

INTRODUCTION

Historians and sociologists often refer to the family as the fundamental unit of society, a place where, in the words of Emil Durkheim, 'ways of acting are reinforced by practice ... called customs, laws, and mores' ... residues of collective experiences, fashioned by an entire train of generations.² One of the few studies of Macanese immigration also points to the 'social value' of familial groups, which collectively maintained early residents, secured places for those who followed, and extended ties to other communities.³

But an analysis of immigrant families on the basis of 'social value' and common practice alone may not be sufficient to understand the formation of communities. We should also attempt to explain why specific immigrant groups settled in new destinations in the first place. A study of Macanese families, in particular, should provide historical reasons for their migrations and clarify how specific practices among familial networks affected the organisation of Macanese resources and the emergence of community leaders. We should also consider how those developments played out against the backdrop of Asia's colonial history.⁴

Macanese history is indicative of an unusual story of colonial settlement. That narrative may be divided into four distinct periods: a 'pre-history' before the settlement of Macao, (1509 to 1557), the period after Macao's settlement (1557 to 1860), a time of cultural and political change, the migration of Macanese to Hong Kong, Canton, and Shanghai in the 19th century and, finally, immigration to western countries after World War II. The 'cultural homeland' is considered by many as the point of departure for all transnational migrations, even though the origins of the community were in Goa.⁵ Today the Macanese population is estimated to be well over 1 million people living in 35 countries, and consists of many organised communities.⁶ There are also active groups in Macao and Hong Kong, now administrative regions of China, which remain in contact with immigrant organisations.⁷

Thus, transnational mobility and diaspora-like behaviour seem to explain some aspects of the Macanese experience. But the evolution of Macanese communities cannot be fully explained without an understanding of the way Macanese families were initially formed, and how family networks developed as a result. That evidence can be found in historical and biographical



Family Networks, Diasporas, and the Origins of the Macanese in Asia

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Ung Vai Meng, "Sons and Daughters of the Soil: The Macanese (Woman)". Poster, 103cm x 73cm, 1997.

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materials which are currently being collected. The latest demonstration of that research is presented in the following analysis.

FAMILIES, CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES

Family customs have long marked the boundaries of the Macanese experience, and helped shape the character of its communities throughout Asia. Macanese families also have been influenced by changing political and economic conditions, formal policy, language, and religious practices. Each of these, in turn, was affected by different styles of colonialism, the Church, and indigenous institutions, which helped perpetuate the community's development.

Macanese families emerged as a result of the first Luso-Asian unions. After the conquest of Goa in 1509, Afonso de Albuquerque initiated a policy of indigenous marriage in order to maintain his fighting force and administrative personnel throughout Portugal's far-flung Asian possessions, which were depleted by travel

to and from Europe, skirmishes with pirates and indigenous armies, disease, and isolation. Albuquerque is even reported to have officiated at marriage ceremonies conducted by Catholic missionaries of his men to captured Goan and Middle Eastern women. Many were the widows and daughters of soldiers who died in battle.⁸

Following Albuquerque's death in 1515, interracial unions proceeded with and without the consent of the Church, probably pushed by the expedience of trade, through the custom of informal liaisons between Portuguese men and indigenous women.⁹ These unions were partially the result of policies forbidding European women from making the journey to Asia, but also the prevalence of slavery, which included women and children sold by their impoverish relatives, labourers and those who spoke multiple languages, and others who were educated in culinary arts, geography, and statistics.¹⁰

Recent studies suggest that many women in these unions were indentured servants, escaped slaves,

kidnapped girls, and surrogates intended for the 'Marriage Markets' of the Portuguese colonies.¹¹ Nearly all came from trading ports in Southeast Asia, including Goa, Malacca, the Philippines, Japan, and Timor. As trade with Japan weakened and finally closed in 1639, trade with Chinese ports gained momentum, and women from the region were included as well.

The Portuguese households of Goa and Macao often included wives, concubines, servants, and their respective children. This practice created the environment for accepted behavior within families. One of the typical characteristics were large 'mestizo' family groups made up of legitimate and illegitimate children.¹² Accounts of households of more than twenty or 30 members were common, and remained so in some settlements well into the 20th century. Another practice was the acceptance by 'legitimate' members, including the wives of the household's head, of multiple conjugal relations. This was apparently common in most Portuguese colonies, and had important consequences for the future of the Macanese community.¹³

The acceptance of multi-racial children from these unions created bonds between the Portuguese and indigenous communities and lessened the impact of colonisation in early settlements. Such alliances, based on familial ties with ethnic groups in India, Malacca, Brazil, and Africa, helped diminish the influence of the Dutch and English for almost two centuries.¹⁴ Despite the discord that sometimes divided generations, political and economic priorities in Goa and Macao tended to break down race and class divisions within families, and over time allowed a semblance of unity to occur.¹⁵

Another key arbitrator of racially mixed families was the Roman Catholic Church. The influence of the Church through its Jesuit missionaries in Japan and China from the late 15th century introduced baptism to virtually all household members. Devotion to the Church in Goa and was well documented by Jesuit chroniclers, travellers and commercial agents.¹⁶ The wide acceptance of baptism and other sacraments extended familial bonds, while strengthening relations to the new Christian order through ritualised ceremony and adherence to doctrine.

The Church also played a significant role in the education of Portuguese 'descendentes' in trading ports. The socialisation of family members, primarily males in schools set up by missionaries, and later

females separately in convents, reinforced ties through religious practice and education, creating both a sense of moral superiority and an expectation of social position among family members that aligned with the needs of Church and State. The continuance of these practices legitimised to a degree all Portuguese settlers, regardless of their origins, while supporting the extension of familial relations to future generations.¹⁷

The Church thus helped to solidify Luso-Asian customs and practice. By legitimising racially mixed unions through baptism in Goa, it also condoned bonds to other ethnic groups that were necessary for the survival of Portuguese trade. In the process, the Church became a powerful ally of Portuguese ambitions in Asia, and the future 'guardian' of Macanese culture and community life.

And yet Portuguese 'descendentes', like other colonised groups, were not completely reliant on the Church or on colonial administrations for their survival.¹⁸ The expanding Asian trade provided other options. For while the 'rules' of family practice were regulated by the Holy See and the Bishop of Goa, social and commercial relations among families, and the effects of those relationships on the Macanese community, were very much in play.

FAMILY NETWORKS IN GOA

By most accounts, ties between families were common aspects of early colonial life in India that were later brought to Macao. In Goa, for example, where the number of Portuguese 'descendentes' in the 1500s already numbered about 10,000, a mix of Indian, Malayan, and Sri Lankan influences through trade created a shared patois that researchers have called a 'linguistic hybridization of Portuguese, Malay and Sinitic traits'.¹⁹ This led them to conclude that 'Maquista', the creole language usually identified with Macao is actually 'the result of the mixing of different cultures and linguistic systems' adopted from other ports and probably first spoken in Goa and Malacca.²⁰

The wide range of cultural influences, which later included Japanese and Chinese, brought together by Portuguese colonisation and the Church, resulted in unique familial traditions. In Goa the conversion of native Indians gave rise to the adoption of Portuguese surnames at baptism, the rearing and education of mestizo children according to Christian values, and

William Heine, 'Jesuit Convent, Macao', 1854.



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even the incorporation of indigenous rituals into the marriage ceremony. A vivid example of the latter is provided by an Italian traveller, Pietro Della Valle, who attended a Goan wedding in the 1620s:

The Bride and Bridegroom came under Umbrellas of Silk, garnished with silver, and in other particulars the Ceremonies were according to the custom of the Portugals, only I observed that, according to the use of the Country, in the Company before the Married Persons there marched a party of fourteen, or sixteen, men oddly clothed after the Indian fashion, to wit naked from the girdle upward, and their Bodies painted in a pattern with white Sanders (sand).²¹

The blending of old and new world elements, and the social ties they created, led to the establishment of a large Indo-Portuguese community in Goa, one of the original locations of 'descendentes' in Asia.²²

Two examples of Portuguese family ties through Goa suggest the roles that generational networks played during this period. According to genealogist Jorge Forjaz, the descendants of Rui Lopes, a 12th century soldier on the northern Portuguese frontier at Chaves (then part of Spain), can be traced thirteen generations later to Antonio Rafael Alvares, a 17th century Captain-General of Diu, a Goan trading port. Although born in Lisbon around 1650, Alvares spent his military career in India, where he married a local woman and raised four sons and several grandchildren who were prominent in Goa's military and religious establishment.²³

Several of Alvares' descendants appear throughout the 18th century as soldiers and physicians. One grandson, Vicente Alvares, was an officer who later became a pharmacist in 1726. His son, Manuel Caetano Alvares, was a doctor certified to practice in Goa and Portugal in 1755. Another cousin, Joao Jacques Floriano Alvares, was a doctor at the Medical School of Goa in 1849, and later was appointed Chief Medical Officer of Macao in 1872. Through the 19th century many Alvares family members also worked as researchers, attorneys, teachers, and university professors, with several moving between Goa, Hong Kong, and Portugal.²⁴

Another 'descendente' family from India, the Barrettos, originated from the union of Antonio Lorenzo Barretto, born into the Maratha tribe of Goa, and Pascoa de Sousa, whose father was Portuguese. Upon his baptism, Barretto adopted the family name of his godfather, a descendent of Gomez Mendes Barretto,

who lived in 12th century Spain. Antonio Barretto's 'descendentes' later became successful traders in India and Macao.²⁵

Antonio's second son, Luis Barretto de Sousa, who was born in Bombay in 1745, founded the merchant firm L. Barretto & Company. In 1797, Luis joined his younger brother, Joseph Barretto Senior de Sousa (1750-1824), to establish the first insurance business in Macao the 'Casa de Seguros', securing the cargos of other merchants involved in the China Trade. The brothers also partnered with several uncles and a brother-in-law who owned trading firms.

The business from these connections allowed the Barrettos to purchase two merchant ships of their own. One vessel operated between the Cape of Good Hope and London. The other ship handled trade between Macao and the rest of China. Together these ventures created one of the earliest examples of 'vertical integration' in the Far East, linking manufactured goods and distribution. As his wealth accumulated, Luis Barretto earned a reputation in 18th century India as 'The Prince of Business'.

As the Portuguese empire declined in the late 17th century, many Goan-born 'descendentes' made their way to Macao, but the transition was slow because of changing political and economic conditions.

FAMILY NETWORKS IN MACAO

Macao represented Portugal's tenuous foothold in 16th century China. During an interruption in trade from 1519 to 1550, the result of aggressive tactics toward local merchants, colonial officials focused their attention on Japan, which was discovered by Portuguese sailors in 1542. When relations with China were re-established, the first exchange of goods took place during an annual trade fair on Sanchan Island in 1552. By 1555 the fair was extended to Lampacao Island and the small peninsula on which Macao is located today.²⁶

The earliest settlers in Macao, including sailors, criminals, adventurers, escaped prisoners, traders, and Jesuit missionaries, arrived from Goa, Japan, Malacca, and bordering regions of China as early as 1553. It is reputed that local mandarins allowed them to remain permanently in 1557 in recognition of their role in expelling pirates who used Macao as a stronghold.²⁷ The city then enjoyed a 'Golden Era', particularly

while trade with Japan remained open, but fell into deprivation following the closure of Japanese ports in 1639.²⁸ In that period Macao overcame the Dutch invasion of 1622, and the capture of the Malacca peninsula in 1641, but benefited in later years from a British-Portuguese alliance in 1661.²⁹

When Macao finally recovered in the early 18th century, assisted by the opening of Canton to foreign traders by China 1685, Goa and Macao emerged as the only entry points to India and China, and the principal trading centres in Asia.³⁰ Macanese merchants soon were engaged as intermediaries between East and West, enjoying a virtual trade monopoly. This period of prosperity also corresponded with rising liberal fervour in Macao, while being virtually forgotten by Lisbon and neglected by Goa.³¹

Macao's relative autonomy also came as a consequence of the Church's long history in Asia. Following Portuguese, French and Spanish Jesuits into 15th century China, many religious orders built churches, schools, hospitals, orphanages and

convents to serve the growing community. Jesuit clerics, in particular, diligently preserved the journals of early Portuguese explorers, while chronicling the development of Macao as the 'City in the Name of God in China', even in the foundation stones of St. Paul's cathedral, as well as in the work of artists, including the poet Luis Vaz de Camoes, a visitor in 1567.³² Students in religious schools were taught the classics, mathematics, languages, and commercial skills, including stenography, printing, and horticulture, anticipating the demands of trade in the coming years. As a result, the flow of regular ship traffic from Goa began once again, opening to the first wave of 'descendente' immigrants.

Many families were attracted by opportunities provided by the burgeoning trade. The next generation of Barrettos, for example, added to the family's fortunes in India by moving some of its commercial interests to Macao.³³ Joseph Barretto Junior's son, Antonio Lorenzo Barretto Rodriguez, succeeded his father as director of the Casa de Seguros de Macao in 1810. A few years

The Santos Family (Macao, 1911).



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later he was elected to Macao's ruling body, the Leal Senado. Antonio Lorenzo's son, Bartolomeu Barretto Rodriguez (1748-1845), began as a tea merchant in Macao, and in 1822 became the third generation of his family to be director of the Casa de Seguros. In 1825, another of Antonio's sons was elected chairman of Macao's 'Almatace da Camara', the colony's chamber of commerce. In 1831, at age twenty, Antonio Lorenzo's grandson, Bartolomeu Antonio Barretto, was a linguist, negotiator, and clerk for William Jardine, the most prominent 'country trader' in. Following the Opium wars in the 1850s, Bartolomeu became Jardine and Matheson's principal agent in Bangkok and Manila, and later purchased a rice mill in the Philippines, where he died in 1881.

Family customs have long marked the boundaries of the Macanese experience, and helped shape the character of its communities throughout Asia.

There were similar patterns in other families. Leonardo d'Almada y Castro, a Goan born in 1815, was the son of a Portuguese father from Lisbon who married a 'descendent' woman in the 1790s.³⁴ D'Almada worked for the British Superintendent of Trade in 1836 and was well-known in the community, helping to build a Portuguese-British theatre in 1839. Two years after d'Almada was transferred to Hong Kong in 1842, he married the daughter of a Portuguese-French woman from Macao, and when she died, married her Macanese cousin.

D'Almada's contemporary, Delfino Noronha, who was born in Macao in 1824 to a family from Goa, attended St. Joseph's College in the 1830s.³⁵ There he was trained as a compositor on a printing press the Jesuits had imported from Lisbon. Noronha went on to establish Hong Kong's first commercial press in 1844, publishing the government *Gazette* from 1849, and trained a generation of compositors who followed him from Macao.³⁶

The transition of the large Alvares family from 1700 to 1899 showed comparable changes. In the

18th century, 40% of Alvares males remained in the Portuguese army, 40% were priests, and 20% were doctors. By the 19th century 59% of Alvares men were physicians in Macao while only 3% remained in the military and 6% entered the priesthood, some disenchanted with conditions in Goa. Other professions also began to appear: more than 18% of Alvares men practiced law in Macao, while 12% taught in schools and universities, some in Portugal.³⁷

And so the migration of Portuguese descendants from Goa continued throughout the 19th century, now firmly enmeshed in a network of families and commercial ties. As British interests grew dominant after the Opium War, Macao's position as a trading centre faded once more. Hong Kong soon took its place in the 1850s, and with it came Macanese workers seeking new opportunities.

FAMILY NETWORKS IN HONG KONG

As the next destination of Macanese emigration, Hong Kong presented a different set of challenges. Early residency and work restrictions imposed by the colonial government confined the Macanese and other non-British citizens to outlying areas and into lower positions in government agencies and trading houses. Soon divisions within civil society, which mirrored Hong Kong's developing economy, placed most Macanese immigrants squarely between the British elite and a vast pool of Chinese workers.³⁸

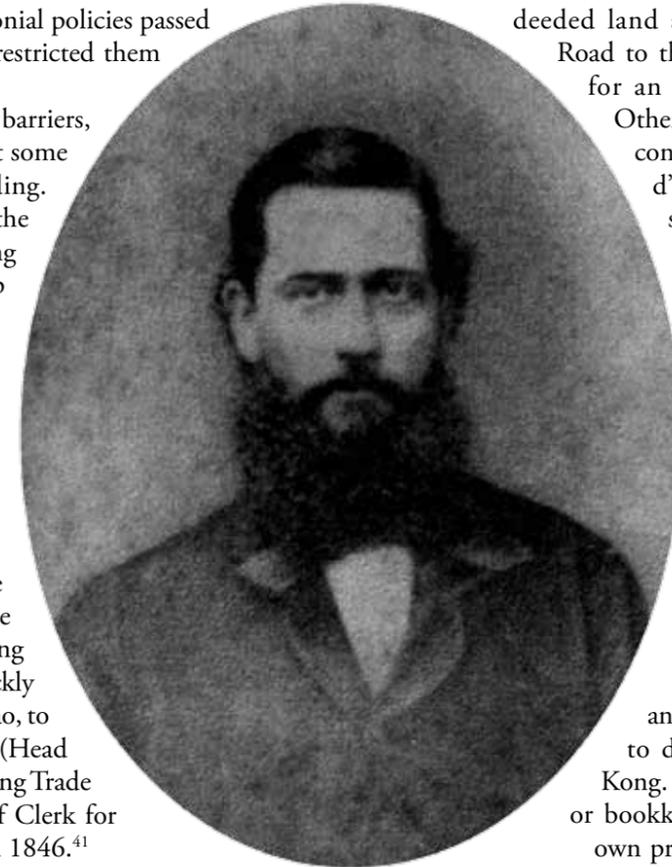
The social ordering of Hong Kong was both hierarchical and transparent. All English language newspapers in the 1860s were staffed by Macanese compositors, but edited by British expatriates. The banks and trading houses were headed by English department heads and staffed by linguists, bookkeepers, and clerks trained in Macao.³⁹ Shipping lines, telegraph companies, and the military were similarly stratified. In government offices, 'Portuguese' clerks reported to a Head Clerk or a Chief Accountant, often a long-time Macanese employee, the highest position to which a worker of his race could aspire. Above the Head Clerk, positions for department heads were reserved for British citizens, many of whom stayed in Hong Kong only a few years. Below Macanese workers were poorly paid Chinese tellers and labourers. Customs, family pressures and tradition, often based on ethnic stereotypes, prevented Portuguese workers from descending lower

in the organisation. Colonial policies passed down through London restricted them from moving higher.⁴⁰

These institutional barriers, however, did not prevent some Macanese from succeeding. In fact, the formation of the community in Hong Kong under the leadership of early families may well have reinvigorated Macanese culture in the 19th century. An example was provided by Leonardo d'Almada y Castro, who had immigrated with the Superintendent of Trade in 1842. During the course of his career in Hong Kong, d'Almada rose quickly from second clerk in Macao, to 'Keeper of the Records' (Head Archivist in the Hong Kong Trade office) in 1844, to Chief Clerk for the Colonial Secretary in 1846.⁴¹

D'Almada's position in the Colonial Secretary's office technically placed him over all Portuguese workers, and permitted him to purchase land near Hong Kong's deep water harbour. These lots were highly prized by traders wishing to relocate from Macao and other treaty ports. D'Almada was particularly active in 1860, during which he sold fifteen lots in Showkewan and seven more in Aberdeen in 1861, some with 'a detached two story granite godwon' to facilitate access to the docks and shipping.⁴² He later acquired several private residences to accommodate the growing number of Macanese families. Between 1864 through 1866 d'Almada placed advertisements for at least eight different houses he owned. Reflecting the times, d'Almada also attempted to rent houses he owned in Macao, but was forced to reduce the rents, suggesting that there was lower demand.⁴³

D'Almada's personal success allowed his philanthropy to flourish as well. In the 1870s he



Leonardo d'Almada y Castro [1815-1875].
From António M. Pacheco Jorge da Silva,
The Portuguese Community in Hong Kong: A Pictorial History
(Macao: Conselho das Comunidades Portuguesas/
Instituto Internacional de Macau, 2007).

deeded land and a building on Caine Road to the Italian Canossian sisters for an orphanage and a school. Other members of the family also contributed. His brother, Jose d'Almada y Castro, private secretary to Governor Sir John Pope Hennessey, added to the Canossian's land in the 1880s, allowing the sisters to maintain a presence in Hong Kong throughout most of the 20th century. Leonardo's oldest daughter, Ana, even took the veil of the Canossian order in 1878, remaining with them until her death at age 90 in 1938.⁴⁴

Delfino Noronha was another Macanese who seemed to defy conventions in Hong Kong. Rather than work as a clerk or bookkeeper, Noronha set up his own printing plant in 1844 at the age of nineteen. By 1849 his firm, Noronha & Co., was granted the contract to print the *Hongkong Government Gazette*, the colony's official record and its principal means of communication. It was

from this position that Noronha became an important leader of the Macanese community.⁴⁵

The first 'Portuguese' to establish a commercial enterprise independent of the British (although they remained clients), Noronha was in a position to hire skilled compositors from his old school, St. Joseph's in Macao. As the largest employer of Macanese workers in Hong Kong, Noronha and his staff produced finely detailed editions in multiple languages. These attracted the attention of an international audience, including Church leaders, ambassadors, governors, and wealthy merchants, as well as visits from world leaders, including Jose Rizal, a Filipino nationalist. Noronha was held in such high esteem that one Hong Kong governor envisioned Noronha & Co. would remain the colony's printer *in perpetuum*.

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José Pedro Braga [1938].
From António M. Pacheco Jorge da Silva, *The Portuguese Community in Hong Kong: A Pictorial History* (Macao: Conselho das Comunidades Portuguesas/Instituto Internacional de Macau, 2007).

Like d'Almada, Noronha also was an early landowner on Hong Kong island, and one of the first investors in Kowloon. In the 1870s he became a partner with another immigrant, Marcus Calisto do Rozário, on ten acres in Tsim Sha Tsui, the first of several attempts to create a Macanese enclave in the 'New Territories'. In the process, Noronha built a farm and became a noted horticulturist, experimenting with tropical plants and fruits. During the same period, he operated a steam ship service between Hong Kong and Kowloon, the precursor of the 'Star Ferry' that operates over the same route today.

Despite these successes, most Macanese could expect long years of work and social isolation in Hong Kong's structured society. Some of the few shelters from this imposed 'order' were their large extended families. Macanese women, with few exceptions, left the monotony of the workplace to their fathers, uncles, brothers, and husbands.⁴⁶ Many accepted roles as wives, mothers, and as managers of large households.

The pattern was a carryover from traditions begun in Goa and Macao. Many early families, including the Noronhas, the Alvares, and the Xaviers, supported households of more than ten children, and others like the Gosanos had eighteen members, not including servants and their families.⁴⁷

Most households also were part of a larger community that remained connected to the Church in Hong Kong, but was culturally separate from other groups. As a Chinese observer in the 1920s wrote:

... there was quite a large Portuguese Community living near the vicinity of the Cathedral, ... spreading from 2-14 Caine Road... upwards, including the St. Joseph's Terrace..., St Joseph's Building, 4-10 Robinson Road, the Belilios Terrace (now 5-25 Robinson Road), the entire length of Mosque Street, and part of Mosque Junction. The Portuguese Community formed the bulk of the Catholic Community in the Cathedral Parish.⁴⁸

A description of another Kowloon neighborhood suggests a similar pattern in the 1930s:

We lived on Soares Avenue, Homantin, where there were quite a few Portuguese people who bought the houses around us.... The house... was two-storied. It was attached to number 9 Soares Avenue, which was occupied by... the Sequeiras. Next door to us, Number 13, was occupied by another Portuguese family called the Barros. In between this house and the next was one... occupied by a Portuguese family called Guterres. Next door to the Guterres's was where the Yvanovichs lived...⁴⁹

Much like their families and neighbourhoods, Macanese social life in Hong Kong was also cloistered. Macanese children usually only attended Catholic schools in Kowloon or Hong Kong that were organised by the Jesuits, Christian Brothers, Franciscans or the Canossian Sisters. In some cases, children were sent back to learn the Portuguese language and customs, or to Shanghai where another Macanese community had grown to be tutored in French, Spanish, or other languages.⁵⁰ In other cases, Macanese families attached to merchant firms in Canton or Japan educated their children in religious schools there, but by the early 20th century many gravitated back to Hong Kong.⁵¹ As more families returned, education in the British colony became the accepted practice.

The isolation of the Macanese community also was evident from its organisations, an extension of family relations. While institutions in Macao, such as the Santa Casa da Misericórdia (Holy House of Mercy) and schools attached to the Church were centres of the community, the most popular organisations in Hong Kong were social clubs independent of the Church. Each was established to serve a growing Macanese middle class.

The most important was the Club Lusitano, founded in 1865 by a group of Macanese businessmen, which included J.A. Barretto, whose family was mentioned earlier, and Delfino Noronha.⁵² After inaugurating its first building in 1886, the club offered 'rooms' for bachelors and widowers, provided venues to entertain friends and family, and sponsored community events. Membership in 1904 expanded to include over 200 members. By 1922 Lusitano acquired a new building on Ice House Street near the stock exchange with a bar and larger reception area. Three generations had already joined, following their fathers, uncles, brothers and cousins through positions in banks, merchant houses, and government.⁵³

Club Lusitano members were also involved in other organisations. The owner of the Hong Kong Printing Press, Lisbello de Jesus Xavier, a Lusitano member since 1888, provided funds for the Clube de Recreio in 1903 to build recreational facilities and organise sports leagues. Other members started the Socorros Mútuos Association, which aided indigent Macanese with health care and even helped pay for Catholic burials. The wives and mothers of Lusitano members were also active. One group founded the 'Little Flower Club' in 1906 to welcome new families and to raise funds for local charities.

By the turn of the 20th century, Hong Kong had entered its own 'Golden Age' of commercial prosperity. The next generation of Macanese shared in that success, some becoming British citizens, and most families enjoyed a relatively comfortably lifestyle attached to men in the middle ranks of government, finance, and trade. Several Macanese owned businesses of their own, many employing relatives and others in the community. They included A. Botelho and F.D. Barretto, a relative of the same Goan family, who in 1895 were flour merchants and shipping agents; Luis M. Alvares, the youngest son of the family, who in 1896 was an exporter of ginger, ginseng, and ornamental feathers; A.M. da

Cruz and J.M.F. Basto, importers of Australian flour, butter, and dairy products in 1897; and F.J.V. Jorge, a produce and ginseng merchant in 1901.⁵⁴

João Pedro Braga, the grandson of Delfino Noronha, eventually succeeded him as the most prominent Macanese of his time. In 1895 Braga published his first book criticising attitudes toward non-British workers, then managed an English language newspaper, the *Hong Kong Daily Telegraph*, from 1902 to 1909. He was later a correspondent for the Reuters News Service and the Associated Press, and was elected the first Macanese member of Hong Kong's Legislative Council in 1926.⁵⁵

The wide range of cultural influences, which later included Japanese and Chinese, brought together by Portuguese colonisation and the Church, resulted in unique familial traditions.

But Hong Kong soon began a slow decline, marked by the fall of the Chinese empire in 1911, the decline of British trade after the end of World War I, the rise of Japanese militarism, and the invasion of Manchuria in 1935. A period of malaise was followed by the invasion of Hong Kong in December 1941, and for the Macanese, evacuation as neutral 'Third Nationals' back to Macao during the war years.⁵⁶

The temporary settlement reunited many families from former Portuguese trading ports.⁵⁷ While suffering the loss of property and separation from loved ones, many Macanese families remained intact in wartime due to the organisation of refugee centres, schools, and social activities by the neutral government and the Church. After the hostilities ended, most Macanese returned to Hong Kong to rebuild, but many began to consider resettlement in other countries.⁵⁸

Beginning in 1984 several hundred began returning to every three years during 'Encontros' (meetings) organised by Macao's government to meet

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relatives and renew old friendships.⁵⁹ Some younger members now use the meetings to establish social, commercial, and political contacts that can be sustained through new technology and international travel. Despite inter-marriage outside the community, many Macanese descendants now seem to recognise the value of their origins to gain insights into 21st-century China.⁶⁰

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to demonstrate how family networks help us to understand the development of Macanese communities. As we saw in Goa, familial ties resulting from racially mixed unions created hereditary pathways that allowed sons to follow their fathers into the military, commercial trade, and medicine. In each case, the families highlighted took different paths to create wealth and other forms of 'social value', which they were later able to transfer.

In Macao, and later in Hong Kong, Macanese families not only accumulated personal wealth, but distributed forms of 'social value' outside their families. These included the transfer of wealth through marriage, the creation of businesses that employed other immigrants, entering medicine to administer to the sick and indigent, and serving in government to protect the interests of the community. Other Macanese bought property and encouraged the growth of agriculture, and later stimulated real estate ownership, and the growth of neighbourhoods which lasted for several generations.

Another form of 'value' created by Macanese family networks was an understanding of cultural identity. This sense of culture was born of shared

religious beliefs, customs and language, and also based on a common recognition of historical struggles and achievements. The origins of 'Macanese' identity occurred during a period (1557 to 1860) in which the population repelled foreign invaders, endured basic survival in periods of commercial decline, thrived in new roles as indigenous traders, and formed new alliances in light of Portugal's flagging influence in Asia. The period also included a loosening of ties to Lisbon, a flirtation with republicanism, and the rise of artistic expression in Macao, including the development of architecture and the celebration of Macanese writers, poets and artists.

The recognition of a shared history passed down through families, and celebrated in religious and community rituals, was all the more intensified by the movement of Macanese to Hong Kong in the 19th century. For it was there that Macanese identity solidified under the pressures of British colonial rule and, in some cases, rose to new heights as many immigrants took their places in the new society.

In the final analysis, the study of Macanese family networks provides a rare glimpse of individuals who led and encouraged the growth of Macanese communities. In the process, we observed their shared activities and customs, and the ways families developed and survived. The study of families thus provides a chronicle in microcosm of the collective struggles of Macanese who forged their own identity as a cultural group, and a method of analysis that uncovers the stories of immigrants in the context of Asia's history. Future studies that include a similar blending of history and biography will likely contribute to more comprehensive narratives as Macanese research moves forward.⁶¹ **RC**

NOTES

- In this study, we define 'Macanese' as the descendants of Portuguese and Goans, Malaysians, Japanese, Timorese and later Chinese, corresponding to the major ethnic groups incorporated by Portuguese colonisation in the early part of the 16th century. Recent studies suggest that within 100 years most colonists were not continental Portuguese, but racially mixed mestizos who first settled in Goa, and after 1557 adopted a cultural identity as 'Macanese' during almost 300 years in Macao. For example, see the work of Isabel Leonor da Silva Diaz de Seabra, University of Macau, Research Centre for Luso-Asian Studies, 'The historical demography of Macau and the constitution of the Luso-Asian Population' 2010, at: <http://www.umac.mo/fah/ciela/history/MacauDemography.html>. For information on Portugal's strategy on inter-racial marriage, see Edgar Prestage, *The Portuguese Pioneers* (London: Black, 1933), pp. 289-300.
 - See Edward A. Tiryakian, 'Emile Durkheim', p. 202, in *A History of Sociological Analysis*, edited by Tom Bottomore and Robert Nisbet (New York, Basic Books, 1978). Tiryakian points out that Durkheim recognised that 'custom' in and outside the family is not only habitual, but behavior that is mandatory for the entire community. See also the work of sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild, including her book, *The Managed Heart: the Commercialization of Human Feeling* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983).
 - Alfredo Gomes Dias, 'The Origins of Macao's Community in Shanghai, Hong Kong's Emigration (1850-1909)'. *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies*, Vol. 17, 2008, pp. 197-224. Dias is one of the few scholars who write about the 'Macanese Diaspora', a controversial label placed on this group's immigration. While providing valuable and little-known information on the community in Shanghai, Dias virtually ignores its cultural origins in Goa, and uncritically proposes the beginning of Macanese migration from Macao as a result of the Opium War.
 - Variations of 'Transnationalism' and 'Diaspora' explain some aspects of Macanese history, but there are limitations in their use. Since the end of World War II, for example, many Macanese have immigrated from Hong Kong and Macao to other countries, but remain culturally linked, especially to Macao. Many now use technology to remain in contact with friends and relatives at home. The presence of Macanese communities throughout the world also is an indication of how extensive their 'diasporas' have been throughout history. On the other hand, the Macanese have never fitted the traditional definition of diaspora refugees: they were never forced to leave their homes, nor has an empowerment narrative among expatriates materialised. Also, most do not attempt to influence immigrant policies in Macao or their host countries. For a comparison of how these concepts have been used in the past, see Karsten Paerregaard, 'Interrogating diaspora: Power and conflict in Peruvian migration', in *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods*, edited by Rainer Baubock and Thomas Faist (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), pp. 91-108. See also Roger Brubaker, 'The "diaspora" diaspora'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1, January 2005, pp. 1-19.
 - For recent scholarship, see Mark Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade: Dutch-Indigenous Alliances in the Atlantic World, 1595-1647* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 129; Stefan Halikowski Smith, *Creolization and Diaspora in the Portuguese Indies: The Social World of Ayutthaya, 1640-1720* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); and Geneviève Escure and Amir Schwegler, *Creoles, Contact and Language Change: Linguistic Interpretations* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2004), pp. 5-6. The question of cultural origins, and the insistence that Macao was the only point of departure, is a theme in many immigrant writings submitted to Macanese cultural organisations.
- It is also adopted by some Portuguese academics, as represented in Alfredo Gomes Dias' article. See note 3.
- This estimate is based on research conducted by Portuguese genealogist Dr. Jorge Forjaz and chronicler Dr. Henry d' Assumpção, who have identified over 50,000 Macanese family names. Other researchers suggest the number of family groups may be as high as 60,000 given the prevalence of inter-marriage with other ethnic groups. Using a representative sample of Macanese from surveys conducted in 2012 and 2013, my own research found that over 70% of Macanese families have between 21 and 25 living members, suggesting that the number of Macanese globally may be higher than the current estimates. For a definition of 'Macanese', go to: <http://www.macstudies.net/director-roy-eric-xavier-ph-d/>.
 - The voluntary exile of Macanese to other countries has resulted in the creation of numerous cultural associations, some more than 50 years old (see a list at: <http://www.macstudies.net/links/>). The largest concentration is currently in California, with other groups in Canada, Australia, and Brazil. Many members have begun studies of family histories and written articles about family life before the 'handover' of and Hong Kong to China. Recently, these reminiscences seem to have strengthened ties between many immigrants and Macao's regional government. Cultural nostalgia also has played a role in solidifying relations between Macanese organisations, leading many to visit regularly for business and travel.
 - C.R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East: 1550-1770* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 175, and Chapters VII and XIII. Also see John Holm, *Pidgins and Creoles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 288 and A.J.R. Russell-Wood, *The Portuguese Empire* (Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), p. 187.
 - Ibid., p. 188.
 - C.R. Boxer, 'Muitsai in Macao', in *Fidalgos in the Far East*, pp. 221-241, and Zhidong Hao, *Macao: History and Society* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011), p. 106.
 - In addition to the work of Isabel Leonor da Silva de Seabra at the University of Macau, see also C.R. Boxer's chapter, 'Muitsai in Macao', in *Fidalgos in the Far East*, Elsa Penalva, *A Mulher na Sociedade Macaense: Séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: CHAM-CCCM, 2011, and a review by Ana Paula Wagner (translated) http://translate.google.com/translate?hl=en&sl=pt&cu=http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php%3Fpid%3DS0104-87752012000100025%26script%3Dsci_arttext&prev=/search%3Fq%3DElsa%2BPenalva,%2BA%2.
 - Zhidong Hao, *Macao: History and Society*, p. 104.
 - C.R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East*, pp. 227-228, and Zhidong Hao, *Macao: History and Society*, p. 104.
 - Mark Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade: Dutch-Indigenous Alliances in the Atlantic World, 1595-1647*, p. 129.
 - The conflict within families, however, is sometimes never resolved. In the course of my own research, for example, there are several cases in which succeeding generations of Macanese disavowed or simply ignored ancestors who were Chinese and Indian.
 - For example, see C.A. Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Maca* (Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh: 1902), *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, Vol. III, Part I, edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1919), and *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, edited by Edward Grey (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1892).
 - Peter Mundy writing in 1634 about Macao notes the importance of the Church in the education of children. See *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 274-275.
 - For an example of the Chinese in Hong Kong, see John M. Carroll, *Edge of Empires: Chinese Elites and British Colonials in Hong Kong*

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- (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), and especially, Ch. 1, 'Colonialism and Collaboration: Chinese Subjects and the Making of British Hong Kong', pp. 16-36.
- 19 Geneviève Escure and Armin Schwegler, *Creoles, Contact and Language Change, Linguistic Interpretations*, p. 5. Another scholar citing early sources writes that over 95% of soldiers in the Portuguese command in India were racially mixed: John Holm, *Pidgins and Creoles*, p. 288.
- 20 Geneviève Escure and Armin Schwegler, *Creoles, Contact and Language Change, Linguistic Interpretations*, pp. 6-7.
- 21 *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 427.
- 22 Several scholars also point to other Portuguese settlements in Malacca, Sri Lanka, and other regions of India. See Mark Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade: Dutch-Indigenous Alliances in the Atlantic World, 1595-1647*, p. 129; Stefan Halikowski Smith, *Creolization and Diaspora in the Portuguese Indies: The Social World of Ayutthaya, 1640-1720*; and Geneviève Escure and Amir Schwegler, *Creoles, Contact and Language Change: Linguistic Interpretations*, pp. 5-6.
- 23 Jorge Forjaz, *Famílias Macaenses*, Vol. 1 (Macao: Fundação Oriente, 1996), pp. 143-159.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 The following accounts were provided through correspondence on Nov. 29, 2012 and Dec. 3, 2012 with Paul Ferraz Barretto, a family member and historian, and archival materials found in 'The Jorge Forjaz Collection' of the Old China Hands archives at the California State University, Northridge. Paul Barretto also notes that some of his family in India were Konkani Brahmins.
- 26 C.R. Boxer, *Fildagos in the Far East*, pp. 2-3.
- 27 C.A. Montalto de Jesus describes the occurrence in this way: 'In the reign of Kia Tsing, a pirate named Tchang Si Lao, who roved in the Canton waters, seized Macao and beleaguered the provincial capital. The mandarins appealed to the Europeans (Portuguese) for succor. These, who were on board their trading vessels, raised the siege and chased the pirate down to Macao, where they slew him. The viceroy having apprised the emperor of the victory, this prince issued an edict whereby he gave Macao to these merchants from Europe, so that they might settle there.' C.A. Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Macao*, p. 25.
- 28 C.A. Montalto de Jesus, writes: 'While the Portuguese possessions in India decayed, Macao rose to the zenith of her prosperity, reaping a golden harvest from the Japan trade as well as from that with Manila, the Spaniards having abandoned the project of direct trade with China. From Liampo Macao inherited the highly lucrative trade with Japan. Mendez Pinto's estimate of the Liampo merchants' fabulous profits is confirmed by accounts of the trade between Macao and Japan. According to Kaempfer, the profit amounted to at least hundred per cent., besides what the return voyage yielded, and that was even more', *ibid.*, p. 51.
- 29 For a full account of the Dutch invasion, see C.R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East*, pp. 71-91. See also C. A. Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Macao*, pp. 55-67.
- 30 Austin Coates writes that even though Chinese emperor Kangxi first approved foreign trade in 1685, suspicion by the Bishop of Macao and competition from the French delayed trade in Canton until 1742. Austin Coates, *Macao and the British, 1637-1842* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), pp. 40-48. C.A. Montalto de Jesus (*Historic Macao*, pp. 132-134), states that the Macao Senate, still recovering from losses after Japan closed its ports in 1639, was not able to begin financing trade until 1762.
- 31 See C.A. Montalto, *Historic Macao*, p. 151: 'Under this mixed jurisdiction, Macao remained ... neglected. The senate's relaxation continued; the court of Lisbon left the important colony in utter abandonment; and Goa contributed not a little towards its ruin'. C.A. Montalto, *ibid.* pp. 225-226, estimated that the Portuguese 'descendente' population of Macao remained relatively small, numbering only about 4,000 in 1793 among a total Chinese population of 8,000. He also cites sources around 1830 stating the community grew only slightly to about 4,300.
- 32 See C.A. Montalto de Jesus, *ibid.*, pp. 232-235, for an example of a renewed sense of Macanese identity launched the idea of a cultural homeland. The foundation stone of St. Paul's is engraved with the following: 'VIRGINI MAGNE MATRI, CIVITAS MACAENSIS LUBENS, POSUIT AN. 1602.' ('Great Virgin Mother, we the citizens of Macao dedicate this church to you.') 'CIVITAS MACAENSIS', in the most literal translation, could mean: 'Macanese city', although other translations take it to mean: 'Commonwealth Macanese'. However, the recognition by the Society of Jesus that a public space could be called 'Macaensis' suggests a commonly held belief that this was a community of people who identified themselves as 'Macanese', that is, as the people of Macao. This is one of the first documented references to both the physical and cultural nature of Macao as a cultural homeland.
- 33 Correspondence with Paul Ferraz Barretto, and archival materials found in 'The Jorge Forjaz Collection' of the Old China Hands archives at the California State University, Northridge.
- 34 Information on Leonardo d'Almada y Castro and his descendants was obtained at 'The Jorge Forjaz Collection' of the Old China Hands archives at the California State University, Northridge, from Forjaz's three volume study of Macanese families, Jorge Forjaz, *Famílias Macaenses*, and at the web site: www.macaesefamilies.com.
- 35 José Pedro Braga, *The Portuguese in Hongkong and China: Their Beginning, Settlement and Progress to 1949* (Macao: Instituto Internacional de Macau, 2013), Vol. 1, p. 132.
- 36 One of Noronha's protégés, Lisbello de Jesus Xavier, whose family also migrated from Goa to Macao, was trained at St. Joseph's and opened his own printing business in Hong Kong in 1888. Several years later, two of his sons married two Álvares sisters from Macao.
- 37 These calculations were made on the basis of information found in Jorge Forjaz's, *Famílias Macaenses*, Vol. 1, pp. 143-159.
- 38 These obstacles were evident to all inhabitants, including members of the British elite. In 1855 a Royal Navy officer described his compatriots as 'all more or less rowing the same boat ... striving to amass as many dollars as opportunity would admit ...' but 'absurdly snobbish', displaying 'much nonsensical narrow-mindedness and unsociability'. Frank Welsh, *A History of Hong Kong* (London: Harper Collins, 1997), p. 216.
- 39 See Fredric (Jim) Silva's article, 'A Nation of Bank Clerks'. *UMA News Bulletin*, Vol. 36, no. 43, 2013, pp. 20-22.
- 40 Within twenty years of their arrival, Macanese workers encountered both social and political barriers. In 1861 those obstacles were represented by the formation of the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce, which joined its political counterpart, the Hong Kong Legislative Council, established after the territory was declared a 'Crown Colony' in 1843. The Chamber was headed by representatives of Jardine Matheson & Co. for 19 years, by P & O Steam Navigation for 12 years, by Butterfield & Swire for 10 years, and by Turner & Co. for 10 years, respectively. Together the Chamber and the Legislative Council introduced a pattern of control virtually guaranteeing British interests would dominate Hong Kong throughout most of the 20th century. See Tak-Wing Ngo, 'Industrial History and the Artifice of Laissez-faire Colonialism', in *Hong Kong's History: State and Society under Colonial Rule*, edited by Tak-Wing Ngo (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 128.
- 41 The Jorge Forjaz Collection of the Old China Hands archives at the California State University, Northridge.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 José Pedro Braga wrote: 'Mr. Leonardo d'Almada e Castro had two daughters, the younger of whom entered the novitiate of the Canossian Sisters of Charity, and took the veil in 1878, assuming the name of Sister Anita; she died in Hongkong at the advanced age of ninety, in 1938'. José Pedro Braga, *The Portuguese in Hongkong and China*, Vol. 1, p. 127.
- 45 The following information can be found in José Pedro Braga, *The Portuguese in Hongkong and China*, Vol. 1, pp. 132-200.
- 46 A notable exception was Elvira Maria Álvares Marques, the daughter of Eugenio Marciano Álvares, a businessman from. Born in Lourenco, in 1897, Elvira began work as the personal secretary to Pedro José Lobo, a powerful businessman and politician in Macao around 1915. In the 1920's, she was hired by MELCO (the Electric Lighting Company), but not without opposition from the Bishop of Macao, who threatened her father with excommunication if Elvira accepted the position. Headstrong at a young age, she ignored the threat and began working for the firm shortly after. In a few years she was hired as the head female secretary at the Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce in charge of one hundred other Portuguese women. Material provided in an interview with her daughter, Margarida Álvares Savant, San Francisco, California, Oct. 2013.
- 47 Listed on Macanesefamilies.com.
- 48 See Paul Tsui Ka Cheung's Memoirs, *My Life and My Encounters*, at: <http://www.galaxylink.com.hk/~john/paul/paul.html>. Cheung adds: 'There used to be a special Choral Mass, with sermon in Portuguese at 8 am every Sunday. On (the) First Sunday of every month, there would be an indoor Procession of the Blessed Sacrament, at which, apparently only the Portuguese took part.... The most impressive of all the Processions were the ones on Passion Sunday in Lent, when a huge statue of Jesus carrying a Cross would be borne by several Portuguese Gentlemen, and a Brass Band playing Marches would follow it. A special preacher, apparently invited from Macao or elsewhere, would preach a sermon in Portuguese. It all gave an impression that it was a special Festival of Great Importance to the Portuguese Community.'
- 49 Fr. Gosano, *UMA News Bulletin*, Winter, 2012, pp. 1-5.
- 50 Alfredo Gomes Dias, 'The Origins of Macao's Community in Shanghai, Hong Kong's Emigration (1850-1909)'. *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies*, Vol. 17, 2008, pp. 197-224.
- 51 See the official history of Macanese painter Marciano Baptista provided by the government at: http://www.mam.gov.mo/photolist2.asp?prg_id=2004010101&lc=3&grp=6&name=Marciano%20Ant%C3%B3nio%20Baptista. Baptista's family lived in Canton for several generations until moving to in the 1820s. He was born in 1826 and moved to Hong Kong to marry a Macanese woman in the late 1840s. Baptista was taught by George Chinnery, a well-known Irish painter who lived in until his death in 1850..., and frequently travelled and painted throughout China, including Canton in the 1820s and 30s.
- 52 José Pedro Braga, *The Portuguese in Hongkong and China*, pp. 26-30.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Eduardo M. S. Xavier, 'The Portuguese in Business,' in J. M. Braga, *Hong Kong Business Symposium: A Compilation of Authoritative Views on the Administration, Commerce and Resources of Britain's Far East Outpost* (Hong Kong: South China Morning Post Ltd., 1957), p. 302.
- 55 José Pedro Braga, *The Portuguese in Hongkong and China*, 'Introduction.
- 56 See Frank Welsh, 'A Cultural Backwater', pp. 374-404, in *A History of Hong Kong*. The term 'Third Nationals' was used by the Japanese to designate neutral people who they allowed to evacuate to Macao. The occupation government also published a newspaper called *The Hongkong News*, which provided statistics on neutrals who remained in Hong Kong one year after the invasion. Copy in the author's files.
- 57 Macanese immigrants not only came from Hong Kong, but small groups were evacuated from Canton, Shanghai, and the Philippines.
- 58 Based on interviews conducted by the author in Los Angeles and San Francisco, California, from January 2012 to October 2013.
- 59 An account of the first visit is included in the *UMA News Bulletin*, Vol. 8, No. 6, Nov/Dec. 1984, pp. 2-3.
- 60 The strong connection between cultural and economic activities is supported in Macao and Hong Kong by organisations set up by the Chinese government, including the Association of the Thirteen Hongs, a trade group that sponsors cultural events in, and the Secretariado Permanente do Fórum para a Cooperação Económica e Comercial entre a China e os Países de Língua Portuguesa (the Permanent Secretariat Forum for Economic and Commercial Cooperation between China and Portuguese Speaking Countries), which encourages business and cultural exchanges with Portuguese-speaking countries in South America, Africa, and Southeast Asia.
- The study of Macanese history is still in its infancy, but currently suffers from a lack of primary archival materials and, at times, narrowly conceived historical analyses. My hope is that future scholars will provide wider-ranging studies that include genealogical, biographical, and historical materials which tell the stories of individual actors and their families who contributed to the development of Macanese culture.