

# The Luso-Macao Dimensions of Sun Yat Sen's Modern Chinese Revolution

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## INTRODUCTION

The year 2011 saw the centenary of China's 10 October 1911 Revolution that occurred exactly one year after Portugal's 5 October 1910 republican revolution. Over and above overthrowing the Qing Dynasty, the 1911 Revolution ended the three-millennia-long imperial tradition of dynastic monarchy in China and ushered in Asia's very first republic, the Republic of China. On 1 January 1912, Dr Sun Yat Sen 孫逸仙 assumed office in Nanking (Nanjing) as Provisional President, the inaugural head of state of this new Republic of China.

In very sharp contrast to the case of nearby Hong Kong, another European enclave on Chinese soil located only 60 kilometres away across the Pearl River estuary, the Macao dimensions of Sun Yat Sen's revolutionary undertakings have so far remained a



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much less well-known and rather under-appreciated chapter in the chronicles of modern China's tumultuous transformation since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, British colonial Hong Kong's historical role as a vital hub in Sun Yat Sen's quest for a modern China through successive revolutionary movements during the 1895-1925 period has long been widely recognised in both domestic scholarship and international research, repeatedly emphasised in Chinese school textbooks as well as celebrated in popular portrayals and folkloric renditions, ranging from various literary genres, music, plays, operatic performances, radio/television series and movie films. By comparison, the fascinating and no less exciting 'Macao Story' in the narratives of the modern Chinese revolution simply has never enjoyed any similar open acknowledgments and popular acclaims beyond Macao's shores. Indeed, it is justifiable to regard Macao as an important off-shore base for Sun Yat Sen's anti-Qing undertakings that climaxed in the 10 October 1911 Uprising to usher in a new republican era for the Chinese nation.

As a matter of fact, stretching far from the socio-cultural anchorage and functional platform of Macao under Portuguese rule, an interesting and complex web of external linkages, mainly through the Lusophone (Portuguese-speaking) networks garnished with far reaching Ibero-Latino outreach, had enriched Sun Yat Sen's revolutionary movements with ideas, peoples, examples and experiences as well as resources and opportunities from around the globe. Emanating from and through Macao, such interactive dynamics between Sun Yat Sen and the places-and-peoples of the Lusophone spheres on the four continents of Asia, Europe, Africa and the Americas constituted an often overlooked yet nonetheless significant 'unsung' verse that underlined the modern Chinese revolution. These century-old repertoires of Sino-Lusophone interface should provide a very solid historical foundation, background reference and informed context to enhance fuller understanding of the fast-unfolding PRC-Portuguese speaking countries' co-operative relationships as being effectively promoted through Macao, a unique bilingual/multi-cultural agent and transnational exchange hub.

This essay aims to highlight some outstanding facets and selected salient features that buttress the historical significance of the Luso-Macao dimensions of Sun Yat Sen's modern Chinese revolutions. It will adopt

three major over-arching perspectives and distinctive approaches in the following pages:

(1) To focus on Macao's unique locale amid the geo-political and socio-cultural fabrics in China's Pearl River Delta/Guangdong-Lingnan region, as well as the inter-continental Lusophone influences underlining this Portuguese enclave's East-West cross-cultural and trans-national interactive dynamics.

(2) To Look beyond the immediate 1911 events (the successful 10 October 1911 anti-Qing uprisings in Wuhan, China), to view Macao as a significant source of influence on Sun Yat Sen's life and thoughts—his earliest window to the world, cradle of new ideas, initial exposure to Christianity, valuable hub for revolutionary efforts, and a vital transmission belt for Sun's revolutionary visions and missions for a new China.

(3) To draw stronger attention to the real impact of both the Luso historical experience (such as Portugal's 5 October 1910 Revolution) and the Euro-style social democracy ideologies' influence on Sun Yat Sen's revolutionary campaigns for republicanism and to build a new China—an independent, unified, modern, strong, wealthy, progressive and, above all, free and democratic China.

Reference to the relevant Macao-linked military, political and socio-cultural episodes and Macao-related/ based turning points in Sun Yat Sen's revolutionary repertoire will be cited to illuminate the multi-faceted Luso-Macao factor in modern China's transformation. It is perhaps useful to briefly delineate here the geopolitical realities, the historical foundation and pluralistic socio-cultural fabrics of Macao under Portuguese rule during the 1860s to 1910s half century, when Macao, its people, institutions and far-reaching external networks were all important facets that shaped the life and work of Sun Yat Sen in his revolutionary quest for a new China.

#### MACAO'S GEOPOLITICAL, HISTORICAL, SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL ATTRIBUTES

Despite its minuscule physical and population size on China's periphery, Macao has been at the forefront of the Sino-Luso cross-cultural and trans-continental economic exchanges spanning nearly half a millennium from China's Ming Dynasty to today. Due to its uniquely advantageous geopolitical assets-as a strategically located free port for international trade

at the Pearl River estuary on China's southern maritime frontier—Macao served as the vital partner for Canton (Guangzhou, the provincial capital of Guangdong), which was China's sole legally designated port for maritime foreign trade in the Ming-Qing era until the post-1842 'Treaty Ports' system that opened up other Chinese ports to global traffic. From the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the river port Canton and sea port Macao (that were only 68 miles/110 kilometres apart along the Pearl River) had paired in a complementary 'division of labour' collaboration to function closely as a dual-city nexus of late imperial China's key hub for oceanic commerce. Gradually, the Portuguese developed four seafaring global trade routes starting from the Canton/Macao core: 1. Canton-Macao-Goa-Lisbon; 2. Canton-Macao-Manila-Acapulco/ Lima; 3. Canton-Macao-Nagasaki; and 4. Canton-Macao-Makassar-Timor. In a sense, Macao, in an intimate and mutually beneficial partnership with Canton, had played a distinctive and vital role as a major trade centre of China, Asia and the world.

Paralleling the development of these international trade links that fuelled its growth, Macao was also vital to China's early modernisation efforts in the broad context of global exchange between civilisations before the 1839-1842 Sino-British Opium War that opened China to full-scale Western impact. Until then, Macao served as the main conduit for the continuous infusion of Western learning, knowledge, science and technology for three centuries. The 1842 Treaty of Nanking (Nanjing) that settled China's Opium War defeat led to the rapid development of Hong Kong under the British crown and also the creation of the multilateral Treaty Ports system on Chinese soil that lasted a full century until 1942.

Historically, Macao under the Portuguese had once thrived as an important embarkation point for Chinese overseas migration traffic and as a key provisioning supply channel-remittance conduit servicing the widespread global network of overseas Chinese communities. In fact, Macao's Lusophone ties had directly facilitated the massive Chinese migratory traffic to, and trading linkages with, other Portuguese-speaking areas in Asia (Malacca, Goa and East Timor), Africa (Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Cape Verde) and South America (Brazil). Furthermore, by stretching the Lusophone ties to regions that had long been culturally

and linguistically linked to Portugal-neighbouring Spain, and by extension, the vast overseas Spanish domains in Latin America and the Philippines, a much larger 'Ibero/Luso/Hispanic' world existed for Macao-originated or Macao-processed overseas Chinese migration and settlement. Besides Portuguese-speaking Brazil, the 19<sup>th</sup> century Chinese coolie traffic to Cuba and Peru, both Spanish colonies, was mainly conducted through Macao's port with its extensive Luso-Ibero ties. Such coolie traffic developed into a massive business on a grand scale and triggered external ramifications beyond the Sino-Luso realm.

In fact, two decades after the British took possession of Hong Kong in 1842 to develop it into southern China's premier international port, a new economic landscape emerged to impact Macao. By the 1860s, this young British colony, endowed with a superior deep-water natural harbour and buoyed by the far larger and more powerful British Empire shipping and commercial networks, began to overshadow Macao and eventually eclipsed and nearly displaced the Portuguese enclave in Sino-global economic links. However, despite upstart Hong Kong's rapid ascendancy and eventual dominance, Macao was still able to retain some of its lucrative functions in the Chinese overseas migration traffic.

For example, in the three years of 1856-1858, at least 19,910 Chinese labourers sailed from Macao for overseas servitude. At its peak in 1872, Macao 'processed' some 21,854 Chinese on the outward-bound coolie traffic, amid an annual average of about 20,000 during the 1859-1873 period. From 1847 to 1875, an immense population of Chinese coolies was exported, numbering at least 250,000 and possibly reaching 500,000. Among them, 99,149 out of the 150,000 Chinese coolies sent to Cuba departed from Macao during these years. In the early 1870s heydays, Macao had some 800 'coolie lodges' that temporarily housed Chinese labourers awaiting embarkation on their overseas voyages aboard ships flying the British, French, Spanish, Dutch, Peruvian and US flags.

The outrageously brutal and cruel abuse, especially in the workplaces, in the bonded labourers system (commonly known as the 'coolie trade' and sometimes involving involuntary abduction) provoked fierce condemnations and protesting outcries from around the world. Under heavy international pressure, the British government was forced to interfere in the atrocities

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taking place in coolie shipping sites such as Hong Kong and eventually had to take charge and put an end to the abusive and inhumane coolie traffic. In 1874, London prohibited coolie trade in all British territories. Hence, the site of shipping Chinese coolies to Peru and Cuba was relocated to Macao, a free port with much lax control. Such relocation did not help in alleviating the severe problem of coolie abuse. Because of the system's abusive features that resulted in great uprisings by the coolies themselves, by and large the Chinese coolie trade ended around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Zheng Guanyin 郑观应, the prominent Chinese comprador-entrepreneur and moderniser-reform advocate who resided in Macao where he befriended young Sun Yat Sen, severely criticised the coolie trade as 'a great evil' in his writing. Still, Macao had left its significant mark as a major dispatching centre on the historical Chinese diaspora that constituted a core component of the Sino-global interface. The Chinese working and living abroad later became a crucial external source for obtaining ideas, funds, manpower, arms and popular support in modern China's revolutions under Sun Yat Sen's leadership. Indeed, overseas Chinese had often been hailed as the 'mother of the Chinese revolution' by Sun Yat Sen himself.

Until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, besides being the only waterborne entry port to the alluring China Market and a major hub station on the maritime Silk Road for Western traders, Macao performed another crucial function as a long-term soft-power transmission belt for East-West cultural-religious fusions: it was the base for the Jesuits who introduced Catholic Christianity to Japan. Furthermore, from the mid-1500s until the end of 1999, Macao had enjoyed a distinctive legal-administrative status as a Portuguese domain that was different from and beyond the reach of mainland Chinese jurisdiction, thus yielding greater freedom, ample public space with tolerance, and more opportunities for the transmission of Western thoughts, scientific knowledge, technological skills and above all progressive ideas on society and government, and even radical political ideologies. Some of such external cultural-intellectual 'software' imports that entered China through Macao to shape Chinese hearts and minds were naturally of Luso/Iberian origin or stemmed from the doctrines and theological underpinnings of Catholicism as promoted by the Jesuits. Yet this Macao channel also conveyed other secular ideas, including

continental European social and political visions like various schools of socialism, and during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century the Macao newspapers helped to transmit the more recent experiences of national liberation wars and anti-monarchy revolutions in Europe and Latin America. This software dimension of Macao's unique contribution to Sino-global interface climaxed near the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when the enclave's pluralistic cultural hybridity with a tolerant political atmosphere under Portuguese rule had made Macao an attractive asylum and operational hub to progressive Chinese intelligentsia of both the reformist persuasion (as headed by Kang Youwei 康有为 and Liang Qichao 梁启超) and the revolutionary camp (as led by Sun Yat Sen). More than merely coincidental, the fact that Kang, Liang, and Sun were all natives of neighbouring counties on the Pearl River Delta western shore adjacent to Macao seems to confirm a most fortuitous combination of key elements—strategic geopolitical locale, extensive global communication, socio-economic and cultural interface, easy access from mainland China with human links, under the protective umbrella of a non-Chinese jurisdiction—that had enabled and empowered Macao to perform as both an active agent and an effective facilitating platform for modern China's revolutionary transformation during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. All these constitute splendid chapters in the exciting Macao Story. This essay will offer an impressionistic sketch of some outstanding features and distinctive patterns in the historical roles performed by Macao in China's revolutionary transformation during the late 19<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

#### SUN YAT SEN'S LUSO-MACAO CONNECTIONS, 1866-1912

This section will briefly highlight, in a point-to-point summary below, some of the main Luso-Macao connections in the following ten specific areas that impacted Sun Yat Sen's life, his thoughts and work as leader of the modern Chinese revolution.

#### SUN'S PERSONAL NEIGHBOURHOOD LINKS WITH MACAO

Sun Yat Sen was a native of Guangdong province's Xiangshan county (renamed Zhongshan in 1925 in honour of his memory) bordering Macao, where his father Sun Dacheng (孙达成, 1813-1888) worked as a tailor and shoemaker. The short land distance (37km)

between Macao and the Sun family home village of Cuiheng (where he was born in November 1866) in Xiangshan had enabled young Sun Yat Sen and other family members to make easy visits to his father there. Furthermore, during the nine years (1883-1892) when Sun Yat Sen attended high school and medical college in Hong Kong, his many trips home to visit his folks (including his wife whom he married in May 1884) in Xiangshan always passed through Macao. In a sense, Sun Yat Sen did grow up with a certain 'Macao Factor' in his childhood and youth. Undoubtedly, his early familiarity with Macao the place, its unique hybrid socio-cultural milieu and its people.

#### THE SUN FAMILY'S EXTENSIVE DIRECT TIES TO MACAO, THEIR SECOND 'HOMETOWN'

To avoid the political turbulence and partisan intrigues inside China, Sun Yat Sen's family (his first wife Lu Muzhen 卢慕贞 (1867-1952) with their son and two daughters) was relocated from Cuiheng village to the safety of Macao in 1913. At that time his elder brother Sun Mei 孙眉 (1854-1915, who encouraged the young Sun Yat Sen at age twelve to attend school in Honolulu, Hawaii) also lived in Macao where he went into business and organised a fishermen's association there until he died in Macao in February 1915, aged 60. In March 1913, Sun Yat Sen's eldest daughter Sun Yan 孙延 (1894-1913) died from illness at home in Macao, a few days after Sun's brief visit there. After Sun Yat Sen's death in March 1925, Mme. Lu continued to reside in Macao with her family (younger daughter Sun Wan 孙婉 (1896-1979, who resided in Macao continuously from late 1949 to her demise in 1979) until her own death in 1952. She was buried in Macao, where the Sun family residence at 1 Rua Silva Mendes has since become, after extensive renovation, a museum, run by pro-Kuomintang (KMT) organs, bearing the name 'Dr Sun Yat Sen Memorial Hall'.

The Sun family was able to enjoy relative tranquillity and security in Macao, even during the 1937-1941 Sino-Japanese War/1941-1945 Pacific War phases of World War II, due to Portuguese neutrality that saved Macao from Hong Kong's sad fate of Japanese military occupation of three years and eight months. The 1946-1949 Chinese civil war and the 1 October 1949 establishment of the PRC in China mainland under the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) did not disrupt the Sun family as long-time Macao

residents. Two Luso realpolitik factors underlined the Lisbon-Beijing diplomatic links that began only in 1976 to replace Portugal's official ties with the Republic of China (in exile in Taiwan since 1949). First, Cold War concerns of the sternly anti-Communist Salazar regime that was a NATO founding member in 1949 and also close to Spain's ultra-conservative Franco regime (which established diplomatic ties with Beijing only in 1973). Second, Lisbon's April 1974 'Carnation Revolution' that collapsed the Salazarian dictatorship and launched a decolonisation process to end the Portuguese colonial empire.

#### MACAO OFFERED SUN'S EARLIEST EXPOSURE TO THE WESTERN WORLD

It was during his visits to Macao as a child that Sun Yat Sen had his initial direct encounter with the world beyond China. The many new and definitely foreign objects, persons, sights and sounds in Macao, particularly those of Westerners, Western architecture as well as Luso-style institutions, facilities and undertakings, that young Sun Yat Sen saw and experienced firsthand should have impacted his heart and mind. Sun's earliest impression of a major Western religion and its related physical structure as embodied in the Catholic churches and their socio-educational programs also took place in Macao. Such exposure to Christianity in Macao predated Sun Yat Sen's 1879-1883 schooling in Hawaii where he enrolled the Church of England' Iolani School and became attracted to the Protestant faith that led to his 1883 baptism in a Congregational church. As such, the crucial Western influences that shaped Sun, his revolutionary visions and missions, must be traced back to a seldom-acknowledged fact of his childhood's initial Luso-Macao experience of East-West exchange and fusion of cultures, values and norms, 'software' elements and enveloping atmosphere that set Macao apart from other Chinese cities. In a sense, Macao was the starting point for Sun's world journey. In fact, it was from Macao that he sailed to Honolulu in 1879 on his first ever sojourn outside China and Asia.

#### SUN'S EARLY MEDICAL PRACTICE IN MACAO, 1892-1894

Perhaps the best known among Sun Yat Sen's various Luso-Macao links was his medical practice and pharmacy operation in Macao starting in autumn 1892, soon after his graduation from medical school in Hong

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Kong. Besides serving his half-day morning duty at the Kiang Wu Hospital (founded in 1871 as a charity by local Chinese elites to offer traditional Chinese medical services to Chinese residents), Dr Sun Yat Sen also ran a private practice in his own clinic located near Macao downtown to offer consultation and treatment to patients, often free of charge. In addition, with a loan of some 1,440 taels of silver from Kiang Wu as approved by its directors in December 1892, Sun also established on 17 July 1892 an Sino-West Pharmacy (Farmácia Chong Sai, *Zhongxi yaoju* 中西药局) to dispense Western medicines, often free of charge (recent efforts have located Sun's clinic at No. 14A Largo do Senado and his pharmacy at No. 80 Rua das Estalagens in Macao today). From such three-pronged professional experience as a physician of Western medicine, the first of any Chinese in Macao, Sun proactively reached out into the local community to establish strong ties with leading Chinese mercantile elites and build friendships with some Macanese intellectuals that were to become very useful human networks and funding sources for his later revolutionary activities, both pre- and post-October 1911.

Lu Muzhen, Sun Yat Sen's first wife.



Despite public acclaim and growing renown for his service, Sun's Macao sojourn as a physician was rather brief, lasting less than two years. Sun ended his medical practice in Macao and left for Canton in January 1894 due to the legal requirement that all Western medical doctors practicing in Macao must obtain official license based on Portuguese-approved professional qualifications. Besides the squeezing pressure from the local Portuguese physicians who ensured local pharmacies would refuse Sun's Western medicine prescriptions, Sun Yat Sen also suffered another rivalry 'jealous factor', that from among Kiang Hu's traditional Chinese medical practitioners who had the support of some more conservative Kiang Wu directors who disliked Sun's ideas for radical changes. A front page article "Hospital China de Macau" appeared in the 19 December 1893 Portuguese and Chinese editions of the *Echo Macaense* weekly strongly faulted Kiang Wu's shortcomings but stressed the major improvements affected by Dr Sun Yat Sen since his recent arrival. This reflected Sun's tensions with the Kiang Wu old guards.

#### SUN'S PUBLIC AFFAIRS PUBLISHING BEGAN WITH THE *ECHO* IN MACAO, 1893

Paralleling his medical practice, Macao served as the launching site for another milestone in Sun's path toward revolution: that of his vigorous advocacy and public discourse through the press to promote popular awareness of China's survival crisis and the urgent imperative for sweeping changes through reform and revolution. This was manifested in the inauguration of a new bilingual weekly, *Echo Macaense*, that published separate editions in Portuguese and Chinese. This publication was founded in 1893 by Sun's Macanese friend Francisco Hermenegildo Fernandes (1863-1923, born in Macao to a local Portuguese father and a Chinese mother), whose family operated a printing press in Macao (the *Typographia Mercantil*, established by his father Nicolau Tolentino Fernandes who was the long-term printer for the Macao government's *Official Gazette*). Carrying news reports, current affairs commentaries and advertisements, the *Echo* appeared every Wednesday. Its Portuguese edition was published from the first issue on 18 July 1893 to the last issue on 17 September 1899. But its Chinese edition had a shorter run of publishing only 125 issues, from 18 July 1893 to 25 December 1895. Published in

Macao, the actual circulation of the *Echo* reached far and wide, to Hong Kong, cities in mainland China, Dutch East Indies, Singapore, Malaya, the Philippines and Portugal.

Undoubtedly, the *Echo* served as an important public forum for Sun Yat Sen to openly air his views on Chinese affairs from a committed reformist-revolutionary perspective. While the full extent of Sun Yat Sen's actual involvement with the editorial matters of the *Echo* still awaits very clear and detailed confirmation, his collaborative links to this weekly were firmly evidenced in three aspects in the contents of the weekly and its distribution: (a) from time to time it published Sun's articles (under a pseudonym) on various topics; (b) it often carried items related to Sun's medical practice; and (c) Sun's clinic and his Sino-West Pharmacy were both listed as among the weekly's own subscription/distribution points. In fact, the *Echo* did become a very useful medium to publicise Sun Yat Sen's medical practice in Macao. Appearing in the pages of the *Echo* were advertisements listing the address of Sun's clinic and his consultation hours, along with stories lauding his successful treatment of long-term illness and cases of serious disease as well as open acknowledgements of profound gratitude from recovered patients. Whether Sun Yat Sen's departure from Macao in early 1894 had any direct bearing on the termination of the *Echo* Chinese edition's publication at the end of 1895 remains a question to be answered with confirmed facts. Still it should be noted that only six weeks before it ceased publication (on 25 December), the *Echo* Chinese edition's 6 November 1895 issue carried a telegraphy news item from Canton reporting on Sun Yat Sen's first anti-Qing armed uprising there on 26 October, and its brief 702-character text mentioned Su by name as Sun Wen 孫文 and Sun Yat Sen. Also note worthy is the fact that the same date's Chinese edition printed on its front page an essay 'Preface to the Agricultural Studies Association' written by Sun Yat Sen. The *Echo* Portuguese edition had already reported one week earlier in its 30 October 1895 issue news on the Canton uprising.

#### SUN'S INTERFACE WITH MACAO-BASED REFORMER-THINKER ZHENG GUANYING

Some of the major ideological influences shaping Sun Yat Sen's visions for China's national salvation came from Macao-based entrepreneur-reformer-

thinker Zheng Guanying (1842-1922). A Xiangshan native like Sun, Zheng's family had lived in Macao for generations. Zheng studied in Macao during his youth and mastered the English language before going to Shanghai at age seventeen to learn business. After his service as comprador in major British trading firms' Shanghai offices, Zheng developed a distinguished career in co-founding and managing modern enterprises like telegraph lines, textile plants and a paper mill as parts of the modernisation projects sponsored by senior Qing official Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823-1901).

In late 1886, Zheng returned to his Macao residence (the Mandarin's House) located at N°. 10 Travessa de Antonio da Silva. There, Zheng shared his thoughts in an acclaimed volume of collected essays *Shengshi Weiyan* 盛世危言 (Words of Warning in Times of Prosperity) published in 1894. In this book, Zheng argued that 'a country must create wealth to become strong; and wealth comes from encouraging economic and industrial developments, putting emphasis in education, quicken legislation, respect ethics and political reformation'. Such ideas made strong impact on the Qing Emperor Guangxu 光緒, reformers Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, as well as revolutionaries Sun Yat Sen and even Mao Zedong 毛澤東. It could be argued that at this 1892-1894 Macao phase of Sun's intellectual exploration and political quest, he was attracted to some reformist ideas and ideals, especially the progressive advocacy of pragmatist reforms as proposed by Zheng Guanying.

In fact, because of his personal rapport with and intellectual admiration for Sun Yat Sen, Zheng included in his volume Sun's penetrative analysis 'On Agrarian Efforts' and other essays. Furthermore, Zhang was instrumental in assisting Sun with the drafting and actual transmission of Sun's June 1894 letter to Li Hongzhang (who was then based in Tianjin) that urged sweeping reforms to rescue China from a national survival crisis due to domestic backwardness and foreign encroachment. Li's dismissive response to Sun's suggested reforms had, in hindsight, the decisive effect of ending in Sun Yat Sen's mind any lingering notions for reforming the Qing regime. This abortive last-ditch attempt at reformism crucially transformed Sun from toying with reformist possibilities into a dedicated revolutionary firmly committed to the overthrow of Qing dynastic rule and the total liquidation of China's

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traditional system of autocratic monarchy in order to establish a new democratic republican polity. Within a few months of his departure from Macao and his letter to Li, Sun Yat Sen established his first revolutionary organ, the Revive China Society in Honolulu, at the end of 1894. As such, this Macao interlude constituted an extremely significant turning point in Sun's ideological odyssey-revolutionary quest.

#### SUN'S 'POLITICISATION' OF CHINESE INTELLECTUALS AND MERCANTILE ELITE IN MACAO

The early seeds for Sun Yat Sen's attempt at revolutionary mobilisation in Macao were sowed in the period preceding Sun's medical practice there. While still a medical school student in Hong Kong, Sun often came to Macao, not just during his homecoming trips to and from his family in Xianshan, but for the specific purpose of holding intensive discussions with his fellow radical cohorts who were keen to change China. Among his three close peers, who together with Sun formed the quartet popularly known as 'The Four Desperados', was Yang Heling 杨鹤龄, a young man from a mercantile family that ran a business in Hong Kong's Central district and also kept a residence in Macao. Besides frequent gatherings at Yang's Hong Kong premise, this radical intelligentsia quartet often met at Yang's Macao residence, commonly labelled 'the Yang Four Desperados Hall'. Thus Sun already had some contacts with Macao's Chinese intellectual circles and mercantile elements even before starting his medical practice there in 1892.

As an early advocate of Chinese republicanism, Sun aimed at promoting a China-oriented 'politicisation' with proto-revolutionary tints among Macao's Chinese intellectuals and mercantile elite. In this regard, Sun was several years ahead of the 'constitutionalist-reformers' headed by Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao who were active in Macao during 1897-1903, right before and soon after their abortive 1898 'Hundred Days Reform'. Besides establishing a school to recruit and train potential followers, these reformers also published a Chinese newspaper *Zhi Xin Bao* 知新报 (New Knowledge Journal) (from 1897 to 1901) to publicise their reformist ideas for a modern China under a British-style constitutional monarchy. Such moderate

reformism appealed to some local Chinese intellectuals and conservative businessmen who found Sun Yat Sen's by then advocacy for and actual engagement in armed revolutionary uprisings too radical and violent. Near the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Sun Yat Sen had moved beyond the pragmatic reformism proposed by Zheng Guanying. As suggested by some scholars, a key factor behind Sun's 1894 exit from Macao was the lack of support for his proto-revolutionary ideas among many local Chinese community leaders, some of them Kiang Wu directors who were not displeased with the departure of this young Western medicine man from their hospital. Yet there were significant exceptions among local Chinese elites, like the four Lu brothers (sons of gaming mogul Lou Kau/Lu Jiu 卢九 (Lou Wa Sio/Lu Huashao 卢华绍, 1837-1906), especially the eldest one Lou Lim Iok/Lu Lianru 卢廉若 (1878-1927) creator of the Lou Lim Iok Garden, was a very keen Sun supporter) who rallied to Sun's cause with funds and played active roles in his revolutionary undertakings.

#### SUN'S INTERFACE WITH THE LUSO-MACANESE COMMUNITY IN MACAO

The lesser known record of Sun Yat Sen's interface with the Portuguese-Macanese community in Macao, from the governor, colonial officials and political elites to professionals and common folks, is an area deserving much greater academic attention and documentary efforts. A key fact to keep in mind is that, unlike the British colonial authorities in Hong Kong, the Luso officialdom in Macao had never legally banished Sun Yat Sen from their domain.

Better known is Sun's collaboration with Francisco Fernandes in launching a Chinese edition of the weekly newspaper *Echo* in 1893. They became friends before 1892, when both were in Hong Kong where Sun was a medical school student while Fernandes was working as a court interpreter. As can be seen in his *Echo* articles and commentaries, Fernandes strongly embraced the calls to reform and even drastically change Portugal's policy while he was also critical of Luso-Macao regime misdeeds. His pro-revolutionary stance easily propelled his strong support for Sun's anti-Qing cause. Furthermore, Fernandes was a Freemason, the same as the first Luso republican era Macao Governor Álvaro de Melo Machado (in office 1910-1912). In fact, some of Sun's Western supporters

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and sympathisers were also Freemasons, whose ranks might even have included Sun Yat Sen himself. Sun's links with such secretive organs and hidden networks in and through Macao remain little known, unlike his extensive ties with many Chinese secret society elements in Hong Kong and in overseas Chinese communities. In 1893, Fernandes, together with another of Sun's Macanese good friends, the lawyer António Joaquim Bastos, interceded with Governor Custódio Borja on Sun's behalf for official permission to practice Western medicine in Macao. While the Governor was sympathetic, he did not grant Sun the desired medical license that required Portuguese professional credentials. Less than a year after he left Macao, Sun Yat Sen established the Revive China Society in Honolulu in late 1894. From its branches in Hong Kong and Macao, Sun and his comrades prepared for their first anti-Qing uprising, an attack on Canton in October 1895. When this insurrection failed, Sun escaped from Canton to Macao. Very soon afterward, with Fernandes' assistance, Sun managed to go to Hong Kong secretly and then from there sailed to Japan. To aid Sun's urgent exit, Fernandes even persuaded Macao Governor José Horta e Costa not to take any action (as demanded by Qing officials) on the 'rumours' that Sun was hiding in Macao after the failed Canton attack.

Sun did not return to Macao until nearly seventeen years later in spring 1912, after he had stepped down as the provisional president of the new Republic of China. On this visit, Sun was very warmly welcomed by the Macao authorities, his Macanese and Chinese friends, and the local mercantile elites. On his triumphant return to Macao, Sun Yat Sen resided in the Spring Grass Pavillion (*Chun cao tang* 春草堂) inside the Lou Lim Iok Garden, testifying to his strong personal bonds with the Lu family (whose brothers were Revolutionary Alliance members and major donors of funds). Sun was officially honoured with a large-scale public reception at the Military Club attended by Governor Álvaro Machado and many local Portuguese, Macanese and Chinese leaders. Sun again stayed in the Pavilion on his next and also last Macao visit in June 1913. It was a very brief stopover to see his ailing daughter Sun Wan while on his way from Shanghai to Hong Kong to campaign against the dictatorship of Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (Sun's successor as president of the new republic).

## MACAO AS ANTI-QING PROPAGANDA/OPERATION HUB AND ASYLUM/ESCAPE ROUTE

From the very start until 1912, Macao had been a vital site for various anti-Qing undertakings sponsored by Sun Yat Sen's principal anti-dynastic organs, the Revive China Society and later, the Revolutionary Alliance that was established in 1905. Among the key sites in Sun's global revolutionary networks, Macao had performed a host of valuable hub functions: (a) a key base, useful sourcing/transmission station and major outlet for Sun's transnational anti-Qing press-propaganda machine; (b) an international clearing house and mobilisation point for Sun's recruitment of anti-Qing partisans and the collection of funds both in the Pearl River Delta (PRD) and from overseas Chinese communities, especially those in Luso-Ibero areas; (c) a useful clandestine transit channel for the smuggling of arms, funds, personnel and information; (d) a strategic cross-border operational centre, launching pad-command post for Sun's various armed insurrection schemes in Guangdong (like the April 1911 Canton 'Yellow Flower Mount' Uprising); and last but definitely not the least, (e) a much-needed asylum, escape route and pausing haven for Sun's comrades in the aftermath of abortive plots and failed insurrections. A key local hub for the Revolutionary Alliance partisans' anti-Qing personnel recruitment and fund raising/transfer activities in Macao was located at No. 21 Rua de Volong.

Worthy of attention is the 'culturalistic and intellectualistic' oriented approach adopted by Sun's comrades in their initial efforts to arouse public awareness of China's plight and to galvanise popular support for their revolutionary cause. Reflecting their own intellectual background and inclination, their earlier attempts at wide-spread dissemination of anti-Qing propaganda in Macao were mainly conducted through the setting up of various 'front' organs for communication-education, like a public reading room, a school, and a newspaper. More ingeniously creative, in view of the relatively high rate of illiteracy among the local Chinese populace, particularly the grassroots, Sun's partisans resorted to spreading the message via live entertainment-style 'oral and visual' performances. For such purposes, some orators-agitators were deployed to deliver arousing speeches on public affairs issues to the passengers on the Macao-Hong Kong ferryboats. Also new-style Cantonese opera companies playing a

current affairs-themed repertoire with revolutionary tints were dispatched to stage performances in cities and towns through the Pearl River Delta. These were indeed revolutionary breakthroughs in mass communication via novel 'info-tainment' delivery for a revolutionary cause.

Another major contribution of Macao to the success of the 1911 Revolution was its vital role as the planning, mobilisation, supply and operational base for the formation of a 3000-strong anti-Qing 'Xiang(shan) Army' from among the county's militia and secret society members to mount armed assaults to liberate the Xiangshan county seat and the provincial capital of Canton soon after the 10 October Wuhan uprising. Xiangshan county's anti-Qing armed uprising broke out in Xiaolan on 2 November 1911. Three days later, on 5 November, the Xiangshan revolutionaries scored a crucial breakthrough when they engineered the defection of 2000 Qing New Army troops stationed in Qianshan, near the Macao border. These ex-New Army soldiers formed the bulk of the Xiang Army that took Xiangshan's county seat. They soon moved north to seize control of Canton. While the Xiang Army's local military campaign lasted only a few days but it was the first anti-Qing armed uprising in Guangdong following the Wuhan 10 October events. The Xiang Army's military victories helped to place the control of Canton and hence the entire Guangdong province firmly in the hands of Sun's Revolutionary Alliance comrades. In a very profound sense, this laid a significant historical foundation for the 'Canton Decade' of 1917-1926 during which Sun Yat Sen thrice (in 1917, 1921 and 1923) established his revolutionary regimes in Canton, where the Northern Expedition that eventually (if only nominally) unified China under his Kunmintang was launched in summer 1926.

#### MACAO AS A CHANNEL FOR LUSO-EURO IDEOLOGIES AND REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCE

Perhaps much less visible but definitely of some significance in the shaping of Sun Yat Sen's thoughts, especially his well-known 'Three People's Principles' (that later became enriched as the KMT's official doctrine and ideological orthodoxy) was Macao's transmission belt and interface platform functions in trans-national and cross-cultural exchange of politico-socio-economic ideas and relevant historical experience. Specifically, it would be of great interest to know the

direct impact and indirect effects of major developments in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese revolutionary repertoire as stimulants to Sun Yat Sen's own revolution for a new China. Two key turning point events in Portugal deserve special attention in this context—the 1 February 1908 assassination of King Carlos and Crown Prince Luis Filipe in Lisbon, and then the 5 October 1910 Revolution that deposed King Manuel II and ended Portugal's monarchy forever. To commemorate Portugal's 5 October 1910 Revolution, a long street in the town centre on Macao Peninsula was named Rua de Cinco de Outubro and another major road along the river front on Coloane Island was called Avenida de Cinco de Outubro. Still bearing the same name, both are heavily trafficked in the Macao SAR today; yet very few local Chinese residents, including those who frequently pass through or walk along them, can tell the story behind the street name. In sharp contrast, most of them know quite well the thoroughfare running along Macao's Outer Harbour/Nape area waterfront 'Avenida Dr. Sun Yat Sen' honours the 'Father of the Chinese Republic' with his ties to the city.

In a similar light, it will be of both academic and realpolitik interests to trace some of the major external ideological inputs that had enriched and buttressed Sun Yat Sen's own notions of, and actionable agenda on, the fundamental question of 'the people's livelihood' which constitutes one of the three key planks in his Three People's Principles.

Contrary to commonly held but not entirely accurate assumptions that Sun's Three People's Principles were akin to US President Abraham Lincoln's three-point dictum (as stated in the final line of his 19 November 1863 Gettysburg Address) on 'Government of the People, by the People and for the People', among Sun's Three People's Principles, only one, the second principle on 'democracy' is directly related to the Lincolnian dictum. The other two of Sun's principles on 'national sovereignty' as actualised in China's full independence and territorial integrity and on 'people's livelihood' as achieved by the creation of commonly shared wealth among all Chinese people through a fair, free, equitable and progressive economic system, cannot be directly linked to the American dictum even after some attempts at over-stretching and re-interpretation. Rather, Sun Yat Sen's main ideas on the 'livelihood' issue clearly contain elements from the teachings of Henry George, a British thinker of political

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economy and forefather of Fabianism, as well as some key precepts from various schools of social democracy and democratic socialism that enjoyed considerable popularity in Western European intellectual circles and among progressive political partisans in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. How much and how far had these ideas and theories been able to move from London, Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels and Berlin to reach Lisbon and then be re-transmitted to Macao for diffusion to the Chinese reformers and revolutionaries active in this Luso enclave remain unclear. Yet such a 'travel of ideas' is worthy of further scholarly investigation as this will yield a more informed portrayal of external intellectual-ideological lineage with certain Euro-centric origins and also will provide a much-needed supplement and even counterbalance to the long held over-emphasis on the American influence on Sun Yat Sen's thoughts and visions for China's transformation.

#### CLOSING OBSERVATIONS: THE LUSO-MACAO FACTOR IN MODERN CHINA'S REVOLUTION

This essay offers a preliminary analytical sketch to illuminate some of the key features and distinctive patterns in colonial Macao's rather complex and layered multiple historical roles in Sun Yat Sen's revolutionary movements during the late Qing era to early 1912 when China entered a new republican era. Macao under Portuguese rule functioned as an early incubation site and an important operational hub in Sun Yat Sen's anti-Qing revolutionary undertaking until up and through early 1912 when the Republic of China was inaugurated. Later on this Portuguese enclave performed dual roles in Sun's continuous revolutionary struggles for a new, independent and unified China, first as a base for anti-warlord manoeuvres and then as an anti-imperialist attack target in the various early 1920s Sino-Luso conflicts amid Sun's National Revolution against imperialism and warlordism until Sun's death in March 1925.

Hopefully, this Macao-focused historical delineation will also add some refreshingly new perspectives to promote a better-informed and more balanced discourse on the core-periphery conceptual construct and the 'regional vs. central' dichotomy narratives as an integral part of a timely academic reappraisal of the modern Chinese revolutions

in this year of the 1911 Revolution centenary commemoration. Located on China's southern coastal periphery far from the central seat of dynastic administration in the late imperial Chinese power locus, Macao has been at the core of the Sino-Luso/Sino-Western cross-cultural exchange. At the other end of this Macao-based external linkage was Portugal situated on the Atlantic shore on Europe's southwestern edge. Yet it was precisely this remarkable long-distance, periphery-to-periphery interface between Macao and Lisbon that functioned effectively for three centuries as the Chinese Empire's main exchange platform and principal maritime pipeline for transnational interactive dynamics with both the Eurocentric Western world and the inter-continental Luso Empire encompassing domains beyond Europe in far away Asia, Africa and Latin America. Thus, this Sino-Luso linkage through Macao became a vastly extensive and genuinely multi-continental Sino-Luso-global network radiating from Macao, which, despite its periphery locale, lies at the very heart of this China-world encounter. Such vibrant functional externality and pluralistic cosmopolitan tolerance enriched Macao and equipped it for extraordinary contributions to modern China's historical transformation at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In fact, Macao had performed multiple crucial functions in the life and career of Sun Yat Sen as modern China's pre-eminent revolutionary leader, founder of the Kuomintang and 'Father of the Republic of China'. As summarised above in Section III, Macao had served certain meaningful purposes and performed different vital functions in various developmental phases of Sun Yat Sen's life and work as: (1) Sun's immediate, adjacent 'foreign' neighbourhood with early personal links; (2) the Sun family's second 'hometown' with extensive direct and long-term ties; (3) the earliest window for Sun's exposure to the outside world, especially Western ideas and institutions (4) the locale of Sun's early (1892-1894) medical practice and pharmacy operation, with attempts at community outreach; (5) the base for Sun's initial public affairs publishing via the *Echo* in 1893; (6) the venue that enabled Sun's interface with local reformer-thinker Zheng Guanying; (7) a testing ground for Sun's enlistment of local Chinese intellectuals and mercantile elite to his anti-Qing cause; (8) strategic platform for Sun's interface with Luso-Macanese elites to support his revolutionary activities; (9) as an important anti-

Qing propaganda and operation hub as well as an asylum and escape route for Sun's partisanship after failed insurrections; and (10) as a transmission channel for Luso-experience in republican revolution and Euro-style progressive ideologies that impacted Sun's own visions and missions for a new China.

Some aspects of these multiple Luso-Macao linkages with and contributions to Sun's anti-Qing undertakings have been well documented in official Chinese commemorative literature, clearly amplified in domestic and international academic studies, and repeatedly trumpeted in popular patriotic folklores.

Less well known is the fact that in modern China's early republican era, Macao under Luso rule continued to be of direct relevance to Sun Yat Sen's quest for an independent, united, modern, strong, free and democratic China against the twin evils of warlordism and imperialism. In fact, like in the pre-1912 period, Macao again functioned as a highly convenient off-shore mobilisation base and escape asylum for Sun's Kuomintang (KMT) comrades in their struggles against Yuan Shikai's dictatorship during 1913-1916. After their anti-Yuan armed resistance in South China failed in late 1913, many KMT activists took refuge in Macao while Sun fled to Japan (as he was again banned from Hong Kong by the British colonial regime). Upon taking office on 10 June 1914, Macao Governor José Carlos da Maia rejected the Yuan regime's request to extradite the Sun partisans to China mainland. Two years later, soon after Yuan's death on 6 June 1916, Sun Yat Sen expressed (in a letter written in French dated 23 June 1916) his gratitude to Maia for offering safe haven to his comrades in Macao. Sun's letter did not mention his camp's two failed anti-Yuan military campaigns involving Macao. First was the 5 February 1916 expedition from Macao to attack Canton by several dozen armed partisans led by Sun's lieutenant in charge of Guangdong operations Zhu Zhixin 朱执信 (1885-1920), who had operated in Macao (from No. 32 Avenida do Conselheiro Ferreira de Almeida) since autumn 1914. Then the March 1916 plot to capture the Guangdong fleet cruiser *Shao Ho* (*Zhaohé* 肇和, 2640 tons) near Canton as mounted by three dozen 'overseas Chinese braves' who adhered in Macao (at the Teatro Vitória on Calçada Oriental in town centre) three days earlier. At dawn on 7 March, disguised as passengers on board they at first seized a Chinese ferry sailing overnight from Macao upstream to Canton on

the Pearl River but then they failed to steer (amid rapid currents at low tide) the ferry along side *Shao Ho* for the boarding assault.

Even after the Yuan Shikai clique's control over Guangdong ended in October 1916, Sun Yat Sen still very much relied on Macao as a key off-shore mobilisational site for realpolitik manoeuvres on the mainland. For example, in order to regain control of Guangdong province, Sun Yat Sen dispatched his son Sun Ko/Sun Ke 孫科 (1895-1973) in July 1919 to establish a field office in Macao (at no. 10 Rua de Inácio Baptista) to instigate a mutiny among the Guangdong army and navy against the Guangxi warlords who dominated Canton. Sun Ko's efforts in and from Macao led to the mid-1920 defection of the gunboat *Chiang Ta* (*Jiangda* 江大) that sailed south from Canton toward Zhongshan. While pausing in Macao to load coal, it was intercepted by a local Portuguese warship acting on Canton's request to detain the mutinous vessel. In its desperate breakout manoeuvres, *Chiang Ta* beached on the sand bars off Coloane Island. Among the gunboat's officers and ratings who came ashore in Macao, sixteen were shot at and killed by the Portuguese forces. An earlier shelling from the Luso warship hit and killed a single Chinese sailor on the *Chiang Ta*. Among the *Chiang Ta* naval personnel who had survived, over thirty were jailed by the Luso-Macao regime while nine managed to escaped unharmed. The jailed sailors were released in late 1920 after Sun's forces took Guangdong and negotiated with the Macao officialdom. Eventually in 1921, the bodies of the sixteen mariners slain in Macao were buried in Canton's naval cemetery, thus closing a tragic chapter strained with Chinese blood in Sun Yat Sen's Luso-Macao interface. These post-1911 incidents vividly illuminated Macao's strategic value as an operational hub, platform and conduit in Sun Yat Sen's revolutionary undertakings and popular mobilisations long after the Qing dynastic demise.

On the other side of the coin was an equally significant but far less emphasised dimension of the Macao and Sun Yat Sen interactive dynamics—Macao itself as a prime target for Sun's revolutionary struggles in the early republican years. Colonial Macao under Portuguese administration remained very much and always at heart a Chinese community populated overwhelmingly by Cantonese immigrants who constituted over 90% of the populace in the enclave behind the Luso-style veneer of Western architecture.

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Most of Macao's Chinese residents were not local-born; non-Portuguese and non-Luso citizens who still maintained their intimate and extensive socio-cultural-economic ties with their native place-ancestral home. They were buttressed by their undoubted homeland loyalty, patriotic pride and nationalistic allegiance toward China, the nation, its people and civilisation. Spanning nearly 500 years—from China's Ming-Qing Dynasties, through revolutionary upheavals, World Wars and Cold War, to China's current global ascendancy—these Sino-Luso interfaces involved other players (the Spanish, Dutch, British, Japanese and American) and triggered external ramifications beyond the Sino-Luso realm. Besides being the China market entry port and a major station on the maritime Silk Road for traders, Macao served as a crucial soft-power transmission belt for cross-border cultural-religious fusions.

Building on such moral-political forces and facilitated by kinship links, pan-Cantonese socio-cultural solidarity and PRD-local/Guangdong provincial networks, Sun Yat Sen was able to mobilise many Macao Chinese residents in his anti-imperialism endeavours as frontline vanguards, grassroots enforcers and mass supporters in defending Chinese national interests in various Luso-Macao-mainland China conflicts that punctuated the early republican era. The fact that the China market had been crucial to Macao's economic survival underlined the enclave-mainland relationship.

From the July 1920 Sino-Luso naval incident in Macao water amid Sun's anti-warlord campaigns, the general strikes by Macao Chinese workers in May and October 1922, to the late 1923 Maritime Customs surplus dispute (in which a Portuguese gunboat was dispatched from Macao to Canton to join the five imperialist powers' 'gunboat diplomacy' to exert military pressure on Sun with a combined fleet of twenty foreign warships anchored in the Pearl River facing Canton city), Sun Yat Sen and his KMT comrades did their best to undermine foreign control on Chinese soil, and in the particular case of Macao—the first and most enduring symbol of Western imperialism obstructing modern China's quest for national sovereignty—international equality and territorial integrity. As long as Macao remained under Portuguese rule, it would always become an easy and ready target for Sun's National Revolution

that was headquartered in neighbouring Canton. One might be tempted to argue that Sun Yat Sen felt so strongly for his 'second hometown'—Macao—that he was keenly delighted at the prospect of its liberation from Luso domination, not withstanding the fact that the Portuguese were perhaps, in a relative sense and in comparative terms, the least militant among the Western powers encroaching Chinese national interests at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Besides its long occupation of Macao, Portugal (unlike Britain, France, Russia or the upstart imperialists Germany and Japan) did not hold any other colony, treaty port concession/settlement or 'sphere of influence' in China during the Chinese 1842-1942 'century of humiliation'. In fact, even at the height of the collective imperialist assaults on China during the 1900 Boxer crisis, Portugal contributed the smallest number of its armed personnel to the eight-nation joint military expeditionary forces that went into China. The Luso contingent dispatched to the China front entailed only a few naval vessels with a few hundred troops mainly to evacuate Portuguese nationals from threatened sites in China. Still these cases of early 1920s enclave-mainland discords, just like the earlier episodes of Sino-Luso armed conflicts involving Macao in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, have vividly testified to the fact that China can survive without Macao, but the reverse is definitely problematic, as later events in 1966-1967 have confirmed. This simple fact had been a significant factor in the Sino-Luso interface involving colonial Macao until the 1999 handover when Sun Yat Sen's dream for a unified China moved a step closer to total fulfilment with the resumption of Chinese rule in China's Macao SAR.

Unfolded in and around Macao has been a significant East-West exchange with global implications during the half millennium from Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama's 1498 arrival in India to its own 1999 retrocession to Chinese rule that ended centuries of European colonialism in Asia. As a whole, Sun Yat Sen's five-decade long Luso-Macao interface as delineated in the above pages might seem a relatively brief interlude, only a short 10% of the full five-century span in the Sino-Luso relationship. Yet its profoundly rich historical meanings with great complexities, strong realpolitik impact and long-term international implications could not be too lightly overlooked. Indeed, these Luso-Macao dimensions of

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the modern Chinese revolution under Sun Yat Sen's leadership constitute highly exciting and extremely valuable chapters in two interrelated and still unfolding stories—the splendid Macao Story and the fascinating story of Sino-Luso interactive dynamics within the much larger chronicle of China's historical engagement with the world and the contemporary global outreach of an ascending China. By sketching some interesting facets in Sun Yat Sen's Luso-Macao connections, this essay offers a convincing set of solid historical evidence to buttress and reconfirm the vital historical functions and critical strategic roles performed by Macao in the broad horizon of China's intensifying global embrace. Indeed, Macao functioned not only as a historical hub of Sino-Western dynamics, but it has recently assumed new vanguard, bridging and operational functions in the PRC's growing outreach to the Lusophone bloc of Portuguese-speaking countries in Asia, Europe, Africa and Latin America. Informed references to the relevant military, political, diplomatic, economic and socio-cultural episodes and turning points in Macao's

historical repertoire will definitely enhance our current appreciation of and popular support for the multi-faceted Macao factor in China's global embrace with a Luso flavour in the years ahead.

In closing, it will be deeply appreciated by this essay's author and also those interested in the Luso-Macao elements that had impacted on Sun Yat Sen's revolutionary movements if academic experts in the field of Sino-Luso-Macao historical relations are willing to bring forth their learned scholarship, analytical insights, factual knowledge, multi-lingual documentary references, and interpretive capacities toward a more systematic articulation of the following major points in order to advance our collective understanding of the vital but still under-studied areas in the Luso-Macao dimensions of modern China's transformation. More informed scholarly efforts are needed to discover and analyze the four topical areas below:

(1) The direct impact and indirect effects of major developments in early 20<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese revolutionary repertoire as stimulants to Sun Yat Sen's

The Barrier Gate, 1913.



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own revolution for a new China. Two key turning point events in Portugal deserve special attention in this context—the 1 February 1908 assassination of King Carlos and Crown Prince Luis Filipe in Lisbon, and the 5 October 1910 Revolution that ended Portugal's monarchy forever.

(2) Fuller details of the early interactive dynamics between the two newly-established republican regimes—the Republic of Portugal's relationship with the Republic of China, especially the changes, if any, in Lisbon's post-1910 policy towards Macao and China.

(3) Macao's function as a 'soft power' transmission belt for Euro-style social democracy ideas and democratic socialism precepts via its Luso lineage to influence Sun Yat Sen's Three People's Principles, especially on the 'people's livelihood' discourse.

(4) The response of overseas Chinese, especially those in the Lusophone or Ibero-linked countries or those whose migratory traffic was processed through Macao, to the late Qing reformist and revolutionaries activities. Of the 86 Revolutionary Alliance partisans killed in the April 1911 Canton uprising, over a third (38) had overseas experience. It will be interesting to find out how many among these 38 overseas returnees were from Luso-Ibero domains.

All further research and documentation efforts on these topics will eventually yield a fruitful harvest to enhance our appreciation of the Luso-Macao factor shaping modern China's revolutionary transformation. Without any doubt, all such new findings will further enrich the historical foundation of the fast unfolding Sino-Luso bloc cooperative dynamics of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Today, 120 years after Sun Yat Sen commenced his medical practice there, a full-length bronze statue of him stands tall at Kiang Wu Hospital's courtyard in

Macao. Two more Sun Yat Sen statues grace Macao, one at the Sun Yat Sen Memorial Hall and the other as the centre-piece in the Sun Yat Sen Park in Macao Peninsula's northwest, near Barrier Gate, the land crossing with Guangdong. Encompassing some 70,000 square meters (17.3 acres), it is Macao Peninsula's largest park. The park first opened in 1987 as the Canal dos Patos Park to commemorate Sino-Luso friendship. (The Sino-Luso Joint Declaration on Macao's 20 December 1999 revision to China was signed in April 1987). Then in 1990, when a full-length Sun Yat Sen bronze statue was placed at the park entrance, it was renamed the Sun Yat Sen Park. In honouring Sun Yat Sen with his much cherished local ties, Macao also celebrates its own unique historical contributions to Sino-global interface and its vital functional role in China's ongoing transformation. Indeed, further efforts are still needed to fully actualise Sun Yat Sen's life-long pursuit of his grand vision for a new China—a China that is independent, united, modern, strong and affluent, and above all, free and democratic. On this score, China's Macao SAR, with its historically significant global heritage and deep-seated, multi-layered linkages to Sun Yat Sen's revolutionary legacy, will definitely have a meaningful role to play. **RC**

**Author's Note:** Earlier and shorter versions of this essay were previously presented at (1) The Colloquium on 'Sun Yat Sen – A Fundação da República na China e Macau' organised by the International Institute of Macau and hosted by Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal at Palácio da Independência, Lisbon, 22 June 2011; (2) The Second International Conference on Macaology, hosted by Instituto do Oriente, Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, Lisbon, 20 October 2011.

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