

Sustainable Governance and Community Building in the Name of ‘Macaenese’: A Review on *A Abelha da China*

LAM IOK FONG*, WONG HIO IONG**

TRANSLATED BY XIE HANYU***

ABSTRACT: The Portuguese-language weekly *A Abelha da China*, established in 1822, played the role of a party organ affiliated with the ruling party, conducting extensive political debates between royalists and constitutionalists of the time. Simultaneously, it served as a journalism vehicle, providing commercial information and promoting community integration. This duality is extremely relevant to understanding the dynamics of the foreign community in Macao at that time, as well as the interactions among various groups. As a pioneer among the newspapers published by the Portuguese in Macao, this periodical carries a significant load of partisan political discourse about the identity of the ‘Macaenses’,¹ highlighting the political ties of *Tou Sang Pou Ian* (Macaenses), in between Macao and Portugal. This print press is the oldest found so far that openly addresses the identity of the ‘Macaenses’, revealing that the identity issue of the native Portuguese in Macao was already a subject of heated debates in the public sphere in the early 19th century. Moreover, it indicates the existence of a Portuguese Macanese community with a solid internal identity during this period, guided by inner common rules, where a dual-allegiance for Macao and the homeland (Portugal) constituted the central pillars of its identity.

KEYWORDS: *A Abelha da China*; Function of the newspaper; *Tou Sang Pou Ian*; Identities; Portuguese residents in Macao.

* Lam Iok Fong, associate professor of Department of Communication and Director of Centre for Macau Studies of the University of Macau.

** Wong Hio Iong, master in Portuguese as a Foreign Language/Second Language at the Catholic University of Portugal.

*** Xie Hanyu, master's student in Portuguese Language and Intercultural Studies at the University of Macau.

Lam Iok Fong, professora associada do Departamento de Comunicação e Diretora do Centro de Estudos de Macau da Universidade de Macau.

Wong Hio Iong, mestre em Português Língua Estrangeira/Língua Segunda pela Universidade Católica Portuguesa.

Xie Hanyu, estudante de mestrado em Língua Portuguesa e Estudos Interculturais, na Universidade de Macau.

1. LITERATURE REVIEW

*If the inhabitants and the piece of the Island of Macao constitute part of the family and territory of Portugal, and if the inhabitants of Macao become part of the Portuguese family, are they subject to paying in general the same duties, taxes, etc., as the Portuguese in Portugal and in Brazil?*²

This is a question raised by a reader to the newspaper *A Abelha da China* (hereafter referred to *Abelha*), published in the 'CORRESPONDENCIA' section of the periodical. Questions related to the identity of the *Tou Sang Pou Ian* (*tusheng pu ren* 土生葡人) or the Portuguese residents in Macao are recurring in *Abelha*. However, there is a shortage of studies that have analysed the role of the newspaper in identity construction of the local Portuguese communities or Portuguese residents in Macao.

The significance of the Portuguese-language weekly *Abelha* (1822) in the history of modern Chinese press and Portuguese political development has been a subject of academic research. In the narrative of Chinese journalism, *Abelha* has long been regarded as the first foreign (Portuguese) and modern newspaper published in China.³ Although some researchers have raised doubts about its designation as the 'first', it has only been suggested the possibility of changing it to 'the first newspaper published in Macao that original can be found.'⁴ Furthermore, the few existing studies have primarily focused on analysing the role of the newspaper as a driving force in modern Chinese press.⁵ The only academic publication in the Chinese language that conducted a more detailed content analysis of *Abelha* is Manli Cheng's book — *Mifeng hua bao yanjiu* (《蜜蜂華報》研究). In this work, the author categorises the newspaper's content into 48 categories based on the headlines of the news and subsequently

focuses on two main categories: news genres and non-news genres.⁶ However, it is important to note that the book is limited to categorising and describing the newspaper's content, with a particular emphasis on describing the party politics involved in *Abelha*, highlighting the political and combative nature of the periodical.

The first academic work that analyses the content of *Abelha* was carried out by Portuguese historian José Maria Braga in the 1930s, titled 'O Início da Imprensa em Macau'.⁷ Braga categorised the content of *Abelha* into eight categories: (1) Official documents from the Ministers of Foreign Affairs on topics related to China; (2) Opinions on the Royal Judge; (3) Letters from the Governor of India to the Leal Senado; (4) Correspondence related to the arrival of the warship *Salamandra* in Macao; (5) Letters from citizens to the Leal Senado; (6) Meeting minutes of the Leal Senado; (7) Letters from the Governor of Goa about Macao and Portugal; (8) Extracts from newspapers in Paris, London, New York, among others, regarding the political situation in Portugal and other matters.⁸

Before the establishment of the Macao Special Administrative Region, studies began to emerge considering *Abelha* as a crucial document for recording the emergence of liberalism in Portugal in the 19th century. In his research on the history of print press in Macao, Neves emphasised the newspaper's essential function as a crucial document in the political conflicts between Liberals and Absolutists among Portuguese inhabitants of Macao during the early 1800s.⁹ Since Neves's research was published, sporadic studies on *Abelha* have emerged, such as Pablo Magalhães's research on the founder of *Abelha*, Paulino da Silva Barbosa, which focuses solely on analysing the newspaper's relationship with political parties.¹⁰

This article will analyse the functions of the media, as well as the concepts of identity by

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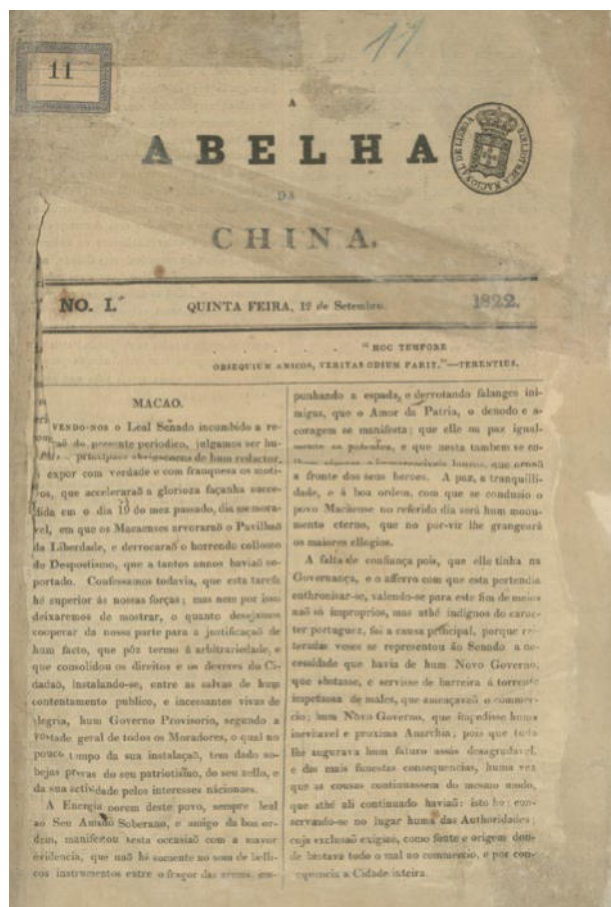


Fig. 1: First issue of *Abelha*, 1822. Source: National Library of Portugal, digitised copy number: j-11-b.

investigating the content of *Abelha*. The discussion will focus on how this newspaper, employing the identity concept of ‘Macaense’, contributes to the construction of identities for *Tou Sang Pou Ian* and Portuguese residents in Macao, and the formation of ethnic imagination, aiming to achieve governance objectives.

2. MACAENSES, MACAISTA, TOU SANG POU IAN AND PORTUGUESE RESIDENTS

In the inaugural issue of *Abelha*, published on September 12, 1822, the terms ‘Macaista’, ‘Macaenses’, and ‘povo macaense’¹¹ (meaning Macanese or Macanese community) already appeared

with strong ethnic connotations.¹² They were used to describe their main readers of the time — the Portuguese-speaking community residing in Macao.

Based on existing research, this article aims to explore the function and meaning of the notion of identity in the Portuguese terms ‘Macaenses’ (including ‘povo macaense’) and ‘Macaista’, both can be translated as ‘*Ou Mun Ian*’ (澳門人, people of Macao), as they frequently appear in *Abelha*. Graciete Nogueira Batalha, researcher in Macanese language, in the special issue no. 20 of the *Review of Culture* titled ‘OS MACAENSES’, explains the definitions of ‘Macaenses’ and ‘Macaista’, two terms related to Macanese Portuguese identity:

Filhos da terra *or* filhos de Macau – filo Macau, *as yet spoken of by the very old – must have been for centuries and still are here, current expressions used by the locally born Portuguese, thus making their own distinction from either the metropolitan Portuguese or the Chinese from Macao. We have no clues as to when the expression Macaense was first used, but it is clear that it is a modern word and one of educated influence. As far as Macaista is concerned, it can be found in Creole texts of the last century, not in the sense of ‘native of the land’, but as an adjective, meaning something peculiar of Macao, especially the Language.*¹³

According to Batalha’s testimony, ‘Macaenses’ is more commonly used to refer to ‘native Portuguese of Macao (*Tou Sang Pou Ian*)’, while ‘Macaista’ can be translated as ‘*Ou Mun Ian*’ but is a term used by the Portuguese community to refer to Portuguese in Macao, thus also carrying the connotation of *Tou Sang Pou Ian*.

Which groups of people are ‘Macaenses’, ‘Macaista’, and *Tou Sang Pou Ian* referring to? The Portuguese scholar Ana Maria Amaro’s work

Filhos da Terra — the earliest study on the origins of Macaenese, makes the argument that Macao's population can be divided into three groups: European Portuguese, Macanese or Portuguese from Macao, and Chinese. Each group has its own cultural traits and does not interact with the others.¹⁴ Additionally, Amaro points out that it has long been a misconception that some scholars define *Tou Sang Pou Ian*¹⁵ as Eurasian offspring of Portuguese and Chinese descent and consider that the expression should be understood as the offspring of Portuguese men and other Asian women (not limited to Chinese, but also including Malay, Indian, Japanese, and other ethnicities).¹⁶ Manuel Teixeira, on the other hand, argues that *Tou Sang Pou Ian* should be the descendants of intermarriage and reproduction between Portuguese men and Chinese women, with a significant portion of Chinese ancestry in the population.¹⁷

In addition to the concept of *Tou Sang Pou Ian*, António M. Jorge da Silva believes that the Portuguese residents in Macao can be further divided into three distinct groups: (1) Portuguese who settled in Macao in its early historical period; (2) Their descendants who have lived in Macao for several centuries; (3) Portuguese who crossed the oceans to govern this place of residence and the Church in Macao. Some of them only stayed briefly in Macao due to their duties, while others integrated into the local community through intermarriage and played roles as societal elites, participating in social affairs

such as the Leal Senado.¹⁸ Among these individuals, the group of Portuguese residents in Macao who has a certain social status and actively participate in politics is precisely one of the demographics represented by the founder of *Abelha*, Paulino da Silva Barbosa, and its readership. Therefore, the subject of this study is the Portuguese-speaking ethnic groups residing in Macao at that time — 'Macaenese' and 'Macaista'. Although both can be translated as '*Ou Mun Ian*', within the Chinese-language context of discussing Macao's ethnic groups, these two terms encompass what Batalha defines as *Tou Sang Pou Ian* and what António defines as 'Portuguese residents in Macao'.

A Abelha da China was launched on September 12, 1822, and ceased publication on December 26, 1823, after a total of 67 issues. According to *Macao e a Sua População, 1500–2000 Aspectos Demográficos, Sociais e Económicos*, the Chinese population in Macao was approximately 18,000 in 1826. By 1830, the total population of Macao was around 34,000, with 30,000 being Chinese.¹⁹ Due to the categorisation of the population data in the book into two main groups — Chinese and Christian populations, the closest available data for the population of *Tou Sang Pou Ian* and Portuguese residents in Macao should be the Christian population in April 1822, 4,315 people in total. They were concentrated in the Freguesia da Sé and Freguesia de São Lourenço, forming the primary readers of *Abelha* (see Table 1).

Parish	Male		Female	Slave	Total
	14 and above	Under 14			
Sé	289	251	1,342	248	2,130
São Lourenço	256	170	1,058	236	1,720
Igreja de Santo António	59	52	301	53	465
Total	604	473	2,701	537	4,315

Table 1: Christian population of Macao in April 1822. Source: Direcção dos Serviços de Estatística e Censos, *Macao e a Sua População, 1500–2000 Aspectos Demográficos, Sociais e Económicos*, 1998, 102.

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Fig. 2: Portrait of Miguel José de Arriaga Brum da Silveira (1776–1824), unknown author. Source: Wikimedia, [https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ficheiro:Retrato_do_Dr._Miguel_Jos%C3%A9_d%27Arriaga_Brum_da_Silveira_\(PNM_7466\).png#/media/Ficheiro:Retrato_do_Dr._Miguel_Jos%C3%A9_d%27Arriaga_Brum_da_Silveira_\(PNM_7466\).png](https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ficheiro:Retrato_do_Dr._Miguel_Jos%C3%A9_d%27Arriaga_Brum_da_Silveira_(PNM_7466).png#/media/Ficheiro:Retrato_do_Dr._Miguel_Jos%C3%A9_d%27Arriaga_Brum_da_Silveira_(PNM_7466).png)

The small Portuguese community of just over 4,000 people constituted the distinct faction within *Abelha*. The royalist faction, led by *Ouvidor* (Lord Chancellor of the Realm) Miguel de Arriaga Brum da Silveira, and the constitutional faction, led by Major Barbosa, were the two prominent groups. Both parties, at different times, held control over the administration of Portuguese Macao, and each had its influence over *Abelha*. The 54th issue of the publication contains the turning point. The constitutional side ruled the period prior to this one, and the Royalist party took control of the press beginning with the mentioned issue.

3. OU MUN IAN AS RHETORIC OF GOVERNANCE: THE CONSTRUCTION OF MACAENESES' IDENTITY THROUGH *ABELHA*

Since the publication of his book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*,²⁰ Benedict Anderson has been

criticised by some scholars for the theory in 'EuroAmerica-centric' perspective.²¹ His concept of 'Imagined Communities', including the role of print media in constructing nationalism, has been widely adopted in the study of nationalism and the concepts of communication and identity. German scholar Hartmut Wessler, in his study on the social integration of ethnic minorities, suggests that mass media, during the process of social integration, may create a 'Symbolic Community' based on shared cultural values and a sense of belonging.²² In the following discussion, the concept of media having a role in constructing community will be applied to summarise and describe the content of *Abelha*. This analysis aims to explore how *Abelha* contributes to the identity construction of the term 'Macaeneses'.

From the arrival of the Portuguese in Macao in the 16th century until the founding period of *Abelha*, the Portuguese residents in Macao had gradually established a mature self-governing institution known as Leal Senado within the community. In its early days, the Leal Senado served as the highest autonomous authority for the Portuguese residents in Macao, combining judicial and administrative powers. However, in 1783, the Portuguese Royal Family issued the *Providências Régias*, which strengthened the powers of the *Capitão-Geral* (governor) and *Ouvidor*. This drastically reduced the importance of the Leal Senado.²³ Influenced by the turbulent global political landscape of events such as the French Revolution in 1789 and the Spanish Revolution in 1820, the Portuguese Constitutional Assembly passed the *Bases da Constituição* in 1821, declaring the abolition of feudal privileges. In response to these global changes, Macao embarked on a constitutional movement on August 19 in 1822, led by Barbosa, the leader of the Constitutionalist party, with the aim of establishing a constitutional monarchy.

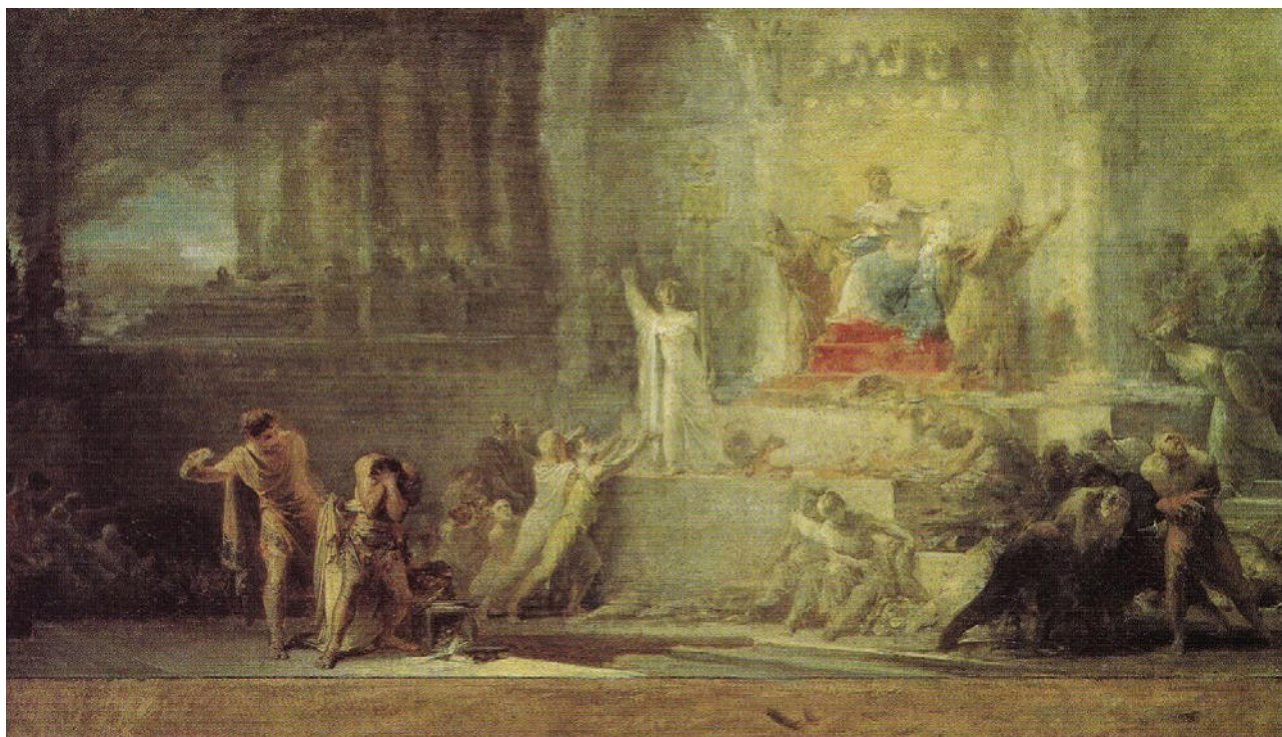


Fig. 3: *Allegory to the Constitution of 1822*, by Domingos Sequeira, 1822. Source: National Museum of Ancient Art of Portugal, https://www.europeana.eu/item/02030/MatrizNet_Objectos_ObjectosConsultar.aspx_IdReg_249009

One month later, on September 12, 1822, *Abelha* was founded. The newspaper adopted the name *Abelha* (Bee) because the constitutionalists considered the press as a political tool to 'sting' the conservatives, exposing their political enemies.²⁴ The inaugural statement, using the term 'Macaeneses', expressed support for the Constitutionalist party's provisional government, emphasising that all reforms initiated by the provisional government were fundamentally in the interest of the 'Macaeneses'.

*How much we desire to cooperate on our part for the justification of a fact that put an end to arbitrariness, consolidated the rights and duties of the Citizen, installing, amidst salvos of public contentment and incessant cheers of legitimate joy, a provisional government, according to the general will of all the Residents [...]*²⁵

This was the first time that the term 'Macaeneses' was associated in the public literature with the political disputes between the Macaenese and Portuguese residents, and an attempt was made to deliver an operational memory as 'participants in the constitutional monarchy'.

While advocating for the constitutional faction, the founders of *Abelha* also placed significant importance on maintaining connections with the Portuguese communities in Macao and Portugal. The editorial of the inaugural issue of *Abelha* emphasised:

At the same time, we also aim to introduce to our compatriots the enthusiasm displayed by the people of Macao in the upheaval against authoritarian rule, as well as the loyalty and activities of the newly established wise

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*provisional government. We seek to explain to the people of Macao their specific rights and duties and, finally, point out the various improvements that this city can expect. These are our objectives. We will not overlook the news related to Portugal, both domestic and international. Furthermore, we earnestly request our compatriots to share your thoughts with us, and we hope that you will assist us in accomplishing our mission and lightening our burden.*²⁶

These contents not only clarify the local identity of *Tou Sang Pou Ian* and the Portuguese residents in Macao as ‘Macaenese’ but also emphasise the importance of the connection with Portugal. Furthermore, in the editorial of the inaugural issue, the overthrow of the Royalist party’s power by the provisional Constitutional government is defined as ‘patriotic action’:

The noble people who are eternally faithful to the country, upholders of good social order, their enthusiasm in this event is fully evident [...] The peace, tranquillity, and good order demonstrated by the people of Macao on that day will stand as an eternal monument, praised by generations. The lack of trust from the public towards the government, and the government’s stubbornness, even resorting to the means that are not only inappropriate but despicable to the Portuguese, to maintain its rule, is the primary cause (of triggering this event)[...]’²⁷

Through this set of discourses, the founders of *Abelha* on the one hand governed Macao in the name of the ‘Macaenese’, while also declaring allegiance to Portugal, and further extending the definition of ‘povo Macaense’ to ‘Love of the Fatherland

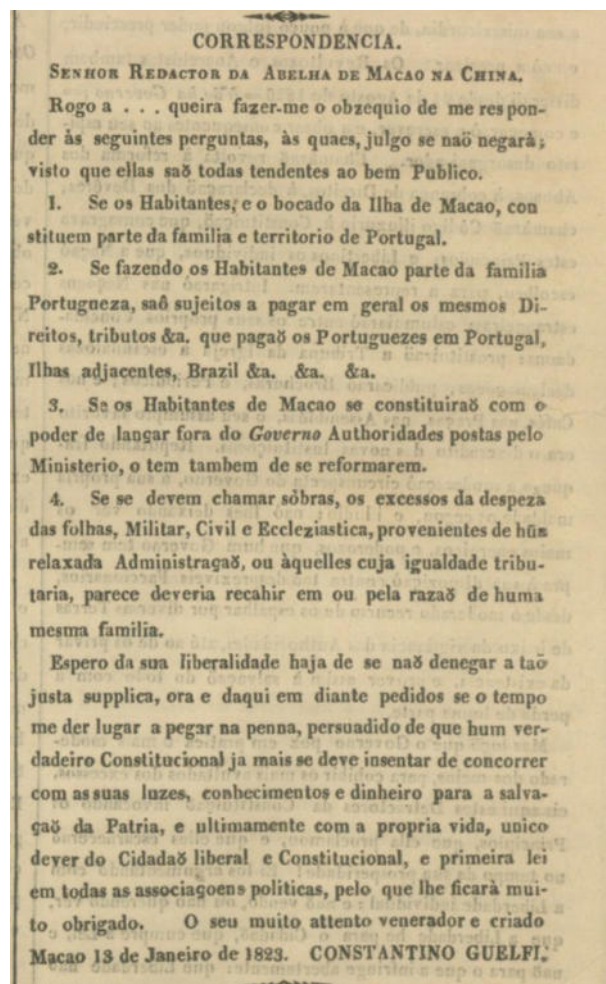


Fig. 4: Captain Guelfi's letter in issue no.19 of *Abelha*, 1822. Source: National Library of Portugal, digitised copy number: j-11-b.

(*Amor da Patria*). This identity as ‘friends of the fatherland (*amigos da Patria*)’ corresponds to building a composite identity value for both Macao and Portugal, which is recognised by both places. While constructing the identity of *Ou Mun Ian*, it not only distinguishes itself from other Portuguese but also emphasises its *Patriotismo* and loyalty to the motherland.

This composite identity value of the native Portuguese expressing recognition for both Macao and Portugal has sparked discussions among readers. For instance, in the 19th issue of *Abelha*, a letter to

the editor from Constantino Guelfi, the captain of the ship *Nossa Senhora da Piedade e São José Igigúá*, was published. In his letter, he raised four questions, initiating discussions: (1) Are the residents of Macao considered members of the Portuguese national family? (2) If so, are the residents of Macao obligated to pay taxes like those in Portugal and Brazil? (3) Do the residents of Macao have the right to expel government authorities or reform governmental institutions? (4) If the government has excess expenditures in military, civil, and religious affairs, will these expenses be borne by Portuguese taxpayers?²⁸

The editor of the newspaper later responded to Captain Guelfi's letter in issue no. 20, stating that: 'Residents of Macao belong to the Portuguese family [...] and have the same rights as all Portuguese citizens'.²⁹ This response is tantamount to establishing the political legitimacy of composite identity values in the position of citizen.

Due to political environment changes, *Abelha* has been controlled by the royalists since issue no. 54. Although its political stance has indeed changed rapidly, the identity recognition of *Ou Mun Ian* has not diminished. After the royalists took over the operation of the newspaper, although it continued to criticise the constitutionalists, the identity of 'Macaenses' they constructed is similar to that of the latter one, which is a complex identity value system that simultaneously identifies with both Macao and Portugal. Taking the example of an anonymous reader's letter titled 'Discurso do Macaista Original' published in the 58th issue, the writer, from the perspective of 'Macaenses', considering political and social interests, expresses support for the royalists and categorises constitutionalists as *outros*.

These people, by forming cliques everywhere, confuse the public, take advantage of situations, and indulge in wanton derogation and defamation of dissenters. In order to

*develop their own parties, they incite trouble and discord in Macao society, sow discord, and delude themselves into thinking that they can solidify their organisational base through such means.*³⁰

The editorial published in issue no. 54 also pointed out that: 'The evil actions of the rebel leaders who attempted to lure the people of Macao into committing the crimes of defying the orders of the Goa government mentioned in issues no. 17, 18, and subsequent editions of this newspaper should no longer be concealed'.³¹ From this, it can be seen that, starting from the 54th publication, members of the constitutionalist faction were described as *outros*, intending to harm the interests of 'Macaenses' and undermine the relationship between this group and Portugal.

Subsequently, *Abelha* published several letters primarily critiquing the governance of Barbosa's Constitutional government, such as the 'DISCURSO do Philantropo Macaista' published in issue no. 62 and the serialisation of 'Exposição dos sentimentos de hum Patriota' in issues no. 60, 63, and 64. The content of these letters predominantly accuses Barbosa himself and his government of unlawful conduct during their administration:

*No true Macanese patriot can observe without emotion the injustice with which Major Paulino da Silva Barbosa, in his Petition of September 26, seeks to impute to the Macanese people the criminal deeds of which only he was the author [...] The love for my homeland and the zeal for the honour of my Macanese brethren, attacked by this unjust accusation, compel me to raise my voice and make it resound to this esteemed public that the Macanese people never positively contributed to such atrocities.*³²

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These words not only intertwine the dual concepts of love for Macao and love for the nation but also, through the usage of expression 'true Macanese patriot', attempt to erase the action memory of 'participants in the constitutional movement' previously attributed to Macanese identity and emphasise 'the Macanese people never positively contributed'. Additionally, in the readers' letters section of issues no. 60 to 65, there were successive appearances of letters and speeches criticising the constitutionalists. Issue no. 64's 'The Government's Proclamation Commending Citizens for Their Loyalty to the Law and to the King' even defines supporting the monarchists as 'Patriotismo'.

From the aforementioned content, it is evident that both the royalist and constitutionalist factions have imbued their partisan ideologies and actions into the identity of 'Macanese', thereby seeking legitimacy for their factional ideologies, actions, and governance. Consequently, 'Macanese' is perceived as a form of governance rhetoric in their eyes. It is noteworthy that regardless of whether the political stance is royalist or constitutionalist, love for Macao and love for the nation consistently constitute the core of identity as 'Macanese' in the newspaper *Abelha*, indicating that changes in political stance have little consistent impact on the identity of 'Macanese' for *Tou Sang Pou Ian* and the Portuguese residents in Macao at that time.

Extensive discussions surrounding the identity symbols of 'Macaista' and 'Macaeneses' in *Abelha*, particularly the textual exchanges between readers and editors, constitute significant primary documents for the study of identity recognition of *Tou Sang Pou Ian* and the Portuguese residents in Macao. These discussions underscore the enduring interest and research devoted to the issues of *Tou Sang Pou Ian*'s identity recognition, with intense debates emerging as early as the early 19th century in public discourse. Within the construction of

identity recognition for *Tou Sang Pou Ian* and the Portuguese residents in Macao, the collective historical experiences and cultural criteria reflected by this group can be understood as a form of collective 'one true self'.³³ *Tou Sang Pou Ian* utilises 'selves' as the subject, delineating and defining a unique identity recognition within the ethnic group through shared historical experiences, customs, ethnicity, and class, among other cultural symbols, and thereby distinguishing 'others' (objects). From the content of *Abelha*, whether it be the editorials during the constitutionalist-dominated period or the appellations used during the royalist-dominated period after issue no. 54, both employ terms such as 'Macaenses' or 'Macaista' imbued with symbolic significance. This, on the one hand, separates *Ou Mun Ian* as the subject from other groups symbolising the object. On the other hand, it carries also implications of a localised identity recognition within it.

4. COMMUNITY LIFE WITH MULTIPLE ALLEGIANCES AND CONSTRAINTS

Abelha, founded by the constitutionalists, stands as a politically explicit periodical with the dual functions of an official gazette and a party newspaper. Each issue includes political information such as government documents, council decrees, and meeting records. Given that the constitutionalists, led by Barbosa, supported the constitutional revolution in Portugal in 1821 and adhered to Portugal's liberal constitution, *Abelha* has been, from its inception, a public platform for political discourse, publishing citizens' political opinions and anonymous letters as personal comments. The construction of the identity connotation of *Ou Mun Ian* by *Tou Sang Pou Ian* and the Portuguese residents in Macao, as demonstrated in the previously mentioned texts of reader letters and editor responses, is rooted in the public discourse space provided by *Abelha*.

Those founders of *Abelha* not only regarded the newspaper as an open public space but as the official newspaper of the provisional Constitutionalist government, it could also be regarded as an 'extension of the regime'. The council managed by the constitutionalists convened several times in *Abelha*, discussing topics related to the 'participation of the government', openly summoning all citizens to attend meetings at the Leal Senado or express their personal opinions in writing. In the 51st issue of the newspaper, a political participation notice was issued, wherein the Leal Senado openly consulted the citizens on seven issues concerning political, educational, and military aspects, among others, and urged all citizens to respond in writing. Specific issues included queries regarding political matters such as '(1) whether changes should be made to the existing political system, and from which aspects such changes should be initiated',³⁴ or discussions on educational planning such as '(2) how to formulate education plans that are most closely aligned with the current social situation and are effective for students (both male and female)'.³⁵ Additionally, committees were established to discuss the opinions expressed by citizens in written or oral form. From this, it is apparent that the political landscape during the dominance of the constitutionalists encouraged citizen participation and governance. At that juncture, *Abelha* stood as a publication with a clear political stance, offering residents an open platform for political discourse.

This culture of engaging readers and citizens in political discourse persisted until the 54th issue, even after both the newspaper and political power underwent changes. Following the ascendancy of the monarchists, the 58th issue featured a letter attributed to 'J. J. B', titled 'Qual he a origem do Carcundismo, e o modo de o extirpar'.³⁶ The letter predominantly criticised individuals who advocated for authoritarianism at that time, specifically those

aligned with Miguel de Arriaga Silveira, who were in control of the newspaper at that period.

In an authoritarian government, each individual strives solely for their own survival, while the rulers remain indifferent and unrestrained in their destruction of both natural resources and the rights of the people.³⁷

De facto, the internal conflicts within this Portuguese community based on different political ideologies can be seen as a form of 'internal freedom', allowing *Tou Sang Pou Ian* and the Portuguese residents to distinguish themselves from other ethnic groups symbolising the 'other'. However, this internal freedom is established within the framework of numerous external behavioural norms.

Anderson, in his discourse on the origins of nationalism, posits that the emergence of nationalism in late 18th-century Europe demands to be examined within larger cultural frameworks such as Religious Community and Dynastic Realm.³⁸ The consciousness of the 'Macaense' ethnic group, as articulated by *Tou Sang Pou Ian* and the Portuguese residents, is not only evident in the overt political factionalism depicted in *Abelha*, but also exists within the relatively concealed macro systems mentioned above.

Following the enactment of *Providências Régias*, the Portuguese Royal Family and the Governor of Portuguese India replaced the predominantly local Leal Senado, becoming the primary authority governing the Macanese population. Consequently, among the Macanese community, there emerged a gradually reinforced identification with the Portuguese monarchy through the *Ouvidor*, a process elucidated in *Abelha*. The *Ouvidor*, Miguel de Arriaga Brum da Silveira, appointed by the Governor, instigated a coup after the arrival of the constitutionalists, leading to his expulsion from Macao by the Leal Senado

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Fig. 5: St. Dominic's Church was the printing venue of *Abelha*, by the Dominicans. *St. Dominic's Church*, by George Smirnoff (1903–1947). Source: National Library of Portugal, digitised copy number: PL-9200-P.

under Barbosa's control. Subsequently, the warship *Salamandra* dispatched by Governor Joaquim Mourão Palha arrived in Macao in June 1823, aiding Miguel de Arriaga in reclaiming power.

The journal *Abelha* contains a total of 46 articles, notices, and correspondence related to the warship *Salamandra*. In addition to letters concerning the political struggles between the Governor of Portuguese India and the Leal Senado, one document published in the 47th issue is a letter from the Treasurer and Superintendent (*Procurador*) of Macao to the Viceroy of Guangdong Province (*Vice-Rei de Cantão*), providing detailed reasons for the dispatch of the warship *Salamandra* to Macao by the Governor of Portuguese India.³⁹ From these published

materials in *Abelha*, it is evident that the Macanese residents were clearly threatened by the military force of the Governor of Portuguese India, who represented the Portuguese monarchy, as well as affected by the *Ouvidor's* advocacy of Portuguese royal identity.

In addition to its political landscape, the Macanese population, predominantly Roman Catholic, adhered to shared religious norms. During the publication period of *Abelha*, Macao's Christians were experiencing the pontificate of Pope Pius VII, as evidenced by the 'COPIA DA BULLA PONTIFICIA' (original dated January 16, 1822) published in the 21st issue, which pertained to fasting and indulgences during Catholic festivals. Subsequent issues also featured discussions by the editor and the Bishop of Macao on how to adaptively implement the Pope's Encyclical in Macao according to local circumstances.⁴⁰ Moreover, the Leal Senado at the time often incorporated religious music as a primary element in celebratory events, as indicated in a council announcement in the 17th issue, which can be seen that religious practice at that time was also part of political life:

*The Leal Senado, in furtherance of its support for constitutionalism and upon receiving uplifting news from the vessel novo paquete do Rio, hereby issues an announcement for the illumination of the city and the shotgun in salute on the evenings of the 5th, 6th, and 7th of this month. Additionally, on the morning of the 6th, the Te Deum will be performed at the Cathedral of Macao.*⁴¹

In summary, based on the foundation provided by *A Abelha da China*, an analysis of the early 19th century reveals that the Portuguese-descended community in Macao, self-identified as 'Macaeneses' or 'Macaista' (whether represented by *Tou Sang Pou Ian* or the Portuguese residents),

constituted an evident religious community with shared religious practices and observances. Simultaneously, they were subject to the influence and constraints of decrees and military forces from the Portuguese monarchy and its representatives. With the emergence of constitutionalist and monarchist political ideologies, combined with local political developments in Macao, this group of *Ou Mun Ian* found themselves constrained by various external forces while also needing to balance these forces under the banner of 'Macaeneses'. It was within this complex interplay of politics and religion that *Tou Sang Pou Ian* and the Portuguese residents, through the public sphere created in *Abelha*, engaged in debates and discourses, thereby discovering, constructing, and deepening their self-identity under the name of 'Macaeneses'. At the core of this identity was an affection for Macao

and the homeland (Portugal), demonstrating their connection to Macao, Portugal, and the cultural practice of Christians. On this basis, their political stance was subject to change, with internal spaces for free political discourse. However, this unique identity, whether situated in historical context or within the social dynamics of Macao, resembles Stuart Hall's analysis of identity as continuously positioned within social relations shaped by history and culture, existing in a state of fluid positioning.⁴² The impact of this community identity, found in the pages of *Abelha* from the early 19th century, remains difficult to conclusively determine at present.

* This article is a translation of 林玉鳳、黃曉蓉，〈以“Macaeneses”（澳門人）之名維繫管治與建立社區——《蜜蜂華報》再研究〉，*Review of Culture* (Chinese Edition), no. 116 (2022), 6–15. **RC**

NOTES

- 1 The meaning of this expression is also relatively controversial in Chinese, but it is now widely recognised that it generally refers to the Macao-born native Portuguese — Translator note.
- 2 *A Abelha da China: 1822–1823*. Edição do exemplar original do Instituto da Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro (Macao: Universidade de Macau; Fundação Macau, 1994), 74.
- 3 Gongzhen Ge 戈公振, *Zhongguo bao xue shi* 中國報學史 (History of Chinese Journalism) (Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 1955), 81; Hanqi Fang 方漢奇, ed., *Zhongguo xinwen shiye tongshi: diyi juan* 中國新聞事業通史：第一卷 (General History of Journalism in China: Vol. 1) (Beijing: China Renmin University Press, 1992), 271; Manli Cheng 程曼麗, *Mifeng hua bao yanjiu* 《蜜蜂華報》研究 (Macao: Macao Foundation, 1998), 1–3.
- 4 Iok Fong Lam 林玉鳳, *Zhongguo jindai baoye de qidian* 中國近代報業的起點 (The Beginning of the Modern Chinese Press History) (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 2015), 103–129.
- 5 In addition to the aforementioned studies by Gongzhen Ge, Hanqi Fang, Manli Cheng and Iok Fong Lam, there is also a study which analyses the impact of *Abelha* on China's modern press by Dianhong Zhao 趙殿紅, “Mifeng hua bao de chuanguan he Aomen jindai baoye de fazhan 《蜜蜂華報》的創辦和澳門近代報業的發展,” *Jinan xuebao (zhixue shehui kexue ban)* 暨南學報（哲學社會科學版）*Jinan Journal (Philosophy & Social Sciences)*, no. 6 (2006): 73–77.
- 6 Cheng, *Mifeng hua bao yanjiu*, chap. 4.
- 7 J. M. Braga, “O Início da Imprensa em Macau,” in *Boletim Eclesiástico* (Lisbon: Arzobispo Castrense de España, 1938).
- 8 João Alves das Neves, *A Imprensa de Macau e as Imprensas de Língua Portuguesa no Oriente* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1999), 93–94.
- 9 Neves, *A Imprensa de Macau*, 93.
- 10 Pablo Magalhães, “Paulino da Silva Barbosa. O Baiano que Liderou a Revolução Constitucional em Macau e Criou o Jornal *A Abelha da China* (1822–1823),” *Afro-Ásia*, no. 51 (2015): 275–310.
- 11 *A Abelha da China*, 1–2.
- 12 *A Abelha da China*, 1–2.
- 13 G. N. Batalha, “Language of Macao Past and Present,” *Review of Culture* (English Edition), no. 20 (1994): 131–156.

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- 14 A. M. Amaro, *Dadi zhizi: Aomen tusheng pu ren yanjiu* 大地之子: 澳門土生葡人研究, trans. Guoping Jin 金國平 (Macao: Cultural Institute of Macao, 1993), 9.
- 15 In his translated version of Amaro's book *Filhos de Terra*, Jin explained that the term 'Filhos da terra' is referred to as *Tou Sang* (土生) in general Chinese colloquial language, with meaning of 'local' or 'native'.
- 16 Amaro, *Dadi zhizi*, 9–10.
- 17 Manuel Teixeira, "Aomen tusheng pu ren de youlai 澳門土生葡人的由來," *Review of Culture* (Chinese Edition), no. 20 (1994): 197.
- 18 António M. Jorge da Silva, *Kuayue wenhua yu shikong de pu ya ren: Aomen pu yi de yanhua* 跨越文化與時空的葡亞人: 澳門葡裔的演化, trans. Ip Hou Nam 葉浩男 (Hong Kong: Chung Hwa Book Company, 2019), 5.
- 19 *Macau e a Sua População, 1500–2000 Aspectos Demográficos, Sociais e Económicos* (Macao: Direcção dos Serviços de Estatística e Censos, 1998), 99.
- 20 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2016).
- 21 Partha Chatterjee, "Whose Imagined Community?" *Millennium* 3, no. 20 (1991): 521–525.
- 22 Hartmut Wessler, "Multiple Differenzierung und Kommunikative Integration — Symbolische Gemeinschaften und Medien," in *Integration und Medien. Mediensymposium Luzern*, vol. 7, ed. K. Imhof, O. Jarren and R. Blum (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2002), 56–76.
- 23 Kaijian Tang 湯開建, "Aomen yishihui de qiyuan fazhan yu shuailuo: 1583–1865 澳門議事會的起源、發展與衰落: 1583—1865," *Aomen yanjiu* 澳門研究 *Journal of Macau Studies*, no. 81 (2016): 83–103.
- 24 Cheng, *Mifeng hua bao yanjiu*, chap. 3.
- 25 Cheng, *Mifeng hua bao yanjiu*, appendix.
- 26 Cheng, *Mifeng hua bao yanjiu*, appendix.
- 27 *A Abelha da China*, 1.
- 28 *A Abelha da China*, 74.
- 29 *A Abelha da China*, 77.
- 30 *A Abelha da China*, 247–249.
- 31 *A Abelha da China*, 229.
- 32 *A Abelha da China*, 263.
- 33 Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. J. Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), 222–237.
- 34 *A Abelha da China*, 41.
- 35 *A Abelha da China*, 41.
- 36 *A Abelha da China*, 69–70.
- 37 *A Abelha da China*, 69–70.
- 38 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 11.
- 39 *A Abelha da China*, 201–204.
- 40 *A Abelha da China*, 79–82, 96–101.
- 41 *A Abelha da China*, 66.
- 42 Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," 226.

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Street Scene with Merchants Selling Wares, ca. 1843, by George Chinnery. Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, accession number: B1977.14.4173.