

The Research History of *A Abelha da China*, China's First Foreign Newspaper

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ABSTRACT: Founded in 1822, *A Abelha da China* is regarded as the first modern newsprint of Macao. With a history of 200 years, however, the research history of this weekly newspaper only started in 1965, with Father Teixeira. Research articles on *A Abelha da China* were first published in Portuguese and English. *A Abelha da China* first appeared under the Chinese name 'Mifeng Huabao' (蜜蜂華報) in *History of Chinese Newspapers and Magazines* written by Gou Gong Cheng in 1927. However, *A Abelha da China* was briefly covered in only a few lines. It was only at the end of 1995 that an opportunity for an in-depth study of *A Abelha da China* emerged when Prof. Fang Hanqi from Renmin University was presented with a fac-simile edition of the newspaper. In 1996, Prof. Cheng Manli from Renmin University of China researched *A Abelha da China* for her doctoral dissertation. This article explores the following: the introduction of preliminary research and evaluation of *A Abelha da China* by Chinese scholars, the miraculous relationship between Prof. Fang Hanqi and *A Abelha da China*, and the difficulties Cheng encountered when she researched the newspaper. The article also touches on several controversies that arose from the study of *A Abelha da China*.

KEYWORDS: *A Abelha da China*; Portuguese newspaper in Macao; First foreign newspaper in China.

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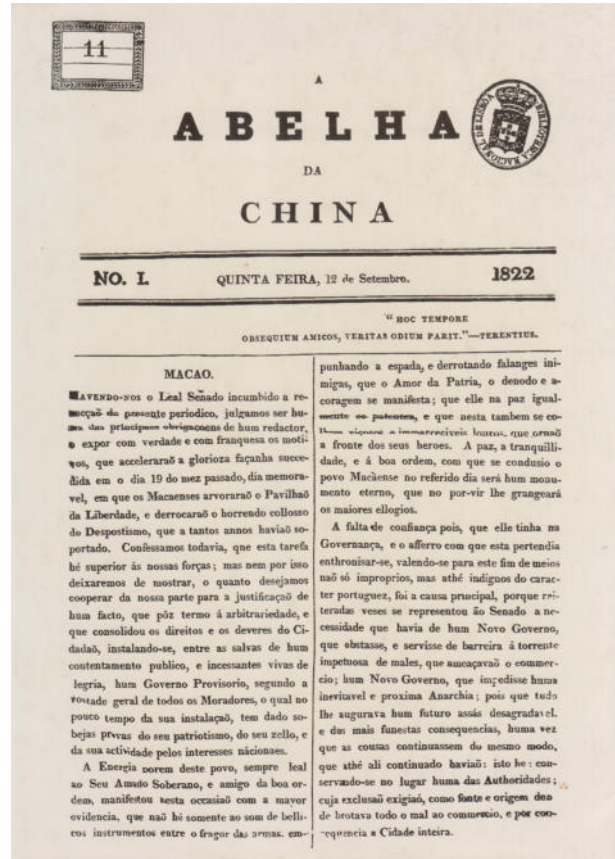
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Why should we study a Portuguese weekly that was published in 1822 with a small circulation?

According to Prof. Fang Hanqi from Renmin University of China, 'Foreigners engaged in newspaper production in China constitute a special chapter in the history of Chinese journalism. After *A Abelha da China*, foreign-run newspapers and periodicals published in China numbered quite a few hundreds [...] this is a subject worthy of research.'¹ Therefore, Fang entrusted the important research mission to one of his doctoral students, and affirmed the significance of this study. 'This monograph will have important reference value for the study of the history of Chinese journalism, the study of modern Chinese history, and the study of cultural communication history between China and foreign countries.'²

In the summer of 1998, Cheng Manli completed a case study on the Portuguese newspaper *A Abelha da China*. She began her statements by affirming the value of the newspaper as irreplaceable and unique in the history of Chinese journalism. In her doctoral dissertation, Cheng pointed out that *A Abelha da China* is characterised by historical values in journalism, that is, the first modern newspaper published in China, the first newspaper founded by foreigners in China, and the first newspaper in Macao's history.³

Macao historian Wu Zhiliang and journalism historian Camões C. K. Tam have studied *A Abelha da China* since the mid-1990s and published an article entitled 'Zhongguo lingtu shang de diyi fen waiwen baozhi: Aomen de puwen mifeng huabao (1822–1823)' (The First Foreign Language Newspaper of China: *A Abelha da China* (1822–1823) of Macao). The article spoke highly of the value of researching *A Abelha da China*. According to the article's conclusion, 'For scholars and experts who study the modern history of Macao, the changes in the political system of Macao, in the sovereignty of



The book cover of the fac-simile edition of *A Abelha da China* (1822–1823), published jointly by the University of Macau and the Macao Foundation in 1994.

Macao, and in the political development issues, the data recorded in the Portuguese *A Abelha da China* is definitely a treasure trove, and is worthy of further exploration by scholars and experts.'⁴

Prof. Li Changsen from Macao Polytechnic University, who has experience in journalism and translation, published *Jindai Aomen waibao shigao* (*Modern Macau Foreign Newspapers History*) in 2010. He summed up the significance of studying Macao foreign press from eight perspectives, the primary stated as 'complementing the previous studies on modern history of Macao through researching the emergence and development of foreign newspapers, as well as the historical and social background that contributed to the development of foreign media.'⁵ That is to say, in addition to its value in the history of

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journalism, *A Abelha da China* and related research on this newspaper complements the existing studies of Macao history from the perspective of public opinion.

1. HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON *A ABELHA DA CHINA*

A Abelha da China was originally a Portuguese newspaper that was founded due to the new regulation of the press under the influence of the Portuguese Constitution decreed in 1822. Naturally, the first batch of historical materials came from the research results of Portuguese historians and journalists. Only when these articles were translated into English or Chinese would Chinese scholars have the opportunity to read them. During the mid-1980s, in response to the political transition of Macao, the Portuguese government supported the Chinese–Portuguese bilingual education of local residents of Macao, hence there were a few scholars who could read Portuguese materials.

1.1 STUDIES OF PORTUGUESE RESEARCHERS

Research articles on the press in Macao and on Portuguese newspapers first appeared in Portuguese and English works, such as *Jornalismo em Macau* (Journalism in Macao) by Gabriel Fernandes⁶ and *The Beginnings of Printing at Macau* by J. M. Braga⁷. Since then, most of the information about *A Abelha da China*, whether in Portuguese or Chinese, is mostly quoted from the 1999 edition of *Imprensa Periódica Portuguesa no Extremo Oriente*⁸ (Portuguese Periodical Publication in the Far East) by Fr. Manuel Teixeira, a Macao historian. In one chapter of this book entitled ‘Early Newspapers in Macau’, Teixeira listed the data of the earliest newspapers in Goa, Macao, Angola, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, Guinea and other places. For example, *Gazeta de Goa* of Goa, India was founded on 22 December 1821, nine months

earlier than *A Abelha da China* of Macao⁹. This book provides the most complete materials about *A Abelha da China* in the Portuguese language literature. Also, Macao journalist João Guedes once introduced *A Abelha da China* in an article entitled ‘Yi chang geming, yi wei faguan he yi ge yongyu kenhuang de jizhe’ (A Revolution, a Judge and a Pioneering Journalist), which was published in 1993 in *Review of Culture* (Chinese Edition) published by the Cultural Institute of Macao (the present-day Cultural Affairs Bureau)¹⁰. In addition, in 1991, *Review of Culture* (English Edition) published five articles on journalism in mainland China and Macao, all referring to *A Abelha da China*.

1.2 STUDIES OF CHINESE RESEARCHERS

Gou Gong Cheng, the father of Chinese journalism history, published *Zhongguo bao xue shi* (*History of Chinese Newspapers and Magazines*) in 1927. When referring to Portuguese newspapers among the foreign newspapers, he says the following, ‘*A Abelha da China* was launched on 12 September 1822 (the first year during the reign of Emperor Daoguang). In 1824, it fell into the hands of a radical party and was renamed as *Gazetache Macao* [sic],¹¹ which ceased in the year after.’

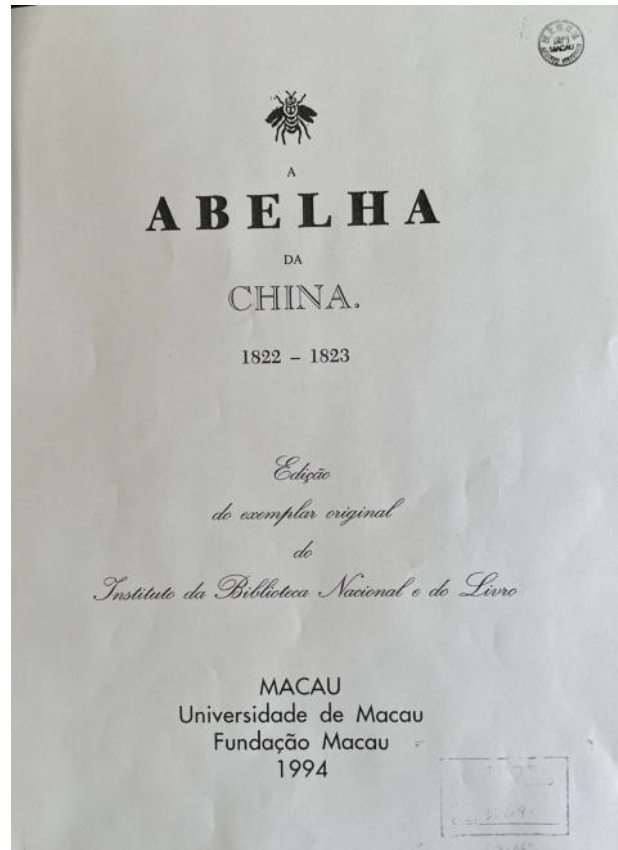
Taiwanese journalism historian Zeng Xubai described *A Abelha da China* in the *History of Chinese Journalism* published by San Min Book, ‘In terms of time, the Portuguese (*A Adelha da Chine* [sic], published in Macau in 1822) is regarded as the earliest foreign-language newspapers.’ Zeng added no new data, nor did he correct the existing mistakes, and he even misspelt ‘Abelha’ (meaning ‘bee’ in Portuguese) as ‘Adelha’.¹²

The *Zhongguo xinwen shiye tongshi* (*General History of Chinese Journalism*) edited by Fang Hanqi in 1992 is redeemed as the most complete journalism history in mainland China. It covered *A Abelha da China* as follows, ‘*A Abelha da China*,

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launched on 12 September 1822, was regarded as the first published newspaper, and the first foreign-language newspaper published in China. It was a weekly with several supplements. It functioned as the organ of the Portuguese Radical Party and a supporter of the current government. Editor-in-chief António as the leader of the Church of Macao as well as one of the leading members of Portuguese ruling party. In January 1824, the original ruling party was overthrown, so the newspaper was forced to stop. The editor-in-chief António fled first to Guangzhou, and later to Calcutta, India.¹³

In March 1994, the University of Macau and the Macao Foundation published a fac-simile edition of *A Abelha da China*, providing global scholars with an opportunity to access the full texts of the newspaper when conducting research. Since the newspaper was originally published in Portuguese, one has to overcome the language barrier to do research. Two scholars emerged to study the newspaper: one was Wu Zhiliang from the Chinese mainland who studied Portuguese as an undergraduate, and the other was Camões Tam, a native of Macao, who earned his Ph.D. from Chengchi University of Taiwan, and was exposed to the Catholic Church and Portuguese language since childhood. These advantages allowed both of them to work with better effect when researching the newspaper. In 1995, they shared their research on *A Abelha da China* in a seminar at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. In July 1998, they published an article entitled 'The First Foreign Language Newspaper of China: *A Abelha da China* (1822–1823) of Macao' in *Mass Communication Research* of Taiwan. This is the first academic article written in Chinese that focuses on *A Abelha da China*. Afterwards, Agnes Lam and Tang Io Weng, two doctoral students studying in Beijing, mentioned *A Abelha da China* in their papers and affirmed the scholarly value of the newspaper.



The inner page of the fac-simile edition of *A Abelha da China* (1822–1823).

2. THE CONNECTION BETWEEN FANG HANQI AND *A ABELHA DA CHINA*

In 1992, Fang Hanqi and Ning Shufan from Fudan University jointly established the China Journalism History Society, and Fang served as the first and second president of this organisation. During the 1990s, he launched a major project about writing the *General History of Chinese Journalism* through the platform of the journalism major of Renmin University of China. It was finally completed in 1992, with two volumes, and a total of more than 1,110 pages.

When reading Gou's *History of Chinese Newspapers and Magazines* just before the liberation (1949), Fang first heard of *A Abelha da China*. In this pioneering work about the history of Chinese journalism, Prof. Fang read about a brief

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introduction to *A Abelha da China*, which was just a few lines of less than 30 Chinese characters apart from the year and the name of this newspaper. That was everything that he knew about *A Abelha da China* before 1995.

In 1995, Camões Tam travelled to Beijing to visit Prof. Fang and presented him with a hardcover copy of *A Abelha da China*, photocopied and republished by the University of Macau and the Macao Foundation. Except for one lost issue, this copy was a complete collection of all the published issues of *A Abelha da China* from the public and private libraries in Macao and Portugal.

Fang wrote in 1998, 'I was overjoyed, because finally I was able to touch this newspaper with my own fingers and appreciate it with my own eyes. No longer yearning from afar, it was right in front of me. There was possibility to study it finally. However, it was a pity that one could not have insight into its meaning without a good command of Portuguese.'¹⁴ Later, Fang referred to some articles about *A Abelha da China* written by scholars from Hong Kong and Macao and gained a little more understanding of the newspaper. He also learnt that there were quite a few errors in the description of the newspaper in published monographs on the history of Chinese journalism. For instance, four errors were identified in the 30-character introduction of *A Abelha da China* included in *History of Chinese Newspapers and Magazines* by Gou.¹⁵

With these new discoveries, Fang felt an imminent need to invest human resources in a thorough study of *A Abelha da China*. Therefore, he suggested Ms. Cheng Manli, one of his doctoral students, to research *A Abelha da China* for her dissertation in journalism history. On one hand, Prof. Fang appreciated her courage, on the other hand, he worried whether she would be able to accomplish the task, as there were two salient challenges: the language barrier and the shortage of related research materials.

3. THE CASE STUDY BY CHENG MANLI ON A ABELHA DA CHINA

How could a doctoral student in Beijing carry out a research with nothing but a fac-simile edition of *A Abelha da China* and some incomplete materials covered in *General History of Chinese Journalism* by Fang?

For Cheng, then associate professor of Renmin University of China, the year 1998 was a rather busy one. Apart from taking on the usual teaching workload, Cheng was a mentor to some master's degree students, and had to complete her doctoral dissertation as well. She was engaged in journalism learning, teaching and research since she stepped onto the first campus in Chongwen district of Renmin University of China in 1978. After graduating from university in 1982, she was assigned to work for *Beijing Daily* for a year, and then returned to Renmin University in pursuit of a master's degree, specialising in theories of journalism. She has devoted herself wholeheartedly to journalism education since 1986. During this period, she went to Leningrad University of the Soviet Union as an exchange scholar and engaged in the research of journalism in the Soviet Union. It was due to her solid linguistic knowledge of Russian during her high school and university days, and a good command of English in the 1980s, that Fang entrusted this challenging task to Cheng. At the time, she felt overwhelmed. For one thing, she didn't have a clue how to overcome the language barrier. For another, it was an extremely unpopular research topic at the time.

According to Cheng's recollection, she had to brace herself to seek help from two teachers from Beijing Foreign Studies University (BFSU). After three months, she mastered a basic knowledge of Portuguese. Equipped with instructions from the two language teachers, her assiduous efforts and two Portuguese–Chinese dictionaries, she

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accepted the research topic suggestion by Prof. Fang without hesitation and conducted an unprecedented academic research on a foreign-language weekly, which yielded rich fruits in May 1998: her doctoral dissertation.

Her research on *A Abelha da China* covered the following: the newspaper coverages, the subject matter, the style, the communication methods of the newspaper, the editors and the distribution methods. What's more, there remained three points to be resolved:

- 1 Why did this newspaper emerge in 1822 rather than in an earlier or a later year?
- 2 Why was the first newspaper established in China published in Portuguese?
- 3 What made it possible for a modern Portuguese newspaper to survive in the context of China?

Through independent learning, consultation with professors from BFSU and with journalists from Xinhua News Agency, and the assistance of the dictionaries, Cheng read through *A Abelha da China* page by page. One of the dictionaries was worn out during the process. According to our conversation in 1998, she expressed that sometimes she felt so stressed at the sight of the Portuguese materials that she wished she could just drop the research paper and have a good rest. All her efforts and diligence paid off when her doctoral dissertation of 180,000 words was successfully approved and the Macao Foundation agreed to publish it. Her thesis about *A Abelha da China* had gap-filling significance in the history of journalism in China and in Macao, and laid a solid foundation for subsequent researchers.

Cheng's overall evaluation of *A Abelha da China* is as follows, 'It is characterised by three contributions — the first modern newspaper published in China, the first newspaper founded by foreigners in China, and the first newspaper in Macao history.'¹⁶ As the workload of teaching



Prof. Fang Hanqi (middle) in an academic activity at Peking University, autumn 2008. Photo by author.

and work made it difficult for Cheng to come to Macao, she missed the opportunity to understand the city in person, thus failing to collect data from the Portuguese newspapers and periodicals during the same period and later for comparison, which in turn made her research even more challenging. She says, 'After completing this research, I'll drop it and turn to focusing on other tasks, with the hope that my efforts will act as a catalyst to stimulate further researchers to carry out further in-depth studies, including comparative studies between *A Abelha da China* and other domestic Portuguese newspapers at that time, or between newspapers published in 1822 and those afterwards, or between *A Abelha da China* and other newspapers published in Portuguese and English in China.'¹⁷

4. CONTROVERSIES OVER THE STUDIES OF *A ABELHA DA CHINA*

The publication of research results about a newspaper is not only the end of one process, but can act as the starting point of another one. Although the significance of research on *A Abelha da China* by Cheng is widely recognised, there remain three differences about the study of *A Abelha da China* among Chinese scholars.

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4.1 IS *A ABELHA DA CHINA* THE FIRST NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN MACAO?

The scholars of journalism history on both sides of the Taiwan Strait, including Cheng, generally believe that *A Abelha da China* was the first newspaper published in Macao. However, Agnes Lam from the University of Macau points out that there could have been an indefinite periodical *Diário Noticioso* (News Daily) in St. Joseph's Seminary before 1822. She mainly quotes from the literature of Teixeira and Macao historian Beatriz Basto da Silva. In *Arquivo da Diocese de Macau* (Macao Diocese Archive), compiled by Teixeira, the text concerning *Diário Noticioso* goes as follows:

[Translation by author] *As part of the Archives of St. Joseph's Seminary, Diário Noticioso ran from 4 June 1807 to 3 October 1834. It was published anonymously, but from reading it through, it could be concluded obviously that Fr. [Joaquim José] Leite was the editor.*¹⁸

There are five historical materials related to *Diário Noticioso* in *Cronlogia da História de Macau* (Chronicle of Macao History) (1998). Its editor, Beatriz Basto da Silva, admitted that she did not have access to the originals, and all her statements were based on the diocese archives. After analysing the materials of Teixeira and Silva, Agnes Lam was inclined to believe that this publication was only circulated within the seminary and among very few departments and groups.

According to the analysis of the above-mentioned historical materials, Agnes Lam characterises *A Abelha da China* as 'the first newspaper that appeared in Macao immediately after the lifting of the ban on newspaper publication in overseas provinces.'¹⁹ It is also the earliest newspaper published in Macao and the

earliest foreign newspaper in China, the original copy of which has been discovered. After a comprehensive analysis of the historical materials by Teixeira and Silva, as well as the studies by Lam, the author believes that *Diário Noticioso* might have been published and circulated in a limited scope in the seminary, but it cannot be regarded as a general publication with modern significance. In addition, the original documents have not been found, and all that exists is the written record about the newspaper. With the absence of *Diário Noticioso* in a tangible sense, this article still regards *A Abelha da China* as the first modern newspaper in Macao.

4.2 CHINESE TRANSLATION OF *A ABELHA DA CHINA*

Originally, there was no Chinese name for the Portuguese newspaper *A Abelha da China*, which could be translated literally as 'bee of China' in English. It was first translated into Chinese when Gou Gong Cheng made the brief introduction of the newspaper. I believe that the Chinese translation of *A Abelha da China* dates back to the introduction, as it says, "A Abelha da China" (translated as 蜜蜂華報) was launched on 12 September 1822 (the first year during the reign of Emperor Daoguang). In 1824, it fell into the hands of a radical party and was renamed as "Gazetache Macao" [*sic*], which ceased in the year after.²⁰

In his article 'The First Foreign Language Newspaper of China: *A Abelha da China* (1822–1823) of Macao', Camões Tam mentioned that Taiwanese journalism historian Zeng Xubai once adopted the Chinese translation of Mifeng Huabao (蜜蜂華報) in his *Chinese Journalism History* published in 1977. Tam believed the republications of *The History of Chinese Newspapers and Magazines* in both Chinese mainland and Taiwan never made any supplements or revision to the original introduction of *A Abelha da China*. That is to

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say, the subsequent editions have inherited the statement of Mifeng Huabao (蜜蜂華報). As one of the earliest Chinese scholars who accessed to the newspaper, Tam adopted the translated name of Mifeng Huabao (蜜蜂華報) when he researched the newspaper in the mid-to-late 1990s.

In *General History of Chinese Journalism*, Volume 1 (published in September 1992), chief editor Fang Hanqi continues to use this translation. Because of the great influence of Fang and publications on the history of journalism by the scholars from Renmin University of China, most mainland scholars have since adopted the translated name in *General History of Journalism in China*.

In 1993, the Cultural Institute of Macao published a special topic collection in *Review of Culture* (Chinese version), including five articles concerning the Macao news industry, two of which were directly related to *A Abelha da China*. The authors of the articles, Manuel Teixeira and João Guedes, a TV editor from TDM, are both Portuguese. Since both of them wrote in Portuguese, the translator of RC translated *A Abelha da China* into Zhongguo Mifeng (中國蜜蜂) and Zhongguo Zhifeng (中國之蜂), respectively. These two translations are quite close to the later Zhongguo Mifengbao (中國蜜蜂報) by Li Changsen.

In her doctoral dissertation on *A Abelha da China*, Cheng Manli adopted the translation in *General History of Chinese Journalism* — Mifeng Huabao. *A Abelha da China* was translated as Zhongguo Zhifeng (中國之蜂) in the Volume III of *Chronicle of Macau*, edited by Wu Zhiliang and others in 2009,²¹ and as Zhongguo Mifengbao (中國蜜蜂報) in *Modern Macau Foreign Newspapers History* by Li Changsen from Macao Polytechnic Institute (the present-day Macao Polytechnic University) in 2010.

Jin Guoping, who has studied history of Macao and Chinese–Portuguese translation for

decades, discusses the Chinese translation of *A Abelha da China* in his article ‘*A Abelha da China* estudada na Macaologia’ (*A Abelha da China* in Macaology), which is scheduled for publication this year. The author of this article is honoured to have access to part of the manuscript and gains some insight into his view. He cites the three general standards for translation proposed by Yan Fu — fidelity, comprehensibility, and elegance, emphasising fidelity over comprehensibility and elegance. Jin suggests two translations, Huafeng Bao (華蜂報) and Huafeng Zhoubao (華蜂周報) based on semantic perspectives and agricultural taxonomy of Asian bees. He uses and highly recommends the translation of Huafeng Zhoubao (華蜂周報) in his article.²²

In general, there are four major Chinese translations of ‘*A Abelha da China*’ since 1927:

- 1 Mifeng Huabao (蜜蜂華報) by Gou Gong Cheng;
- 2 Zhongguo Mifeng (中國蜜蜂) and Zhongguo Zhifeng (中國之蜂) respectively by translators of the *Review of Culture*;
- 3 Zhongguo Mifengbao (中國蜜蜂報) by Li Changsen;
- 4 Huafeng Zhoubao (華蜂周報) by Jin Guoping.

According to the original meaning of the Portuguese ‘*A Abelha da China*’, the translation by Li, the most updated suggestion by Jin sounds more appropriate. However, Chinese researchers may not easily adapt to translations other than Mifeng Huabao. There are two main reasons: firstly, Mifeng Huabao has been adopted for such a long time, and *General History of Chinese Journalism* has far-reaching academic influence; secondly, the publication of *Mifeng huabao yanjiu* (Research on *A Abelha da China*) by Cheng, which is regarded as the most specific case study of *A Abelha da China*, has reinforced the adoption of Mifeng Huabao.



Prof. Cheng Manli (middle with a bouquet) with her Ph.D. and master's graduates at the Commencement Ceremony of the Journalism and Communication School at Peking University, 2013. Photo by author.

4.3 THE STAGING OF MACAO PRESS HISTORY

Although the staging of Macao press history is not the focus of research about *A Abelha da China*, it is a perspective that cannot be ignored, because it is natural for a press history to experience a starting point, development and different stages. In his work *Modern Macau Foreign Newspapers History*, Li Changsen sorted out the three staging methods and divided Macao press history from 1822 to 1999 into four stages.

According to Li, Lo Koon Cheung and Camões Tam divided the press history into three stages based on its natural state of the development:

the beginning stage (1822–1911), the transition stage (1911–1949) and the flourishing stage (1949–present). This staging method means to link the development of Macao press industry with the process of modern Chinese history. The second staging method comes from Agnes Lam based on Macao–Portugal relationship, which includes four stages: the first stage (1822–1910, the overthrow of the absolute monarchy and founding of republic), the second stage (1910–1930, years of political turmoil), the third stage (1930–1974, the dictatorship period), and the fourth stage (1974–present, from the Carnation Revolution until today). Cheng Manli proposed

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a third staging method based on the concept of colonisation, which includes three stages: the 'quasi-colonial' stage (1822–1887), the 'colonial' stage (1887–1999) and the reunification stage after the Handover (1999–present/future). This staging method is different from the previous two in the concept of colonisation and the Chinese perspectives.²³

By integrating the credibility of the above three methods, Li Changsen summarised four stages according to the historical background of China and Portugal, and their influence on Macao society: the first stage (1822–1849), the second stage (1849–1911), the third stage (1911–1949), and the fourth stage (1949–1999).²⁴ Three dividing years were identified: 1849, 1911 and 1949. It was in 1849 that Ferreira do Amaral, then Governor of Macao, was assassinated, before then the Portuguese rulers had full control over Macao. In 1911, the 1911 Revolution broke out in China and the Republic of China was established. 1949 saw the birth of New China — People's Republic of China.

This article lists the above four staging methods to provide a new perspective for further exploration, the perspective of media censorship. In her unpublished master's thesis 'Research on Contemporary Macao News Management System' (2021), Hao Na proposed that news management could be divided into four periods. The first period (1822–1936) was about the Portuguese government lifting the ban on publishing and granting freedom of the press. The second period (1937–1974) was the period of the press censorship. The third period (1975–1989) enjoyed liberal press environment as the Carnation Revolution gained freedom of speech and press, but there was still a lack of comprehensive legal regulations. The fourth period (1990–1999/future) was the period of legal localisation with the practice of press law and broadcast law in Macao.²⁵

CONCLUSION

This article systematically sorts out the research process of *A Abelha da China*, especially the related scholarship conducted in Chinese, so as to make a modest contribution to the further studies of foreign press in Macao. Although this article presents the three major controversies among Chinese scholars, further research needs to be conducted to obtain in-depth research findings or innovative ideas on these academic controversies. This article does not aim to provide a final answer, but rather to present various perspectives for future researchers. It affirms that the study of foreign newspapers is very important to the history of journalism in Macao, which can provide supplementary perspectives about the history of journalism in China. For example, the existence of Portuguese newspapers indicates that foreign newspapers in China have a third trend besides religious newspapers and business newspapers — political press. As news today will become the historical materials of tomorrow, the scripts of the press releases of that period reflect the political situation in Portugal and Macao, thus providing materials concerning political, economic, cultural and socio-historical perspectives. A case in point is 'Huigui hou Aomen yingwen meiti fazhan chutan' (A Preliminary Study on the Development of English-language Media in Macao after the Handover to the People's Republic of China) by Tang Io Weng,²⁶ which reflects the relationship between the industrial structure, population composition, crisis awareness and the development of English-language media in Macao. Scholars of journalism history who study foreign newspapers in Macao can focus on case studies, and also conduct comparative studies of journalists and newspaper editorial teams, so as to reflect the political and social significance. Scholars may also explore the history of journalism thoughts, or the study of media management systems. **RC**

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NOTES

- 1 Hanqi Fang, "Mifeng Huabao yu Zhongguo baoye shi," *Aomen zazhi*, no. 7 (December 1998): 90–91.
- 2 Fang, "Mifeng Huabao yu Zhongguo," 90–91.
- 3 Manli Cheng, *Mifeng huabao yanjiu* (Macao: University of Macau; Macao Foundation, 1998), 1–4.
- 4 Camões C. K. Tam and Zhiliang Wu, "Zhongguo lingtu shang de di yi fen waiwen baozhi: Aomen de puwen mifeng huabao (1822–1823)," *Xinwenxue yanjiu*, no. 57 (Autumn 1998): 223.
- 5 Changsen Li, *Jindai Aomen waibao shigao* (Guangzhou: Guangdong People's Publishing House, 2010), 4.
- 6 Gabriel Fernandes, "O Jornalismo em Macau," *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* 8, no. 5 ([1888–1889]): 235.
- 7 J. M. Braga, "The Beginnings of Printing at Macao," *STVDIA*, no. 12 Separata (July 1963): 29–137.
- 8 The first edition of *Imprensa Periódica Portuguesa no Extremo Oriente* was published in 1965, the second in 1999 by the Cultural Affairs Bureau.
- 9 Manuel Teixeira, *Imprensa Periódica Portuguesa no Extremo Oriente* (Macao: Instituto Cultural, 1999), 5–11.
- 10 João Guedes, "Yi chang geming, yi wei faguan he yi ge yongyu kenhuang de jizhe: Zhongguo Mifeng de duanxun," *Review of Culture* (Chinese Edition), no. 11–12 (1993): 27–32.
- 11 Gong Cheng Gou, *Zhongguo bao xue shi* (Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing, 2011), 78.
- 12 Tam and Wu, "Zhongguo lingtu shang," 214.
- 13 Hanqi Fang, ed., *Zhongguo xinwen shiye tongshi*, vol. 1 (Beijing: China Renmin University Press, 1992), 282.
- 14 Fang, "Mifeng Huabao yu Zhongguo," 90.
- 15 Errors occurred in the edition published in 1927 and remained uncorrected in two reprinted versions.
- 16 Cheng, *Mifeng huabao yanjiu*, 1–4.
- 17 The author of this article interviewed Cheng Manli in 1998, and the interview script was published in *Macao Magazine*. Io Weng Tang, "Cheng Manli keku gongjian, jie chu 'Mifeng Huabao' yanjiu chengguo," *Aomen zazhi*, no. 7 (December 1998): 89.
- 18 The original Portuguese text is, 'Este *Diário*, que pertence aos Arquivos do Seminário de S. José, vai de 4 de Junho de 1807 a 3 de Outubro de 1834. Não tem o nome do autor, mas pela leitura depreende-se claramente que foi o Pe. Leite que o redigiu.' Manuel Teixeira, *Arquivos da Diocese de Macau*, vol. 1 (Macao: Tipografia da Missão do Padroado, 1970), 113.
- 19 Agnes Lok Fong Lam, *Zhongguo jindai baoye de qidian: Aomen xinwen chubanshi (1557–1840)* (Macao: Instituto Cultural; Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press (China), 2015), 113.
- 20 Gou, *Zhongguo bao xue shi*, 78.
- 21 Zhiliang Wu, Kaijian Tang and Guoping Jin, eds., "Qing zhongqi (1760–1844)," in *Aomen biannianshi* (Guangzhou: Guangdong People's Publishing House, 2009), 3:1413–1415.
- 22 Guoping Jin, "A *Abelha da China* Estudada na Macaologia," in "A *Abelha da China* nos Seus 200 Anos: Casos, Personagens e Confrontos na Experiência Liberal de Macau" (Lisbon: CCCM, 2022), 15–21.
- 23 Li, *Jindai Aomen waibao*, 14–19.
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- 25 Na Hao, "Research on Contemporary Macao News Management System" (Unpublished, master's thesis, MUST, 2021).
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