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‘Relics’ and ‘historical memories’ in Macao’s Portuguese press: *O Macaista Imparcial* (1836–38) and José Baptista de Miranda e Lima (1782–1848)¹

ABSTRACT

This article deals with the contribution of Macao Portuguese newspapers to the dissemination of sources, themes and works of a historical nature, often called antiguidades (‘relics’) and memorias historicas (‘historical memories’) and the politicization of historiographical text – a vast but practically unexplored topic that deserves an independent study. The approach is exploratory and descriptive, being first a non-detailed inventory of the theme, proposing a transversal reading of the press, the study of which is often focused on a chronological/thematic description of the various newspapers and magazines. A cross analysis was also carried out of the serials’ historical contents highlighting the writer/editor’s influence in selection, appropriation and dissemination of this same memories,

KEYWORDS

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O Macaista Imparcial
historiography
historical recurrence
José Baptista de
Miranda e Lima
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patoá (‘patois’)

1. All quotations from Portuguese sources, newspapers and books were translated into English by the author and Dr Conceição Carvalho, who also assisted with the translation of the article. A final English-language revision was made by Dr Adrian John Davis (MPI). Critical reading and help on the Chinese language was provided by Professor Vivian X. Zang 臧小華 (MPI). Professor Duarte Braga and, especially, the MPI Librarian, Dr Aster Chan 陳慧紅 were also of much help in providing a copy of an article by Hélder Garmes, and University of Saint Joseph's head librarian Dr Francisco Peixoto was very supportive in solving bibliographical issues, all deserving the author's gratitude. Space limitations obliged the author to remove all original Portuguese texts quoted and translated in this article, and to simplify the references as much as possible.

compared with their individual historiographical writings and political and cultural intervention. Space constraints limit the present article – the first of a series under the general heading ‘relics’ and ‘historical memories’ – to the first half of the nineteenth century and to the newspaper O Macaista Imparcial (‘The impartial Macanese’) published between 1836 and 1838. Diversified historic news were found in the serial compiled by José Baptista de Miranda e Lima (1782–1848), a Portuguese and Latin grammar teacher as well as prominent and controversial figure of early liberalism in Macao. Being one of the first known authors to write in the Macanese creole, or patoá (‘patois’), he also used ethnic arguments in political reasoning, which deserves to be better explored. The present article concludes that the historical recurrence brought into the pages of O Macaista Imparcial is a traditional and foundational narrative of Macao’s exceptional and atypical characteristics, built and maintained under the Portuguese banner and, thanks to the perseverance, ability and skills of those in the terrain, deserving of recognition and of reward.

INTRODUCTION

The present article is part of a broader research effort into the sources and historiography of Macao in western languages and deals with the contribution of Portuguese newspapers to the dissemination of sources, themes and works of a historical nature. Despite the abundance of evidence, this is a vast but practically unexplored topic and therefore deserves an independent research approach.

Accordingly, in view of a broader analytical framework, beyond the politicization of historiographical text and its construction by means of historical recurrence, my aim is to describe how the Macao Portuguese press from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries contributed to historical, documentary and historiographical writing, research and promotion. In other words, trying to understand how the press shaped public opinion in the light of historical narratives and created the idea that it was the disappearance and destruction of original documents that led to the lack of a ‘real’ and serious history of Macao, which was in urgent need. Some ideas have survived to the present day, but they have deep roots in the lack of documents that in turn obscures the origins and the status of Macao, topics that, since the mid-eighteenth century, have been further researched (Sena 2015a, 2015b). Such concerns – often motivated by official Chinese pressure and/or ‘foreign’ (referring in this context to non-Portuguese westerners) contestation – cyclically removed dust from old documents piled up in the Senado (Senate, City Council) and other institutions (from which they were sometimes extracted) while searching for any document legitimizing Portuguese possession of Macao, which was never successful.

The approach taken in this research is neither exhaustive nor predominantly analytical, but rather exploratory and descriptive, being first a non-detailed inventory of the theme. The author proposes a transversal reading of the press from the 1830s to the 1970s, the study of which is often focused on a chronological/thematic description of the various newspapers and magazines. The aim is to study the contribution of the press to Macao’s historiography and construction of a memory of Macao’s history. To do so, the researcher will cross-analyse the historical content of various serials with their editors/main contributors’ efforts towards sources’ preservation, individual historiographical

writings and supportive political and cultural interventions, side by side with the resources they created or made use of to accomplish their goals.

This research also intends to trace the local impact of two historiographical narratives on Macao produced by 'foreign' authors. One narrative, considered the first historical synthesis on Macao (but also the object of strong criticism from the early twentieth century until recently), *An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China and of the Roman Catholic Church and Mission in China and Description of the City of Canton*, is briefly addressed in this article. The Swedish merchant and long-time Macao resident Andrew (Anders) Ljungstedt (1759–1835) authored that seminal and influential text in 1836. Draft versions appeared from 1831 to 1834 in the pages of 'foreign' journals such as *The Canton Miscellany* and *The Chinese Repository*, printed between Macao and Canton. The other narrative is the chronological record of Rev. J. C. Thomson,² M. D., 'Historical landmarks of Macao', published from May 1887 to April 1889 in another magazine, *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*. Significantly, the work started to be published in May 1887 when the negotiations of the Treaty of Friendship between Portugal and China were still taking place. After decades of talks, that convention signed in Beijing on 1 December 1887 (ratified on 28 April 1888) enshrined the longed-for title of legitimizing the Portuguese presence in Macao, although this was still limited, as revealed by Saldanha (2006). While the works by Ljungstedt and Rev. Thomson discussed the question of the sovereignty of Macao, the present author intends to identify all the significant references, comments, reactions and criticisms, including the publication of excerpts/Portuguese translations and how they were used. It will help to trace the impact of such writing on Macao's press and public opinion in parallel with the growing Portuguese claims over Macao. However, due to chronological and historical reasons, that case study will only become significant when dealing with newspapers published from the mid to late-nineteenth century onwards.

Space constraints limit this article – the start of a series under the general heading 'relics' and 'historical memories' – to the first half of the nineteenth century and to the newspaper *O Macaista Imparcial (MI)* ('The impartial Macanese'), to which I had incomplete direct access as explained below. This newspaper was published between 9 June 1836 and 18 July 1838,³ and from 5 July 1837 renamed *O Macaista Imparcial e Registro Mercantil* ('The impartial Macanese and mercantile register'). The collection existing in Macau, at the Senado Library, only covers the year that lasts from July 1837 to July 1838. However, extracts of some of the missing issues and reprints in the third Series of the *Arquivos de Macau (AM)*, from August 1977 (volume XXVIII, no. 2) to January 1978 (volume XXIX, no. 1) were read. In this regard, the effort of Manuel Teixeira (1912–2003) when in charge of the *AM* to complete the newspaper's existing collection in Macao, mainly making use of José Maria (Jack) Braga's (1887–1988) private collection, deserves recognition, despite the fact he was unable to reproduce all and the complete issues.

For the remaining numbers, transcripts, quotations and descriptions found in the works by Alves (2000) and Pires (2015) were used, with the latter listing the existing collections found in libraries in Portugal and Macao.

BRIEF CRITICAL REVIEW OF MACAO PRESS STUDIES

To the best of this author's knowledge, Macao press studies were initiated in a short essay by Fernandes (1888–89), in articles by Braga (1963) on the

2. Most probably the American medical missionary Dr Joseph C. Thomson (1853–? after 1919) who reached China in 1883 and settled for some time in Macao around 1886.
3. Authors do not agree on those dates for reasons that space limitations prevent me from discussing. According to my critical reading of the originals whenever possible, those are the accurate dates for the *MI*'s publication. A very last issue dated 24 July 1838 mentioned by Pires (2015: 115) quoting *The Chinese Repository* of 1843 needs further exploration.

4. The list was later updated; see Macao Public Library (2016).

beginnings of printing in Macao/Canton, published in the 1930s and 1960, in a few unquoted and sparse contributions by Charles Boxer, and in the useful publications by Manuel Teixeira ([1965] 1999). This last one, originally published in 1965, is the first enlarged descriptive survey of Macao newspapers and magazines, its contents being extended to those published by Macanese communities in the Far East and to some English-language titles. It includes a useful compilation of data on their owners, directors, editors, collaborators, editorial houses and, in some cases, political and cultural purposes and commitments, although a critical stance is taken to remove contradictory data and inaccuracies, too well known to explain here.

Actually, one needs to wait until this century to see major works entirely focused on the topic and reaching a greater depth. It is worth noting that the book authored by Alves (2000), due to its methodological approach and analytical precision, considers the role of the press in the shaping of public opinion vis-à-vis Macao's political, economic, social and cultural evolution, which contrasts with the predominantly descriptive (and sometimes biased) nature of Manuel Teixeira's work. Since it is a dictionary, the descriptive angle is still present in Pires (2015), a balanced work – although not without a few factual inaccuracies – based on a laborious and well-structured research that surveys, locates, describes and analyses Portuguese and English titles published in Macao/Canton during the nineteenth century. The alphabetical index – so often avoided by Portuguese editors, but also found in José Augusto dos Santos Alves' book – and the listing of titles make it a very friendly and basic reference work.

Within the much broader scope of Macao's culture and education in the nineteenth century, Mesquita (2000) deserves to be highlighted as it comprehensively overviews and contextualizes local press and editorial activity, as happens with Garmes' (1997–98, 2015) works that focused on the literary text found in Macao's periodicals. It is also worth noting that the topic has triggered the interest of Chinese historians such as Li Changsen 李長森 (2010), who authored a history of contemporary press reports of Macao, although these are only available in Chinese.

That is also the case for Lin Yufeng (Agnes Lam) 林玉鳳 (2015), who studied the Chinese periodical press, revisiting Macao's printing history from 1557 to 1840 and claiming new discoveries (UMAC 2017), apparently questionable, in the very first Macao Portuguese and modern Chinese journals. Not having direct access to her work – an English translation is still awaiting publication – and especially because this is very distant from my main research object, I will not include her work here.

To conclude, I would like to mention the results of an unfinished project aimed at listing the articles included in Portuguese newspapers published in Macao, Hong Kong, Canton and Shanghai, although these are limited to those existing at the Macao Central Library. These articles are summarized in the four issues of the *Boletim Bibliográfico de Macau – Analíticos de Jornais* ('Macao bibliographical bulletin – Newspapers analytics'), published between 1995 and 1997 and covering the period from 1822 to 1887. The bibliographical references are chronologically organized and listed in three different indexes: authors, titles and ideographic completed by a final appendix (volume 1, no. 3, 1995: I–XXI), with the periodicals' titles, dates and their availability in Macao being a helpful resource to the reader.⁴

As mentioned in this article, the research benefited from a critical reading of factual and descriptive information found in the reviewed literature that

in some cases helped to overcome the gaps found in the *MI* collection. The analytical framework, contextualized approach and reasoning found in Alves (2000), Mesquita (2000) and Pires (2015) helped to complement and balance my findings on the historical contribution of the studied newspaper in a long-term wider perspective on press and cultural studies.

'RELICS' AND 'HISTORICAL MEMORIES'

The publication of historical sources, chronological or bibliographical surveys and even historiographical texts is present from an early stage in the Portuguese press of Macao, becoming a privileged channel for memory preservation and the shaping of public opinion through historical recurrence. Although in accordance with contemporary romantic and illustrative standards, the inclusion of historical themes must have been inflated in importance due to the scarcity of news, a practice that lasted, somehow extemporaneously, until the middle of the twentieth century.

Finally, regarding sources, although the present research follows a chronological order, it will not refer to the *Abelha da China* ('The bee of China'), the very first Portuguese newspaper in Macao that lasted from 12 September 1822 to 27 December 1823. This is due to the specific context in which it emerged, being noted for its active political role in a revolutionary moment, which requires a different research approach.

O Macaista Imparcial

The inclusion of historical sources and narratives is found in the *Gazeta de Macao* ('Macao gazetteer'), published between 3 January 1824 and 30 December 1826, more so in the *O Macaista Imparcial*, published as mentioned between 9 June 1836 and 18 July 1838. This research will focus on the latter, noting that the *Gazeta de Macao* was already studied by Alves (2000: 135–43), Pires (2015: 57–67) and Mesquita (2000: 543–45).

According to Alves (2000: 143, 285), and starting from its first issue of 9 June 1836, the *MI* includes historical news, compiled by the *professor régio* ('crown teacher') José Baptista de Miranda e Lima (1782–1848), although published anonymously as noted by Garmes (1997–98: 212). The topics addressed there will become recurrent in traditional historiography and important to political reasoning based on the historical acknowledgement of Macao and its people (*lato sensu*). Among them, there is the 'martyr embassy' (1640), the Dutch attacks (1622), the embassy of Pacheco de Sampaio (1752–54), the Edict of Tolerance (1692), the *Providências* (Portuguese centralistic regulations) of 1783–84 and the privileges granted to the city of Macao (1586).

Significantly, it includes a set of documents from 1611, highlighting the intervention and requesting the reappointment of 'model' *Ouvidor* (high court or royal judge) Manuel Luis Coelho (?–c.1614, r. c.1608–14), who was considered 'the most disinterested minister, and learned in his office, which until today served in these parts', as said in a 'Letter to the King in January of 1611' (*MI* 1837–38 [issue 129, 13 December 1837: 99]), while the city was facing the 'oppressions' perpetrated by other civil and ecclesiastical authorities.

Such praise was repeated and then developed into a petition 'To the Relation, and Council of Portugal in January 1611' (*MI* 1837–38 [issue 130, 20 December 1837: 103]), being one among other documents the newspaper continue to publish about this episode in the next issue of the newspaper (*MI*

1837–38 [issue 131, 27 December 1837: 107–08]), reflecting the struggles for power in Macao in that period.

In absence of other more recent and interesting articles, we have inserted in this number some relics of the Establishment, *which show how the earliest inhabitants of Macao were already fighting for their rights and immunities in that time*, and how they complained energetically of their infringement from the envoys of the Superior Government.

This is stated in the *MI* of 11 October 1837 (*MI* 1837–38, emphasis added [issue 120: 63]), an issue in which the rubric ‘Macao’s Relics’ starts to reproduce excerpts from the charter of privileges and other prerogatives granted to the city. Further documents illustrated the ‘residents efforts for the good and for the freedom of the establishment’, such as the one included in the newspaper of 3 January 1838 (*MI* 1837–38 [issue 132: 110–11]). The historical narrative shows how they faced the attitudes ‘of those carrying the Baton, or the Stick’, that is, the military chief, the Captain-General, later governor in the Macao case, or the judges, respectively, ‘now one, now another, or both, criticizing the municipality, to reduce the municipal authority in fact to zero’. The topic follows the issues (*MI* 1837–38) of 21 February 1838 (issue 139: 138–39) and proceeds without interruption from 14 March (142: 150–51) to 18 April 1838 (147: 158–59). From 30 May 1838 (153: 194–95) to 27 June 1838 (157: 212), the *MI* recalls the ‘[r]egiment that will guard, and will follow the Judge João Alves de Carvalho, who goes to Macao in this year of 1645’.

THE STATUS OF MACAO

These examples serve to sustain the argument of Macao’s exceptional status and its ‘voluntary and ever-loyal’ submission to the crown, despite the awareness that the Portuguese king did not hold its sovereignty, as clearly inscribed in the Senado’s self-narrative of 5 December 1837. The document was transcribed in the issue of June 1841 of the *Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes* (‘Maritime and colonial annals’), published in Lisbon bearing a meaningful title, the translation of which reads: ‘Origin of the Portuguese Establishment of Macao and its present circumstances, extracted from a Memorial, which the City Council of that city directed to the Governor General of India, Baron de Sabroso, dated 5 December 1837, published in numbers 8, 9, 10, and 11, of the *Observador* [“Observer”], newspaper printed in Goa in the Typography of the Government, year 1839’:

This place is not a Portuguese conquest. It is a continued concession of the Chinese to the Portuguese merchants for them to inhabit it, without any agreement or contract between sovereignties or governments. The definition of the establishment of Macao in China, and the right of Portugal over the country is as follows: Chinese soil given under the right of usufruct to Portuguese merchants, who, as Portuguese, have always lived subject to their laws, habits and customs.

(Anon. 1841 [8: 356])

This Senado’s narrative supported local demands during the *Setembrismo*, that is, the radical liberal period that lasted in Portugal from 10 September 1836 to 27 January 1842. Similarly in Macao during the first liberal revolution of

1822–23 (Sena 2008: 92–112),⁵ the aim was to restore the senatorial model and to abolish both the centralistic political-administrative reforms of 1783–85 – the *Provisões Régias* settled by Martinho de Melo e Castro (1716–95, r. 1770–95) – and the liberals of 1834–37.

Such an idea is even more explicit in the petition Macao sent on 5 December 1837 to the *Cortes Gerais* (general courts, i.e., the Portuguese parliament during the constitutional monarchy). This is worth mentioning here because it clarifies the usage of the historiographical text that is traced back to the pages of the local press, sustaining the thesis of the 'consented presence' of the Portuguese in Macao, as António Vasconcelos de Saldanha named it, from whose work the following quote is taken, with my translation:

To classify Macao as a conquest as Daman or Diu when there was, and still is, a payment to the Emperor and heavy anchoring fees for the ships is derisory *because everyone knows, even foreigners, the origin of this establishment*. In addition, it is not a piece of cake to take possession of a land in China, where the United Kingdom's power, with all efforts made, has not been able to establish. No European nation ever had any war with China. When did the Portuguese conquer Macao? The Emperor gave nothing but rather received a payment, and yet under many other financial burdens that weigh on the people and properties of the residents. How is the territory Portuguese?

(1996: 170–71, emphasis added)

Apart from the Portuguese liberal restoration on 26 May 1834, radicalized in Macao on 24 May 1837, with the reestablishment of the 1822 Constitution, tensions in the city were very high, with an open confrontation with the *Ouidor*. The ideological conflicts of different parties and opinions have been analysed by Alves (2000: 171–294) as well as by Alves and Saldanha (2013: 189–202), the main issue on the table being that of the separation of powers, namely, the measures that constrained the intervention of the almighty Senado. In fact, this was a constant topic in the *MI* until the termination as official news release made it unsustainable and silenced the newspaper (Pires 2015: 125–31). The opening of a tender for the creation of an official publication had been assigned in a decree more than one year before, on 7 December 1836, without execution. It was the next step.

Irrespective of the incidents and causes, the unsustainability of *O Macaísta Imparcial*, whose end 'seems to accelerate the end of this unnatural "coalition", between the principles of liberal thought and the actions of those who were said to be with them' (Alves 2000: 262) is further analysed by Alves:

Given the impossibility of reconciling the exercise of liberal power with the interests of the trade, the *Macaísta* ceases publication, an unexpected move apparently compatible with the end of the deconstruction of the opposition to the central power representatives. Thus, without prior notice, *The Macaísta Imparcial* and *Registro Mercantil* left the communication stage in Macao. Although deeply influenced by the 'honeycomb' interests, to whom it dedicated the majority of its publication, it contributed to the opinion enlivenment, clash of ideas, critical thinking, sociality, communication and the public use of reason.

(Alves 2000: 274–75)

5. Macao's liberalism is a topic that awaits comprehensive study. Counting on the usual communication delays and local resistance to the liberal revolution proclaimed in Portugal on 24 August 1820, Macao's first constitutional government – later called 'intrusive government' – ruled the city from 19 August 1822 to 23 September of the following year, with Miranda e Lima as a member.

6. However, Félix-Alves (1999) does not refer to it in his very detailed introduction to the Portuguese translation of Ljungstedt's book.

According to Pires (2015: 137), excerpts from the 1836's edition of *An Historical Sketch...* by Ljungstedt ([1836] 1992) were first translated into Portuguese and published in 1837 in *O Macaista Imparcial* starting in issue no. 78, including his topographical description of the city.⁶

Without access to those numbers of the periodical, the present author only found a comment in extracts of issue no. 99 of 22 May 1837 that considered Ljungstedt 'too critical in his severe comments about the peculiar habits of the inhabitants of Macao'. It adds: 'it may well be said, on the contrary, that nowadays lazy and vagrant people are rare in the country' (Anon. 1977: 332). Such was the reaction, as published in the preceding number 98 of the *MI*, that we read in the Swede's book: '[t]he actual inhabitants of Macao take the reverse of the apostolic admonition of Clement XIV, "to work is more useful than a continual psalmody"' (Ljungstedt [1836] 1992: 22). As it seems, it is not Ljungstedt's opinion on the entrepôt's political status (too much criticized in a later period) that was discussed at this stage, but the negative image of the inhabitants, a topic similarly present in 'foreign' discourse on the enclave.

JOSÉ BAPTISTA DE MIRANDA E LIMA

Perhaps this reaction to Ljungstedt could be attributed to Miranda e Lima, whose home for some time housed the Typographia Feliciano and the newspaper's printing press, and to whom Alves (2000: 179, 182, 203–04, 277, 279, 306–07, 363, 404–05) assigned the management of the *MI*, at least in its early stage. Even if that was the case, it is undeniable that the combative journalistic intervention of the *MI*'s main editor and print owner, the Macao-born Felix Feliciano da Cruz (c.1810–79), defended liberty of expression. He later ran the *Aurora Macaense* ('Macanese dawn'), published from 14 January 1843 to 3 February 1844, as described by Alves (2000: 196–294, 365–70), Pires (2015: 119–31, 180, 211–12) and Garmes (1997–98: 212, 221).

The most accurate biography of Miranda e Lima is found in the introduction to the posthumous compilation of his works, *Alectorea, Philomena Invicta, Eustaquio Magnanimo e o Desengano, Poemas Compostos por Jose Baptista de Miranda e Lima. Precedidos de uma breve noticia de sua vida* ('Alectorea, unbeaten Philomena, magnanimous Eustaquio and the disengagement, poems composed by Jose Baptista de Miranda e Lima. Preceded by a brief account of his life') (Anon. 1866), reprinted in Hong Kong in 1866, as well as in the information provided by António Feliciano Marques Pereira (1839–81) to Inocêncio Francisco da Silva (1810–76) to insert in his monumental bibliographical dictionary, *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez (DBP)* (Silva 1860: 259), this brief biographical note being further developed in the work's XII volume (Silva and Aranha 1884: 250–51), as explained below.

The said 1866 biography, with some additional documental and genealogical information, is reproduced with almost all of Miranda e Lima's works by Teixeira (1942: 18–97) in an anthology later republished by Aresta (1997) with a few added sources on Miranda e Lima's civic intervention and history of education. Aresta's contextualized reflections on Miranda e Lima's pedagogical and philosophical-cultural legacy are his most innovative contribution, later summarized in other works.

Miranda e Lima was a Portuguese and Latin grammar teacher, and a prominent and controversial figure in Macao liberalism. He was also an important contributor in the acknowledgement of the Macanese – that is, the 'Macao people', of mixed Portuguese-Asian ancestry or acculturated Portuguese, born or settled in Macao as defined by Cabral and Lourenço (1993) – and their identity.

Miranda e Lima's nephew, a journalist, and eventually his disciple, José Maria da Silva e Souza (1818–78) provided a physical and character description of his uncle who died singing: 'Oh hymno Oh! Gloriosa Virginum' ('the hymn O Gloriosa Virginum'):

Mr José Baptista had a noble and respectful presence. He was tall, thick, with a straight posture: drooped shoulders, regular neck, large head, curly hair, wide forehead, round eyebrows, his eyes were black, large, and alive. His beard was somewhat pointed, his complexion white and tanned, and a severe demeanour, denying his character, which was naturally soft, for we seldom saw him losing his usual serenity; but on such occasions, these slight outbursts of rage gave him a truly terrible look, which, even without any yelling, frightened the disciples. We never heard him utter a shrill laugh, but he was cheerful, seldom joyous, and his laughter had an indescribable graciousness for us. In addition, he was a sharp man, of severe customs, pious, a benefactor, enemy of revenge, and friend of peace, whose pleasant breath he invoked in his 'Alectoréa'.

(Anon. 1866: [VII])

In the absence, to my knowledge, of any portrait of Miranda e Lima, and regardless of the panegyric and theatrical character of this citation, which was typical of that time, the description nevertheless helps to shape the image of the man beyond the writings and the attitudes with which we are dealing.

As such, the authorship of an anonymous conservative manual of conduct for young Macanese boys, *Maximas Moraes e Civis Offerecidas aos Jovens Macaences* (Moral and Civil Maxims Offered to Macanese Youth) dated 1832, is attributed to Miranda e Lima. First published by Teixeira (1942: 79–97) from the handwritten version he received from José Maria Marques da Silva (1873–1945, probably), who settled the manuscript's authorship, it was later reprinted by Aresta (1997: 127–57).

Relaxation of moral standards, immorality, intrigue, decadence, absence of religion, lack of sincerity in relationships, calumnies, rumours, hatred, and rivalry that today rule among us are the evils that surround us.

(Lima 1832 cited in Teixeira 1942: 78)

Thus begins the book. Far from a liberal or bourgeois pedagogical model, it claims the virtues of religion, morality and submissiveness – reflecting a neo-Confucian influence according to Aresta (1997: 47–49) – as the adequate means, as it seems, to promote the self-esteem of such young people, by reference to the 'ruin' of their homeland:

The decadence of trade, the only branch granting this establishment in China (*my unfortunate homeland*), once so praised by its good customs, its sincere union, and its commercial advantages, that other nations and peoples from other countries envied, risks the ruin. However, if we are unable to suppress the physical evil oppressing us, lets us strive to remedy moral evil as much as possible, if we want to listen to the voice of our conscience, and to be accountable for not neglecting our duties to others.

(Lima 1832 cited in Teixeira 1942: 78, emphasis added)

7. This author also confuses the source. In fact, Barreiros ([1943–44] 1998 [III:1, pp. 88–92]) included this ‘Dialogue...’ in his anthology using a previously printed original and not the magazine *TSYK*, to be quoted *infra* for economy and distinctness.
8. The same is said in the information on Miranda e Lima sent to Inocência Francisco da Silva (Silva and Aranha 1884: 251).

This is a miserly and fatalistic view of Macao, contrasting strongly with the opulence of the golden age that had long marked historiographical discourse. There is also an assumption of the inability to catch up with times, attitudes that will profoundly mark the political, economic and diplomatic options of Macao during the nineteenth century.

In this context, Miranda e Lima’s presumed manuscript ‘Moral and civil maxims...’ was in line with his pedagogical and identity concerns while also being motivated by the negative reputation suffered by the Macanese.

The issue is extensively documented in official correspondence, historiography and memorialist literature including, as said, by ‘foreigners’ in the enclave, and already studied for an earlier period by Vale (1997) in a work meaningfully titled ‘The Portuguese in Macao (1750–1800): Convicts, ignorant and ambitious or faithful vassals of the king?’

From 1840s on, a new assertion was added to this criticism: the Anglicization and denationalization of the Macanese caused by their massive emigration to Hong Kong and other cosmopolitan cities of the Far East, where they worked as intermediaries in western companies. Take, for example, the cases of the well-known historian Montalto de Jesus (1863–1932) and Filipe Miguel de Miranda e Lima (1823–1901), a nephew of Miranda e Lima, who satirized the situation in 1895, using the *patoá* (‘patois’), that is, the Macanese creole reflecting the multi-ethnicity that was present in the origins of Macao.

In fact, this reality is addressed in the interesting ‘Dialogue between Augusta 15 years old and her cousin João Fernandes, 18 years old’, published in Hong Kong in 1895 and reprinted by Danilo Barreiros in 1943–44. For this reason, the present author cannot accept Reis’s claim (1992: 63–68) attributing its authorship to Miranda e Lima, who died in 1848, when the colony of Hong Kong was about 7 years old and the Macanese presence there was still very limited.⁷

THE ETHNIC ARGUMENT

To our knowledge, Manuel Teixeira (1942: 30) was the first author to attribute to Miranda e Lima the introduction of the ethnic argument in Macao’s liberal reasoning, namely in a petition sent by Macao to the *Cortes Gerais* in July 1822, while António Feliciano Marques Pereira was the one to propose its authorship: ‘[i]t seems that the true author of this petition was José Baptista de Miranda e Lima’ (Pereira 1867: 20),⁸ statements repeated from then onwards by authors dealing with such issues. Though Miranda e Lima surely shared that opinion, and even if he had been the one to pen the petition, which is very likely, it was a collegiate document produced by a consultative board elected for such a purpose, thus reflecting the aspirations of the politically dominant faction in Macao during the first liberal revolution of 1822–23. In fact, it deals with the acknowledgement of the Macao born, in the autonomous pretensions of Macao (with regard to Portugal), centred in the defence of self-government practices (Sena 2008: 92–104).

I will leave aside Miranda e Lima’s literary, neoclassic, laudatory and intimate works, as well as his polemical attitudes and fluctuating political affiliations, while recalling his celebrated expertise as chess player. His intense relationship with the press can be followed through in Alves (2000). However, it is worth mentioning Miranda e Lima’s action in the construction and shaping of a Macanese identity, which also included the use of *patoá*, known among the group, and often used as vehicle of social and political criticism. In fact,

Miranda e Lima, a Macanese newcomer, was one of the first known Macao authors to write in that creole. Ironically, the use of that 'mixed language of Portuguese and corrupt Chinese'⁹ was strongly criticized by his father, the Portuguese *professor régio* José dos Santos Baptista e Lima (1750–1816), whom the son assisted from 1805 and officially replaced at some time between 1809 and 1811 onwards, according to Arrimar (2014: 287). Without discussing other literary or potential strategic reasons for using *patoá*, Portuguese was then being imposed as a padron language, while the creole was either achieving a status of language of transgression or assuming an important role in the group's symbolic identity construction (Tomás 1988a, 1988b). On the assumption that it could only be understood by Macanese or at least poorly grasped by Portuguese, the more so that they could always pretend that they did not really get it, it created a space of 'free' communication among the group. Such a space was vital for shaping public opinion by allowing a flow of criticism, in speaking, in handwritten sheets, leaflets or lampoons, and was especially necessary when the number of newspapers was restricted and/or in censorship tightened. Interestingly it was a role that Miranda e Lima performed himself, at least as member of the committee created on 24 July 1838 and in operation until 11 August 1842.

Nevertheless, and independent of his responsibilities as *professor régio*, criticism might have been what moved Miranda e Lima. In fact, his authorship is assigned to anonymous pamphlets expressing, among other topics, the common citizen's opinion on the political situation of Macao in 1823–24 after the removal of the first constitutional government and the absolute monarchic restoration that took place in Portugal in June 1823.

For the identification and reprint of Miranda e Lima's hypothetical texts in *patoá*, the author relies on the works by Teixeira (1942: 36–53) and Aresta (1997: 309–36), both based on Pereira ([1899–1900] 1995b: 57–66, 779–80), yet also discusses the collection presented by Reis (1992: 57–80). Reis also attributes to Miranda Lima a considerable set of poems in creole also gleaned from Pereira ([1899–1900] 1995b) who, however, published them without any established authorship.

Relying essentially on the collections by Barreiros ([1943–44] 1998) and Pereira ([1899–1900] 1995b), it was only from the mid-nineteenth century that *patoá* emerged in the periodic press published in Macao, or related to Macao, as was the case for both *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo*, the newspaper, and especially the magazine *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo* (TSYK).¹⁰ Much more than for social criticism and political intervention purposes, the latter assumes a romantic feature, compatible with the zest for antiquities, ethnographic and exotic curiosities, in addition to the interest in emerging dialectal studies.

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL PROJECTS

As to Miranda e Lima's historiographical works, his biographers state he may have planned to write a history of Macao, as suggested in the above quoted biographical note of 1866 as follows:

Possibly intending to write a history of Macao, he compiled many notebooks and copies of documents from the archives of the Senado, the Episcopal Library, St Joseph's College, among Jesuit manuscripts collected at the time of confiscation, chronicle of *Heanxane*,¹¹ and different printed works. However, he did not make any other use of them,

9. This is mentioned in a document of 1775 quoted by Teixeira (1942: 22), and it is from where we learn that the *professor régio* often needed an interpreter to talk to the pupils to whom he was supposed to teach Latin grammar. However, we must be aware that such difficulties were presented as an argument for his request for additional payment.
10. The magazine *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo*. *Arquivos e Anais do Extremo-Oriente Português* (大西洋國, TSYK ('Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo: Archives and annals of the Portuguese Far East'), was published in Lisbon by João Feliciano Marques Pereira between 1899 and 1903, being the first two volumes of the facsimile edition reprinted in Macao in 1995 and the one referred to in all of this article. João Feliciano recovered the title of the newspaper named by his father, António Feliciano Marques Pereira, as 大西洋國. *Semanario Macaense d'interesses publicos locais, litterario e noticioso* ('Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo. Macanese weekly of local public interest, literary and newsy') published in Macao between 8 October 1863 and 26 April 1866 – to which he contributed from the first to the last issue – and which appears as the third volume of the said reprint of 1995, although unfortunately it was very poorly edited and often almost illegible.
11. Referring probably to 香山縣志 ('Chronicle of the Xiangshan District'), in which Macao is located.

12. José Maria d'Oliveira e Lima, born in Macao on 2 February 1823 and Miranda e Lima's eldest son. According to the 1866 biographical note on his father, the son was still unmarried. Data on his later life is lacking.

giving them to whomsoever asked, such as José Ignacio de Andrade, the Swede André Ljungstedt, the Fathers of the Congregations of the Missions of St Joseph, etc.

(Anon. 1866: [IV–V])

António Feliciano Marques Pereira, presumably, presented a somewhat ambiguous but slightly different version in the information he sent from Macao to Inocêncio F. da Silva, probably in mid-1863:

José Baptista published several poems among Macao's newspapers, and *after his death*, left a great number of manuscripts, which were lost, but it was not his son's fault.¹² He is a studious scholar, residing in the neighbouring colony of Hong Kong, to whom I asked, a few days ago, information about some detailed and peculiar notes, which, I learned, his father had compiled on the relations of the Portuguese with China, *and that could prove useful to the work I have been committed*. He replied by naming the persons to whom his father had entrusted the same notes, but some of them are not here anymore, and others do not even recall it.

(Silva and Aranha 1884: 251, emphasis added)

Brito Aranha (1833–1914), who published this text in 1884, states: '[i]n some information of the *deceased* writer Marques Pereira, dated of Macao I found these very interesting explanations' (Silva and Aranha 1884: 251, emphasis added), without mentioning which Marques Pereira was involved. However, we can be quite sure that it was António Feliciano.

João Feliciano Marques Pereira was quite young at that time, living from 1863 to 1909, and had left Macao as a child, so he cannot be the author of this clarification, as supposed by Garmes (2015: 33, 1997–98: 224). Furthermore, it does not appear to be his grandfather, Feliciano António Marques Pereira (1803–64) either. Though he survived Miranda e Lima, who died in 1848, his writings mainly focused on maritime and diplomatic-commercial issues (Silva 1859: 255–56, 1870: 208), apart from having a different profile from the one described in these lines. We know, on the other hand, that António Feliciano had announced a biography of Miranda e Lima of his own since the mid-1860s.

The mentioned work the unknown author of the information sent to the *DBP* had at hand would probably be the same that the Minister of the Navy and Overseas, José da Silva Mendes Leal (1820–86, r. 1862–64), had assigned by a decree dated 10 January 1863 to António Feliciano Marques Pereira, former secretary of the Portuguese mission to China to negotiate the treaty of 1862. As the latter explained to Inocêncio Francisco da Silva on 11 April 1863, it would be a: 'report, which should not be restricted to a detailed account of the mission and negotiation of the treaty, but should also include a detailed history of all the relations between the Portuguese and the Empire', referring, of course, to the Chinese empire (Silva 1867: 140). However, according to the testimony of his son, João Feliciano (Pereira [1899–1900] 1995a: 8–9), António Feliciano never completed the work as planned and described in the above-quoted missive.

For both texts – the just mentioned letter and the bio-bibliographical note on Miranda e Lima sent to the *DBP* – the not identified Marques Pereira refers to the work he was in charge, since 10 January 1863 as seen, and to the Treaty of 1862. However, he does not refer to the latter's failure as based upon the

disagreement found in the convention's Portuguese and Chinese versions (at the time it was expected to be ratified in June 1864). Moreover, in the note on Miranda e Lima, the said Marques Pereira points out the lack of any rights claiming absolute Portuguese sovereignty over Macao before the said Treaty, all showing that the text under discussion was written between January 1863 and June 1864.

As Félix-Alves (1999: xxxv) remarked in the introduction to the first Portuguese translation of Ljungstedt's complete book, the Swede does not refer to Miranda e Lima, although he does not omit other individuals who had helped him. The same applies to Andrade (1835: 83) who lived from 1779 to 1863, and who does not mention any contribution from the 'honored and meritorious citizen Miranda e Lima'. Andrade only includes in his memory on the Macanese feats against the 'pirates', the poem Miranda e Lima composed to celebrate the well-known *Ouvidor* Miguel de Arriaga (1776–1824) on the occasion of the victory over Cam Pau Sai (Zhang Baozai 張保仔), recited in Macao on 3 June 1810.

Such evidence allows us to question whether we are not facing yet another historiographical myth about Miranda e Lima.

CONCLUSION

Due to his omnipresence in the public and intellectual life of Macao in the first half of the nineteenth century, Miranda e Lima deserves a biography that goes beyond his literary, philosophical and pedagogical legacies, taking into account his active political and civic participation, including all the apparent inconsistencies. Additionally, Miranda e Lima's ideological framework should be explored, including his economic and family interests, as well as solidarity networks, together with an account of his deepening relationship with the press and even the possible management of some periodicals (Alves 2000). In sum, it must be an attempt to describe the multifaceted profile of Miranda e Lima while also questioning some of the claims that are repeated about him.

Though not focusing on the historical context of Macao, and while favouring the literary aspect, Garmes (1997–98, 2015) devotes special attention to Miranda e Lima – intending yet to establish a corpus of his works – and discussed with acuity some of the alluded generalized statements in his pertinent reading of three apotheotics written by that author, which he rescued from the pages of *O Macaista Imparcial*.

Furthermore, in addition to the already mentioned genealogical data found in Teixeira (1942: 19–24) and Forjaz (2017), Arrimar (2014) offers useful information about the social integration, commercial and professional activity of his father, José dos Santos Baptista e Lima. The same can be said regarding some information of the families, 'Miranda e Souza', 'Miranda' belonging to the maternal side, while his brother-in-law was 'Silva e Souza'. Unfortunately Arrimar's book does not cover the entire lifetime of Miranda e Lima, including information on his commercial and business activity as a ship owner – the brig *Feliz Viana* according to Teixeira (1982: 7) – a clue that might be the key to understanding many of Miranda e Lima's attitudes and life options, including his use of an ethnic argument, the real meaning of which deserves to be better explored.

That could be an interesting departure point in re-evaluating Miranda e Lima's controversial political opinions, from liberalism in 1822–23 to an assumed conservative supporter of the absolute King Miguel (1801–66, r. 1828–34).

As to the ‘honeycomb’ interests described by Alves (2000: 274–75) – the claims for better opportunities of the smaller investors and for a more shared political participation on the one hand, and the preservation of Macao’s senatorial regime vis-à-vis the increasing centralistic measures gaining force in the terrain on the other – can it be concluded that these were the major concerns of Miranda e Lima?

All of that seems to be supported by the historiographical contents presented in the pages of *O Macaista Imparcial*. Such a newspaper was used by Miranda e Lima and others to value Macao’s exceptional and atypical characteristics, which had been built and maintained under the Portuguese banner, thanks to the perseverance, ability and skills of those in the terrain, deserving of recognition and ultimately a space in their own land. However, who were such residents? The answer is the Macao Portuguese merchants, the *moradores* (‘residents’) and *casados* (‘locally married’), even when they were renamed as citizens, and their miscegenated enlarged families. This is to say, the heirs, in blood and/or behaviour, of the old Macao pioneers – builders of a multi-ethnic commercial entrepôt where a specific and peculiar creole, the *patoá*, developed as a contact language.

Although the present author could not find any auto references, that could be due to the local collective interpretation of the *patoá* and subsequently one of the reasons behind its use by Miranda e Lima as a means of auto proclaiming his Macanese identity, probably still deserving a full acceptance and recognition in the group where he was just a newcomer. Was he playing a sociolinguist game, as proposed by Isabel Tomás (1988a: 36): ‘[n]o longer a mother tongue, creole is used by the community in the sphere of sociolinguistic diversion, as a marker of identity, a way of identifying the in-group from the outsiders, the “others”?’

Denying the rights of territorial acquisition for the Portuguese Crown, arguing even with the ‘foreigner’ discourse – as we find in references by Ljungstedt in his historical conclusions favouring a generalized opinion among the ‘foreigner’ merchants’ group – it is still the defence of self-governance that that historical recurrence brings to the pages of *O Macaista Imparcial*.

Further research will determine how long such a historical narrative will subsist in the Macao newspapers and how and when it will be confronted with other historiographical evidence, arguments, historical sources and supportive opinions and policies.

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