the Goto Islands to burn incense and pray for Whowe's health at the Temple of Guan Yu 關王祠.⁵⁹ Apart from the frequent exchange of gifts and visits, they collaborated with each other to engage in the vermilion-seal junk trade to Tonkin, Cochín, Taiwan and Manila during the early 17th century.

Hokkien merchants who formed part of this sworn brotherhood group in Kyushu should also include Niguan and Weiguan 魏官. Again, the present author personally does not believe that Niguan was Li Dan's blood brother at Hirado. At most, he might have been Li Dan's clansman, as many a time Richard Cocks makes mention of him in his diary as "the China Capt. kynsman" who always led Li Dan's fleet and sailed to Cochinchina to purchase silk and pepper for him.⁶⁰ As for Geeguan, an industrious Hokkien merchant based at Hirado, he owned his own junk and mainly engaged in trade with Siam, with the collaboration of the English East India Company. Only in March 1617, when Geeguan died in Siam and it was suggested that his remains and possessions be returned to his brother Captain Whowe in Nagasaki, was it revealed that he also belonged to this Hokkien group of sworn brothers.⁶¹ It is evident that sworn brotherhood thus frequently became the most popular pattern of creating kinship ties among the sojourning Hokkien, particularly in their early sojourning days. Sometime before March 10, 1620, when Li Dan was elected by his fellow regionals and clansmen as Captain-General of the Chinese in Japan,⁶² Hirado seemed finally to be established as the headquarters of sojourning Chinese communities on Kyushu Island led by Hokkien merchants, which also demonstrates to some extent the strength of kinship in pulling together sojourning Hokkien overseas.

Clearly these Hokkien merchants understood that family ties could act as a form of security and, in all sojourning communities, marriage could be a means of cementing community unity and mutual aid. Therefore March and April of 1618 saw Li Dan solidify his trading network by accompanying his daughter to Nagasaki and arranging her marriage to the son of Goguan 五官, another wealthy Hokkien merchant in Nagasaki.⁶³

What is especially noteworthy as a general feature of the development of Hokkien community overseas is that these sojourning Hokkien merchants not only built up their local business networks by intertwining different kinship ties, but also extended this kind of connection southward along the traditional Hokkien maritime trade route. In fact, a Hokkien business network ranging from the Kyushu Islands in the north to the Malay Archipelago in the south did exist in the early 17th century, and functioned well long before the emergence of the Zheng family maritime empire. It was surprising to discover that almost all the prominent leaders of the early Hokkien communities scattered across maritime Asia were actually familiar with one another, and that they maintained close relations within Hokkien society overseas. The casual mention of their communications in the Dutch records provides us with some evidence. In March 1625, through the courtesy of a Dutch vessel, Li Dan sent a letter to Bencon, Kapitein of the Hokkien community in Batavia.⁶⁴ Nobody knows what they discussed in that letter, but one thing is clear: the extent to which these Hokkien sojourning communities of the early modern period were connected with each other was much closer than previously believed.

What is more, like their fellow countrymen in Banten, a leading emporium in West Java during the 16th and 17th centuries, influential Hokkien merchants at Hirado knew well how to successfully establish their business overseas by forming special links with local feudal lords; sometimes they would even finance the ventures of these local lords despite the fact that they themselves might still be in debt. To cite an example, in a letter dated December 31, 1622, Cocks told his colleague Richard Fursland at Batavia that Li Dan had loaned a large sum of money (6,000 taels of silver) to Shimazu Iehisa, the lord of Satsuma, to invest in the maritime trade, although Li Dan himself owed much money to the English East India Company at that time.⁶⁵ Undoubtedly, this clever Hokkien captain maintained friendly relations with all of the leading feudal lords in Kyushu. While frequently exchanging courtesies with local feudal lords and nobles at Hirado such as Matsuura Takanobu and Sagawa Shumenokami Nobutoshi, Li Dan was on intimate terms with Hasegawa Gonroku, the *bugyo* of Nagasaki.⁶⁶ Needless to say, what he invested in forging special relations with these feudal lords was rewarded generously afterwards. In return for Li Dan's gifts and generosity, Matsuura Takanobu not

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TABLE 2. HOKKIEN MERCHANTS' VERMILLION-SEAL JUNK TRADING, 1603-1624⁶⁷

<div>PORT OF DESTINATION</div> <div>MERCHANT</div>	MANILA	TONKIN	CHAMPA	FAIFO	CAMBODIA	JAVA	PATANI	SIAM	TAIWAN
Lin Sanguan	1606		1606			1603 1604 1605 1607			
Zhu Wuguan				1610 1613 1614 1616	1609		1606 1607		
Ouyang Huayu		1616 1618		1614 1615					1617 1618
Zhang Sanguan		1614		1615 1616					
Si Guan				1614					
San Guan				1614				1615	
Er Guan		1618							1620
Higo Siguan				1617 1618 (2 junks)					
Liu Guan				1614					
Li Dan		1617 1618 1621							1617 1618 1621 (2 junks) 1622 1623 1624 (3 junks)
Ci Shan						1606			
Betsu Kei								1614	
Total: 45	1	7	1	14	1	5	2	2	12

only helped him obtain the license for overseas trade from the Shogun at Edo, but also succeeded in securing for him the monopoly on trade with Taiwan.⁶⁸

While the Hokkien communities on Kyushu Island were dominated by sojourning merchants who plied between Japan and coastal China and Southeast

Asia, other sojourning Hokkien with expertise or special skills could also be seen in the community. On March 6, 1618, for instance, a Hokkien notary was asked by Li Dan and the English factory of Hirado to translate into Chinese a letter from the British King (James I, who styled himself “King of Great Britain”) to the

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Ming emperor. The occupations taken up by sojourning Hokkien were diverse, and, according to Cocks, included musician, tailor, and haberdasher. And in February 1617, a Hokkien circus was even invited to give a performance with a tiger at the English factory.⁶⁹

Later on, with the rise of Nagasaki and Taiwan as two important entrepôts in East Asia as well as the enforcement of the *sakoku* policy by the Edo *bakufu*, Hirado declined gradually as a major centre of trade in Kyushu. The Hokkien sojourning community of Hirado started to disintegrate accordingly, particularly after the death of Li Dan in August 1625. While some of them left for Taiwan, Manila and Batavia to join their relatives and friends there, others moved to the increasingly expanding Chinese community in Nagasaki.

The beginning of the junk trade from South China to the port of Nagasaki dates back to 1562, according to Nagasaki historians Nishikawa Joken 西川如見 and Tanabe Mokei 田邊茂啓,⁷⁰ although it was not until 1569 that Omura Sumitada officially opened the port, with the arrival of Portuguese missionaries.⁷¹ Since the Portuguese vessels based in Macao only showed up at the port once a year for the first few years, the overseas trade at Nagasaki was in reality in the hands of a small group of Chinese private merchants, consisted mainly of sojourning Hokkien, as noted. However, the Hokkien junk trade with Japan suffered a serious setback when Toyotomi Hideyoshi invaded Korea in 1592, an invasion aimed directly at Ming China. Normal trade relations with Japan were not resumed, although a few Hokkien smuggling junks entered the waters of Nagasaki in the autumn of 1600, shortly after the death of Hideyoshi in 1598.⁷² Perhaps because the Chinese junks trading at Nagasaki were predominantly from south Fujian, the year 1610 saw Honda Masazumi, a *roju* or councillor to Tokugawa Ieyasu, send a friendly letter in the name of Ieyasu to Chen Zizhen 陈子贞, Governor of Fujian, in which he expressed the wish that the junks from Fujian would be warmly welcomed to trade in Nagasaki regularly. Meanwhile, Hasegawa Fujihiro, the *bugyo* of Nagasaki, also sent a letter to Chen Zizhen, hoping for a revival of the *kango* (tally) trade with Fujian.⁷³

The Hokkien junk trade in Nagasaki fell into two categories: the *shuinsen boeki* (trade conducted by vermilion-seal junks based in Japan) and the *tosen boeki* (trade conducted by junks from China). The *shuinsen*

boeki, which engaged in trade between Japan and the commercial ports of Southeast Asia and Taiwan, started in the early 17th century and remained the principal channel of Japan's foreign trade until 1635, when it was suddenly abolished by the *bakufu*. Some wealthy sojourning Hokkien merchants, such as Lin Sanguan 林三官, Wu Wuguan 吴五官, Zhang Sanguan 张三官 (or Zhang Jiquan 张吉泉), Ouyang Huayu, Zhu Wuguan 朱五官, Er Guan and Si Guan, were actively involved in this trade. The *shuinsen boeki* was mainly a barter trade in which Japanese silver was exchanged for Chinese silk. The availability of larger quantities of silver for export, and the preference of an ever-more affluent warrior class for silk rather than cotton, boosted this kind of exchange. The major smuggling markets for silk for the *shuinsen boeki* were in Tonkin, Faifo, and Luzon, as well as Taiwan, especially after the Dutch set up a factory there in 1624. Table 2 provides data on the number of *shuinsen* dispatched by the Hokkien merchants during the first quarter of the 17th century.

The private *tosen boeki*, on the other hand, was initially seen by the *bakufu* as a supplement to the *shuinsen boeki*. However, with its rapid development in the 1610s, it gradually became the major importer of Chinese commodities to Japan, and finally replaced the *shuinsen boeki* completely in 1635 when the *bakufu* forbade Japanese ships from sailing overseas and succeeded in forcing all the Chinese junks to trade in Nagasaki. With regard to the scale of the smuggling trade conducted by Hokkien merchants with Japan after the opening of Nagasaki port, the memorial submitted to the throne by the Ming military board in 1612 could probably shed some light on it. According to the memorial, "People who are carrying out trade with the Japanese are all Hokkien. It is reckoned that their numbers total several tens of thousands, if we take the Hokkien from Fuzhou, Xinghua, Quanzhou and Zhangzhou into account."⁷⁴

A description of *tosen boeki* would not be complete without reference to the numbers of Chinese junks that entered the port of Nagasaki annually. One thing that should be noted in this regard is that, with the help of a large number of adventuresome Hokkien merchants, the Zheng family from south Fujian successfully controlled maritime trade between Nagasaki, Taiwan, mainland China and sundry Southeast Asian ports prior to 1683. According to the records of the Dutch factory at Nagasaki, the majority

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TABLE 3. CHINESE JUNKS TRADING TO NAGASAKI, 1634-1700⁷⁶

Origin Year	Fujian junks %		Jiangsu, Zhejiang & Shandong junk %		Southeast Asian junk %		Total	Origin Year	Fujian junks %		Jiangsu, Zhejiang & Shandong junk %		Southeast Asian junk %		Total
1634							36	1669	22	57.9	3	7.9	13	34.2	38
1635							40	1670	22	55	5	12.5	13	32.5	40
1637							64	1671	22	57.9	5	13.2	11	28.9	38
1639							93	1672	19	41.3	1	2.2	26	56.5	46
1640							74	1673	7	35	0	0	13	65	20
1641							97	1674	12	57.1	1	4.8	8	38.1	21
1642							34	1675	17	58.7	1	3.4	11	37.9	29
1643							34	1676	14	53.8	2	7.7	10	38.5	26
1644							54	1677	16	55.2	4	13.8	9	31	29
1645							76	1678	14	53.9	3	11.5	9	34.6	26
1646							54	1679	18	54.5	4	12.1	11	33.4	33
1647	19	65.5	5	17.2	5	17.2	29	1680	10	33.3	2	6.7	18	60	30
1648	8	47.1	2	11.8	7	41.1	17	1681	5	55.6	0	0	4	44.4	9
1649	46	92	0	0	4	8	50	1682	13	50	1	3.8	12	46.2	26
1650	50	71.4	9	12.9	11	15.7	70	1683	14	51.9	1	3.7	12	44.4	27
1651	23	50	10	21.7	13	28.3	46	1684	8	33.3	1	4.2	15	62.5	24
1652	34	68	3	6	13	26	50	1685	51	60	26	30.6	8	9.4	85
1653	32	57.2	5	8.9	19	33.9	56	1686	28	27.5	59	57.8	15	14.7	102
1654	40	76.9	1	1.9	11	21.2	52	1687	76	55.9	55	40.4	5	3.7	136
1655	37	82.2	3	6.7	5	11.1	45	1688	120	62.5	58	30.2	14	7.3	192
1656	38	66.7	2	3.5	17	29.8	57	1689	34	43	33	41.8	12	15.2	79
1657	31	60.8	1	2.0	19	37.2	51	1690	45	48.9	32	34.8	15	16.3	92
1658	36	68	4	7.5	13	24.5	53	1691	31	34.5	47	52.2	12	13.3	90
1659	43	71.7	4	6.7	13	21.6	60	1692	33	45.2	31	42.5	9	12.3	73
1660	33	67.3	2	4.1	14	28.6	49	1693	39	48.2	27	33.3	15	18.5	81
1661	31	63	1	2	17	35	49	1694	32	43.9	26	35.6	15	20.5	73
1662	36	78.3	1	2.1	9	19.6	46	1695	36	50.7	25	35.2	10	14.1	71
1663	16	55.2	3	10.3	10	34.5	29	1696	47	58	20	24.7	14	17.3	81
1664	28	71.8	2	5.1	9	23.1	39	1697	49	48.1	35	34.3	18	17.6	102
1665	17	47.2	2	5.6	17	47.2	36	1698	15	21.1	43	60.6	13	18.3	71
1666	16	48.5	0	0	17	51.5	33	1699	15	20.5	49	67.2	9	12.3	73
1667	15	51.7	0	0	14	48.3	29	1700	11	20.7	40	75.5	2	3.8	53
1668	30	69.8	0	0	13	30.2	43								

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of Southeast Asian junks registered in Table 3 belonged, in actuality, to the Zheng fleet.⁷⁵ In other words, if we take these figures into consideration, the pivotal role played by the Hokkien merchants in the Nagasaki trade may be understood more easily.

The figures presented above clearly demonstrate a marked preponderance of Hokkien junks in the *tosen boeki*, especially during the period prior to 1688, shortly after Qing China lifted the ban on maritime trade. Nevertheless, the supremacy enjoyed by the Hokkien junks in the *tosen boeki* diminished very quickly in the last decade of the 17th century with the rise of the copper merchants. Buttressed by the Qing court, these official copper merchants, who were mainly from the provinces of Jiangsu and Zhejiang, successfully put the Hokkien private merchants into the shade. It is likely that some of them were Hokkien merchants who moved their business settlements from Fuzhou or Xiamen to the port of Zhapu in Jiangsu or Shanghai and sojourned there, as Professor Oba Osamu 大庭脩 has convincingly argued.⁷⁷ Whatever the case may have been, quantitatively speaking, the early 18th century saw an abrupt rise in the numbers of junks from Jiangsu and Zhejiang visiting the port of Nagasaki. The primacy of the Hokkien private merchants in the *tosen boeki*, which they savoured for more than a century, was thus overtaken by their Chinese compatriots with the support of the Qing government. From then on, the focus of the Hokkien junk trade was shifted gradually to ports in Taiwan and Southeast Asia, although some of the Hokkien merchants, especially those from Fuqing, still competed in Nagasaki with merchant groups from other parts of China.

TAIWAN

There is no doubt that Taiwan was a strategically important entrepôt in the maritime trade network of East Asia during the early modern period. Nevertheless, the island had remained in obscurity until the early 12th century, though Chinese traders and fishermen from the mainland would occasionally visit it. Substantial intercourse between south Fujian and Taiwan did not start until the 12th and 13th centuries, when a number of Hokkien trading junks habitually stopped in southern Taiwan on their way to barter with the indigenous inhabitants of the Philippine Islands during the north-eastern monsoon season.⁷⁸

Taiwan's rise to importance in the regional maritime system owed much to the rampant Japanese *wako* (or "pirates") in the mid-16th century. While Japanese *wako* infested the whole southeast coast of China, especially the ports of Zhejiang, Fujian and Guangdong, it was widely known that these pirates actually included a large number of Chinese freebooters and poor fishermen from the coastal villages of Fujian. As a consequence, the Pescadores (or Penghu Islands) and Taiwan became refuges for these pirates. In the wake of several major military pacification campaigns carried out by Ming forces along the coast, the Hokkien pirate-cum-traders were forced to move away from offshore islets and retreated to Taiwan, which was outside the control of the Ming government.⁷⁹ In the years after 1550, the island thus became a meeting place for both Chinese and Japanese smuggling merchants heading for Southeast Asian ports.

Apart from pirate-cum-traders, a great many Hokkien fishermen were also involved in the smuggling trade between the mainland and Taiwan. According to Fujian Viceroy Xu Fuyuan 许孚远's report, each year from April to May a large number of traders from Tong'an, Haicheng, Longxi, Zhangpu and Zhao'an (on the south Fujian coast) would venture to Japan and Taiwan with heavily loaded cargoes of sulphur and lead.⁸⁰ Such activity gradually developed into a regular practice in the early 17th century, with Hokkien traders and fishermen sailing to Taiwan every year to barter with the indigenous people of Taiwan for local products. In early 1603, when Chen Di 陈第 accompanied Shen Yourong 沈有容 on a visit to Taiwan, he was surprised to see that Hokkien merchants and fishermen from Zhangzhou and Quanzhou knew how to speak the aboriginal language there, and that they brought agate, porcelain, cloth, salt, and bronze hairpins and earrings to barter for deerskins and dried deer meat, which were abundant on the island.⁸¹

The situation in the East Asian waters quietly changed with the arrival of representatives from two European Protestant nations—the Dutch and the British. In 1604, a Dutch fleet led by Wijbrant van Warwijck set out for Macao, but was blown to the Pescadores by a typhoon in August. Again, in June 1622, another Dutch fleet under Admiral Cornelis Reijersz was sent from Batavia to capture Macao. Having suffered great losses, the Dutch fleet was forced to settle temporarily on the Pescadores in late July 1622.

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The Dutch tried very hard for the next two years to force the Chinese authorities to open up trade, but all their efforts met with failure. Finally, when the famous Quanzhou merchant leader Andrea Dittis (Li Dan) came to the Pescadores in August 1624 and volunteered to broker the negotiations between the Dutch and the Fujian authorities, the Fujian government granted permission for the Dutch to resettle on Taiwan in return for the promise, given by the Chinese authorities, that Hokkien merchants would be allowed to trade with them on the island thereafter.⁸² In other words, Hokkien merchants played a crucial role in the early conflicts and negotiations between the Europeans and the Chinese government, and peacefully settled a potential diplomatic crisis by moving the Dutch away from the Pescadores.

Another important fact is that it was Hokkien merchants based in the port polities of Southeast Asia who advised and guided the Dutch to the China coast. Zhang Xie 张燮's *Dongxiyang kao* 东西洋考 was written in 1616, and printed the following year in Zhangzhou, southern Fujian. According to Zhang Xie, many Hokkien merchants from Haicheng sojourned in Patani for years, where they became acquainted with the Dutch in their daily business transactions. Among these merchants, one man named Li Jin 李锦 made a proposal to Wijbrant van Warwijck, suggesting that they establish a commercial factory on the Pescadores before opening trade relations with Zhangzhou (or Chincheo, as recorded in the Dutch archives). When Wijbrant van Warwijck hesitated and asked what the Dutch should do if they were refused by the local government officials, Li Jin advised him to bribe Gao Cai 高案, a senior eunuch who had been sent by the Ming court to oversee the maritime affairs of Fujian and who was powerful in the local Fujian government. Li Jin even drafted three Chinese letters for the Dutch and asked his fellow villagers Pan Xiu 潘秀 and Guo Zhen 郭震 to send the letters to the eunuch and two generals in charge of coastal defence.⁸³

Nevertheless, after the Dutch resettled on the southwest coast of Taiwan, with the aim of establishing the island as an entrepôt for their China trade and purchasing as many Chinese products as possible for their trade in Asia, the Hokkien merchants quickly changed their trade strategy as well as the direction of their navigation. Given that silver, gold and tropical products now were available on an island nearby, a

great number of Hokkien merchants started to flock to Taiwan, rather than bothering to travel the long distances to the major entrepôts of Southeast Asia, such as Batavia, Manila, Patani, Johore and Melaka, as they had previously done.

Like their fellow villagers in Java, the role played by Hokkien merchants in Taiwan changed, and to some extent they became intermediary traders for the VOC. Two groups of Hokkien merchants could thus be identified, in accordance with their wealth and social status. While one group consisted of influential and well-to-do merchants such as Li Dan, Xu Xinsu 许心素 and Zheng Zhilong (alias Iguan 一官), the other was comprised of individual small merchants. In 1624, for example, the Dutch signed a contract with Li Dan, asking the latter to provide the VOC with 15,000 catties of silk.⁸⁴ Another example concerns Xu Xinsu, or Simsou, as he was addressed by the Dutch. Xu Xinsu was Li Dan's able assistant and intimate friend based in Xiamen (or Amoy); he was also involved in the 1624 negotiations between the Dutch and the Fujian authorities. Li Dan maintained close relations with senior government officials in Fujian by bribing them, and the key person who did this dirty work for Li Dan was Xu Xinsu.⁸⁵ Given that Xu Xinsu enjoyed special connections with senior officials in Fujian, he was awarded the monopoly on Chinese trade with Taiwan by the Fujian authorities as soon as the Dutch retreated to the island. In the meantime, in 1625, the Dutch gave him a deposit of 40,000 reals to purchase silk on their behalf. Xu Xinsu kept his word, sending shipments on five Hokkien junks at a time and delivering hundreds of piculs of silk to the Dutch on Taiwan. The total turnover ran to 800 piculs a year, which was more than two and a half times as much as the total amount sent aboard Chinese ships to Banten each year, according to the Dutch Governor at Batavia, Jan Pietersz Coen.⁸⁶

More interesting still was the deal concluded between the VOC and Zheng Zhilong (Koxinga's father) on October 1, 1628. According to the three-year contract, Zheng Zhilong had to deliver annually to the Dutch the following commodities: 1,400 piculs of raw silk at 140 taels per picul; 5,000 piculs of sugar at 3 reals per picul; 1,000 piculs of preserved ginger at 4 taels per picul; and 5,000 pieces of silk goods at 14 to 19 mas per piece. The total price amounted to 300,000 reals. Regarding the payment, the VOC was

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Anonymous, Zheng Chenggong or Koxinga as depicted in a 17th century scroll. Collection of National Taiwan Museum. Reproduced from Shi Shouqian ed., *Ilha Formosa: The Emergence of Taiwan on the World Scene in the 17th Century*, Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2003.

to deliver 3,000 piculs of pepper at 11 reals per picul, and the remainder (267,000 to 278,000 reals) in cash.⁸⁷ Given that the total sum spent annually by the VOC at that time amounted to between 400,000 and 500,000 reals,⁸⁸ this contract between the Hokkien merchant *towkay* 头家 (or tycoon) and the Dutch would have been a gigantic transaction in early modern Asia.

The good days enjoyed by the Dutch in Taiwan, however, did not last long. Zheng Chenggong 郑成功, also known as Koxinga 国姓爷, rose in the 1640s after his father had surrendered to the Qing court. Zheng Chenggong inherited the maritime empire left by his father and became a vigorous opponent of

the Manchus. Basing himself in the Xiamen region, Zheng sent his junks annually to trade in Nagasaki, Taiwan and the major ports of Southeast Asia, and actually monopolised the entire maritime trade in East Asian waters. In 1661, Zheng attacked Taiwan, and by February 1, 1662, the Dutch were forced to surrender to him. Zheng Chenggong himself died in June 1662. But the Zheng family, led by Koxinga's son Zheng Jing 郑经, continued to maintain strict control over maritime trade, as it was the only important revenue available to maintain their significant fleet and support their military resistance against the Qing government. To cut off communications and provision lines between the mainland and Taiwan, the Qing government adopted a harsh policy in 1661, forcing coastal inhabitants to evacuate the coastal areas and move at least 30 *li* 里 inland, and prohibiting all maritime activities.⁸⁹ Contrary to what the Qing court had hoped, such a policy provided the Zheng family with the rare opportunity to reap giant profits by monopolising the maritime trade of China for almost 22 years. In the years after 1662, a large number of Hokkien junks with licenses issued by the Zheng family thus conducted a brisk trade at the ports of East and Southeast Asia. Nagasaki, Tonkin, Quinam, Cambodia, Siam, Patani, Ligor, Singora and Batavia were major ports frequented by the Hokkien merchants to collect products for the Chinese and Japanese markets. Chinese silk and Japanese copper and gold koban, for instance, were exchanged in Siam and other markets for rice. At the same time, Zheng Jing sent a mission to Banten to invite the British to trade in Taiwan, and supplied the British with considerable amounts of Japanese copper and gold koban for their trade with Coromandel, Surat and Bombay.⁹⁰

MANILA

It is generally held that hundreds of years before the coming of the Spaniards an extensive trade had been developed between the Philippines and south China, in which large quantities of trade pottery and other goods from China were brought into the islands.⁹¹ This trade made it necessary for some Chinese merchants and crew members, most of whom were Hokkien, to sojourn in the Philippines.⁹² Nevertheless, the early Hokkien sojourning communities established at various points along the junk trade route were quite

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small prior to the Spanish conquest. When Miguel Lopez de Legazpi arrived in Manila in 1570, he found only a small Chinese community with some forty Chinese merchants who had long settled there with their wives and children.⁹³ In fact, it was the coming of the Spaniards and the rise of Manila as the Asian hub of trans-Pacific commerce that significantly modified the pattern and conditions of the traditional Chinese junk trade with the Philippines, and breathed new life into the early Hokkien communities scattered throughout the islands. The new opportunities offered by the Manila galleon trade between the Philippines and Mexico not only generated profit for Hokkien merchants but also transformed their small settlements into a marked segregated community in Manila.

The Hokkien merchants, or “Sangleys”⁹⁴ as they were frequently called by the Spaniards, were from the Quanzhou and Zhangzhou prefectures in southern Fujian. Generally speaking, the majority of the Hokkien Sangleys sojourning in Manila, were from Zhangzhou prefecture, notably from towns and villages in Haicheng, Longxi and Zhangpu.⁹⁵ What is especially noteworthy in this regard is that merchants from Anhai, a coastal town adjacent to Quanzhou that was the maritime headquarters of the famous Zheng family in the early 17th century, played formative roles in Manila in the junk trade with Fujian and in the sojourning Chinese community as well.

Unlike other Hokkien Sangleys from rural south Fujian who on the whole were peasants, the Anhai Sangleys had primarily been merchants before travelling to the Philippines. Their aim in venturing overseas was thus not simply to escape their poor lives at home, but to maximise their profit with capital pooled together among clansmen. Therefore, the Anhai Sangleys were usually seen as well-to-do merchants in Manila. This group of merchants was so famous among the Hokkien Sangleys of Manila that any rich Chinese merchant in town would customarily be called *Anayes*, though the spelling of this term in Spanish documents varies (*Anayes*, *Anhayes*, *Avay* or *Auhay*).⁹⁶ Detailed information on this particular Hokkien merchant group in Manila, however, is surprisingly patchy. What we know is that there were five to six hundred *Avays* merchants in Manila’s *Parian* on the eve of the massacre of 1603.⁹⁷ Possibly because the prominence of Sangleys from Zhangzhou or Chincheo was widely known in the

Philippines, the Spanish Bishop Salazar even used the term “the province of Chincheo” to refer to all of Fujian province in 1590.⁹⁸

With the development of the junk trade with the Philippines and the need to wait for the proper monsoon for the return voyage, more and more Sangleys moved into the newly established Spanish colony, bringing with them goods and services from southern Fujian. The growth of the Hokkien population in Manila following the Spanish conquest was phenomenal. In 1572, the Hokkien numbered about 150. Sixteen years later, according to the report submitted by the Manila *Audiencia* (the highest tribunal of justice), “there are over 10,000 Sangleys now in this city.”⁹⁹ The number of Hokkien Sangleys reached its peak at the end of 1603. It was estimated by the Spanish authorities that they amounted to between 24,000 and 30,000 individuals on the eve of the massacre, an extraordinary number considering that at that time the total number of Spaniards and Mexicans residing in the Philippines was only 1,200 (700 of whom lived in Manila).¹⁰⁰ In 1639, approximately 23,000 Sangleys were killed in the second massacre. Nevertheless, massacres and expulsions were usually followed by the gradual return of the Hokkien to the region, and in 1649, there were again some 15,000 Hokkien merchants and artisans living in the ghetto.¹⁰¹ After each large-scale massacre or mass expulsion, there would be a lack of food or an increase in economic activity in Manila, and the Hokkien merchants and artisans would be allowed or even encouraged to settle anew in the colony. But if their numbers swelled too rapidly or the size of these communities became too large to control, the suspicious Spaniards would regard them as a danger to their safety, and the Spanish authorities would immediately launch another massacre or mass expulsion of the Chinese. The number of Hokkien in Manila as a result rose and fell cyclically, depending upon the economic situation of the islands and the ebb and flow of prejudice against and antagonism towards the sojourning Hokkien merchants.

As elsewhere in the sojourning communities of Southeast and Northeast Asia, the Hokkien merchants of Manila also consisted of two mutually supporting groups. One group was comprised of merchants from coastal Fujian who were engaged in the junk trade between Fujian and Manila and would annually visit the colony with cargoes of silk and other Chinese goods.

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The other group consisted of merchants who sojourned in Manila would act as their agents or retailers, selling their goods for American silver shipped from Acapulco by the galleons, and accumulated local products for the return voyage. The commercial activities of the Hokkien merchants in Manila could thus be subdivided into two sections: junk trading, and daily buying and selling.

It was in 1567, when the newly ascended Ming Emperor Longqing 隆庆 finally approved repeated requests from the Fujian Governor and the Grand Censor Tu Zemin 涂泽民, that Hokkien junks began sailing from Yuegang (Moon Harbour), a well-known port for the smuggling trade in Zhangzhou, to trade overseas legally. Four years later, the Spaniards worked their way into the Philippine Islands and established themselves in Manila with American silver. In other words, it was only after the 1570s that the junk trade between Fujian and the Philippines entered a completely new era, marked by the exchange of exceptionally high-value cargoes, which in turn (as C. R. Boxer has argued) brought China into the world economy.¹⁰² According to the records of the Ming dynasty, fifty Hokkien junks a year were initially granted licenses to trade in Southeast Asia. In 1589, the number of junks licensed for trading in the Eastern and Western Oceans was raised to 88. This was later raised to 110 licenses in 1592, and, in 1597, to 137.¹⁰³ About half of these licenses would be used for trading in Spanish Manila. Based on the data collected by French historian Pierre Chaunu and other contemporary records, the number of Hokkien junks calling at Manila can be seen in Table 4.

It is important to note here that Pierre Chaunu's statistics were based on his study of the *almojarifazgo*, or import and export duties, which covered only the taxed portion of the junk trade. It is widely known that smuggling was rampant in the Manila foreign trade, and the actual number of junks calling at the port of Manila was far in excess of the figures presented above.¹⁰⁵ For instance, a large number of Hokkien merchants clandestinely visited Manila even though their licenses were issued for trade with Champa, Tonkin, Patani and Taiwan. The main reason, Fujian Grand Censor Shang Zhouzuo 商周祚 pointed out in 1623, was that Manila was so nearby that the junk trade in silks for silver turned out to be particularly profitable for these venturesome Hokkien.¹⁰⁶

In any case, as is evident from Table 3, the most remarkable growth of the Hokkien junk trade during this period was from the late 1570s to the mid-1640s, when the usual number of junks visiting Manila each year varied from twenty to forty. After 1645, however, the number of junks arriving at Manila decreased sharply as a result of the civil war in China. In the years that followed, China's maritime trade fell into the hands of the Ming-loyalist Zheng regime based in southern Fujian and Taiwan. Consequently, the junk trade with Manila experienced a considerable slump for more than three decades; almost all the arrivals in the 1650s, 1660s and 1670s were in fact junks belonging to the Koxinga family. A revival of the Hokkien junk trade to Manila occurred in 1683 when the Qing government conquered Taiwan and put an end to the civil strife, and in the following year the ban on overseas trade was lifted. The junk trade expanded rapidly thereafter, with more than 27 junks calling at Manila in 1686, and a peak of 43 in 1709.¹⁰⁷

With respect to the coming of the Hokkien junks, Antonio de Morga, then president of the *Audiencia* at Manila, gives a graphic account in his records: "A considerable number of *somas* and junks (which are large ships), come as a rule laden with goods from Great China to Manila. Every year thirty, sometimes forty, of these ships come, though they do not enter together as a fleet or armada, but in squadrons, with the monsoon and in settled weather, which ordinarily comes with the March new moon. ... They make the journey to Manila in fifteen or twenty days, sell their merchandise and return in good time, before the strong south-westerly winds set in at the end of May, or the first days of June, so as not to run into danger on their voyage."¹⁰⁸ Captain John Saris, of the English East India Company, also observed in 1613 that, "In the moneth of March, the Junckes bound for the Mannelies depart from Chanchu in Companies, sometimes foure, five, ten or more together, as they are readie."¹⁰⁹

As for commodities involved in the junk trade, it is widely accepted that Chinese silk and American silver were the two principal items of this Pacific leg of the China trade. In fact, Manila would have been nothing without the Yuegang-Manila-Acapulco trading line. Though there was an infinite variety in the cargoes of the junks, silks and other textiles always comprised the bulk of goods from Fujian. In the meantime, Hokkien merchants were the dominant participants in

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TABLE 4.
HOKKIEN JUNK ARRIVALS IN MANILA, 1570-1699

Year \ Port	Fujian	Taiwan	Total
1570-1579	67		67
1580-1589	230		230
1590-1599	183		183
1600-1609	266		266
1610-1619	250		250
1620-1629	179	5	184
1630-1639	314	24	338
1640-1649	171	4	175
1650-1659	52		52
1660-1669	45	15	60
1670-1679	29	22	51
1680-1689	69	6	75
1690-1699	161		161

this vast silk-for-silver trade. As in other marketplaces overseas, in Manila the Hokkien merchants knew how to maximise their profit through timing or skilfully adjusting the prices of their cargoes in accordance with the situation of the market. The majority of sagacious and thrifty Hokkien merchants would not, for instance, do their bargaining until the junks returned to Fujian, holding their cargoes over until the arrival of the following year's galleon.¹¹⁰ When they saw the Spanish galleon laden with silver coins entering the port when there were not many Chinese goods left in the market, they would immediately raise the prices of their goods. Similarly, when they were informed that silver was scarce at Manila, they would cut down their shipments accordingly that year in order to make a profitable sale. The year 1628 thus saw the scarcity of silver from Acapulco induce a rise in the prices of goods in Manila.¹¹¹ Apparently what the Hokkien merchants aimed for was to trade goods for as much silver as possible, and ship the silver off to China. It becomes clear that they did indeed play an important role in funnelling massive amounts of American silver into China. It has been estimated that 150 tons of silver passed across the Pacific, especially out of Acapulco and through Manila on its way to China, on an annual basis. Of these, about 128 tons, or five million pesos worth, were ultimately sold to Hokkien merchants

annually, with a reported 307 tons being smuggled out in 1597.¹¹²

CONCLUDING REMARKS: REGIONAL MARITIME TRADE SYSTEM AND THE HOKKIEN MERCHANTS

A re-examination of the maritime trade system of East Asia prior to the 18th century reveals that at least six trade hubs of differing sizes emerged in the region in different periods, including Korea, Kyushu, Ryukyu, the southeast China coast, Taiwan, Macao and Manila. It seems that in the early Christian era the regional maritime trade network was centred in the northern islands, with the Silla Koreans controlling maritime commerce. When the Silla fell, Chinese merchants came to dominate navigation and trade activities between Korea, Japan and China. As demonstrated above, the Hokkien merchants from the Quanzhou region were the most active and enterprising of them. Persians and Arabs did to some extent enter the network after the late 11th century, but for the most part they stopped in Quanzhou and did not venture beyond the East China Sea. Moreover, their presence on the south China coast was not significant. They were quite happy with what they had achieved in the oriental markets, but cast their eyes mainly towards the vast region extending from the south China in the east to the kingdoms on the Indian Ocean in the west.

While for a period of at least two centuries the regional maritime trade system remained centred on the ports of south China, the years after the late 14th century saw a gradual rise of private trade in the southern islands of Japan and the kingdom of Ryukyu. Japanese merchants mainly acted as intermediaries between Korea and Ryukyu, with official messages sent aboard Japanese ships, as well as gifts and various commodities for trade. On the other hand, with the assistance of Hokkien merchants and sailors who were dispatched to the Ryukyu kingdom by the Ming court with the intention of helping the kingdom with its tribute missions, the seafaring Ryukyuan fanned out to the coasts of south China and Kyushu and the major ports of Southeast Asia to procure native products.¹¹³ Thus in April 1512, for instance, when Tomé Pires visited Melaka, he found that many Liu-Kiu or Ryukyuan merchants were there with one of the *shabandar* in charge of Chinese business to look after

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them.¹¹⁴ Siam and Melaka were the two leading ports frequented by the Ryukyuan vessels, while Samudra, Sunda and the Annam coast were less important within the Naha network, as indicated in the records of *Lidai Bao'an* 历代宝案 (or *Rekidai Hôan*). Unfortunately, the key role once actively played by the Ryukyuan in the regional maritime network—collecting tropical goods and re-exporting them to China, Japan and Korea—did not last long. For reasons unclear to us, with the advent of the Portuguese in the early 16th century, the Ryukyuan gradually retreated from the Southeast Asian waters, leaving Hokkien merchants and merchants of other nations to compete or collaborate with one another.

On the other hand, it is widely accepted that the foreign relations of the Chinese Ming Empire were governed and conducted under the framework of the tribute system. Tribute trade had a set of regulations to control the terms of tribute missions, the number of envoys and ships; only the ships with foreign tribute missions were allowed to enter Chinese ports. While each tribute mission would contribute a certain number of overseas products to the Ming emperor, the value of the various kinds of Chinese commodities, silk and textiles given by the emperor to foreign envoys was normally many times higher than that of the alien goods. The financial burden thus became increasingly heavy as more and more foreign countries tried their best to send tribute missions to China in order to make a profit, and the Ming court was eventually forced to adopt a more restrictive policy in its tribute system. Consequently, tribute missions from neighbouring Asian countries diminished considerably; Japan, for example, was only permitted to present tribute once every ten years. Understandably, the decline of the tribute trade in Ming China induced the rise of Chinese smuggling and Japanese piracy in the waters of East Asia. The arrival of the Portuguese on the Zhejiang and Fujian coast in 1522 further intensified the trend, as a flourishing illicit trade centre was established at Shuangyu Isles, Ningbo, off the Zhejiang coast. The structure of the East Asian maritime system was modified, with new elements and opportunities introduced by the Portuguese. More and more Hokkien merchants, peddlers, fishermen and peasants flocked to join private maritime activities. Shortly afterwards, in the 17th century (as pointed out above),

the Xiamen region and Taiwan rose in importance, becoming the new commercial hubs in the regional maritime trade network with the participation of the Dutch and the Spaniards. Again, the key players in the maritime network were Hokkien merchants, as they always adapted well to new environments. Nor did they would never miss out on an opportunity to expand their business overseas.

Unlike other segments of the Chinese population, the Hokkiens were mainly active in entrepôts overseas. In order to survive and expand in a foreign environment that was usually dangerous if not hostile, the sojourning Hokkien, who had never been supported or protected by the Chinese government, developed a set of unique networks to protect themselves. It is probably because the Hokkien merchants understood their own situation overseas that they worked hard to forge special links with local regimes or European colonial authorities, in the hope of settling down overseas to successfully establish their businesses. They employed various strategies in their efforts, such as weaving extended family or clan ties among fellow Hokkiens and creating business partnerships with European companies. By forging such connections, the Hokkien merchants not only enjoyed preferential treatment in business, forming an intermediary commercial sector, but also managed to raise the capital necessary for their business ventures from their foreign partners.

To be fair, the Hokkien merchants and other sojourners were exceedingly adventurous, and the period under discussion—especially the period from the 1520s to the 1680s—could be labelled as the heyday of the Hokkien activities in maritime Asia. There is no doubt that some of the main reasons for the success of Hokkien maritime trade were the new markets and economic opportunities provided by European businessmen. As a marginal trade group, their status in overseas society was always subordinate, despite their commercial success. However, the business networks they created allowed interactions among Hokkien throughout maritime Asia. Without attempting to develop a full history of the Hokkien merchants in maritime Asia prior to 1683, it suffices to emphasize that, as the most daring entrepreneurial group in early modern Asia, Hokkien merchants not only performed well in the East Asian waters but also played a bridging role, connecting the Southeast Asian maritime system with that of East Asia. **RC**

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- 24 See Keith W. Taylor, "The early kingdoms," in Nicholas Tarling ed., *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1992, vol. 1, pp. 139-140.
- 25 Ma Duanlin, *Wenxian Tongkao*, vol. 303, "Jiao-zhi."
- 26 Li Tao 李焘, *Xu Zizhi Tongjian Changbian* 续资治通鉴长编 (Continuation of the Comprehensive Mirror of History for Aid in Government), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980 reprint, vol. 273, *ibid.*, vol. 273. The original Chinese record reads: "书曰: 大王先世为闽人, 闻今交趾公卿贵人多闽人也" ("The letter says: Your Majesty's ancestors were Hokkien, and I am told that currently the majority of nobles and ministers in Annam are Hokkien").
- 27 Ngo Si Lien, *Dai Viet su ky toan thu* (Complete History of the Dai Viet), Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Toyo Bunka Kenkyujo Fuzoku Toyogaku Bunken Senta, 1984-86, 3 books, vol. 5; Zhou Mi, *Qidong Yeyu* 齐东野语 (Rustic Talks in Eastern Qi), c. 1290, *Jindai mishu* 津逮秘书 edition, vol. 19; *Fujian Tongzhi* 福建通志 (Provincial Gazetteer of Fujian), 1737 edition, vol. 273.
- 28 Zhao Rugua 赵汝适, *Zhu Fan Zhi* 诸蕃志 (Accounts of Foreign Peoples), c. 1225, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956 reprint, vol.1, "Jiao-zhi kingdom."

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- 29 Ma Huan 马欢, *Yingya Shenglan* 瀛涯胜览, (The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores), 1433, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1955 reprint, "Old Harbour".
- 30 Ma Huan, *Yingya Shenglan*, "Kingdom of Java."
- 31 *Ming Shilu: The Yingzong Reign* 明实录: 英宗朝 (Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty), vol. 19, "June of the 6th year of Zhengtong".
- 32 *Ming Shilu: The Yingzong Reign*, vol. 43, "June of the 3rd year of Yingzong." The titles prefixed to their names as recorded in the Ming sources were Javanese official titles. According to Wada Hisanori 和田久徳, "八致" refers to "patih," a senior Javanese officer in charge of financial affairs while "亞烈" was a transliteration for "arya," meaning Regent or Pangeran. See Wada Hisanori, "Jugo-seiki no Jawa ni okeru chugoku-jin no tushou katsudo" 十五世紀のジャワにおける中国人の通商活動 (Chinese commercial activities in 15th century Java), in *Ichiko kyojyū taikan kinen ronsō benshū iinkai* 市古教授退官記念論叢編集委員会 ed., *Ronshū kindai chugoku kenkyū* 論集近代中国研究, Tokyo, 1981, pp. 581-609. For a detailed introduction to Javanese official titles, see B. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, The Hague: W. van Hoeve Ltd, 1955, Pt. 2, p. 370, note 378.
- 33 For fuller studies on Zheng He's maritime expeditions and their relations with Southeast Asia, see Wang Gungwu, "Early Ming relations with Southeast Asia: A background essay"; "China and Southeast Asia 1402-1424"; and "The Opening of Relations between China and Malacca 1403-1405," in Wang Gungwu, *Community and Nation: Selected Essays on Southeast Asia and the Chinese*, Kuala Lumpur and Sydney: Heinemann Asia, 1981.
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- 35 Zhang Tingyu 张廷玉, *Ming Shi* 明史 (History of the Ming Dynasty), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974 reprint, vol. 205, "Biography of Zhu Wan." For detailed studies on the smuggling trade during the Jiajing period, see Sakuma Shigeo 佐久間重男, "Mindai kaigai watakushi boeki no rekishi teki haikeri" 明代海外私貿易の歴史的背景, *Shigaku Zasshi* 史学雑誌, 62:1 (1953), pp. 1-24; Chen Wenshi 陈文石, "Ming Jiajing Nianjian Zhe-Fu Yanhai Kouluan yu Sifan Maoyi de Guanxi" 明嘉靖年间浙福沿海寇乱与私贩贸易的关系 (Piracy and smuggling trade on the coast of Zhejiang and Fujian during the Jiajing period of the Ming dynasty), *Journal of the Institute of History and Language*, 36 (1965), Academia Sinica, Taipei; Ng Chin-keong, "The Fukienese maritime trade in the second half of the Ming period," *Nanyang University Journal* 5 (1971), pp. 81-99.
- 36 Sources: Jeong In Ji comp., *Ko-ryo Sa* (A History of Korea), Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1972 reprint, vols. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10; Li Tao, *Xu Zizhi Tongjian Changbian*, vol. 261, 435; Su Shi 苏轼, *Dongbo Zhouyi* 东坡奏议 (Memorials Submitted by Su Dongbo), vols. 6, 8; Tuo Tuo and Ouyang Xuan *Song Shi*, vol. 487, "Biography of Korea"; Mori Katsumi 森克己, *Ni-Sou boeki no kenkyū* 日宋貿易の研究 (Studies on the Trade between Japan and the Song Dynasty), Tokyo: Kokuritsu shōgen 国立書院, 1948; Mori Katsumi, "Nihon Korei raikou no Sou-shojin" 日本高麗來航の宋商人 (Song merchants who travelled to Japan and Korea), *Chosen gakuhō* 朝鮮學報, 9 (1956), pp. 223-234.
- 37 Quoted in Piao Zhenshan 朴镇爽, "Shiyi zhi shi'er shiji song yu gaoli de maoyi wanglai" 十一至十二世纪宋与高丽的贸易往来 (Trade relations between the Song dynasty and Korea during the 11th and 12th centuries), Yanji: *Yanbian daxue xuebao*, No. 2 (1979).
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- 39 Su Shi, "Qijin shanglu guo waiguo zhuang" 乞禁商旅过外国状 (Appealing to forbid merchants from travelling to foreign countries), in Su Shi, *Dongpo Quanji* 东坡全集 (Complete Works by Su Shi), *Sikuquanshu* edition, vol. 58, p. 2; Jeong In Ji comp., *Ko-ryo Sa*, vol. 13, "Ruizong shijia" (Genealogy of Ruizong). See also Chen Gaohua, "Beisong shiqi qianwang Gaoli maoyi de quanzhou boshao" 北宋时期前往高丽贸易的泉州舶商 (Quanzhou maritime merchants trading to Korea during the Northern Song period), Quanzhou: *Haijiaoshi yanjiu*, No. 2, 1980, pp. 48-54.
- 40 Jeong In Ji comp., *Ko-ryo Sa*, vol. 8, "Wenzong shijia" (Genealogy of Wenzong), Pt. 2; Tuo Tuo and Ouyang Xuan, *Song Shi*, vol. 331, "Luo Zheng Zhuan" (Biography of Luo Zheng).
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- 42 Pang Yuanying 庞元英, *Wenchang zalu* 文昌杂录 (Things Seen and Heard by an Official at Court), c. 1086, *Xuejin taoyuan* edition, vol. 5; Li Tao, *Xu Zizhi Tongjian Changbian* (Continuation of the Comprehensive Mirror of History for Aid in Government), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980 reprint, vol. 261.
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- 44 *Ming Shizong shilu* 明世宗实录 (Veritable records of the Ming Dynasty: The Shizong Reign), Taipei: Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo edition, vol. 321, Item of "March of the 26th year of Jiajing."
- 45 Li Yangong 李言恭 and Hao Jie 郝杰, *Riben Kao* 日本考 (Records on Japan), c. 1593. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, reprint, 1983, vol. 2, Entry of "Shangchuan Suoju" 商船所聚 (The entrepôt visited by the trading vessels). As a matter of fact, *Riben Kao* was a reproduction of Hou Jigao 侯继高's *Riben fengtu ji* 日本风土记 (Accounts of Japanese Conditions and Customs), another book for Ming military officers' reference and published one year earlier. Mao Yuanyi 茅元仪, *Wubei Zhi* 武备志 (Treatise on Armament Technology), c. 1628, also contains the similar accounts on the Great Tang Street of Hakata.
- 46 Zheng Shungong 郑舜功, *Riben Yijian* 日本一鉴, (Account of Japan), c. 1564, 5 vols. Reprint 1939, vol. 4.
- 47 Shimazu kokushi 島津国史 (History of Shimazu han), vol. 23. In *Nanpo bunshu* 南浦文集 (Literary Collection of Monk Nanpo), vol. 2, *Ikoku nikki* 異国日記 (Accounts of Foreign Countries), Book 2; *Kagoshima-ken shiryo: kyūki zatsuroku kohen* 鹿児島県史料: 舊記雜錄後編 (Historical Materials on Kagoshima Prefecture: Old Chronicles and Miscellaneous Records, 2nd series), Kagoshima-ken 鹿児島県, 1983, vol. 3, Doc. 1025.
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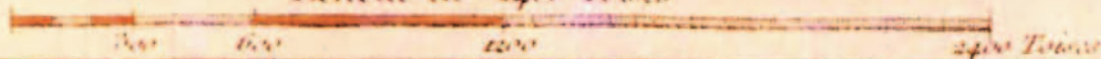
- 50 Edward Maunde Thompson ed., *Diary of Richard Cocks, Cape-Merchant in the English Factory in Japan, 1615-1622, with Correspondence*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1883, vol. 2, pp. 17, 21.
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- 53 Zheng Ruozeng 鄭若曾, *Chouhai Tubian* 籌海圖編 (Illustrated Seaboard Strategy), c.1562. *Siku quanshu* edition, vols. 8, 11.
- 54 Xie Jie 謝杰, *Qiantai Wozhuan* 虔台倭纂 (Records of the Wako), *Xuanlantang congshu xuxi* 玄覽堂叢書續集 edition; Zheng Ruozeng, *Chouhai Tubian*, vol. 4; *Haicheng xianzhi* 海澄縣志 (Gazetteer of Haicheng County), 1762 edition, vols. 18, 24.
- 55 For a pioneering and comprehensive study on Li Dan, please see Iwao Seiichi 岩生成一, "Mimmatsu Nippon kyogu shinajin Kapitan Li Dan ko" 明末日本僑寓支那人甲必丹李旦考, *Toyo Gakuho*, 23:3 (1936), pp. 160-173. A slightly revised version was published in English 22 years later; see Iwao Seiichi, "Li Tan, chief of the Chinese Residents at Hirado, Japan in the last days of the Ming dynasty," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, no. 17 (1958), pp. 27-83.
- 56 Anthony Farrington ed., *The English Factory in Japan, 1613-1623*, London: The British Library, 1991, 2 vols., vol. 1, p. 381. It should be pointed out that there were two letters sent by Richard Cocks to the Company on 25th February 1615. For reasons unknown to us, these two letters were bundled together and labelled as "25 February 1616" in the published EIC archive, but they were actually endorsed and sent out on 25th February 1615 by Cocks as indicated by the original letters. Consequently Iwao Seiichi calculated the year of Li Dan's arrival in Hirado one year later by mistake, and all the following historians who touched this topic without examining the original records themselves copied the mistake from Iwao, such as John E. Wills, Jr., Li Hsien-chang, Zheng Xifu 鄭喜夫 and Xu Jianzhu 徐健竹. See John E. Wills, Jr., "Maritime China from Wang Chih to Shih Lang," pp. 216-217; Li Hsien-chang, "Keikan jidai no Nagasaki tojin o meguru shumondai" 慶寬時代の長崎唐人をめぐる諸問題 (Inquiries into the history of the Chinese in Nagasaki in the eras of Keicho and Kanei), Part I, *Chugoku Gakushi* 中國學志, 2 (1965), pp. 83-152; Zheng Xifu, "Buji Li Dan yu Yan Siqu" 補記李旦與顏思齊 (Additional notes on Li Dan and Yan Siqu), *Taiwan Fengwu* 台灣風物 (The Taiwan Folkways), vol. 19, nos. 1-2 (1969), pp. 59-64; Xu Jianzhu, "Zheng Zhilong Yan Siqu Li Dan de Guanxi jiqi Kaifa Taiwan kao" 鄭芝龍、顏思齊、李旦的關係及其開發台灣考 Studies on the relations among Zheng Zhilong, Yan Siqu and Li Dan and their contributions towards the opening of Taiwan), *Mingshi Yanjiu Luncong* 明史研究論叢 (Essays on the History of Ming), Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1985, pp. 286-301.
- 57 Sir Ernest M. Satow ed., *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613*, London: Hakluyt Society, 1900, p. 88.
- 58 Edward Maunde Thompson ed., *Diary of Richard Cocks*, vol. 1, p. 332.
- 59 Edward Maunde Thompson ed., *Diary of Richard Cocks*, vol. 1, p. 126.
- 60 Edward Maunde Thompson ed., *Diary of Richard Cocks*, vol. 1, pp. 88, 101, 122, 294-295; vol. 2, pp. 22, 45, 139, 148.
- 61 Edward Maunde Thompson ed., *Diary of Richard Cocks*, vol. 1, p. 155, 230, 235, 241.
- 62 In a letter dated 10 March 1620, Richard Cocks definitively writes: "This Andrea Dittis is now chosen capten and cheefe comander of all Chinas in Japon, both at Nangasaque, Firando, and else where." See Edward Maunde Thompson ed., *Diary of Richard Cocks*, vol. 2, p. 309.
- 63 Edward Maunde Thompson ed., *Diary of Richard Cocks*, vol. 2, pp. 27, 33.
- 64 B. Hoetink, "So Bing Kong: Het eerste hoofd der Chineezten te Batavia (1619-1636)" (So Bing Kong: the first chief of the Chinese in Batavia, 1619-1636), *BKL*, 73 (1917), pp. 344-415, p. 355, note 3.
- 65 "Richard Cocks at Hirado to Richard Fursland at Batavia, 31 December 1622," in Anthony Farrington, ed., *The English Factory in Japan*, pp. 913-915. Professor Iwao also mentions this loan in his article. Unfortunately, he mistakes the figure as 60,000 taels, ten times that of the actual loan.
- 66 Edward Maunde Thompson ed., *Diary of Richard Cock*, vol. 1, pp. 153, 228, 248, 332, vol. 2, p. 217; Sir Ernest M. Satow ed., *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613*, p. 167.
- 67 Adapted from Iwao Seiichi, *Shuinsen boeki shi no kenkyu* 朱印船貿易史の研究 (Studies in the history of the vermilion-seal junk trade), revised edition, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1985, pp. 218-228.
- 68 Suganuma Teifu 菅沼貞風, *Hirado boeki shi* 平戸貿易志 (History of Hirado Trade), in Suganuma Teifu, *Dai nippon shogyo shi* 大日本商業史 (History of Japanese Commerce), Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1940 reprint, pp. 523-629, p. 597. Suganuma (1865-89) was a native of Hirado. In the book he outlines the overseas expansion of Japanese traders and the transition of their trading activities prior to the *Sakoku* period. As for the general history of overseas trade at Hirado, see Murakami Naonjiro 村上直次郎, *Boeki shijo no Hirado* 貿易史上の平戸 (Hirado in commercial history), Tokyo: Nihon gakujutsu fukyukai 日本学術普及會, 1917.
- 69 Edward Maunde Thompson ed., *Diary of Richard Cocks*, vol. 1, pp. 230, 235; vol. 2, p. 21.
- 70 Nishikawa Joken 西川如見, *Nagasaki yawaso* 長崎夜話草 (Evening Talks of Nagasaki), 5 vols., preface 1720, reprinted in 1896 as part of *Nagasaki sosho* 長崎叢書 (Nagasaki Collectanea), Nagasaki: Nagasaki Kobunsho Shuppankai 長崎古文書出版會, "Tosen hajimete nyutsu no koto" 唐船始入津の事 (On the first arrival of Chinese junks); Tanabe Mokei 田邊茂啓, *Nagasaki jitsuroku daisei* 長崎實錄大成 (The Complete Authentic Accounts of Nagasaki), Nagasaki: Nagasaki Bunko Kankokai 長崎文庫刊行會, 1928, p. 359.
- 71 Nagasaki, meaning "long cape," is situated on the island of Kyushu at the southwestern extremity of Japan. Historically, it was also known as Fukaeura, Fukazue, Fukutomiura and Tsurunomino. There are several accounts of the early history of Nagasaki, but it is widely agreed among Japanese historians that the origins of Nagasaki can be traced back to the late 12th century, when a samurai by the name of Nagasaki Kotaro Kasazuna 長崎小太郎重綱 arrived at this port from the village of Nagasaki in Izu, and became the local feudal lord. See Nagasaki Shiyakusho 長崎市役所編 ed., *Nagasaki shi shi* 長崎市史 (History of the City of Nagasaki), 8 vols. Nagasaki: Nagasaki Shiyakusho, 1923-1938. vol. 5, *Meisho Kyuseki bo* 名勝舊蹟部 (volume on Famous Places and Historical Sites), pp. 1-3; Yanai Kenji, Nagasaki, Tokyo: Shibundo 至文堂, 1962. Another well-written academic work by a Japanese historian on the early history of Nagasaki is Koga Jujiro's 古賀十二郎 *Nagasaki kaiko shi* 長崎開港史 (History of the opening of Nagasaki port), Nagasaki: Kenritsu Toshokan 縣立圖書館, 1922. For a brief introduction to the history of Nagasaki in English, see Herbert E. Plutschow, *Historical Nagasaki*. Tokyo: The Japan Times Ltd., 1983.

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- 73 Both these letters were in fact drafted by the famous Confucianist Hayashi Razan 林羅山. See Tanabe Mokei, *Nagasaki jitsuroku daisei*, p. 84; Kyoto Shiseikikai 京都史迹會編 ed., *Hayashi Razan bunshu* 林羅山文集 (Collected writings of Hayashi Razan), Kyoto: Kobunsha, 1930, vol. 12, p. 130.
- 74 *Ming Shenzong Shilu* 明神宗實錄 (Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty, Shenzong period), vol. 498.
- 75 Murakami Naojiro 村上直次郎 ed. & translated, *Nagasaki Oranda shokan no nikki* 長崎オランダ商館日記 (Diary of the Dutch Factory in Nagasaki), Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1956, 3 vols., vol. 1, pp. 107-111, 173, 235, vol. 2, p. 320; Nagazumi Yoko 永積洋子 compiled, *Tosen yushutsunyuhin suryo ichiran 1637-1833* 唐船輸出入品數量一覽 1637-1833年 (List of the commodities imported and exported by Chinese junks, 1637-1833), Tokyo: Sobunsha, 1987, pp. 36-100, 330-349.
- 76 Sources: Iwao Seiichi, "Kinsei nisshi boeki ni kansuru suryoteki kosatsu" 近世日支貿易に関する數量的考察 (An inquiry into the quantities of maritime trade between Japan and China during the early modern period), *Shigaku Zasshi*, 62: 11 (1953), pp. 11-13; Nagazumi Yoko, comp., *Tosen yushutsunyuhin suryo ichiran 1637-1833*, pp. 36-100, 330-349. The data for individual ports during the years 1634-46 is not available, and the figures pertaining to the individual places of origin and the percentages are my own calculation, which correct some of minor mistakes made by Prof. Iwao.
- 77 See the lecture given by Professor Oba Osamu 大庭脩 in Shenyang on 11 August 1979, which was published in China the following year. Oba Osamu, "Ri-Qing maoyi gaiguan" 日清貿易概觀 (A general survey of the trade between Japan and the Qing China), *Shehui kexue jikan*, 1(1980), pp. 89-100.
- 78 For a comprehensive and detailed study on the early history of Taiwan, see Ts'ao Yung-ho 曹永和, "Zaoqi Taiwan de kaifa yu jingying" 早期台湾的开发与经营, *Taipei wenxian* 台北文獻, No. 3 (1963), reprinted in Ts'ao Yung-ho, *Taiwan zaoqi lishi yanjiu* 台湾早期历史研究 (Studies on Early History of Taiwan), Taipei: Lianjing chubun gongsi, 1979, pp. 71-156.
- 79 For instance, Lin Daoqian 林道乾, one of the notorious pirates, had his headquarters established in Taiwan in 1563 when chased out by Yu Dayou 俞大猷. See *Ming Shi*, vol. 323.
- 80 Xu Fuyuan 许孚远, "Shutong haijing shu" 疏通海禁疏 (Memorial on lifting the maritime trade ban), in Chen Zilong 陈子龙, Xu Fuyuan 徐孚远 et al. comp., *Ming jingshi wenbian* 明经世文编, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962 reprint, vol. 400, *Jinghetang ji* 敬和堂集 (Collected Works of Xu Fuyuan).
- 81 Chen Di 陈第, *Dongfan ji* 东番志 (Account of the Eastern Barbarians), in Shen Yourong 沈有容, *Minhai zengyan* 闽海赠言 (Parting Notes Jotted in Fujian), vol. 2.
- 82 For a comprehensive account of the event, see W.P. Groeneveldt, *De Nederlanders in China, Eerste stuk: De Eerste Bemoeiingen om den Handel in China en de Vestiging in de Pescadores, 1601-1624, in Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 48 (1898).
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- 84 W. P. Groeneveldt, *De Nederlanders in China*, pp. 495-496.
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- 90 Horse Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-1834*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929, vol. 1, pp. 41-49.
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- 93 "Relation of the Voyage to Luzon, (June 1570)," in E. H. Blair and J. A. Robertson eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark, Co., 1903-07, (hereafter cited as Blair and Robertson), vol. 3, p. 101.
- 94 There have been many debates on the origin and meaning of the term *Sangle*. Based upon a Manila manuscript of c. 1590 that contains a colour picture of a Hokkien merchant couple with the title "Sangleys" and two Chinese characters "常来" (*changlai*), the late Professor C. R. Boxer argues that the term means "constantly coming." He even suggests that the term is probably of Tagalog and not of Chinese origin since the Spanish Friar Martin de Rada mentioned it in his accounts of the Ming China as saying "The natives of these islands call China 'Sangley,' and the Chinese merchants themselves call it Tunsua [*Tiong-hoa* in Hokkien]; however its proper name nowadays is Taybin [*Tai-bin* in Hokkien]." On the other hand, Edgar Wickberg contends that the term probably derived from the Chinese term "shang-lü" 商旅, meaning "merchant traveller." Indubitably these two explanations are not convincing. I am rather inclined to believe that the term *Sangley* is derived from the Hokkien dialect word "shengli" 生理, meaning "trade" or "doing business." As a matter of fact, the term *Sangley* or "Shengli" was and still is very popular among Hokkien people. For instance, when talking about the smuggling with the Japanese traders, Zheng Ruozeng pointed out in the 16th century that "Of the people who usually smuggle with the Japanese, a majority are those from Zhangzhou and Quanzhou who do not have their own business" (*xianlai tong wo duo zhang quang wu shengli zhi ren* 向来通倭多漳泉无生理之人). Another piece of evidence in point is a contemporary Spanish account by Juan de Medina, which was published in 1630. According to Juan de Medina, when the Hokkien merchants came to the Philippines for the first time, the natives were surprised by their strange appearance, and asked who they were. "The answer was

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- 'Sangley' (or 'merchants'); as one would say, 'We are merchants.' For the relevant references, see C. R. Boxer ed., *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, London: the Hakluyt Society, 1953, p. 260; Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965, p. 9; Zheng Ruozeng, *Chouhai Tubian*, 1561-62, Shanghai: Commercial Press, *Sikuquanshu zhenbenchuiji* 四库全書珍本初集 edition, reprint 1935, vol. 12; Juan de Medina, "History of the Augustinian order in the Filipinas Islands, (1630)," in Blair and Robertson, vol. 23, p. 220; Berthold Laufer, "The relations of the Chinese," p. 268; George Phillips, "Early Spanish trade with Chincheo (Chang-chow)," *The China Review*, 19 (1890), p. 244, note 3; Fuchiwaki Hideo 淵脇英雄, "Shina Hirippin tsusho-jo no 'Sangley' ni tsuite" 支那菲律賓通商とのサングレインに就いて (On 'Sangley' in the China-Philippine trade), *Rekisho to Chiri* 歴史と地理, 33-34 (1934), pp. 336-347.
- 95 When talking about Manila, He Qiaoyuan 何乔远 (1557-1631), a prominent Hokkien historian of the Ming dynasty, points out that "Since the place is adjacent to Fujian, the majority of the Zhangzhou people travelled there." See He Qiaoyuan, *Ming-shan Zang* 名山藏 (A private compiled history of the Ming dynasty), 1640, Taipei: Chengwen shuju reprint, 1971, vol. 62, pt. 3, Entry for "Luzon."
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 - 103 Zhang Xie, *Dongxiyang kao*, vol. 7, "Section of Taxation;" *Ming Shenzong shilu* (Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty: Shenzong period), vols. 210, 316.
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PARTIE DE L'ISLE DE MACAO
 La Case Blanche
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Macau e Manila no Arbitrismo Ibérico

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NOTA INTRODUTÓRIA: ARBÍTRIO, ARBITRISTA, ARBITRISMO

Durante a segunda metade do século XVI e boa parte do século XVII assistiu-se em Espanha ao desenvolvimento de um fenómeno que os investigadores vieram a designar por *arbitrismo*, corrente de pensamento político e económico que partia da análise da realidade conjuntural do país e do seu império para, em seguida, propor os mais diversos tipos de soluções para os problemas diagnosticados. O termo que está na origem deste conceito é *arbitrio*, o qual, segundo o investigador espanhol Alfredo Alvar Ezquerro, era já usado em Castela no século XV com uma dupla acepção: a de sentença proclamada por um juiz e a de livre

manifestação de vontade própria¹. A evolução semântica que o vocábulo conheceu levou-o a adquirir, porém, a partir da primeira metade do século XVI, o significado de recurso ou subterfúgio para acrescentar os réditos financeiros da Coroa, e, simultaneamente, após meados desse mesmo século, o de parecer, ideia ou sugestão que se fazia chegar às autoridades para ajudar a resolver situações problemáticas que afectavam o funcionamento da máquina estatal. O próprio documento que continha a proposta passou a ser designado de arbitrio, o que nos leva a constatar que o termo chega ao século XVII com um significado múltiplo, abrangendo quer o texto propriamente dito, quer o parecer contido nesse texto, seja ele de que teor for, quer ainda o expediente fiscal para obtenção de fundos proposto em muitos desses documentos.

A vulgarização do conceito suscitou o aparecimento do termo *arbitrista* para designar aquele que propunha arbitrios ao Estado, primeiramente expedientes de carácter fiscal, e, depois, quaisquer projectos visando solucionar problemas da Coroa. Este novo vocábulo foi usado inicialmente no ambiente de corte, mas o grande sucesso que veio a ter em Espanha no século XVII resultou sobretudo da sua utilização na literatura,

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na qual foi introduzido por Miguel de Cervantes, em 1613, através da obra *Colóquio de los Perros*.

Socialmente, o arbitrista não pode ser associado a qualquer tipo específico de personagem. Havia-os das mais diversas origens sociais e profissionais, desde universitários, intelectuais de diferentes áreas, médicos, políticos, oficiais administrativos, clérigos, aristocratas, até soldados, comerciantes, lavradores ou viajantes. Geralmente, todos eles invocavam o espírito de serviço ao país e a fidelidade ao rei como condição justificativa para a elaboração de arbítrios, mas, no fundo, a maioria procurava vender ideias, obtendo mercês em troca das propostas apresentadas.

A qualidade dos pareceres elaborados bem como os assuntos específicos a que diziam respeito e o interesse por eles suscitado variavam bastante. Muitos deles ou aconselhavam soluções claramente utópicas para os problemas ou então não faziam sentido ou não eram possíveis de aplicar, sendo que alguns pareciam mesmo extravagantes, roçando até o ridículo. Um dos aspectos comuns a muitos dos arbítrios era o entendimento de que os problemas do Reino se resolviam pela implementação de um remédio único e universal, qualificado por John Reeder como a versão arbitrista da pedra filosofal².

O carácter pouco sério, ingénuo, por vezes grotesco e frequentemente interesseiro de muitos dos arbítrios concorreu para denegrir a imagem dos arbitristas perante a sociedade. O arbitrista era, aliás, um “*individuo poco querido*”, na expressão de Alvar Ezquerro³, até porque muitos dos arbítrios apontavam para aumentos da fiscalidade sobre as populações ou para a eliminação de prerrogativas dos grupos privilegiados, ao mesmo tempo que contribuíam para o fortalecimento do papel do rei em prejuízo da acção fiscalizadora das Cortes. De qualquer modo, a má fama do arbitrista divulgou-se sobretudo graças à acção de alguns dos maiores escritores espanhóis do chamado “Século de Ouro”, que fizeram dele uma verdadeira personagem de comédia. Cervantes, que foi, como vimos, o primeiro a empregar o vocábulo *arbitrista* na literatura, entendia o tipo social do arbitrista como o de um pobre coitado com ataques de loucura e a quem ninguém conseguia levar a sério⁴. Já Quevedo chega mesmo ao ponto de o considerar como um indivíduo perigoso para o Estado. Na sua obra *Política de Dios y Gobierno de Cristo* (1635) qualifica os arbitristas como ladrões e compara-os a Judas, enquanto na *Fortuna com*

Seso y la Hora de Todos, Fantasía Moral (1650) os apelida de “*pragas*” e “*pestes andantes*”, capazes de infectar tudo aquilo em que tocam, e cujo efeito é mais demolidor que o do fogo⁵.

Perante os contornos pejorativos que a imagem do arbitrista adquire, não admira que sensivelmente após o segundo quartel do século XVII, muitos dos arbitristas procurem eximir-se a tão odioso epíteto, deixando de utilizar o termo *arbitrio* no título dos seus textos e alinhando eles próprios na crítica ao fenómeno. A partir do século XVIII utiliza-se predominantemente o termo *projectista* em vez de *arbitrista*, talvez para obviar ao ultraje associado ao termo, mas a nova designação não escapará ao poder do preconceito. No século XIX, no contexto dos seus estudos sobre o pensamento económico em Espanha, o historiador, economista e jurista Colmeiro y Penido recupera o sentido pejorativo da crítica aos arbitristas, acusando-os de serem curandeiros, inventores de quimeras e de apresentarem remédios superficiais para os problemas.

Contudo, nem todos os arbitristas podiam ser entendidos a partir dessa bitola de Colmeiro. Entre os autores espanhóis dos séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII que escreveram sobre assuntos político-económicos existiam largas dezenas de indivíduos que demonstravam capacidade de análise, sentido de Estado, conhecimentos de governação ou de administração e criatividade responsável nas soluções propostas. O próprio Colmeiro reconhece essa situação, mas a esses autores apelida-os de *economistas*, reservando o epíteto de *arbitristas* para os outros. De certo modo, a reabilitação destes autores só virá a acontecer a partir de meados do século XX através de uma vaga de estudos sobre o arbitristismo, que passa a ser valorizado e considerado como um importante objecto de estudo para a história das ideias na Época Moderna⁶. Marjorie Grice-Hutchinson, por exemplo, afirma não estabelecer qualquer distinção entre *arbitristas* e *economistas políticos*⁷. Já Gutierrez Nieto defende mesmo a utilização do termo *arbitrista* para designar todos os autores que nos séculos XVI e XVII analisaram os problemas da economia espanhola e propuseram soluções para os enfrentar, não obstante diferenciarem os “arbitristas fiscais” dos “arbitristas reformadores”⁸.

É partindo desta perspectiva conceptual de arbitristismo que se desenvolve o estudo que aqui apresento. *Arbitrista* parece-me ser, de facto, o vocábulo mais apropriado para designar esses pensadores, tendo

em conta as características dos seus textos, os fins que se propõem atingir e o contexto em que redigem as suas obras, ainda que alguns dos investigadores modernos, conscientes do valor do legado de muitos desses autores da Época Moderna, prefiram alforriá-los do impropério com que ainda hoje é por vezes entendido o termo *arbitrista*, designando-os antes por economistas políticos⁹.

É neste contexto lato do arbitristismo que deve ser entendido o desenvolvimento das ideias mercantilistas em Espanha (ainda que nem todos os arbitristas se inscrevam nesse movimento). No fundo, os escritores habitualmente designados por *mercantilistas* mais não são que arbitristas que apresentaram modelos de desenvolvimento económico do seu país com base em diversos aspectos como a riqueza monetária, a intervenção do Estado na economia, o crescimento produtivo nacional com vista à satisfação do mercado interno e à exportação ou a tendência para a auto-suficiência.

Apesar da dimensão que atingiu em Espanha, o arbitristismo não se desenvolveu apenas aí. Também em Portugal é possível encontrar múltiplos exemplos da vitalidade desse movimento, que terá penetrado no país por via do seu vizinho ibérico, e que foi particularmente importante durante a União Dinástica (1580/81-1640) e mesmo as Guerras da Restauração (1640-1668). A generalização da ideia de “decadência” promoveu o aparecimento de vários textos com propostas de resolução dos problemas económicos e políticos do país, os quais eram dirigidos às autoridades. Durante o período da monarquia dual alguns Portugueses enviaram mesmo para Madrid arbítrios redigidos em castelhano. Seja como for, a escassez de estudos sobre o fenómeno em Portugal não nos permite avaliar de forma segura a dimensão real que o arbitristismo terá alcançado no país. Por meados dos anos 1980, o investigador George Winius lastimava-se disso mesmo, ao referir que a designação *arbitrista* não era usada em Portugal. É certo que de aí para cá foram surgindo diversos trabalhos que valorizaram o conceito¹⁰, mas continuam a faltar obras de fundo sobre o tema.

Tal como aconteceu em Espanha, também em Portugal o termo adquiriu um sentido pejorativo, sobretudo no século XVII. D. Francisco Manuel de Melo, um dos grandes críticos dos arbitristas, acusava-os de serem incompetentes e perigosos, e apresentava-os como “bargantes embaidores, vagabundos, charlatães,

mentirosos, intermetidos, que se introduzem a falar e discorrer sobre o que não viram, nem sabem, nem entendem”¹¹. De certo modo, este tipo de comentários depreciativos reflecte a influência que as sugestões apresentadas por esses pensadores exerciam nas acções governativas, nomeadamente na implementação de medidas de carácter fiscal.

Tendo consciência da importância do estudo do pensamento arbitrista para, por um lado, compreender a evolução do ideário político e económico dos países ibéricos na Época Moderna, e, por outro, entender algumas das medidas postas em prática pelos respectivos governos quer na metrópole quer nas colónias, idealizei um projecto de trabalho que visava analisar as ideias de vários arbitristas a propósito dos dois territórios coloniais mais longínquos dos impérios português e espanhol: Macau e as Filipinas. O presente artigo destina-se precisamente a apresentar as principais linhas de investigação e as conclusões centrais desse trabalho.

No desenvolvimento desse ensaio, que abarca um período compreendido entre as últimas décadas do século XVI e meados do século XVIII, e de acordo com o respectivo título, houve a preocupação de atribuir um destaque especial (ainda que não exclusivo) a três elementos que são essenciais no pensamento de cariz mercantilista: por um lado, a população, considerada pelos ideólogos do mercantilismo em geral como factor de desenvolvimento e de poder de um Estado; por outro, o comércio, núcleo central em torno do qual se jogava a sobrevivência de Macau e das Filipinas; e por último, as finanças, sector onde as dificuldades dos dois impérios ibéricos mais se faziam sentir. Partindo dessa realidade, procurou-se, na análise do pensamento dos autores arbitristas escolhidos, identificar as principais ideias que veiculavam e, com base nelas, perceber a descrição que faziam dos problemas e as soluções propostas.

Entre os arbitristas cujas ideias foram examinadas neste estudo encontram-se políticos, diplomatas, homens de ciência, sacerdotes, escritores, comerciantes, militares e marinheiros. De Portugal foram seleccionados alguns dos principais intérpretes do pensamento económico português da época, como Luís Mendes de Vasconcelos, Duarte Gomes Solis, Manuel Severim de Faria, o padre António Vieira, Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo, D. Luís da Cunha e Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, a que se juntaram os dois “soldados práticos”

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Diogo do Couto e Francisco Rodrigues Silveira e ainda o militar e comerciante Jorge Pinto de Azevedo. Quanto aos autores espanhóis, as alternativas eram bem mais numerosas, graças às sugestões do catálogo de Evaristo Correa Calderón¹², à recolha documental de Fernandez de Navarrete¹³ e à abundância de documentos disponíveis nos arquivos espanhóis¹⁴, pelo que os mesmos foram escolhidos principalmente em função do interesse dos seus textos, sendo também tida em consideração a vantagem de se abarcarem personalidades com funções profissionais variadas. A Alonso Sanchez, Hernando de los Ríos Coronel, Martin Ignacio de Loyola, Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco, Juan de Cevicós, Martin Castaño e Juan Grau y Monfalcon apensaram-se dois autores anónimos, um deles expondo ideias e propostas emanadas da Universidade dos Mercadores da Cidade dos Reis (Lima), no Peru.

ARBITRISTAS PORTUGUESES

A maioria dos arbitristas portugueses considerados desenvolve a sua análise da realidade portuguesa e do seu império dando relevo aos problemas económicos e propondo soluções para os enfrentar. Os autores que abordam o assunto sob uma perspectiva diversa são Diogo do Couto e Francisco Rodrigues Silveira, que se interessam sobretudo pela questão da desordem em que se encontrava o império português do Oriente, e que, segundo eles, ameaçava destruí-lo. Dos restantes escritores, quase todos podem ser identificados com o ideário mercantilista, predominante na Europa da época entre os pensadores da economia.

No entanto, nem todos estes autores se debruçam especificamente sobre o caso de Macau ou sobre as questões relativas ao comércio português no Extremo Oriente. Para aqueles que nunca estiveram na região mais oriental do império asiático português, Macau é visto apenas como mais uma praça do complexo territorial que é o Estado Português da Índia e tratado no contexto global de um império não só asiático mas também africano e americano. Não obstante, a influência maior ou menor que o pensamento destes autores exerceu na elaboração de políticas de governo relativamente às colónias justifica a sua abordagem neste estudo.

Seguindo a ordem cronológica da produção dos textos, o primeiro autor tido em consideração foi Diogo do Couto, o famoso cronista que continuou as *Décadas*

de João de Barros e que foi guarda-mor da Torre do Tombo de Goa e, inicialmente, soldado na Índia. O seu pensamento arbitrista revela-se principalmente em duas obras que compôs de acordo com uma matriz platónica, coloquial, consideradas tradicionalmente como duas versões de uma mesma obra, intituladas *Diálogo do Soldado Prático* ou somente *O Soldado Prático*. No primeiro “Diálogo”, redigido muito provavelmente entre 1563 e 1573¹⁵, reproduz-se uma conversa entre um fidalgo recém-nomeado como vice-rei da Índia e um velho soldado seu conhecido, acabado de regressar do Oriente, onde servira durante 40 anos, através da qual o fidalgo procura obter do soldado informações que o possam ajudar a governar o Estado da Índia. Já no segundo “Diálogo”, que terá sido composto em várias fases, entre 1573 e 1611¹⁶, para além de um velho soldado e de um fidalgo, que nos surge agora como tendo já desempenhado o cargo de governador da Índia, existe uma terceira personagem, um “despachador” (ou secretário da Coroa), que está incumbido de receber os requerimentos dos homens que prestaram serviço no Oriente e de lhes dar andamento.

*Apesar da dimensão
que atingiu em Espanha,
o arbitrista não se desenvolveu
apenas aí. Também
em Portugal é possível
encontrar múltiplos exemplos
da vitalidade desse movimento*

Em ambos os textos são vários os aspectos abordados que dizem respeito directamente ao funcionamento do Estado da Índia, salientando-se os elementos relativos à corrupção dos funcionários, às injustiças cometidas e à desorganização governativa, que estão presentes nos dois “Diálogos”, sendo que o segundo lhes dá ainda maior ênfase, transmitindo uma mais forte expressão ao desânimo do soldado (o mesmo será dizer do próprio Couto) face à operacionalidade do império oriental e aos homens que nele serviam. Vice-reis, capitães de fortalezas, físicos e outros funcionários,

muitos deles apareciam envolvidos em irregularidades, desvios de fundos, roubos, perjúrios que reforçavam ainda mais a imagem de “decadência” em que, segundo ele, se encontrava o Estado da Índia.

É no primeiro “Diálogo” que Couto fala directamente de Macau, designando-o por “porto da China” ou somente “China”¹⁷. Criticando o facto de os próprios vice-reis e governadores se terem envolvido pessoalmente no mundo dos negócios, preocupando-se mais com os lucros pessoais que deles retiravam do que com o serviço da Coroa, e lamentando a sedução que o comércio exercia igualmente entre os soldados que chegavam à Índia vindos do Reino, os quais acabavam por abandonar o serviço militar, com grande prejuízo do Estado, para se dedicar à mercancia, Diogo do Couto transmite a ideia de que “na China se gasta a maior parte da gente da Índia”¹⁸. Para ele, interpretado através da fala do soldado, Macau é um autêntico antro de pecado, “um valhacouto agora dos tocados da enfermidade da Santa Inquisição”¹⁹, onde os homens vão para enriquecer, mas, simultaneamente para perder a alma. Enredados pela cobiça, os Portugueses que procuram Macau acabam por se afastar das virtudes próprias do cristão e esquecer a fé. O comércio afigura-se assim, para o soldado do primeiro “Diálogo”, como qualquer coisa de demoníaco e Macau, como estabelecimento mercantil que é, e onde a assistência religiosa é escassa, parece obra do demónio.

Mas Couto vai ainda mais longe ao colocar na boca do soldado do primeiro “Diálogo” a afirmação de que a abundância das riquezas na China fará, mais tarde ou mais cedo, com que os Portugueses se desinteressem pela própria Índia e façam daquele local do Extremo Oriente o centro do seu império oriental. Isso só não terá acontecido ainda, declara, porque os Chineses se têm oposto até ao momento ao estabelecimento de estrangeiros no seu território, interessando-se apenas pelo comércio. Na verdade, como homem que é da Índia, Couto parece temer pela sua sobrevivência em face de um mundo extremo-oriental bem mais rico, apesar de reconhecer que a região da costa ocidental indiana onde os Portugueses se estabeleceram e que elevaram à categoria de sede do seu poder na Ásia era “a pior terra de toda a que temos descoberta, e a mais pobre”²⁰.

A constatação da oposição entre a riqueza da China e a pobreza da Índia poderia muito bem servir para justificar uma opinião diferente de Diogo

do Couto relativamente à possibilidade de o eixo do império asiático português se vir a deslocar para Extremo Oriente. Mas isso não acontece. O Couto do primeiro “Diálogo” rege-se por princípios morais e religiosos tradicionais, o que o leva a condenar o comércio e o excesso de riqueza, que conduzem à perdição da alma.

Nota-se, contudo, em Diogo do Couto uma evolução no que respeita ao entendimento desta realidade. No segundo “Diálogo”, o soldado já não é tão crítico relativamente ao comércio, e quanto à China a visão já não é negativa. A China não aparece já como um perigo para a sobrevivência da Índia, mas sim como um importante ponto da rede comercial portuguesa na Ásia que importa preservar. Ironicamente, as riquezas da China tornam-se mesmo, a par com a questão da evangelização, o motivo invocado para defender a manutenção do império asiático português, assunto que foi muito discutido em Portugal nos finais do século XVI e inícios do século XVII.

Com ideias muito aproximadas das de Diogo do Couto sobre o funcionamento da Ásia portuguesa, Francisco Rodrigues Silveira é um outro importante arbitrista do período de viragem de Quinhentos para Seiscentos. Autor escassamente conhecido até há pouco mais de duas décadas, quando George Winus apresentou uma comunicação sobre ele no II Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa²¹, Silveira serviu na Índia como soldado, tendo redigido posteriormente as suas memórias numa obra intitulada *Reformação da Milícia e Governo do Estado da Índia Oriental*, que conheceu seis versões entre 1599 e 1635, a que podemos juntar um outro arbítrio, composto em 1619, denominado *Discurso Sobre o Progresso dos Gelandeses Entrados Novamente na Índia, em que se Descrevem Alguns Advertimentos que se Devem Observar pera lhes Poder Aquelle Estado Fazer a Necessária Resistência*²². Para George Winus, Rodrigues Silveira é “o verdadeiro soldado prático”²³, mais ainda do que Couto, pois, segundo afirma, a *Reformação* “relaciona toda a sobrevivência do Estado da Índia com a sua função militar”²⁴.

Na mesma linha do cronista, Silveira critica a promiscuidade existente entre guerra, governo e comércio e alerta para os perigos da cobiça associados às riquezas do Oriente. Para ele, o comércio é uma ocupação vil (ainda que útil) e, por isso, não pode ocupar um lugar central nas preocupações de quem

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serve o país no Estado da Índia. A prioridade deve ser dada à evangelização e, depois disso, à ordem e disciplina militar.

As referências ao Extremo Oriente nos escritos de Silveira são escassas, até porque a sua experiência da Ásia se restringe à região do Índico. De qualquer modo, o autor não ignora as grandes riquezas vindas da China (mais propriamente de Macau, ainda que esse nome nunca seja referido). Segundo afirma, cada nau da China rendia para a alfândega de Goa mais de 35 000 pardaús em direitos, e grande parte dos mercadores da Índia estavam envolvidos nesse negócio. Havia, por isso, que tomar medidas eficazes contra os piratas que actuavam nas regiões costeiras do Malabar e que atacavam essas embarcações, causando prejuízos a todos aqueles que participavam desse comércio, implementando uma estratégia de guerra que atacasse a raiz do problema. Por outro lado, critica as altas taxas alfandegárias praticadas nas alfândegas dos portos portugueses e as tiranias que neles eram praticadas pelos capitães de fortalezas, que faziam fugir, entre outros, os comerciantes chineses, e deterioravam a imagem dos Portugueses junto dos povos asiáticos. Quem beneficiava com isto, garante Silveira, eram os Espanhóis das Filipinas, onde passavam a aportar os Chineses que se furtavam aos portos dominados por Portugal, enchendo essas ilhas de mercadorias, as quais eram depois levadas para a Nova Espanha e daí para o Peru.

Rodrigues Silveira censura ainda a existência, em vários pontos do Oriente, de povoações de “casados portugueses” misturados com mouros e gentios, algumas delas possuindo igrejas, mosteiros e até Misericórdias, as quais, segundo o autor, constituem uma perfeita ofensa a Deus e “descredito da religião”²⁵. Uma dessas povoações situa-se na China, num “porto de infiéis”²⁶, designação que Silveira atribui a Macau. Na sua opinião, o facto de haver Portugueses a residir num local como esse, onde se vêem obrigados a submeter-se a leis estranhas e não às que procedem do seu rei é “huma grande indescência”²⁷, até porque eles são aí completamente molestados, tendo que prostrar-se diante dos mandarins quando só o deviam fazer perante Deus. No fundo, o grande problema é a cobiça, em nome da qual os Portugueses aguentam todas as humilhações.

Por isso, Silveira desaprova por completo a existência de Macau. Para além de um local de perdição

da alma, o enclave macaense prejudica também o Estado da Índia, contribuindo para dispersar as suas forças, para diminuir as suas alfândegas e para enfraquecer os seus mercadores.

O terceiro arbitrista analisado no estudo que aqui se apresenta é Luís Mendes de Vasconcelos, que redigiu uma obra intitulada *Do Stio de Lisboa: Diálogos*, datada de 1608, na qual esgrime argumentos com o objectivo manifesto de convencer o rei Filipe III de Espanha (II de Portugal) a mudar a Corte para Lisboa, aproveitando as condições que a cidade possuía “para ser cabeça de um grande Império”²⁸. É nessa obra que Mendes de Vasconcelos revela as principais ideias que definem o seu pensamento económico e que fazem dele, de acordo com José Calvet de Magalhães, “o primeiro escritor que entre nós revela nitidamente tendências mercantilistas”²⁹.

Tal como *O Soldado Prático*, de Diogo do Couto, também este texto de Mendes de Vasconcelos se desenrola em forma de diálogo, no qual intervêm um político, um filósofo e um militar de alta patente (designado na obra simplesmente como soldado), todos eles fidalgos da corte de D. João III, em cujo reinado o autor coloca o decorrer da sua estória (o que representa um recuo de mais de meio século em relação ao período em que escreve). A um dado momento da conversa que se desenvolve entre os três interlocutores, o filósofo afirma que a conquista da Índia, ao contrário do que acontecia com o Brasil, tinha sido danosa para os interesses de Portugal, pois, em troca de uma “glória vã”³⁰, consumia continuamente homens e dinheiro, pondo em risco os sectores produtivos nacionais e a própria defesa do Reino. Quanto ao comércio oriental, ele teria sido vantajoso se Portugal o tivesse sabido aproveitar. Mas tal não aconteceu, limitando-se o país a desbaratar a sua prata em troca de produtos de luxo.

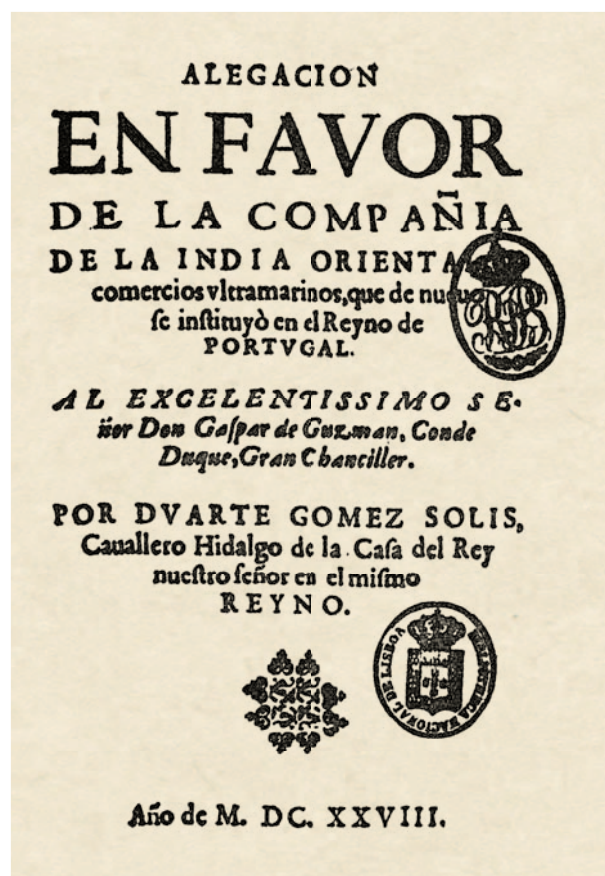
No entanto, agora que o mal estava feito, não se podia pensar, de forma simplista, em abandonar a Índia, não só pelos muitos investimentos que nela se tinham realizado, mas também devido às responsabilidades e compromissos que Portugal assumira do ponto de vista religioso por via da actividade missionária que aí levou a cabo. Pela boca do político, Mendes de Vasconcelos defende que a solução estava na reorganização da estratégia portuguesa ao nível do império asiático, que deveria passar pelo incremento do comércio entre Portugal e a Índia através da abertura da rota do

Cabo à iniciativa privada e da concessão de incentivos fiscais aos comerciantes, pela concentração em Goa dos Portugueses espalhados pelo Oriente, por forma a fortalecer o Estado da Índia e a assegurar o domínio marítimo na área do Índico, e pela atribuição de autorização aos mercadores privados para montarem armamento nos seus navios, reforçando o poder da marinha nacional.

Como se pode constatar, o autor não se refere directamente a Macau (nem podia fazê-lo pela boca das personagens da sua obra, pois na altura em que o diálogo pretensamente se desenvolve o enclave português na China ainda não existia). Contudo, como a obra de Mendes de Vasconcelos não aponta para o passado, mas assume claramente o presente e remete para o futuro, é fácil perceber que, ao defender a concentração dos interesses de Portugal na área do Índico, o autor mostra não atribuir qualquer importância à presença portuguesa no Extremo Oriente.

Fruto, talvez, da sua ascendência judaica e da sua qualidade de comerciante, Duarte Gomes Solis, manifesta um olhar diferente sobre os problemas da Índia Portuguesa, patente nas suas obras *Discursos Sobre los Comercios de las Dos Indias, Donde se Tratan Materias Importantes de Estado y Guerra, Dirigido a la Sacra y Catolica Magestad del Rey don Felipe Quarto Nuestro Señor*, datada de 1622, e *Alegacion en Favor de la Compañia de la India Oriental – Comercios Ultramarinos que de Nuevo se Instituyó en el Reyno de Portugal*, publicada em 1628. Nelas Gomes Solis chama a atenção do governo para o perigo em que se encontrava o Estado da Índia, que não possuía condições para enfrentar o poderoso inimigo holandês, e apela ao envio de socorro urgente.

Contrariamente a Diogo do Couto e a Rodrigues Silveira, Gomes Solis defende que os grandes erros de Portugal em relação ao Oriente eram a pouca estima que se tinha pelo comércio e pela segurança da navegação. Desprezar as actividades comerciais numa altura em que o ouro e a prata eram vistos como “*los dioses deste mundo terreno*”³¹ constituía um perfeito equívoco, já que eram elas que permitiam sustentar a guerra e manter a paz. Nesta linha de ideias, critica a forma como os comerciantes eram tratados em Portugal, particularmente os cristãos-novos, que tantos serviços prestavam ao país, e os limites que eram impostos à sua acção nos territórios ultramarinos. Sobre a navegação, censura os actos de corrupção, irresponsabilidade



Frontispício de *Alegacion en Favor de la Compañia de la India Oriental. Comercios Ultramarinos que de Nuevo se Instituyó en el Reyno de Portugal*, de Duarte Gomes Solis, 1628.

e incúria associados aos contratos para construção de embarcações, aos materiais que eram utilizados no fabrico das mesmas e ao seu aprovisionamento, situações que resultavam em inúmeros naufrágios que determinavam perdas importantes de vidas humanas e de mercadorias.

Nas suas obras, Gomes Solis deplora a política monetária espanhola, que considera prejudicial para o império. A Espanha, que era a maior produtora de prata devido às suas minas da América, atribuía um valor muito baixo ao metal em comparação com os outros Estados, o que facilitava a sua sangria para o estrangeiro, inclusive para aqueles países que com ela estavam em guerra, contribuindo para o enriquecimento e fortalecimento dos mesmos. Havia, por isso, que alterar a política monetária, fazendo subir o valor da prata, por forma a dificultar o acesso dos Holandeses (e até mesmo dos Ingleses) ao metal precioso, sem o qual eles se veriam impedidos de desenvolver o seu comércio no

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Extremo Oriente. Essa seria, assim, a melhor maneira de lhes fazer guerra, até porque, na opinião de Gomes Solis, o comércio é mais poderoso que as armas³².

Em posição oposta no que respeitava ao valor dado à prata estava a China, por quem Gomes Solis nutria uma especial admiração. Assente numa população abundante, a China era, para Solis, a mais poderosa, rica e fértil monarquia do mundo. De entre todos os países, era o que mais estimava a prata, utilizando-a como mercadoria e não como moeda, razão pela qual era a ela que afluía a maior parte do metal em causa existente no mundo. Nesse sentido, o comércio com a China proporcionava lucros fabulosos aos mercadores que o realizavam porque os preços já reduzidos das mercadorias chinesas se tornavam ainda mais baixos graças ao valor que aí era dado à prata.

No entanto, essa situação estava a alterar-se. A abertura da linha de comércio entre as Filipinas e a América estava a prejudicar os mercadores que realizavam negócios com a China, pois, com o grande afluxo de prata ao Extremo Oriente, os preços dos produtos chineses tendiam a aumentar, reduzindo os lucros dos comerciantes. No fundo, ao permitir que o comércio com a América por via das Filipinas se fizesse,

o monarca espanhol, que era simultaneamente, por essa altura, rei de Portugal, estava a contribuir para debilitar o Estado da Índia. Macau era particularmente afectado por essa situação, já que o afluxo de muita prata das minas americanas às Filipinas incentivava o comércio directo dos Chineses com Manila, levando a que os Japoneses passassem também a frequentar a colónia espanhola para aí se abastecerem dos artigos chineses. Com isso, os Japoneses deixaram de depender quase exclusivamente dos Portugueses de Macau para adquirir as sedas da China, o que pôs em perigo não só o comércio da nau do trato com o Japão mas também a própria Cristandade que aí se tinha desenvolvido.

Ao mesmo tempo, esta situação criou uma grande inimizade entre os Portugueses de Macau e os Espanhóis das Filipinas, os quais se comportavam como verdadeiros inimigos não obstante serem vassallos do mesmo rei. Tal desunião tornava o império luso-espanhol mais fraco na luta contra os inimigos no Extremo Oriente.

Uma das formas de melhor enfrentar os problemas do comércio oriental e de combater os Holandeses seria a constituição de uma grande companhia comercial, à imagem da Companhia Holandesa das Índias Orientais.

Biombo *namban*, atribuído a Kano Dami, c. 1593-1600 (M.N.A.A., Lisboa). Reproduzido de Luís Filipe Barreto (org.), *Fernão Mendes Pinto e os Mares da China*, Lisboa: Missão de Macau em Lisboa / Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 1998.



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Se a isso se juntasse a união das forças portuguesas e espanholas, o encerramento da rota do Pacífico entre Manila e Acapulco e uma política monetária por parte de Espanha que levantasse o valor da prata e com isso impedisse que ela chegasse a mãos holandesas, então o império luso-espanhol estaria em condições de se afirmar perante os seus inimigos.

Gomes Solis lamenta ainda que os Portugueses, que conquistaram a Índia como cavaleiros, não tenham sabido administrá-la como mercadores, podendo-se dela tirar maior riqueza que de todas as minas da América em conjunto. Por isso, era importante que o rei colocasse na administração da Fazenda Real homens de negócio, com muitos anos de experiência, e que fossem ricos para não fazerem da sua passagem pelo governo ocasião para tratarem primordialmente dos seus interesses, como tantas vezes acontecia.

Outros dois arbitristas que abordam questões económicas e que se referem à Índia, no sentido lato do termo, sem especificar contudo o caso de Macau a não ser esporadicamente, são os sacerdotes Manuel Severim de Faria e António Vieira. O primeiro é o famoso cónego e chantre da Sé de Évora, um dos homens mais cultos do seu tempo. De entre os seus escritos, merece destaque, do ponto de vista do pensamento económico, a obra *Notícias de Portugal*, publicada em 1655, particularmente o Discurso Primeiro, dedicado às questões da população. Partindo da ideia típica dos pensadores mercantilistas de que a abundância de gente é um factor de riqueza para os Estados, permitindo-lhes desenvolver os seus sectores produtivos e defender-se em caso de guerra, Severim de Faria, influenciado pelos escritos de Gomes Solis, invoca o exemplo da China para demonstrar que uma população copiosa facilita o aumento dos índices de produtividade.

Em Portugal, porém, a quebra populacional era uma realidade desde 1500. E a primeira causa da falta de gente no país era precisamente as conquistas que se levaram a cabo no Oriente. Faria não põe em causa a utilidade da expansão ultramarina, mas sim a forma como foi levada a cabo e o facto de ter conduzido ao despovoamento do Reino. Por um lado, muita gente perdia-se na viagem para Goa por a navegação ser longa e perigosa e por se cometerem diversos abusos que punham em causa a segurança das embarcações, como o aumento da tonelagem dos navios, o mau conserto dos mesmos, o excesso de carga e a sua má arrumação. Por outro, de entre aqueles que chegavam ao Oriente, a

maioria não regressava, ficando a viver nas cidades que os Portugueses decidiram fundar junto de poderosos reinos orientais, para as quais eram necessários muitos soldados e muito dinheiro. Uma delas era Macau, situada “às portas da China”³³. Para Severim de Faria a fundação destas cidades foi uma má opção dos governantes portugueses, devendo ter-se seguido antes a estratégia do primeiro vice-rei da Índia, D. Francisco de Almeida, que defendia que o poder português no Oriente devia ser concentrado no mar, bastando a Portugal possuir uma ou duas fortalezas nos portos onde fosse necessário invernar.

Este foi, para Severim de Faria, o grande equívoco de Portugal, pelo qual o país estava agora a pagar. Neste sentido, as perdas territoriais que Portugal tinha sofrido durante a primeira metade do século XVII não constituíram propriamente, na sua perspectiva, um desastre para o império asiático português. De certa forma, isso tornava-o mesmo menos disperso e mais equilibrado.

Quanto ao padre António Vieira, uma das maiores figuras da cultura portuguesa, os seus principais escritos económicos são redigidos numa altura muito complicada para Portugal, em que este se encontra envolvido nas guerras da Restauração, sem certeza de conseguir manter a independência que tinha acabado de declarar face à Coroa Espanhola, e em que as suas colónias ultramarinas são alvo de ataques constantes por parte de outras potências europeias, com destaque para a Holanda. De entre os seus textos mais significativos, todos eles datados do período que medeia entre 1643 e 1646, destacam-se a *Proposta Feita a El-Rei D. João IV, em que se lhe Representava o Miserável Estado do Reino e a Necessidade que Tinha de Admitir os Judeus Mercadores que Andavam por Diversas Partes da Europa* (1643), a *Proposta que se Fez ao Sereníssimo Rei D. João IV a Favor da Gente de Nação, sobre a Mudança dos Estilos do Santo Ofício e do Fisco* (1646), e as *Razões Apontadas a El-Rei D. João IV a Favor dos Cristãos-Novos, para se lhes Haver de Perdoar a Confiscação de seus Bens, que Entrassem no Comércio deste Reino* (também de 1646).

Face ao contexto em que escreve, a principal preocupação do padre António Vieira é a sobrevivência de Portugal como país independente perante inimigos tão poderosos. Mas para fazer face às despesas da guerra, ele sabe que é necessário ter muito dinheiro disponível, o que não é o caso de Portugal. Perante esta realidade, a

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Índia aparece mais como um estorvo para o país, já que absorve homens, navios e meios financeiros numa altura em que eles até eram poucos para a metrópole.

Sendo as forças portuguesas limitadas e as dos inimigos poderosas, a solução para o problema teria que passar por aumentar o poder de Portugal e restringir o alheio. Para tal, António Vieira só via uma solução: fazer com que os cristãos-novos portugueses que estavam espalhados pela Europa, fugidos às perseguições da Inquisição, regressassem a Portugal. Esse é o tema central dos seus escritos económicos. Muitos desses judeus convertidos possuíam grandes capitais, que tinham investido nos países que os acolheram, chegando a conceder crédito aos respectivos governos, e estavam ansiosos, segundo o testemunho de Vieira, para voltar para Portugal e para o servir com as “suas fazendas”³⁴.

*Gomes Solis lamenta ainda
que os Portugueses,
que conquistaram a Índia
como cavaleiros, não tenham
sabido administrá-la como
mercadores, podendo-se dela
tirar maior riqueza que
de todas as minas da América
em conjunto*

Dada a situação em que se encontrava o país, não havia que perder tempo com hesitações. Promover o regresso dos cristãos-novos a Portugal significava não só reforçar a posição do país na cena internacional, dando-lhe capacidade económica e força negocial, mas também desferir um golpe importante nas expectativas e no poder dos países inimigos, com particular destaque para a Holanda e para a Espanha, onde muitos dos cristãos-novos portugueses estavam exilados. Ao mesmo tempo, o comércio com a Índia ver-se-ia revigorado e a defesa dos territórios orientais estaria garantida. Portugal poderia inclusive estabelecer companhias comerciais que fizessem frente às suas congéneres da

Europa do Norte. No fundo, só a “restauração do comércio”³⁵ podia permitir a sobrevivência do projecto de independência portuguesa.

Sobre Macau, António Vieira refere-se ao território apenas duas vezes em cartas dirigidas a Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo, ambas de 1678. Nelas demonstra claramente a ideia de que o enclave português na China é apenas mais um ponto do complexo territorial que é o Estado da Índia, o qual ele encara numa perspectiva global. Falando sobre os vícios e o “escândalo da nossa gente”³⁶ no Oriente, Vieira conta que uma das naus que tinham acabado de chegar da Índia a Lisboa transportava um sacerdote como procurador de Macau, o qual trazia um arbítrio escrito com propostas para se recuperar ou manter a Índia portuguesa “com opulência e sem guerra”³⁷. No entanto a fama que existia no reino sobre a “corrupção dos vícios” dos Portugueses na Índia bastou para que ninguém, sabendo que ele vinha “daquele mundo”, se mostrasse disponível para o escutar³⁸.

Outro dos arbitristas que foi alvo de atenção no estudo que aqui se resume foi Jorge Pinto de Azevedo, um escritor ainda pouco conhecido, que só na última década viu a sua obra divulgada. O texto das suas *Aduertencias de Muita Importancia ha Magestosa Coroa del Rey Nosso Senhor Dom João o 4º do Nome, Offerecidas e Apresentadas ao Dito Senhor no seu Conselho do Estado da India, em Mão do Senhor Vice Rey Dom Phelipe Mascarenhas, por Jorge Pinto d'Azevedo, Morador na China em Março de 1646*, datado de 1646, foi publicado em 1996 por Artur Teodoro de Matos³⁹.

Ao contrário do padre António Vieira, que no mesmo ano apresentou também arbitrios a D. João IV, Pinto de Azevedo era um homem com uma experiência larga do Oriente, por onde deambulava há 24 anos servindo o Estado como soldado e capitão e fazendo negócios por conta própria. É nesta experiência que ele se baseia para apresentar ao rei as suas propostas, onde aborda conjuntamente assuntos como a guerra e o comércio.

Tal como assumira Diogo de Couto, Pinto de Azevedo afirma que a instalação dos Portugueses na costa ocidental indiana foi um erro estratégico, sendo essa a pior região que se podia ter escolhido para o efeito. No entanto, os primeiros Portugueses não podem ser

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VERA EFFIGIES CELEBERRIMI
 P. ANTONII VIEYRA,
 Sacerdotis, et Regum Lusitanicorum Regum Concionatoris, et Concionatorum Principis,
 qui Deo in Lusitania mundo Olyssipo Lusitania Societati Brasilia Obijt Bahia
 Illius Concionarius Die 28 July Ann. 1697. Quiescit in regio Collegii Bahi
 enae templo ubi sepultus frequentissimo urbis concursu, aeterno orbis desiderio ~

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considerados culpados por essa situação por não ser fácil perceber, à data, os problemas que estavam associados a esse espaço costeiro. O problema, diz, foi persistir-se no erro, principalmente após se ter obtido conhecimento do local ideal para servir de sede à presença portuguesa no Oriente: Ceilão.

Devido a erros como este, amplificados pelas guerras, pela concorrência de outros países europeus e pela desordem, o Estado Português da Índia encontrava-se muito debilitado e em risco “de se perder de todo”⁴⁰. Várias praças foram caindo na posse dos competidores directos, principalmente dos Holandeses, que acabaram por se impor graças a uma organização militar e mercantil mais apurada. Para mais, bloquearam a linha de comércio por via do estreito de Malaca e instalaram-se na ilha Formosa, penetrando nos negócios com a China e passando a fornecer ao Japão as sedas a que este vinha acedendo através dos mercadores de Macau. Esta foi uma das principais razões, garante Pinto de Azevedo, que levou os Japoneses a abdicar do comércio com os Portugueses e que colocou em perigo a sobrevivência do enclave macaense.

O diagnóstico da situação do império português era verdadeiramente preocupante. Para mais, os Holandeses tinham já penetrado em Ceilão e estavam em vias de o conquistar em definitivo. Mas Jorge Pinto de Azevedo alimentava ainda uma réstia de esperança de que as coisas poderiam melhorar se o governo português actuasse de forma acelerada e enérgica. As suas *Advertências* serviam precisamente para propor as medidas que ele considerava adequadas para enfrentar o difícil momento em que o império português estava mergulhado. As tréguas por dez anos que os Holandeses e os Portugueses tinham assinado em 1641 podiam constituir um balão de oxigénio para a Ásia portuguesa. A ameaça de conquista definitiva de Ceilão pelos Holandeses estava suspensa, pelo que havia que aproveitar os poucos anos que restavam para fazer o que há muito devia ter sido realizado, ou seja, instalar a corte do vice-rei da Índia em Ceilão e concentrar aí as forças portuguesas.

No entanto, dadas as difíceis circunstâncias em que se encontrava o Estado da Índia, é possível que as propostas apresentadas já não fossem suficientes para o salvar da derrocada. No caso de isso acontecer, Macau e a China poderiam constituir as tábuas de salvação que permitiriam viabilizar a continuidade da presença portuguesa no mundo asiático. Neste sentido, havia

que implementar algumas medidas para garantir a sobrevivência de Macau. Uma delas seria o envio de uma embaixada à China com o fim de conseguir autorização para os Portugueses de Macau comerciarem livremente em território imperial, aproveitando a momentânea debilidade do imperador Ming, motivada pela revolta dos Manchus, o que poderia mais facilmente abrir as portas a um entendimento que fosse benéfico para Portugal. Outra seria permitir-se que os Espanhóis, Holandeses e Ingleses fossem fazer negócio a Macau. Ao contrário do que à primeira vista pudesse parecer, Portugal podia obter vantagens económicas e políticas da abertura do enclave macaense ao comércio com os seus concorrentes europeus, desde que conseguisse centralizar aí a venda de mercadorias chinesas.

Em última instância, se o imperador chinês não recebesse a embaixada ou não autorizasse a livre circulação dos Portugueses pelo território imperial, então só haveria uma coisa a fazer: levar a cabo a conquista de Cantão. Pinto de Azevedo apresenta então um plano verdadeiramente rocambolesco para a tomada da cidade, assegurando, em nome da sua experiência e do seu conhecimento das coisas do Oriente, que o projecto era perfeitamente viável. Não há dúvida, porém, que a confiança demonstrada na exequibilidade desta proposta não contribuiu para tornar credível a sua obra, pondo mesmo em causa a lucidez da análise que faz à situação do império português. Não sabemos se as *Advertências* chegaram ou não a ser analisadas pelas autoridades portuguesas. Se o foram, é provável que os seus trechos mais utópicos tenham concorrido para que o arbítrio tenha ficado apenas no papel.

Na segunda metade do século XVII, a principal figura do pensamento económico português é Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo, do qual destacamos dois textos em particular: o *Discurso sobre a Introdução das Artes em Portugal* e as *Observações sobre a Transplantação dos Fructos da Índia ao Brazil*. O primeiro deles é um dos escritos mais importantes da literatura mercantilista portuguesa, profundamente influenciado pela política económica de Jean-Baptiste Colbert, o famoso ministro de Luís XIV, cuja obra Ribeiro de Macedo segue com atenção durante os nove anos que permanece em Paris como embaixador de Portugal. O texto virá a exercer, por sua vez, uma influência directa na política industrialista levada a cabo pelo 3.º Conde da Ericeira, vedor da Fazenda de D. Pedro II, no último quartel

do século XVII. Partindo da constatação de que os estrangeiros levavam o dinheiro de Portugal em troca dos produtos que nele colocavam, ou, dito de outro modo, que a balança comercial portuguesa com os seus parceiros externos era deficitária, Ribeiro de Macedo defende a introdução das artes no país, ou seja, das manufacturas, por forma a responder com produção nacional às necessidades do mercado interno e a reduzir o volume de importações.

A situação deficitária do comércio português gerou-se fundamentalmente devido ao consumo de produtos de luxo, hábito que a sociedade portuguesa adquiriu com a chegada à Índia e a consequente fruição das riquezas orientais. O maior problema, afirma Macedo, ocorreu quando Portugal perdeu o controlo do comércio com o Oriente, o que levou a que as importações passassem a ter que ser pagas em dinheiro, deixando o país no estado de “enfermidade moral” em que agora se encontrava⁴¹.

No segundo texto, Ribeiro de Macedo aborda a hipótese de virem a ser transplantadas para o Brasil as especiarias asiáticas mais vendidas na Europa. Se tal fosse possível à luz dos princípios da filosofia natural, como parecia, e se o plano pudesse ser implementado, Portugal poderia começar a vender à Europa o cravo, a pimenta, a canela, o gengibre a preços muito mais competitivos, destruindo o negócio da Companhia Holandesa das Índias Orientais. Seria como ter achado a pedra filosofal⁴². Para Ribeiro de Macedo, esta poderia bem ser a solução para os problemas da economia portuguesa.

Macedo é mais um dos arbitristas portugueses que nunca fala especificamente de Macau. Refere-se apenas à China para a apresentar como um exemplo ao nível do trabalho das artes e da luta contra a ociosidade. No fundo, para ele os territórios de além-mar constituíam uma parcela de um Reino que estava em situação de decadência económica e que precisava urgentemente de inverter esse rumo. Introduzindo-se as artes e fazendo-se a transplantação dos frutos da Índia para o Brasil, o país poderia prosperar e o poder de Portugal no Oriente poderia ser restaurado. O Brasil adquire, cada vez mais, no conjunto do império português, um destaque especial, não só devido à sua riqueza natural mas também pela maior proximidade em que se encontrava face à metrópole. Nesta perspectiva, Macau estava demasiado distante para merecer uma atenção particular.

O Brasil ocupa também uma posição central no pensamento do famoso diplomata português da primeira metade do século XVIII, D. Luís da Cunha, autor das *Instruções Políticas*, elaboradas entre 1736 e 1738, e do *Testamento Político*, de 1748. Nessas obras, o autor expressa uma preocupação essencial que o acompanha ao longo da sua vida: a consciência da superioridade do poder da Espanha face a Portugal e o receio de que o vizinho ibérico possa, mais tarde ou mais cedo, tentar uma nova invasão do território português.

Pinto de Azevedo afirma que a instalação dos Portugueses na costa ocidental indiana foi um erro estratégico, sendo essa a pior região que se podia ter escolhido para o efeito.

Comparando o Estado ao corpo humano e a população ao sangue que lhe dá vida, D. Luís da Cunha lamenta as múltiplas sangrias que têm sido infligidas a Portugal, nomeadamente a existência de muitos conventos na metrópole e nas colónias, que impedem muita gente de procriar e as afasta das actividades economicamente produtivas, e a política anti-judaica da Inquisição, que expulsa do país os grossos cabedais dos judeus e cristãos-novos de ascendência portuguesa. Defende a necessidade de promover o enriquecimento do Reino através do desenvolvimento das manufacturas e do mercancia e a introdução das companhias comerciais para o comércio com as colónias, nas quais deveriam ser admitidos os capitais dos judeus. D. Luís da Cunha não esquece o território que Portugal dominava “no continente da China” (Macau, obviamente), que considerava como absolutamente essencial para os negócios no Oriente, e que poderia contribuir para a formação de uma “lucrosa companhia”⁴³.

Mas era por via do Brasil que D. Luís da Cunha sustentava a esperança de viabilidade do império português, através da transferência da corte de Lisboa para o Rio de Janeiro, por forma a libertar o país da constante ameaça espanhola. Apesar de ter consciência

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de que esta era uma proposta polémica, D. Luís da Cunha não tinha dúvidas de que ela constituiria a melhor solução para preservar a soberania portuguesa, juntando ainda aos efeitos políticos importantes vantagens económicas.

O último autor português abordado neste estudo é Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, o célebre Marquês de Pombal, que foi ministro de D. José I durante vinte e sete anos (1750-1777). Conhecido sobretudo como homem de acção, Carvalho e Melo não deixou de expor algumas das suas concepções económicas nos textos que produziu durante o tempo em que desempenhou funções diplomáticas em Londres, nomeadamente nas cartas que enviou a Marco António de Azevedo Coutinho e ao Cardeal da Mota e na *Relação dos Gravames que ao Comercio e Vassallos de Portugal se tem Inferido e Estão Actualmente Inferindo por Inglaterra*⁴⁴.

O texto mais significativo para o efeito a que nos propomos é uma carta dirigida ao Cardeal da Mota, datada de 19/02/1742, em que Carvalho e Melo propõe a formação de uma companhia portuguesa para o comércio com o Oriente. O projecto terá nascido, ao que parece, dos contactos mantidos em Londres com um antigo alto funcionário da Companhia Inglesa das Índias Orientais, que se propunha apoiar Portugal na sua implementação. Apesar de nunca mencionar especificamente Macau, Carvalho e Melo refere-se às “mais partes além do cabo Comorim” como “lugares necessários para manter o negócio”⁴⁵, o que acaba por confirmar que ele atribuía grande importância ao conjunto do império português do Oriente na resolução dos problemas económicos do país.

ARBITRISTAS ESPANHÓIS

O primeiro dos arbitristas espanhóis evocados neste estudo é o padre Alonso Sanchez, uma figura bem conhecida da história das Filipinas não só pelas missões diplomáticas em que esteve envolvido (a Macau, Cantão, Madrid e Roma) como também por lhe serem atribuídas ideias de conquista e evangelização da China. Num texto seu de 1588, intitulado *Memorial que en Nombre de Todos los Estados de las Jsas Filipinas, y Como*



Retrato de Filipe II por Sofonisba Anguisciola (1532-1625).
Museu do Prado, Madrid

Su Procurador, Presentó à la Magestad del Rey Phelipe Segundo, el Padre Alonso Sanchez en la Compañia de Jesus, que Trata de Su Poblacion y Grandeza de Aquellas Jsas sus Calidades, del Estado en que se Hallaban, y de los Medios, para Su Conservacion, y Defensa, Fomento de Comercio, Navegacion, etc., Sanchez defende a conservação das Filipinas como colónia espanhola, argumentando que ela constituía uma mais-valia para o império liderado por Filipe II, e a adopção de medidas concretas para enfrentar as dificuldades que atingiam o território. Entre outras coisas, as Filipinas eram, na sua opinião, fundamentais para assegurar a sobrevivência da Cristandade do Japão e para a própria segurança de Macau, um território que o autor reputava também de absolutamente crucial não apenas para a manutenção do riquíssimo comércio com a China e com o Japão, mas igualmente para a defesa dos interesses políticos e estratégicos de Portugal e Espanha no Extremo Oriente.

Na origem dos problemas que afectam as ilhas estão, na opinião de Sanchez, para além do carácter dos colonos, da política de distribuição de terras e da falta de doutrina, os próprios governadores, os quais acusa de serem corruptos e de só se preocuparem

Retrato do 1.º Marquês de Pombal, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo.
Reproduzido de *Triomphe du Baroque*, catálogo da Exposição que teve lugar em Bruxelas no âmbito da Europolia 91.

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com os seus interesses pessoais e dos seus familiares e clientelas, não se dedicando a desenvolver o arquipélago e a beneficiar os que lá vivem e trabalham. Outra razão é a falta de ordem e disciplina militar, o que contradiz as afirmações do português Rodrigues Silveira sobre a organização do exército espanhol. Sanchez alerta assim para o facto de as Filipinas se encontrarem à beira da ruína e para a necessidade de serem tomadas medidas urgentes para obviar a tal situação. A principal seria a escolha de um bom governador, uma pessoa de competência e confiança, que se deixasse conduzir apenas pelo zelo do serviço ao Estado e não por estratégias de aproveitamento pessoal. Para além disso, era fundamental que se pagasse aos soldados os serviços que prestavam, que os navios que efectuavam a rota entre Manila e Acapulco continuassem a pertencer ao Estado e que se investisse seriamente no trabalho de evangelização das ilhas.

Parte destas preocupações são abordadas também por Hernando de los Ríos Coronel, um reputado homem de ciência e sacerdote, que foi procurador das ilhas junto da corte de Madrid. De entre os seus arbítrios destacamos um *Memorial que Dirigió al Rey desde Manila con Fecha de 27 de Junio de 1597*⁴⁶, um texto de 1618, sem título, incluído numa miscelânea do Arquivo General de Indias, de Sevilha⁴⁷, e uma obra de 1621 intitulada *Memorial y Relacion para Su Magestad, del Procurador General de las Filipinas, de lo que Conviene Remediar, y de la Riqueza que Ay en Ellas, y en las Islas del Maluco*. Nesses documentos Ríos Coronel defende a manutenção do arquipélago filipino não só por ele constituir uma base fundamental para a expansão do império espanhol na região, para entravar o avanço holandês e para a segurança do Estado português da Índia e da América espanhola, mas também por possuir grande riqueza no seu subsolo (minas de ouro e prata), à qual os Espanhóis ainda não tinham tido acesso, mas que poderia vir a transformar as Filipinas no melhor de todos os territórios ultramarinos espanhóis.

Entre as inquietações expressas por Ríos Coronel sobre a situação das ilhas está a questão da permanente ameaça japonesa, que o leva a defender o estabelecimento de uma base espanhola na Formosa e a proibição de os Japoneses frequentarem Manila. Para além disso, preocupam-no os constantes bloqueios holandeses a Manila e a existência de um número excessivo de estrangeiros nas Filipinas, o que põe em causa a sua segurança.

Sobre o comércio entre Manila e Acapulco, cujos galeões são “*los nervios de aquella Republica*”⁴⁸, Hernando de los Ríos lamenta as múltiplas atitudes de corrupção que se desenvolvem em torno da rota não só por parte dos capitães, mestres e guardas alfandegários, mas dos próprios governadores das ilhas, que gerem esse movimento de navios com grande falta de cuidado, não zelando pelo cumprimento dos prazos de partida, cometendo diversas injustiças, subornos e ilegalidades e distribuindo os principais cargos a bordo a parentes e clientelas. Os governadores eram, aliás, um dos maiores problemas das Filipinas. A maioria não possuía os requisitos e qualidades necessários para desempenhar o cargo. Um dos principais erros era quererem actuar ali com os mesmos métodos que eram usados na Europa, situação que definitivamente não funcionava. No texto de 1621, o autor chega mesmo a afirmar que os governadores eram os principais responsáveis pelas desgraças que ocorriam nas Filipinas e que nos últimos trinta anos só Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas tinha tido um desempenho positivo.

Quanto à questão da prata, Ríos Coronel admite que ela chega a Manila em grande quantidade, ultrapassando-se os limites legalmente permitidos para o seu transporte desde Acapulco, mas salienta que, ao contrário do que se diz, ela não prejudica propriamente a Fazenda Real pois os direitos alfandegários cobrados são superiores em relação aos que são pagos pela que vai para Espanha. Para além disso, a prata que segue para Sevilha acaba por ir enriquecer os inimigos do império espanhol, por via das trocas comerciais no Velho Continente, o que não acontece no Extremo Oriente, onde ela vai parar “*en manos de nuestros amigos*”⁴⁹.

Por último, sobre as relações com Macau, Ríos Coronel queixa-se da actuação dos Portugueses, que vendiam as munições necessárias para as Filipinas a preços muito elevados, impedindo, em simultâneo, que os Espanhóis as adquirissem directamente em Cantão. A solução, afirma, teria que passar por uma ordem régia que desbloqueasse o acesso dos oficiais encarregados de efectuar essas compras ao mercado de Cantão ou que lhe permitisse tomar outro porto em território chinês.

Para além dos arbitristas particulares, havia arbítrios emanados de instituições ou grupos que avançavam com propostas conducentes à defesa de

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interesses ou pontos de vista colectivos. Um exemplo dessa situação é o que nos é fornecido pelo *Memorial de los Mercaderes de la Universidad de la Ciudad de los Reyes del Peru, Dado en el Consejo Real de las Indias por los Años al Parecer de 1600 à 1602 Declarando las Causas de la Decadencia del Comercio de España con las Indias, y lo Indispensable que era à los Naturales de Aquel Reyno el Comercio de la China y Nueva España*. Este texto parece tratar-se de um resumo, elaborado provavelmente por um conselheiro do Conselho Real das Índias, órgão estatal para o qual o documento original terá sido remetido pela Universidade dos Mercadores da Cidade dos Reis (Lima), uma corporação mercantil que tinha como objectivo salvaguardar os interesses dos seus associados.

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directamente em Cantão.*

A principal preocupação expressa pelos mercadores de Lima é a da insuficiência do comércio entre a Espanha e o vice-reinado do Peru, motivada pelo mau funcionamento do sistema de frotas que ligava a metrópole às suas colónias americanas. Desde que a Espanha se viu envolvida em guerra com os concorrentes do Norte da Europa que a navegação pelo Atlântico estava sujeita a grandes demoras e obrigada a invernadas ruinosas para os mercadores. Para um navio efectuar o percurso Portobelo (no istmo do Panamá) – Sevilha – Portobelo chegava a levar três anos, o que era dramático para os comerciantes peruanos em termos de empate e reembolso de capitais. Para além disso, eram cobrados direitos excessivos em Sevilha, a que se juntavam outras taxas a pagar em terras americanas.

Tudo isto fazia com que os lucros proporcionados aos mercadores fossem agora muito reduzidos. As frotas não cumpriam a sua missão, pelo que os comerciantes peruanos recorriam cada vez mais ao comércio com o vice-reinado de Nova Espanha, adquirindo aí não só mercadorias vindas de Espanha como artigos da China, chegados por via do galeão de Manila.

Sem compreender a verdadeira razão da diminuição do comércio e dos lucros, que estava, segundo a Universidade dos Mercadores de Lima, no mau funcionamento das frotas, os mercadores de Sevilha atribuíam as culpas da situação à invasão dos mercados americanos pelos produtos oriundos da China, vendidos a preços muito mais acessíveis. Erro crasso, afirmavam os mercadores de Lima. As roupas da China vestiam sobretudo os indivíduos mais pobres, os índios, os negros, enfim, todos aqueles que jamais teriam possibilidade de adquirir os tecidos espanhóis. O consumidor-alvo era diferente. As roupas da China não constituíam, por isso, uma verdadeira concorrência para o comércio de Sevilha.

Neste contexto, os negociantes de Lima propunham que fosse aberta uma nova linha comercial entre o Peru e as Filipinas, a qual, diziam, traria grandes vantagens para a Fazenda Real, sem prejudicar o comércio com a Espanha. Caso isso não fosse possível, alvitravam que pelo menos fosse autorizada a ida de mercadores ao México para aí adquirirem os artigos chineses que entravam por Acapulco, oferecendo-se para, em função disso, pagar mais direitos alfandegários.

Outro arbitrista analisado no estudo que aqui se alude é Frei Martín Ignacio de Loyola, sobrinho do célebre fundador da Companhia de Jesus, que foi bispo da região do Rio da Prata. Num pequeno texto intitulado *Discurso Mui Precioso del Obispo del Rio de la Plata Fr. Martin Ignacio de Loyola en que Declara el Remedio que se Devia Poner para el Comercio de las Jslas Filipinas y Nueva España*⁵⁰, Frei Ignacio de Loyola defende a intensificação do relacionamento entre a Espanha e as suas colónias americanas, quer do ponto de vista político e religioso, quer a nível comercial. Sem comércio, afirma, “*cesará la correspondencia, y cesando esta en pocas generaciones no habrá Christiano alguno*” nesses territórios⁵¹.

Tendo em conta esta prioridade, não era aconselhável que se desviasse o circuito das trocas para outros reinos, como estava a acontecer por via da rota em crescimento que unia o Peru, o México e as Filipinas,

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através da qual iam parar à China quantidades muito significativas de prata da América espanhola. Segundo Loyola, este trato reduzia o volume de comércio com a metrópole e prejudicava os próprios vizinhos das Filipinas, que viam os mercadores mexicanos romperem o monopólio do comércio Manila-Acapulco que lhes pertencia por deliberação régia.

Neste contexto, o autor via apenas uma solução para o problema: dar força aos mercadores das Filipinas, criando-se um consulado de comércio em Manila, a fim de que fossem os próprios negociantes das ilhas, na defesa dos seus interesses, a oporem-se aos abusos dos seus congéneres mexicanos. Com o consulado, passariam a ser os mercadores filipinos a escolher os oficiais das embarcações e a fiscalizar todo o negócio, evitando que viessem da América quantidades excessivas de prata que fizessem não só disparar os preços dos produtos chineses na fonte como também, devido à maior oferta, diminuir os da venda em Acapulco, com consequências drásticas na diminuição dos lucros. Por outro lado, limitando-se o acesso a este trato aos negociantes das Filipinas, o comércio entre a Espanha e as suas colónias americanas deixaria de estar ameaçado.

As relações com o Japão são a temática abordada por outros dois arbitristas estudados, Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco e Juan Cevicós. Ambos fazem parte da lista de sobreviventes do naufrágio do galeão *S. Francisco* nas costas japonesas em Setembro de 1609, quando se dirigia para Acapulco vindo de Manila. O primeiro tinha sido governador interino das Filipinas e o segundo era o capitão da embarcação. Sabendo do interesse do Japão em estabelecer relações comerciais com o México, Vivero, que via com bons olhos a ideia, aproveita os dez meses de permanência em solo japonês para encetar contactos com as autoridades nipónicas. Dessas diligências resultará um texto, que se encontra no Archivo General de Indias, de Sevilha, cujo título descritivo é *Copia de la Carta que Don Rodrigo de Vivero Escribe a Su Majestad Desde el Japón, Cuyo Original no Ha Aparecido Hasta Ahora, Sino un Traslado que Recebió el Virrey de Nueva España, de Donde Éste se Sacó*⁵², no qual o autor defende a implementação de uma nova rota mercantil entre o México e o Japão, apresentando-a como sendo de grande relevância para os interesses espanhóis.

Mas o documento em apreço pretende igualmente ser uma resposta a “*un papel de capítulos*” que tinha sido entretanto elaborado por “*un autor humilde*” (trata-se

precisamente de Juan Cevicós), patrocinado, segundo Vivero, por religiosos que não apoiavam a entrada de outras ordens religiosas no Japão (é uma referência aos Jesuítas), e que se mostrava contrário às negociações em curso. Cauteloso face ao efeito que esse texto pudesse ter junto da corte espanhola, Vivero apressa-se a justificar ao rei as diligências tomadas, acusando os seus opositores de não perceberem as vantagens que o projecto em causa poderia trazer para o império espanhol: nem mais nem menos que a anexação do Japão.

Para Vivero, esta era uma oportunidade única para os Espanhóis penetrarem em território nipónico e poderem desenvolver aí o processo de evangelização, que criaria as bases para uma futura conquista. Só as missões poderiam conseguir aquilo que as armas nunca seriam capazes de alcançar, em face do grande poderio militar japonês. Vivero confiava que os princípios e valores propagados pelo Cristianismo podiam criar expectativas entre o povo japonês, sujeito a um jugo severo no seu país, levando-o a revoltas contra os ricos que o dominavam.

Mas mesmo que tal não fosse possível, havia sempre outros proveitos que podiam ser retirados dessas negociações. Vivero ofereceu às autoridades japonesas a ida de trabalhadores experientes das minas americanas para o Japão para aí aplicarem as técnicas utilizadas na América e aumentarem a produção de prata. Se a oferta fosse aceite, a Espanha receberia, em troca, 25% do minério recolhido. Por outro lado, era sempre importante conseguir-se um porto no Japão que servisse de escala para a viagem entre Manila e Acapulco, de modo a torná-la menos penosa. Em última instância, que a implementação da ligação comercial entre o Japão e o México constituísse pelo menos a moeda de troca para que Ieyasu expulsasse os Holandeses de solo nipónico. A presença dos Holandeses ali era muito negativa para os interesses espanhóis, quer pelo perigo que representavam, em termos de guerra de corso, para os galeões da rota do Pacífico, quer pelo apoio que podiam dar ao seu próprio estabelecimento de Ternate, nas Molucas, impedindo os Espanhóis de o recuperarem.

Como vimos, estas tentativas de aproximação de Vivero ao governo japonês foram contestadas pelo capitão do galeão *S. Francisco* num texto redigido no Japão, nos primeiros meses de 1610, no qual se opunha à abertura de uma rota entre esse país e o México. Em Junho desse mesmo ano, já em Manila, Juan Cevicós

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elabora um outro documento dirigido ao rei em que resume as suas ideias sobre a iniciativa do ex-governador das Filipinas e sobre o relacionamento com o Japão em geral, intitulado *Relación del Estado y Cosas del Japón*⁵³. Nesse texto, que é alvo de análise no estudo que aqui se resume, Cevicós considera um erro as diligências tomadas por D. Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco, a começar pelo momento em que ocorreram, precisamente após os Japoneses terem deitado fogo, em Nagasáqui, à nau portuguesa *Madre de Deus* e igualmente pouco tempo depois de terem estabelecido amizade e comércio com os Holandeses. Para além disso, as mercadorias do próprio galeão *S. Francisco* tinham sido tomadas pelos Japoneses e boa parte delas nunca foram devolvidas, não obstante as promessas feitas nesse sentido, o que demonstrava que eles não eram gente de confiança. Cevicós relata que advertiu as pessoas envolvidas nas negociações para a inconveniência das mesmas, mas que não foi escutado, razão que o levou então a escrever ao rei de Espanha.

Na caracterização que faz dos Japoneses, Cevicós considera-os indivíduos de má-fé, fingidos e cobiçosos, capazes de tudo para alcançarem os seus objectivos. Mesmo em termos religiosos, são absolutamente superficiais e capazes de adoptar a religião que lhes traga mais vantagens. Por outro lado, são fortes e poderosos militarmente, mas só em terra. No mar são “*gente jnutil*”⁵⁴. As Filipinas não tinham, por isso, nada a temer em relação ao Japão (Vivero argumentava exactamente o contrário), até porque as divisões internas e a instabilidade em território nipónico eram tão grandes que qualquer projecto de conquista no exterior ficaria abortado à partida. E como se não bastasse, afirma ainda que os Japoneses jamais abdicariam de parte da sua prata por causa da colaboração espanhola na introdução de técnicas mineiras. Era preciso ser-se muito ingénuo, pensava Juan Cevicós, para acreditar nisso e para encetar acordos com gente comprovadamente tão falsa.

Tendo em conta todo este quadro de relacionamento, e sabendo-se que o que o Japão queria era os produtos chineses, com particular destaque para as sedas, não era conveniente que houvesse concorrência entre Portugueses e Espanhóis no Extremo Oriente no fornecimento de artigos aos Japoneses para que eles não pudessem beneficiar com essa situação e sentirem-se à vontade para cometer abusos e agressões como as que se tinham visto recentemente. O rei devia assim determinar quem ficaria com o exclusivo das trocas

com o Japão, se os mercadores de Macau, se os das Filipinas. Na opinião de Cevicós, o mais lógico seria escolherem-se os de Macau visto o comércio com o território nipónico ser fundamental para o enclave português, ao contrário do que acontecia com a colónia espanhola, para a qual ele era desnecessário e até mesmo danoso.

Martin Castaño é outro dos arbitristas que escreve nessas primeiras décadas do século XVII. Redige vários textos, que dirige ao rei na qualidade de procurador-geral das Filipinas junto da corte, de que destacamos três: as *Peticiones de Martín Castaño Sobre Conservación de Filipinas*, datado de 1617 e conservado numa miscelânea no Arquivo General de Indias, de Sevilha; um outro documento, sem título, escrito em 1618 e que faz parte da mesma compilação; e um *Memorial Presentado à S. M. por el Procurador General de las Islas Filipinas Martin Castaño, Sobre la Importancia de la Conservacion de Ellas, y la Necesidad que Tenian de Ser Socorridas, Antes que el Enemigo Olandes se Apoderase, etc*⁵⁵. Neles destaca a importância da conservação dos arquipélagos das Filipinas e das Molucas para o império espanhol quer do ponto vista económico, quer político-estratégico, quer religioso, lamentando o desconhecimento que a metrópole manifestava em relação ao valor real destes espaços territoriais e a consequente falta de zelo na sua manutenção.

Com base numa análise concreta dos lucros que a Espanha poderia retirar de ambos os arquipélagos, Martin Castaño apela para as autoridades do seu país no sentido de enviarem ajuda urgente para o Extremo Oriente. Em relação às Molucas, refere a necessidade de se completar a sua conquista antes de os Holandeses o fazerem, pois se eles se apoderassem definitivamente do comércio do cravo tornar-se-iam de tal modo fortes que passariam a constituir uma ameaça muito séria não só para as Filipinas mas também para a Índia e para a América, levando à atrofia do Cristianismo na região. Sobre as Filipinas, menciona as minas de ouro que existiam no território e o posicionamento do arquipélago no âmbito do comércio com a China e o Japão, defendendo ainda que as ilhas poderiam dar muito mais rendimento se se soubesse aproveitar as suas potencialidades, implementando, por exemplo, uma carreira comercial directa entre Manila e o Peru.

Filipinas e Molucas eram, por isso, demasiado importantes para que o império espanhol pudesse

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A cidade de Manila, cerca de 1640.

prescindir delas. O empenho dos Holandeses em conquistá-las era a prova dessa situação. No texto de 1618, Castaño diz mesmo que se deveria aproveitar a momentânea debilidade militar dos Holandeses, provocada pela derrota que lhes foi infligida em 1617 pelas forças de Manila e por uma peleja que tiveram com os Ingleses, também eles interessados nas riquezas do Extremo Oriente, para os expulsar da região antes de lhes chegarem os reforços por que aguardavam.

Um dos arbitristas mais citados quando se trata de falar das Filipinas da primeira metade do século XVII é Juan Grau y Monfalcon. Tal como vários dos outros autores que temos mencionado, foi procurador-geral do arquipélago na corte de Madrid na década de 30 de Seiscentos, tendo elaborado vários textos de que salientamos o *Memorial Informatorio Al Rey Nuestro Señor en Su Real y Supremo Consejo de las Indias por la Insigne y Siempre Leal Ciudad de Manila, Cabeça de las Islas Filipinas sobre las Pretensiones de Aquella Ciudad y Islas y Sus Vecinos y Moradores y Comercio con la Nueva España*, datado de 1637. Nele defende a conservação das Filipinas e a continuidade do comércio entre Manila e Acapulco nos moldes em que o mesmo se processava então, a fim de evitar falências de comerciantes e a consequente perda da colónia. Nessa perspectiva, critica os arbítrios que chegavam à corte propondo o aumento de direitos alfandegários sobre as transacções

na rota do Pacífico, situação que, a acontecer, destruiria a capacidade de sustento das ilhas e determinaria o seu abandono.

Reconhecendo embora os abusos que são cometidos nessa rota, nomeadamente o transporte em excesso de prata e de artigos chineses e as fugas ao pagamento de direitos aduaneiros, Grau y Monfalcon sustenta que não se pode prejudicar todos os habitantes das ilhas por causa das transgressões de alguns nem pôr em causa a sobrevivência da colónia só por causa disso. O autor lembra inclusive que boa parte dos abusos eram perpetrados por mercadores do México ou por agentes seus, ficando a fama de prevaricadores para os vizinhos das Filipinas por serem estes os únicos legalmente autorizados a desenvolver esse comércio.

Para Grau y Monfalcon, a importância das Filipinas para a Coroa espanhola era evidente. Para além do peso da história, a dimensão territorial do arquipélago, as riquezas que continha, a sua posição geo-estratégica e o seu comércio externo eram valores seguros que deviam ser reconhecidos. Conservar as ilhas era, por isso, fundamental, resultando dessa situação um conjunto de efeitos positivos: preservava-se o Cristianismo na região e a actividade missionária; assegurava-se a defesa mútua dos dois Estados ibéricos na Ásia (Índia e Filipinas), o que reforçava as suas possibilidades de sobrevivência face às ameaças

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externas (destaca-se aqui o caso de Macau, que por estar longe de Goa encontrava nas Filipinas um apoio não negligenciável); intensificava-se a luta contra os Holandeses, impedindo-os de acederem facilmente a parte do rico comércio oriental; reduzia-se a pressão dos Holandeses sobre as Índias Ocidentais, pelos problemas com que se viam confrontados no Oriente; e defendia-se a reputação da Coroa espanhola.

Para conservar as ilhas era necessário, conforme já se disse, manter-se o comércio com a América, pois, caso contrário, teria que ser a Fazenda Régia a sustentá-las, o que se tornaria, em pouco tempo, incomportável. Por outro lado, também não se podia permitir a total liberdade de comércio entre as colónias dos dois lados do Pacífico, a fim de se evitar a sangria de prata americana para a região do Mar da China e não prejudicar os comerciantes da metrópole em face do aumento da concorrência no fornecimento de tecidos aos mercados de Nova Espanha e do Peru. A melhor solução, defende o autor, seria conjugar as duas hipóteses, assumindo a Coroa uma parte das despesas das ilhas e ficando o restante por conta das receitas do comércio com Acapulco, o qual continuaria a ser autorizado dentro de determinados limites.

Para facilitar a concretização dessa forma partilhada de financiamento das ilhas tornava-se necessário realizar uma análise detalhada da realidade económico-financeira das Filipinas. Nessa perspectiva, Grau y Monfalcon elabora um estudo rigoroso em que destaca cinco aspectos que considera essenciais, como sejam as despesas do território, as receitas por ele auferidas, o comércio com Acapulco, o estado em que se encontra esse comércio e os excessos que são praticados nessa linha comercial e respectivas soluções para os controlar sem pôr em causa o desenvolvimento do trato. Olhando à diferença entre receitas e despesas, o autor verifica que as Filipinas, por si só, não são deficitárias, apresentando apenas um saldo financeiro negativo devido aos gastos com a guerra das Molucas.

Por fim, decidimos trazer também à análise neste estudo um arbítrio anónimo intitulado *Representacion Hecha à S. M. Sobre el Estado del Comercio y Marina y Forma Facil de Su Mayor y Respectivo Adelantamiento*⁵⁶, datado de 1725. Nele o autor revela as suas preocupações a propósito da intervenção dos estrangeiros no comércio colonial espanhol, em particular com a América, quer por via do contrabando quer de acordos celebrados

entre os governos. Constatamos que o comércio de Espanha com as colónias se encontrava em estado agonizante, situação que se devia, segundo ele, à corrupção generalizada entre os oficiais que ocupavam os altos cargos da administração colonial espanhola, os quais facilitavam o comércio clandestino aos estrangeiros em troca de vantagens pessoais. Esta realidade prejudicava o comércio das frotas das Índias, que encontravam os mercados americanos devidamente aprovisionados. Havia, por isso, que combater fortemente o contrabando, punindo severamente os infractores e seus cúmplices, e distribuindo os cargos das Índias a indivíduos fiéis e desinteressados.

A guerra ao contrabando passava também por uma reestruturação do comércio entre a Espanha e as suas colónias americanas, de modo a fazer com que os habitantes destas não se sentissem tentados a praticá-lo. Para tal, o autor propunha um conjunto de medidas de cariz mercantilista, como o controlo das importações, o apoio ao desenvolvimento da marinha mercante e incentivos à comercialização e consumo de produtos espanhóis. Para além disso, defendia a abertura de novas linhas comerciais e a formação de uma companhia mercantil – a Companhia do Mar do Sul e Filipinas –, através da qual se pretendia dificultar o contrabando francês com a costa ocidental do Chile e garantir a sobrevivência das Filipinas, cujo abandono era recorrentemente aconselhado, e que, segundo o autor, seria um erro crasso para a Espanha. Não obstante a oposição e dificuldades que encontraria, esta Companhia podia tornar-se, em poucos anos, em função das características intrínsecas do império espanhol, na maior e mais poderosa das companhias existentes, levando mesmo à implementação de um vice-reinado nas Filipinas.

PALAVRAS FINAIS

O desenvolvimento do arbitrismo nos países ibéricos está ligado à ideia generalizada de decadência e à reprodução de um discurso negativista na descrição do *status quo*. Para a maioria dos arbitristas, a recuperação afigura-se possível, mas exige disciplina, rigor e rapidez na aplicação de medidas por parte dos governos. Muitos desses autores acreditam ter a solução para os problemas, o curativo apropriado para regenerar o corpo moribundo da respectiva nação e transmitir-lhe novamente o sopro da vida.

Grande parte destes pensadores condiciona a descrição que faz da realidade em função da forma como a sente, concedendo maior ou menor importância a determinados aspectos que o ajudam a expor a sua tese. Por isso cometem muitas vezes exageros, quer amplificando os problemas diagnosticados, quer diminuindo-os e banalizando-os, o que leva a algumas contradições na explanação dos fenómenos quando comparamos o pensamento de vários desses autores. Há, por isso, que ter alguns cuidados na leitura e interpretação dos textos arbitristas. Não obstante, eles constituem testemunhos de grande importância para o estudo dos impérios português e espanhol, permitindo conhecer a sensibilidade de vários sectores da sociedade relativamente aos problemas subsistentes e às melhores soluções para os resolver, assim como enquadrar muitas das opções governativas.

De entre os arbitristas portugueses estudados no trabalho que aqui se apresenta nem todos se referem especificamente a Macau. Parte deles olha para Portugal e para as suas colónias como um campo de análise global. É certo que a maioria nunca esteve na Ásia, demonstrando ter um conhecimento muito mais teórico do império oriental, baseado em testemunhos alheios. Por isso Macau é encarado frequentemente apenas como mais um ponto do Estado da Índia, ora visto como um problema por contribuir para dispersar as forças portuguesas no mundo asiático ora como um espaço fundamental para a conservação do império. Para os dois primeiros autores analisados (Diogo do Couto e Francisco Rodrigues Silveira), conduzidos por preceitos morais na análise de assuntos económicos, nomeadamente no que se refere ao comércio e ao enriquecimento pessoal (ainda que o primeiro venha a alterar posteriormente a forma como encara estes problemas), Macau é mesmo considerado como um local de enriquecimento desordenado, um espaço de perdição da alma. Já Duarte Gomes Solis e Jorge Pinto de Azevedo são casos à parte na forma como encaram Macau. O primeiro, enquanto comerciante e conselheiro de assuntos financeiros, que fez fortuna no Oriente, tinha uma visão ampla e um conhecimento efectivo da complexa realidade económica do império asiático português, e, nessa perspectiva, considerava Macau como tendo grande importância para Portugal e lamentava os efeitos funestos que o comércio Manila-Acapulco tinha sobre o território. O segundo, que viajou por todo o império oriental e que chegou mesmo

a viver em Macau, via nele, em conjunto com a China, uma solução para viabilizar o império asiático português em caso de colapso.

Quanto aos escritores espanhóis analisados, a maioria passou pelas Filipinas e lamenta o desconhecimento que havia na metrópole sobre o real valor das ilhas no contexto do império. Boa parte dos textos são dedicados a demonstrar às autoridades centrais o erro em que caíam se decidissem abandonar as Filipinas, uma solução muitas vezes equacionada, tendo em conta as despesas de manutenção que o arquipélago significava para as finanças reais. Os argumentos sobre a importância das ilhas remetem não só para as riquezas ainda inexploradas que o território possuía, mas sobretudo para o seu significado político, estratégico e religioso, sendo o mesmo apresentado recorrentemente como factor de segurança da Índia Portuguesa (incluindo Macau) e da América Espanhola, e um esteio na defesa do Cristianismo no mundo asiático.

Se as questões relativas ao comércio e ao equilíbrio das contas públicas estão no centro dos problemas abordados pela maioria dos autores, a população também não é esquecida por muitos deles. A tendência generalizada entre estes pensadores (na linha do pensamento mercantilista) é a de considerarem que um país é tanto mais forte e poderoso quanto mais numerosa for a sua população. A China é, por isso, muitas vezes invocada como exemplo, e o seu poder económico e político apresentado como consequência dessa realidade. **RC**

Nota do autor: Este artigo foi elaborado no âmbito de uma Bolsa de Investigação concedida pelo Instituto Cultural do Governo da R.A.E. de Macau.

HISTÓRIA

NOTAS

- 1 Alvar Ezquerro 1998, p. 88.
- 2 Perdiges de Blas e Reeder 2003, artigo “Arbitrista”, p. 55.
- 3 Alvar Ezquerro 1998, p. 106.
- 4 Cf. Cervantes Saavedra 2001.
- 5 Quevedo Villegas:2003, p. 240.
- 6 Entre os autores que a partir de meados do século xx desenvolveram estudos sobre o arbitramento em Espanha podemos citar Marjorie Grice-Hutchinson, Margarita Cuartas Rivero, Fabián Estapé Rodríguez, Evaristo Correa Calderón, Jose Antonio Maravall, Jean Vilar Berrogain, Juan Ignacio Gutiérrez Nieto, Luis Perdiges de Blas, John Reeder, Alfredo Alvar Ezquerro, Anne Dubet ou José Luis Gómez Urdañez. Referências a algumas das suas obras podem ser consultadas na bibliografia.
- 7 Grice-Hutchinson 1982, p. 190.
- 8 Gutiérrez Nieto 1986, p. 235.
- 9 Cf. Grice-Hutchinson 1982, p. 190, e Perdiges de Blas e Reeder 2003, artigo “Arbitrista” (de John Reeder), p. 56.
- 10 De entre os investigadores que nos últimos anos prestaram maior ou menor atenção à temática do arbitramento destacam-se José Luís Cardoso, António de Oliveira, Diogo Ramada Curto, Joaquim Romero Magalhães, Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, George Davison Winius, Luís de Sousa Rebelo ou António Coimbra Martins (cf. bibliografia).
- 11 Melo 1960, p. 203.
- 12 Correa Calderón 1982.
- 13 Museo Naval de Madrid: 1971.
- 14 A recolha da maioria dos arbitrios sobre as Filipinas resultou do trabalho de pesquisa realizado nos seguintes arquivos e bibliotecas de Espanha: Archivo General de Indias, de Sevilha; Real Academia de la Historia, Biblioteca Nacional e Biblioteca do Museo Naval, de Madrid; e Archivo General de Simancas, de Valhadolid.
- 15 Cf. o que sobre o assunto escreve António Coimbra Martins na “Introdução” da obra de Couto: 2001, p. 19.
- 16 *Ibidem*, pp. 255-257.
- 17 Couto 2001, p. 539.
- 18 *Ibidem*, p. 539.
- 19 *Ibidem*, pp. 539-540.
- 20 *Ibidem*, p. 540.
- 21 A comunicação é de 1980 e intitula-se *Francisco Rodrigues de Silveira, the Forgotten Soldado Prático*. Foi publicada nas Actas do Seminário, que só saíram em 1985. Cf. Winius, 1985.
- 22 Reproduzido em Silveira 1996, pp. 243-263.
- 23 Winius 1994, p. 93.
- 24 *Ibidem*, pp. 100-101.
- 25 Silveira 1996, p. 215.
- 26 *Ibidem*, p. 216.
- 27 *Ibidem*, p. 216.
- 28 Vasconcelos 1990, p. 32.
- 29 Magalhães 1967, p. 183.
- 30 Vasconcelos 1990, p. 76.
- 31 Solis 1943, p. 9.
- 32 *Ibidem*, p. 44.
- 33 Faria 2003, p. 21.
- 34 Vieira 1951a, p. 11.
- 35 Idem 1951b, p. 58.
- 36 Idem 1925-28, Vol. III, Carta CXXXIV (a Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo), p. 324.
- 37 *Ibidem*, p. 324.
- 38 Idem 1925-28, Vol. III, Carta CXXXVIII (a Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo), pp. 332-333.
- 39 Matos 1996, pp. 457-545.
- 40 *Ibidem*, p. 462.
- 41 Macedo 1922a, p. 16.
- 42 Idem 1922b, p. 31.
- 43 Cunha 2001, p. 300.
- 44 O título completo do segundo documento citado é *Relação dos Gravames que ao Comercio e Vassallos de Portugal se tem Inferido e Estão Actualmente Inferindo por Inglaterra, com as Infracções que dos Pactos Reciprocos se Tem Feito por Este Segundo Reyno Assim nos Actos de Parlamento que Publicou como nos Costumes que Stableceo e nos Outros Diverços Meyos de que se Servio para Fraudar os Tratados do Comercio entre as Duas Nações*. Ambos os textos vêm incluídos na compilação de José Barreto. Cf. Melo 1986.
- 45 *Ibidem*, p. 156.
- 46 O título completo é *Memorial que Dirigió al Rey desde Manila con Fecha de 27 de Junio de 1597 Hernando de los Rios Coronel, Dandole Cuenta de un Libro que Estaba Componiendo, sobre el Uso del Astrolabio y Arte de Navegar, y de la Importancia de que en Tierra Firme de la China se Tomase un Puerto, y al Propio Tiempo en Isla Hermosa, de que Haze una Mui Circunstanciada Descripcion y Acompaña su Mapa; y Ultimamente un Discurso Mui Preciso, de Dos Caminos que para Su Mas Facil Consecucion, y para la Mas Pronta y Segura Navegacion desde España a Aquellos Dominios se Podian Descubrir: el Uno por una Canal o Brazo de Mar que Entra mas Arriva de la Florida al Nuevo Mexico en Altura de 45 Grados*.
- 47 Archivo General de Indias [AGI], *Filipinas*, 27, N. 108.
- 48 *Ibidem*, fl. 652.
- 49 Rios Coronel 1621, fl. 50.
- 50 O título completo é *Discurso Mui Precioso del Obispo del Rio de la Plata Fr. Martin Ignacio de Loyola en que Declara el Remedio que se Devia Poner para el Comercio de las Jsas Filipinas y Nueva España, y que lo que el Consejo Havia Hecho por lo Respectivo al de Buenos Ayres Havia Sido Grande Acierto; y à Continuacion una Carta del Mismo Obispo Escrita al Presidente del Consejo Todo al Parecer el Año de 1602*. Cf. Ignacio de Loyola: 1971.
- 51 *Ibidem*, fl. 147v., p. 294.
- 52 AGI, *Filipinas*, 193, R. 1, N. 14. Cf. também Sola Castaño: 2005.
- 53 AGI, *Filipinas*, 4, R. 1, N. 8 e Sola Castaño: 2005. Existe também uma cópia em IANTT, *Miscelâneas Manuscritas do Convento da Graça*, Tomo VI-F, fls. 80-88, onde o texto aparece intitulado apenas como “*Relasion de las Cozas del Japon*”.
- 54 Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo [IANTT], *Miscelâneas...*, Tomo VI-F, fl. 82.
- 55 As referências dos três documentos são as seguintes, respectivamente: AGI, *Filipinas*, 27, N. 105, fls. 632-635; Idem, *Filipinas*, 27, N. 107, f. 640; e Castaño: 1971, fls. 418-420, pp. 837-841, que também aparece integrado na mesma miscelânea dos textos anteriores (Cf. AGI, *Filipinas*, 27, N. 107, fls. 642-642v).
- 56 O título completo é *Representacion Hecha à S. M. Sobre el Estado del Comercio y Marina y Forma Facil de Su Mayor y Respectivo Adelantamiento etc. En Madrid Año de 1725. Comercio de España con Sus Yndias. Recejta [?] para el Comercio de España con sus Yndias y Causas de Haverse Perdido*.

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Prenúncios Sombrios. A Concessão de Hong Kong Exposta pelos Portugueses aos Chineses como Factor de Perturbação da Ordem Imperial

As relações entre as antigas colónias portuguesa de Macau e britânica de Hong Kong foram pontuadas ao longo da sua história por frequentes rivalidades suscitadas pelo papel que uma e outra desempenharam ou pretendiam desempenhar no contexto político e comercial regional. Foram, assim, os Portugueses de Macau os primeiros a aperceberem-se e a visionarem, pessimistas, as repercussões da concessão original desse estabelecimento pela China aos Britânicos. Foram também os Portugueses a tentar desde o primeiro momento despertar as autoridades chinesas para o carácter pernicioso dessas consequências. E foi esse o sentido da reunião do dia 6 de Novembro de 1841 no Templo de Lianfeng, em Macau; uma reunião cujo significado histórico tem passado despercebido nos estudos dedicados às relações luso-chinesas do período da 1.ª Guerra do Ópio e que neste artigo é analisada. [Autor: António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, pp. 6-13]

De Macau para Hong Kong. De Hong Kong para o Mundo

Este artigo é uma reflexão sobre o lugar que Hong Kong ocupa hoje na região do delta do rio das Pérolas e no arquipélago das Cidades Globais. No que diz respeito à região em que se insere, assumem particular destaque as relações com as cidades de Cantão e Macau. Uma ligação histórica que desde 1841 tem influenciado o desenvolvimento de cada uma delas bem como o de toda a região do delta. As relações entre Macau e Hong Kong têm sido analisadas pondo o acento tónico no que as distingue e divide. Tentamos uma análise diferente, procurando os seus pontos de contacto, semelhanças e paralelismos, reconhecendo que a construção da grande metrópole que hoje vai tomando forma, não obstante

a liderança de Hong Kong, passa pelo aprofundamento das redes sociais, económicas e culturais que ligam aquelas três cidades. Desde 1841 que o capital social acumulado na região se transformou no principal recurso do seu desenvolvimento. Hong Kong, desde a primeira hora, surge como uma cidade virada para o mundo e Macau, pelos trilhos abertos com a diáspora macaense, dispersa-se por todos os continentes, reforçando a sua identidade [Autor: Alfredo Gomes Dias, pp. 14-23]

Um Pioneiro de Macau nos Estados Unidos da América. “Autobiography and Reminiscence of Candido Gutierrez (1824-1903)”

Recorrendo a material dos Arquivos da Sociedade dos Pioneiros da Califórnia, este artigo debruça-se sobre a curta Autobiografia/Memórias escrita pelo macaense Cândido Gutierrez (1824-1903), muito tempo depois de ter deixado a China e de se ter tornado um proeminente cidadão americano e um pioneiro da Califórnia. O texto revela-nos a determinação do autor em refazer a sua vida na Cidade Dourada depois de ter deixado a família no Sul da China e muitos dos temas presentes na narrativa pessoal do emigrante são aqui analisados: a viagem marítima, o recomeçar a partir do zero, a história e a economia locais, os reveses económicos, honestidade e comércio, entre outros. Num tempo em que muitas famílias americanas viajavam para Cantão e Macau em busca de fortuna através do “negócio da China”, um macaense fazia a mesma viagem, mas em sentido inverso, em busca do sonho americano. [Autor: Rogério Miguel Puga, pp. 24-39]

As Memórias de John Reeves, “The Lone Flag”. Retirar o Véu à Macau do Tempo da Guerra

A recente descoberta na cidade do Cabo, África do Sul, das Memórias de John Pownall Reeves, consul britânico em Macau nos turbulentos anos da II Guerra Mundial, fará, com a sua iminente publicação, luz sobre uma

importante figura histórica em Macau, cujo papel na melhoria das condições de milhares de refugiados permaneceu até agora muito escondido pelas brumas do tempo. Estas memórias, conhecidas como “The Lone Flag”, facultam um rico e recompensador vislumbre sobre as personalidades ao tempo dominantes em Macau bem como revelam as inimagináveis dificuldades e intrigas que John Reeves teve de superar no cumprimento do seu dever para com os que o rodeavam. O que também transparece das suas Memórias é o indivíduo de grande charme e coragem que, com escasso apoio de uma Grã-Bretanha sitiada, fez o que era humanamente possível para providenciar socorro e conforto aos milhares de súbditos britânicos de Hong Kong e de outras nacionalidades, para quem Macau constituiu um abrigo face aos japoneses. Graças à dedicação e sentido de história de David Calthorpe, na cidade do Cabo, estas Memórias foram carinhosamente preservadas. [Autor: Wilhelm Snyman, pp. 40-55]

Macao Através da “Nova Poesia” de Leung Ping-kwan

Leung Ping-kwan, nascido em 1949 em Xinhui, na província de Guangdong, normalmente conhecido pelo pseudónimo de Yesi, é escritor, poeta, tradutor, ensaísta, crítico cultural e de cinema. O multifacetado Leung é elogiosamente considerado o homem mais importante no mundo das letras de Hong Kong. Entre as suas prolíficas criações literárias e diversificados interesses, contam-se diversos volumes de poesia chinesa moderna, também designada “nova poesia”, acerca de diferentes pessoas e lugares. Porém, desde 1973, Macau tornou-se na sua fonte de inspiração e Yesi começou então a escrever poesia moderna sobre este território. Estes poemas descrevem paisagens e marcos históricos e, simultaneamente, entretêm-se com os seus perspicazes sentimentos. Duas décadas depois, reavivou-se o seu interesse por Macau. Continuou a escrever poesia sobre os mais variados assuntos, como

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os encontros culturais entre Oriente e Ocidente, personagens históricas e a gastronomia luso-macaense. Alguns poemas versam abertamente sobre os seus ambivalentes sentimentos relativamente à transferência da soberania de Macau no final do século xx. No presente artigo, analisam-se as obras de Yesi relacionadas com Macau, por ordem cronológica e temática.

[Autor: Christina Miu Bing Cheng, pp. 76-84]

Os Mercadores Hokkien na Ásia Marítima antes de 1683. Estabelecendo Pontes entre os Oceanos Oriental e Ocidental

As gentes do sul costeiro da província de Fujian, ou “Hokkiens”, contam com uma longa tradição como marinheiros, remontando a sua história de actividades marítimas e emigratórias aos primórdios da era cristã. Neste artigo analisa-se o grupo mercante Hokkien e as respectivas actividades na Ásia Marítima na perspectiva de um sistema marítimo regional, em particular dos entrepostos da Ásia Oriental. Primeiramente apresenta-se um breve apontamento sobre as actividades marítimas iniciais dos Hokkien no Sudeste Asiático, a que se segue uma descrição geral de alguns dos principais portos do sistema marítimo da Ásia Oriental: Coreia, Kyushu e Taiwan. Analisa-se também Manila enquanto centro característico da actividade marítima dos Hokkien. O autor argumenta terem emergido na região no mínimo seis pontos fulcrais de comércio, de diversas dimensões, durante diferentes períodos, incluindo a Coreia, a ilha Kyushu, as ilhas Ryukyu, a costa do Sudeste da China, Taiwan, Macau e Manila. Com a chegada dos europeus, o centro do comércio marítimo transferiu-se gradualmente para Sul. Com a queda da dinastia Silla, os mercadores chineses começaram a dominar a navegação e as actividades mercantis naquela região. De entre eles, os mercadores Hokkien da região de Quanzhou foram os mais activos e empreendedores. Ao contrário de outros segmentos da população chinesa, os Hokkien eram particularmente activos nos entrepostos ultramarinos. Para conseguirem sobreviver e expandir-se num

ambiente estranho, habitualmente perigoso e até hostil, os Hokkien, que nunca foram apoiados nem protegidos pelo governo chinês, desenvolveram um conjunto de redes exclusivas para se protegerem. Enquanto o grupo empreendedor mais audacioso nos primórdios da Ásia Marítima moderna, os mercadores Hokkien não só prosperaram nas águas da Ásia Oriental, como estabeleceram uma ponte entre o sistema marítimo do Sudeste Asiático e o da Ásia Oriental.

[Autor: James K. Chin, pp. 89-116]

Macau e Manila no Arbitrismo Ibérico

A corrente de pensamento político e económico designado comumente por arbitrismo desenvolveu-se em Espanha ao longo da segunda metade do século xvi e grande parte do século xvii, estendendo-se também a Portugal, onde veio a adquirir particular relevo durante o período da União Dinástica (1580/81-1640) e das Guerras da Restauração (1640-1668). As dificuldades económicas dos reinos ibéricos e dos respectivos impérios neste período conduziram à generalização da ideia de “decadência”, levando vários autores a aplicar-se na redacção de diferentes tipos de textos – os arbítrios – que faziam chegar às autoridades. Nestes textos, para além de procederem à análise da realidade conjuntural dos seus países, avançavam com ideias e projectos de resolução dos problemas diagnosticados, por forma a fornecerem os meios capazes de enfrentar e expurgar as debilidades políticas e económicas de Portugal e Espanha. Em geral, estes arbitristas defendiam que a solução para os males estava na implementação de remédios únicos e universais, capazes, na sua concepção, de curar todas as enfermidades destes reinos. Apesar de muitas das ideias dos arbitristas terem sido alvo de troça na época em que surgiram, situação que contribuiu para a má fama que o termo arbitrismo granjeou entre a sociedade de então, existe hoje a consciência de que o estudo do arbitrismo é cada vez mais importante não só para conhecer a evolução das ideias políticas e económicas dos países ibéricos nos séculos xvi a xviii

mas também para se compreenderem algumas das medidas implementadas pelos respectivos governos quer no espaço metropolitano quer nos territórios coloniais. É nessa linha que se justifica a elaboração do presente artigo, o qual pretende apresentar o pensamento de um conjunto significativo de arbitristas sobre a relevância, para os dois impérios ibéricos, dos seus territórios mais longínquos: Macau e as Filipinas.

[Autor: Eduardo Frutuoso, pp. 117-144]

ABSTRACTS

Dark Portents. The Concession of Hong Kong Exposed by the Portuguese to the Chinese as a Threat to the Imperial Order

Relations between the former Portuguese colony of Macao and the British colony of Hong Kong were marked throughout history by frequent rivalries caused by the role each one played or intended to play in the political and commercial affairs of the region. It was the Portuguese of Macao who were the first to realise and predict, pessimistically, the repercussions of the original cession of the territory by China to the British. It was also the Portuguese who from the very beginning attempted to warn the Chinese authorities of the pernicious nature of these consequences. This was the reason behind the meeting held on 6 November 1841 in Lianfeng Temple, in Macao; a meeting whose historical significance has not been fully understood in studies on Portuguese-Chinese relations during the period of the 1st Opium War and which this article analyses.
[Author: António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, pp. 6-13]

From Macao to Hong Kong. From Hong Kong to the World

Ten years after the transfer of sovereignty of Hong Kong to the People's Republic of China (1997-2007), this is the reflection of the place that Hong Kong occupies today in the Pearl River Delta and the archipelago of the Global Cities. Given the region it is located in, of particular importance are the relations with the cities of Canton and Macao. A historical connection dating from 1841 has influenced the development of them both, as well as the whole region of the delta. Relations between Macao and Hong Kong have been analysed, emphasising what distinguishes and what separates the two places. We have attempted a different analysis, seeking their points of contact, similarities and parallels, recognising that the construction of the great metropolis that is today taking effect, notwithstanding the leadership of Hong Kong, involves the deepening

of the social, economic and cultural networks that link the three cities. Since 1841 the accumulated social capital in the region has been transformed into the main resource in its development. Hong Kong, from the very beginning, has been a city looking outward on the world and Macao, through the routes opened up by the spread of the Macao population, dispersed over all the continents, strengthening its identity.

[Author: Alfredo Gomes Dias, pp. 14-23]

A Pioneer from Macao in the United States of America "Autobiography and Reminiscence of Candido Gutierrez (1824-1903)"

Using material from the Records of the Society of California Pioneers, this article examines the short memoir written by the Macanese Cândido Gutierrez (1824-1903), long after he left China and became a prominent American citizen and a California pioneer. The text reveals the author's determination to restart his life in the Golden City after leaving his family in the South of China, and analysis of it unearths several themes in the personal narrative of an emigrant: the sea voyage, starting over from scratch, local history and economy, economic setbacks, honesty, and trade, among others. In a time when many American families travelled to Canton and Macao seeking fortune through the China Trade, one Macanese man made the same voyage in reverse, in search of the American Dream.

[Author: Rogério Miguel Puga, pp. 24-39]

The John Reeves Memoir, "The Lone Flag". Lifting The Veil on Wartime Macao

The recent discovery in Cape Town South Africa, of the memoir of John Pownall Reeves, British Consul in Macao during the turbulent years of World War II, sheds light on an important historical figure in Macao whose role in ameliorating the condition of thousands of refugees has hitherto largely remained hidden by the mists of time. The memoir, known

as "The Lone Flag" provides a rich and rewarding insight into the leading personalities of Macao in those years as well as revealing the unimaginable difficulties and intrigues that John Reeves overcame in fulfilling his duty to his fellow human beings. What transpires from the memoir too is an individual of immense charm and courage, who with very little support from a besieged Britain, did what was humanly possible to provide succour and solace to the thousands of British subjects from Hong Kong and to other nationalities for whom Macao provided a safe haven from the Japanese. It is thanks to the dedication and sense of history of Mr David Calthorpe in Cape Town, that this memoir has been lovingly preserved.

[Author: Wilhelm Snyman, pp. 40-55]

Macao Through the "New Poetry" of Leung Ping-kwan

Leung Ping-kwan, born in 1949 in Xinhui, Guangdong province, popularly known by his pen-name Yesi is a writer, poet, translator, essayist, film and culture critic. The multifaceted Leung is lauded as Hong Kong's leading man of letters. Among his prolific literary creations and diversified interests, he has composed volumes of modern Chinese poems, also called "new poetry" about different places and people, but as far as 1973, Macao became his "muse" and he began writing modern poetry on Macao. These poems are descriptive of landscapes and historic landmarks, and at the same time interwoven with his discerning sentiments. After two decades, his interest in Macao was rekindled. He continued composing poems on various subjects, such as the cultural encounters between the East and West, historical figures, and Portuguese/Macanese cuisine. Some poems also readily speak for his ambivalent feelings towards the change of power in Macao at the end of the 20th century. His oeuvres relating to Macao are discussed in chronological and thematic order in this article.

[Author: Christina Miu Bing Cheng, pp. 76-84]

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Hokkien Merchants in Maritime Asia prior to 1683. Bridging the East Ocean and the West Ocean

The people of coastal south Fujian or “Hokkiens” have a long seafaring tradition and the history of their maritime activities and emigration can be dated back to the early Christian era. This article examines the Hokkien merchant group and their activities in maritime Asia from the perspective of a regional maritime system, the entrepôts of East Asia in particular. The article is structured in the following way. First, a brief account of the early Hokkien maritime activities in Southeast Asia will be given, which will be followed by a survey of a number of major ports within the East Asian maritime system.

Three representative entrepôts are chosen for examination, i.e. Korea, Kyushu and Taiwan. In addition, Manila is picked up and added to the picture as a typical Hokkien maritime hub. The author argues that at least six trade hubs with different sizes emerged in the region during different periods, including Korea, Kyushu, Ryukyu, Southeast China coast, Taiwan, Macao and Manila. The centre of maritime trade shifted gradually southward with the coming of the Europeans. When the Silla fell, Chinese merchants came to dominate the regional navigation and trade activities. Of them, the Hokkien merchants from the Quanzhou region were the most active and enterprising. Unlike other segments of the Chinese population, the Hokkiens were mainly active at entrepôts overseas. In order to survive and expand in a foreign environment which was usually dangerous if not hostile, the sojourning Hokkiens who had never been supported and protected by the Chinese government developed a set of unique networks to protect themselves. As the most daring entrepreneurial group in early modern maritime Asia, Hokkien merchants not only performed well in the East Asian waters but also played a bridge role in connecting the Southeast Asian maritime system with the one in East Asia.

[Author: James K. Chin, pp. 89-116]

Macao and Manila in the Iberian *Arbitrismo*

The political and economic movement commonly called *arbitrismo* occurred in Spain throughout the second half of the 16th century and most of the 17th century, spreading to Portugal where it acquired particular emphasis during the period of the Dynastic Union (1580/81-1640) and the Restoration Wars (1640-1668). The economic difficulties of the Iberian kingdoms and their respective empires in this period led to the widespread idea of “decadence”, leading some authors to apply themselves to writing different kinds of texts – the *arbitrios* – that would find their way to the authorities. These texts, as well as analysing the state of affairs of the countries, would put forward ideas and projects to solve the problems diagnosed in order to supply the means able to face up to and rid Portugal and Spain of their political and economic weaknesses. In general, these *arbitristas* argued that to overcome the problems one needed to implement singular and universal remedies, able in their design to cure all the ills of these kingdoms. Although many of the *arbitristas*’ ideas were exchanged when they were devised, which contributed to the bad name associated with the term *arbitrismo* in the society of the time, today we are aware that the study of *arbitrismo* is increasingly important, not only to learn about the evolution of the political and economic ideas of the Iberian countries in the 16th to 18th century, but also to understand some of the measures implemented by the respective governments both in the mother countries and in the colonial territories. It is along these lines that this article is drawn up, outlining the thinking behind a significant group of *arbitristas* concerning the relevance, to the two Iberian empires, of their far-away territories: Macao and the Philippines.

[Author: Eduardo Frutuoso, pp. 117-144]