Making Impressions

The adaptation of a Portuguese family to Hong Kong, 1700-1950

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A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy of
The Australian National University

October 2012
I certify that

this thesis

is entirely my own original work

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Stuart Braga
Dedication

This thesis looks forward as well as backwards. It looks backwards with appreciation and admiration to those who made their way, often through very hard circumstances and in times of tribulation. It looks forward to succeeding generations, who have great shoulders upon which to stand.

Therefore I dedicate it with my fondest love to my dear grandchildren:

Making impressions

A Portuguese family in Macau and Hong Kong, 1700-1945

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Acknowledgments

I have been aware since childhood of the fine library created by my uncle, J.M. ‘Jack’ Braga, but a vague awareness became a keen interest when in 1969 Jack Braga, then a consultant at the National Library of Australia showed us proudly around his collection, then in the course of being processed by several different branches of the library. In 1972, Jack and his wife, Augusta, visited us in Sydney. I took the opportunity of taping his recollections of family history going back to 1712 and was amazed at his acute memory. He wrote in our visitors’ book on that occasion, ‘You don’t know what this means to us’. At last he had found a member of the family who shared his interest. In the fullness of time, his fine collection spawned this thesis.

My interest became more focussed in 1990 when another uncle, Tony Braga, gave me a copy of the recently reprinted *Historic Macao* by C.A. Montalto de Jesus. He followed this with the gift of several more books touching on the role played in the history of Hong Kong by his family, a role of which he was enormously proud. He was sure that this would eventually lead to some written project, though it has taken twenty years for this to eventuate.

Several family members have made available documents, letters and photographs and have assisted with memoirs of the children of José Pedro Braga and Olive Pauline Braga. These are: Angela Ablong, J. David Braga, Maria Braga, Maurice Braga, Janyce Luff, Sheila Potter and Frances Rufener. Janyce’s gift of the diary from 1924 to 1929 of her father Noel Braga was of particular importance. John and Paul Braga, descendants of João Joaquim Braga, shared important information on their side of the family.

I am grateful to my cousin, Dr António M. Braga, the eldest son of J.M. Braga, who in the early 1990s invited me to join the Casa de Macau, Australia, the local Macanese community association. Over the years it has proved to be a most profitable connection, with several trips to Hong Kong and Macau to participate in the Encontros splendidly arranged and supported by the Government of Macau. Marie Imelda McLeod, former Director of the Arquivo Histórico of Macau assisted my access to that important collection. The Special Collections Library of the University of Hong Kong contained much useful material on the history of Hong Kong.

This thesis could not have been undertaken without the co-operation of the staff of the National Library of Australia, which houses the J.M. Braga collection of books, pictures, maps and manuscripts on the history of the Portuguese presence in the Far East. That collection, and the librarians who administer it, are the *sine qua non* of this enterprise. I acknowledge with gratitude successive Directors-General Warren Horton AM, Jan Fullerton AO, Ann-Marie Schwirtlich and Assistant Director-
General Margy Burn, all of whom have been supportive and encouraging of my interest in the J.M. Braga collection. Successive Heads of Manuscript Branch, Graeme Powell PSM, Dr Marie-Louise Ayres and Robyn Holmes have done much to facilitate my access to materials held in the Manuscripts Branch. It was a privilege to be accorded the opportunity of working for an extended period of time in April 2007 reorganising MS 4300, the most important group of manuscripts in that collection. The assistance of other section heads has been no less vital. They include the former Chief Librarian, Asian Collections, Dr Andrew Gosling and Amelia McKenzie, Director of Overseas Collections, the Curator of Maps, Dr Martin Woods and former Curator of the Pictures Collection, Linda Groom. Throughout the library, many members of staff have gone out of their way to assist. Andrew Sergeant, Reference Librarian in charge of the Petherick Room, and Mary Gosling, Manager, Reading Room Services, have made working in the Library a real pleasure. Intensive work in the Manuscripts Branch in 2007 brought me into close contact with people whose professionalism and dedication have been most praiseworthy. They include Susan Thomas, under whose direction I worked for several weeks. Special mention should be made of Megan Williams, who has created an excellent finding guide for MS 4300, based on my reorganisation and background notes. The team in what became the Manuscripts and Pictures Branch includes Emma Jolley, Curator of Manuscripts, Catriona Anderson, Matthew Cole, Karen Johnson, Beth Lonergan and Donna Vaughan.

Likewise, during an intensive period working on augmenting the description of maps in the Braga Special Maps Collection under Dr Martin Woods, I came to appreciate the excellent team in that department: Dr Brendan Whyte and Quentin Slade. In the Pictures Collection prior to its amalgamation with Manuscripts, the vast knowledge and expertise of Sylvia Carr and Wendy Morrow were most important. In that very attractive area, the Asian Collections Reading Room, the expertise of the librarians, including Anya Dettman and Di Pin Ouyang, who have long been familiar with the Braga Collection, has been of considerable assistance.

It is uncommon to include such a large number of librarians from one institution in a list of acknowledgments; it is indicative of the high calibre of the Library and its staff that such detailed and appreciative acknowledgment is made.

Other libraries and research institutions have been unfailingly helpful. These are: the Australian National University Library, particularly Darrell Dorrington in the Menzies Building. In Hong Kong, Bernard Hui of the Public Record Office and Amelia Allsop of the Hong Kong Heritage Project provided access to their important collections. The Macau Public Library gave access to microfilm of newspapers in their collection.

Many individuals have assisted in a wide variety of ways. António Jorge da Silva’s excellent maps of the Portuguese residential areas of Hong Kong in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were willingly made available. Others are: John Allen, a former senior executive of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation,
Emeritus Professor Henrique A. d’Assumpção AO, Tony Banham, Philomeno (‘Meno’) Baptista, Dr Solomon Bard, Sally Burdon, Dienecke Carruthers, Justina Cheang, Nicholas Colfer, who kindly showed me round the Kadoorie Avenue Estate and made available the Minute Books of the Hongkong Engineering & Construction Co., J. Bosco Correa, Peter Downes, Jean Farleigh, Barnabas Fung for expert advice on Appendix 12, Alberto Guterres, whose close understanding of the Macanese people was of great value, Nicholas Ingleton, John R. Prince, Francisco da Roza, President of Club Lusitano, Hong Kong, Barney Koo, Fernando Menezes Ribeiro, Michael Smee, Wang Gang, Chief Editor, Petrel Publishing House, Hong Kong, who generously shared his research into the history of Wyndham St, Hong Kong, with reference to Delfino Noronha, Roderick West AM and Bruno Yvanovich.

At the Australian National University, my supervisors Professor John Minford and Dr Duncan Campbell have been more than supportive and encouraging. John’s meticulous scrutiny of an earlier draft of this thesis was of great importance. He was able to spot lacunae in presentation and expression, while at the same time giving wise advice on the overall thrust of what I am trying to say. Jo Bushby and Pen Judd, the PhD administrators in the School of Culture, History and Language, gave much assistance in dealing with the university’s sometimes complex administrative procedures. The university’s travel grant for two field trips to Hong Kong and Macau greatly enriched this study and is much appreciated.

This thesis could never have been undertaken without the goodwill of my wife Patricia. She has patiently provided constant backup while for more than two years I have been focussed intently on this project, neglecting all sorts of other things that have had to be set aside. Social and cultural activities have suffered, and she has put up with this graciously. Our time in Canberra has been largely taken up with library work when there is so much else that we could do. She has been a willing and capable researcher on many visits to Canberra and two field trips to Hong Kong and Macau, where limited time was maximised by her active participation. Such great support and assistance so graciously given are beyond price and can never be taken for granted.
Abstract

Many Portuguese families who left Macau in the mid-nineteenth century attempted to establish a new identity in the nearby and far more successful British colony of Hong Kong. They succeeded in doing this to a limited degree, the limitations being imposed on them chiefly by the constraints of British colonial policy and its social outworkings.

Well before the occupation of Hong Kong in 1841, British merchants in Macau had developed contempt for the Portuguese administration of Macau which was transferred to the Portuguese community which established itself in Hong Kong between 1841 and the end of the nineteenth century. As these attitudes hardened, opportunities were denied to people whose abilities were well-recognised in their own community.

Conspicuous among them were the Noronha and Braga families, some of whom did well, especially as printers and chemists. Other members of the Portuguese community in Hong Kong found themselves in a position of permanent inferiority in a British-dominated administrative and commercial system with rigid social and racial barriers. The prosperity of Hong Kong could not have developed and been maintained without the sustained reliability of a large group of people who came to be termed ‘the Portuguese clerk class’.

Between 1900 and 1941, J.P. Braga, the scion of his family, built on his forebears’ attainments, becoming the leading member of the Portuguese community in Hong Kong, with a significant public career, despite the difficulties he encountered. Most of his children established themselves successfully in the 1920s and 1930s in a rapidly diversifying economy until the catastrophe of the Japanese Occupation forced them to flee to Macau as refugees.

The resumption of British rule in 1945 brought about a rapid recovery in the fortunes of the colony and of the generation which succeeded J.P. Braga, who had died during the war. The long-term prospects of the Portuguese community continued to be bound up with those of British rule, which by the 1960s was being challenged. By the end of the twentieth century, the British had departed. So too had most of the Portuguese community, including the Braga family. Between the 1950s and 1970s,
most emigrated to the Pacific Rim countries or Portugal and Brazil. Their presence in the Far East had proved to be transitory. Nevertheless they had a major presence in the region for well over a century.

This thesis sets out to show how the Portuguese community in Hong Kong, having emigrated from Macau in search of better opportunities, struggled to find a foothold in a British-dominated community that placed it in a position of permanent inferiority. It posits that the role played by a few key families over several generations gradually began to make inroads into, but could never overcome this unstated but firmly maintained policy of racial superiority. It also compares the Portuguese community with several other non-Chinese groups, the Indians, Jews and Americans, during a period of rapid change after World War II which transformed the social and political landscape of Hong Kong.
Maps

A note on maps

J.M. Braga Collection. Collecting historic maps was one facet of J.M. Braga’s intensive method of acquisition. It was my good fortune to act as consultant to the Maps Branch of the National Library of Australia during 2008 while the cataloguing of this part of the large Braga Collection was being reviewed. Detailed notes were prepared on all of the historic maps, which were then digitised and placed on the Library’s website.

Most of the older maps used in this thesis come from this source. They are identified by the letters prefixed to the catalogue number: ‘nla.map-brsc’ (Braga Special Collection). The availability of this rich resource led to the decision to use contemporary maps wherever possible.

António M. Pacheco Jorge da Silva. Mr Jorge da Silva is an architect resident for many years in California. He was born in Macau and educated in Hong Kong and England. He has written several books on the history of the Portuguese communities in Hong Kong, California and Shanghai. All of these are included in the bibliography of this thesis. He has kindly given permission for several of the maps he has drawn for these books to be used in this thesis. For the most part they show in detail the different residential areas occupied by the Portuguese community of Hong Kong in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Each is acknowledged in the following list.

1. Sea route to the East Indies

   Chapter 1, page 2


2. East Indies

   Chapter 1, page 5

East Indies showing China, Japan, Korea, Borneo, Sumatra and Java by Nicholas Comberford, [East Indies] [cartographic material] / made by Nicholas Cumberford dwelling at the Signe of the Platt neare the weste end of the School House in Ratcliffe, 1665. Copy made early twentieth century. Braga Special Map Collection No. 87.

3. Macau in the mid-seventeenth century

   Chapter 1, page 6

(b) Macao, Redrawn and coloured version of the above.

The original map is one of several bound with Faria e Sousa, Manuel de, Asia Portoguesa, Lisbon, 3 vols. 1666-1675. The city walls and several fortifications are emphasised. These were hurried to completion after the Dutch attack in 1622 was repulsed. The map in J.M. Braga’s copy of Asia Portoguesa is poorly inked, and ought to have been rejected either by the seventeenth century master printer or by the
Fourth view of an estuary. J.M. Braga had it redrawn, possibly to illustrate a lecture he gave in the late 1930s or during World War II. nla.map-brsc108.nla.map-brsc108.

4. **Pearl River estuary**  
Chapter 1, page 13

*Portion of Kwangtung province, South China, showing Macau, Hong Kong, Canton and the estuaries of the Chu-Kiang and Si-Kiang Rivers*, 1922. One of a series of maps produced by the Macau Port Authority to promote Macau as an international port. nla.map-brsc71-2.

5. **A map of the City and Harbour of Macau, 1840**  
Chapter 1, page 27

W. Bramston (drawn). James Wyld (published). Sir Paul Chater’s copy of this map was a photograph. Hong Kong Art Museum AH1964.0126 Reproduced in *The Chater Legacy*, p. 87.

6. **Canton and its approaches, Macao and Hong Kong**  
Chapter 2, page 36

This very busy map is presented in four segments showing the main centres of Western activity in the Canton region. The first section is a map of Macau with a small inset of the city of Victoria, Hong Kong. The next map is of the whole Pearl River estuary from the open sea to Canton, with soundings shown in fathoms. The fourth and largest segment shows an outline of the city of Canton, with the foreign factories outside the south-west corner of the city walls. The production of such a map as late as 1852 indicates that trade with Canton remained of great importance to British merchants.

7. **Map of the Portuguese colony of Macau**  
Chapter 3, page 75

Azevedo Coutinho, M. *Planta da colonia Portugueza de Macau e dos seus portos internos e externos, com indicação dos postos aduaneiros chineses modernamente estabelecidos desenhada por M. Azevedo Coutinho, capitão do exercito 1870, modificada segundo as condições actuaes da Colonia (1901) = modified in 1870 according to actual conditions in the colony (1901)*. nla.map-brsc71-4.  
The map shows the boundaries of territory held by Macau and China. A neutral zone north of the Barrier Gate (*Porta do Cêrco*), is boldly marked in red. This was protected by the Chinese *Fortaleza de Passaleão* until its destruction in 1849. Thereafter Portuguese guns at the hastily constructed *Fortaleza de Mongha* prevented Chinese reoccupation of the plain between the two positions. This plain is marked *Campo neutro ou terreno desocupado pelos chins desde 1849 a 1890* (Neutral ground or land unoccupied by the Chinese from 1849 to 1890).
8. City of Victoria, Hong Kong

The city of Victoria, Hong Kong, from Lt. Collinson’s Ordinance Survey, 1845, with references from a map by A. F. Alves, 1862. This map was redrawn in 1923 to accompany James Orange, *The Chater Collection*. The awkward ribbon development forced on Hong Kong by Captain Charles Elliot’s choice of the site of the city was already evident as early as 1845.

9. The Western District, Hong Kong

The Western District, showing Sheung Wan and Tai Ping Shan. Detail from ‘Plan to accompany report by Sir David J. Owen on the future control and development of the port of Hong Kong, February 1941’. nla.map-brsc37.

10. The Mato Moiro District

The Mato Moiro (or Morro) district was a Portuguese enclave from the 1870s to the early 1920s. The Roman Catholic Cathedral is the second cathedral, built in 1888. The numbers shown here are of named residents. From A.M. Jorge da Silva, *The Portuguese Community in Hong Kong*.

11. Anglican and Catholic Cathedrals and Jamia Mosque

Detail from ‘The city of Victoria, Hong Kong, from Lt. Collinson’s Ordnance Survey, 1845, with references from a map by A. F. Alves, 1862’.

12. Goa, ca. 1650


13. ‘Plan de la ville et du port de Macao’


14. The City of Braga, 1594

‘Noua Bracarae avgvste descriptio’, Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, vol. 5, Cologne, 1598. [The Latin name for what became the city of Braga was Bracara Augusta]. Ryhiner Collection, Bern University Library. Accessed via Wikipedia, 27 July 2012. The copy of the map used here was purchased in the city of Braga in October 2001

15. Northern Portugal


16. South-East Asia

A steady trickle of Portuguese left Macau and Hong Kong for better employment opportunities in Japan and the Treaty Ports along the China coast and the Yangtze River. From António M. Jorge da Silva, *The Portuguese Community in Hong Kong*. 
17. Location of the premises of Noronha & Co.  Chapter 6, page 183
From Tsai Jung-fang. *Hong Kong in Chinese history: community and social unrest in the British Colony, 1842-1913*, Map B.

18. Calcutta in the nineteenth century  Chapter 7, page 204
In keeping with the Jesuit policy of educating the elite, St Xavier’s College was located in one of the best streets of the city, Park Street. Left: a map redrawn by the Baptist Mission from an unnamed French original. Right: Park Street in 1842, from a map published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Google Maps, accessed 2 August 2012.

19. Kowloon and the New Territories  Chapter 9, page 287
Manuscript map of Kowloon and the New Territories ca. 1920, showing the newly completed motor road. Braga Special Map Collection no. 39.

20. Kadoorie Avenue and Braga Circuit  Chapter 9, page 308
Master Plan, February 2009. Of the approximately 89 houses on the Estate in 2012, 21 were still the original houses designed by Hugh Braga, General Works Manager and Architect for the Estate, between 1936 and 1941. Courtesy of Mr N.T.J. Colfer, Sir Elly Kadoorie & Sons Ltd.

21. New Port in Portugal’s Ancient Colony  Chapter 10, page 325

22. Po Hing Fong disaster  Chapter 10, page 334
Detail from ‘Plan to accompany report by Sir David J. Owen on the future control and development of the port of Hong Kong, February 1941’. nla.map-brsc37.

23. Paul Braga’s escape map  Chapter 12, page 384
Paul Braga’s sketch map and plan for leaving Macau and travelling across enemy-occupied territory to Kweilin, then in Free China, but later occupied by the Japanese. Paul Braga Papers.

24. Portuguese residential areas  Chapter 14, page 413
Four Portuguese residential enclaves developed in Kowloon between the 1920s and 1950s, above left, replacing the late nineteenth century enclave on the Hong Kong side known as Mato Moiro. From António M. Jorge da Silva, *The Portuguese Community in Hong Kong*.
Tables

1. Fernandes and Braga families

   from António Fernandes to José Pedro Braga  
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2. Rosa and Rosa Braga families

   in Macau, ca. 1700-1840s  
   Chapter 4, page 125

3. Leading members of the Rosa Braga family

   in Hong Kong, 1840s to 1900  
   Chapter 5, page 164

4. Children of José Pedro Braga

   and Olive Pauline Braga  
   Chapter 8, page 234
A note on sources

This thesis is based on two entirely different sets of resources. Chronologically speaking, the period from 1700 until ca. 1840 deals principally with Macau. For a monoglot researcher there is an obvious problem in that most of the sources are in Portuguese. This difficulty is compounded by the fact that there was little attempt until recent times to preserve archives in Macau or to research its history in the archives of Portugal or Goa, whose viceroy controlled Macau until 1844.¹

In Goa, the archives were examined and were described by Charles Boxer, who drew attention to serious deficiencies.² Part of what had survived was unusable owing to the ravages of insects and a tropical climate. The situation in Macau was similar and was compounded by the fact that there were in effect two rival administrations: that of the Governor and that of the City Council, styled as the Leal Senado. An attempt was made in 1929, briefly resumed in 1940, and after a long delay, in 1964 to make available in printed form what could be recovered by publishing a journal, Arquivos de Macau, which consisted entirely of reprints of surviving records.³ They were printed without annotation or commentary. The earliest document printed came from 1649, and there were few before the early eighteenth century. It is surprising to find no official reports, no communications to the Viceroy in Goa or to the royal government in Lisbon. What is revealed is a set of communications, largely emanating from the Leal Senado and concerning relations with Chinese authorities, trading opportunities and personal rivalries. The archives seem to be silent on the matter of the growing presence and importance of foreigners, chiefly the British, and the trade that created wealth. By the time Volume 5 had been reached in 1972, the Arquivos de Macau turned to reprint, but not in facsimile, and again without introduction, the extant files of three newspapers published between 1822 and 1845.

¹ Rui Loureiro deplored ‘this feeble historiographic interest in Macao’, adding that a ‘quick glance through sundry catalogues of research institutions will deepen the sense of perplexity, because it will reveal that Portugal’s archives and libraries hold a virtually inexhaustible and largely unexplored supply of primary sources, dating as far back as the first years of the sixteenth century, on the history of Macao and on the history of the Portuguese Far Eastern expansion’. R.M. Loureiro, ‘Macao’s history in Portugal: trends of research and future projects, in Review of Culture, no. 27/28, 2nd series, April/September 1996, p. 15.
² C.R. Boxer, A glimpse of the Goa archives. Boxer spent a fortnight there, long enough to gain a good idea of what there was. His ‘glimpse’ was rather depressing.
These provide to an extent evidence of the economic, political and social fortunes of Macao during this period.

It is necessary to refer to two important writers of secondary sources: Anders Ljungstedt and Carlos Montalto de Jesus. Both of these are discussed fully in Appendices 3 and 4. Both appear to rely on sources no longer extant; both appear to use these sources well. Each approaches his subject from a different, even a polar perspective. Ljungstedt set out over a long period of research and then a series of writings between 1831 and 1835 to refute the Portuguese claim of sovereignty over Macau. Montalto de Jesus, writing 70 years later, set out to assert it. Now that this contention has been resolved by the end of Portuguese rule in Macau, these sharply divided and polemical viewpoints are out of date. There needs to be a comprehensive history of Macau in English, covering the whole presence of the Portuguese on the China coast from the 1550s until 1999 when the territory ceased to be under Portuguese administration. However, a general history that is accessible to English readers and archivally based has yet to appear.

By contrast the archival materials for the second half of the thesis are extraordinarily rich. There are the usual British colonial sources: governors’ despatches to the Colonial Secretary in London and annual Blue Books which give details of the minutiae of administration. There are several newspapers, but the record is far from complete owing to losses during the Japanese Occupation. There has been an attempt by the Hong Kong Public Library to place some of the newspapers online, but the technology appears to be almost unworkable. The Hong Kong Public Record Office has a good collection of twentieth century newspapers, but little from the nineteenth century. Frank King’s census of nineteenth century China coast newspapers indicates just how fragmentary these holdings are.4

By contrast, manuscript sources available for this study are outstanding and have determined the scope and content of this thesis. The important period from 1924 to 1946 is extraordinarily rich in manuscripts to the point that the chief problem is how to make a selection from them. They are detailed in the bibliography, but it is appropriate to outline them here to indicate their significance as the thesis develops. In the first place, the major manuscript collection forming part of the J.M. Braga Collection in the National Library of Australia, MS 4300, contains a rich store of

4 F.H.H. King and P. Clarke, *A research guide to China-Coast newspapers, 1822-1911*. xiv
family letters and press cuttings which are the basis of any study of the career of J.P. Braga, the most significant member of this family and of the Portuguese community in the twentieth century. The J.M. Braga Papers are complemented by manuscripts created by three of his brothers. The first is the diary of Noel Braga, 1924-1928. The second is a file of letters collected by James Braga between 1942 and 1946 describing the wartime experiences of his parents and siblings. The third is a file of correspondence and other papers created by Paul Braga. These three are in my possession. Without them, Chapters 9, 10, 11 and 12 could not have been written. There are also three more small family collections of minor importance.

Three other important sources might be briefly noticed here. They too are explained more fully in the bibliography. The first is a unique set of cards prepared in Hong Kong and Macau by the Rev. Carl Smith who spent many years making research notes, chiefly biographical, from a wide variety of government and ecclesiastical records and newspapers. In addition, he worked carefully through his personal set of the Arquivos de Macau.\(^5\) Carl Smith’s work is in itself not a primary source, but directs the researcher to primary sources that would otherwise be inaccessible or overlooked.

The second is Jorge Forjaz, Familias Macaenses, 3 vols., Fundação Oriente, Instituto Cultural de Macau and Instituto Portugues do Oriente, Macau, 1996. This massive project, funded by three government cultural bodies, set out to provide a genealogy of the entire Macanese population, complete as far as available records permitted. There are few entries before the mid-eighteenth century, reflecting the fact that few records have survived from the first two centuries of Macau’s Portuguese occupation. Forjaz provided detailed notes on significant people, including several members of the Rosa, Braga and Noronha families, on whose lives this thesis concentrates.

Derived from Forjaz’s monumental work is the Macanese Families website, http://www.macanesefamilies.com. The information on this website has been meticulously compiled over many years by Emeritus Professor H.A. d’Assumpção AO. Starting with Forjaz’s data, Professor d’Assumpção has updated and considerably extended this impressive database with many photographs and varied

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\(^5\) Now in the Arquivo Histórico de Macau. Whenever he came across a name, he underlined it and wrote a card summarising the details he wanted.
historical material. Each individual has been allotted a unique identifying number. This has been used in this thesis in several places where exact identification might be helpful. An example is Francisco José Paiva, mentioned in Chapter 2, whose identifying number is #30912.

The third source is the work of Charles Boxer (1904-2000). Boxer’s career as an historian was highly unusual. An officer in the British Army, he was posted to the Far East in 1935, having already developed a keen and exceptionally well-informed interest in Portuguese and Dutch colonial history. He was fluent in both languages and in Japanese. A catalogue of his library published in 1937 shows him to have already become an important bibliophile and researcher. After World War II, during which he was imprisoned in Hong Kong, Boxer became Camoes Professor of Portuguese in the University of London and for half a century was a leading authority in his field. His important books suffer from one serious fault: he did not use footnotes, so the researcher is left guessing as to his sources. However, the twelve books and articles cited in the bibliography serve to indicate the importance of Boxer’s foundational work. It appears that his papers, held by the Lilly Library, University of Indiana, may preserve the annotated manuscripts of some of his books.

Sparing use has been made of the work of the prolific Macanese historian, Fr. Manuel Teixeira, SJ. His extensive writings often give access to information not available elsewhere, but he was error-prone and plagiaristic. Jack Braga once wrote that he regretted ever helping Teixeira, who never acknowledged Jack’s assistance.

Thus this thesis seeks to explain this family’s changing fortunes over a period of 250 years using materials that change greatly as the geographic location and cultural dynamics shift from Macau to Hong Kong.

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7 The finding guide indicates that some of the MSS of his books may be present. [http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/lilly/mss/index.php?p=boxer](http://www.indiana.edu/~liblilly/lilly/mss/index.php?p=boxer). Correspondence between Charles Boxer and his friend Jack Braga in the J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/3.1, National Library of Australia, makes it clear that about 1964 Boxer had made up his mind to sell his library to the National Library of Australia, but was dissuaded by his wife, the writer Emily Hahn, who visited Canberra shortly before the fine building of the Australian library was constructed. She felt that it would be wasted in what then seemed to be a cultural wilderness.
A note on nomenclature

Romanisation of Chinese names

It is impossible in a study covering a period of more than two centuries to achieve consistency in the Romanisation of Chinese names. Any attempt at uniformity is bound to run into difficulties. The Wade-Giles system which came into general use in the late nineteenth century has been replaced in mainland China by the Pinyin system, but not uniformly in Hong Kong, where most place names continue to be given in the Wade-Giles system. Thus Tsimshatsui is never called Jiānshāzǔ. (to use the form ‘Xiang gang’ instead of Hong Kong would conflict with local usage). Therefore this study attempts, as a rule of thumb, to use the system that appears to fit best into the context of the place and time being discussed.

There are several obvious inconsistencies, of which the chief one is the use of ‘Lin Zexu’ rather than the Wade-Giles ‘Lin Tse-Hsu’. This important viceroy has come to symbolise Chinese resistance to western encroachment in a way that transcends his historical importance, as will be seen from an illustration in Chapter Two. Thus his name is more recognisable in Pinyin. The museum commemorating him in Macau is named the Lin Zexu Memorial Museum. Most other Chinese names have been retained in the form with which the people who appear in this thesis would have been familiar.

Portuguese names

A different problem is the inconsistent way in which Portuguese names are rendered, including the name ‘Macau’ or ‘Macao’. This dualism can sometimes be found even within the same paragraph of official documents; a relaxed view is taken. ‘Macao’ is the traditional English spelling, but since the return of administration from Portugal to China in 1999, the government of the Macau SAR considers both ‘Macao’ and ‘Macau’ to be acceptable English spellings of the name, whereas in Portugal ‘Macao’ has been discontinued and ‘Macau’ is the official spelling. Local usage in recent years has all but swept aside ‘Macao’, so the form ‘Macau’ has been used in this thesis except where the alternative form is used in a quotation.
Similar alternatives are found in the spelling of Portuguese names using a soft ‘s’ sound: ‘Osorio’ or ‘Ozorio’, ‘Rosa’ or ‘Roza’, ‘Rosario’ or ‘Rozario’ are examples. J.M. Braga adopted a convenient rule of thumb in his ‘A to Z’, his ‘bibliographical index’. He treated them all as though spelt with an ‘s’, while retaining the form used by the person concerned. Examples, in alphabetical order, are:

Ozorio, António Joaquim  
Osorio, José Maria  
Ozorio, Luigi  
Osorio, Pedro Manuel

Other variant spellings include ‘praia’ and ‘praya’, also used interchangeably. Any attempt at consistency is doomed to failure. The practice followed here is to adopt whatever spelling has been used in an adjacent source.

**Mata Moiro.** The residents of this Portuguese residential area of Hong Kong in the late nineteenth century spelt it in a variety of ways. The form adopted by J.P. Braga in his *The Portuguese in Hongkong and China* has been followed: ‘Mata Moiro’, ‘the field of Moors’, so named because of its proximity to the Jamia Mosque, built there well before it became a Portuguese residential area.

**‘Hongkong’ and ‘Hong Kong’**

Lastly, the variant spellings ‘Hongkong’ and ‘Hong Kong’ should be discussed. Both spellings were used until 1926, when the Hong Kong Government changed the official spelling to ‘Hong Kong’, on the instructions of the Secretary of State for the Colonies (*Hong Kong Government Gazette*, No. 49, 1926). However, the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation has retained the single word as the name was registered that way in 1864. J.P. Braga almost always used the old spelling, and his usage has been retained in many of his letters and papers quoted in the following pages.

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8 J.M. Braga Papers, National Library of Australia, MS 4300/7.2.
## Timeline of events

The Rosa and Braga families in a wider context

### Part 1 – Sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Elsewhere</th>
<th>Portuguese in the East</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1456</td>
<td>Portuguese padroado commenced</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1498</td>
<td>Vasco da Gama reached India</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1503</td>
<td>1st Viceroy of Portuguese India: Francisco de Almeida</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1510</td>
<td>2nd Viceroy: Afonso de Albuquerque</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1510</td>
<td>Portuguese occupation of Goa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1511</td>
<td>Malacca occupied by Albuquerque</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1515</td>
<td>Jorge Alvares placed padrao in Lin Tin island</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1517</td>
<td>Abortive mission to Chinese imperial court led by Tomé Pires</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1534</td>
<td>Jesuit Order founded</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1542</td>
<td>Fernão Mendes Pinto in Japan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1557</td>
<td>Portuguese settlement in Macau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1562</td>
<td>St Paul’s College established</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1565</td>
<td>Santa Casa de Misericórdia established</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1573</td>
<td>Barrier wall erected at Macau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1575</td>
<td>Diocese of Macau established</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1580</td>
<td>Portuguese monarchy extinct; Spanish rule for sixty years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1582</td>
<td>Macau Senado established</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1588</td>
<td>Jesuit press in Macau printed its first book <em>Christiani Pueri Institutio</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jesuit Press set up in Japan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1597</td>
<td>Crucifixion of the 26 ‘Nagasaki martyrs’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>English East India Company chartered</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1602</td>
<td>Dutch East India Company <em>(Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie)</em> established</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1614</td>
<td>Jesuit press returned to Macau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1622</td>
<td>Growing persecution of Japanese Christians</td>
<td>Dutch attack on Macau repulsed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1623</td>
<td>First Governor of Macau appointed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1637</td>
<td>Weddell visited Macau; remained for six months</td>
<td>Completion of St Paul’s Church, Macau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1638</td>
<td>Massacre of Japanese Christians at Shimebara; last Portuguese ships left Japan</td>
<td>Macau’s trade with Manila suspended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>Portuguese in the East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1640</td>
<td>Restoration of Portuguese monarchy</td>
<td>Disastrous Portuguese attempt to restore relations with Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1641</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dutch occupation of Malacca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1644</td>
<td>Accession of Qing dynasty</td>
<td>Turmoil in South China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1654</td>
<td></td>
<td>Title não ha outra mais leal added to the motto of the Macau Senate, thenceforth known as the Leal Senado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1662</td>
<td></td>
<td>Macau’s worst year: barrier closed for three months, leading to widespread starvation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1685</td>
<td>Chinese ports re-opened to foreign shipping by Kangxi Emperor</td>
<td>Macau Senate rejected opportunity to resume trade with China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1688</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Customs House erected in Macau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Part 2 – Eighteenth century**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Elsewhere</th>
<th>Portuguese in the East</th>
<th>Rosa family, Macau</th>
<th>Braga family, Goa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1704</td>
<td></td>
<td>Manuel Vicente Rosa arrived in Macau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rosa appointed Juiz dos Orfãos, Judge of Orphans.</td>
<td>Félix Fernandes born in Braga, Portugal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1714</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rosa appointed Ouvidor, Crown Judge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1719</td>
<td>Renewed proposal by Kangxi Emperor to centre Chinese trade on Macau</td>
<td>Second rejection of this proposal by Macau Senado</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1729</td>
<td>Yongzheng Emperor prohibited importation of opium into China</td>
<td>Trade proposal again rejected despite protests from Senado</td>
<td>M.V. Rosa active in Senado</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1732</td>
<td>Yongzheng Emperor again renewed proposal to centre Chinese trade on Macau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1736</td>
<td>Printing banned in all Portuguese colonies</td>
<td></td>
<td>Widespread illiteracy; dearth of literature.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>Portuguese in the East</td>
<td>Rosa family, Macau</td>
<td>Braga family, Goa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td>------------------------</td>
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<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1738</td>
<td></td>
<td>Simão Vicente Rosa arrived in Macau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1739</td>
<td></td>
<td>Félix Fernandes arrived in Goa, assumed surname Braga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1742</td>
<td>Anson’s visit to Macau; Macau authorities placed in a difficult position</td>
<td>Birth of Simão d’Araújo Rosa Sr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1745</td>
<td></td>
<td>Death of Manuel Vicente Rosa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After 1750</td>
<td>Growing British trade with China</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1757</td>
<td>Outbreak of Seven Years War; much of India controlled by East India Company.</td>
<td>Foreigners permitted to live in Macau, but not to own property</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1760</td>
<td></td>
<td>All Chinese ports except Canton closed to foreign trade</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1762</td>
<td>Suppression by Pombal of the Jesuit Order</td>
<td>Expulsion of Jesuits; closure of St Paul’s College</td>
<td>Acquisition by Simão d’Araújo Rosa of Jesuit property, Green Island.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1763</td>
<td>End of Seven Years War; British dominant in the East</td>
<td>Growing numbers of British and other foreign traders</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1765</td>
<td></td>
<td>Birth of Simão d’Araújo Rosa Jr.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1766</td>
<td></td>
<td>Félix Braga President of the Senado do Goa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1769</td>
<td>Marriage of António Félix Braga, son of Félix</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770</td>
<td>Expulsion of Jesuits</td>
<td>Birth of Ana Joaquina Rosa Braga in Goa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>Portuguese in the East</td>
<td>Rosa family, Macau</td>
<td>Braga family, Goa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1773</td>
<td>Scott case: seen as judicial murder</td>
<td>Death of Simão Vicente Rosa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1773</td>
<td>India Act: greater British government control over East India Company</td>
<td>East India Company commenced operations in Macau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca. 1779</td>
<td>Death of Félix Braga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1784</td>
<td>American traders arrived in Macau</td>
<td>The case of the Lady Hughes gunner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1785</td>
<td></td>
<td>Death of António Félix Braga in Goa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1792</td>
<td>Marriage of Simão d’Araújo Rosa and Ana Joaquina Braga in Goa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1793</td>
<td>Unsuccessful Macartney embassy to Peking</td>
<td>Decline of Portuguese trade</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Part 3 – 1800-1840**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Elsewhere</th>
<th>Macau and Canton</th>
<th>Rosa Braga family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1803</td>
<td>Napoleonic Wars</td>
<td>British attempt to occupy Macau</td>
<td>João Vicente Rosa Braga born in Macau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1807</td>
<td>British occupation of Malacca</td>
<td>2nd British attempt to occupy Macau. Sheen affair in Canton; Rolles’ decisive action.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1813</td>
<td></td>
<td>East India Co. Press operating in Macau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>Defeat of Napoleon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1817</td>
<td>Unsuccessful Amherst mission to Peking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>Ban lifted on printing in Portuguese colonies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td></td>
<td>Death of Simão d’Araújo Rosa Sr.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1822</td>
<td></td>
<td>Publication of A Abelha da China</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1824</td>
<td></td>
<td>Birth of Delfino Noronha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>Macau and Canton</td>
<td>Rosa Braga family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1825</td>
<td></td>
<td>Arrival in Macau of the artist George Chinnery</td>
<td>João Vicente Rosa Braga married in Macau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828-1834</td>
<td>Civil war in Portugal</td>
<td>Canton Register commenced 1827</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>East India Company’s trading monopoly ended</td>
<td>Rapid growth of opium trade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830s</td>
<td>Rapid growth in the numbers of ‘country traders’</td>
<td>Employment of Portuguese clerks and translators by British traders</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834</td>
<td>Appointment of Lord Napier as Superintendent of Trade</td>
<td>Death of Lord Napier, replaced by Sir John Davis</td>
<td>Vicente Emílio Rosa Braga born in Macau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td></td>
<td>Burning of St Paul’s Church, 26 January</td>
<td>Death of Simão d’Araújo Rosa Jr. in Macau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>Decision of Daoguang Emperor to stop opium trade; appointment of Lin Zexu as Commissioner</td>
<td>Surrender of ca. 20,000 chests of opium; murder of Chinese villager at Kowloon; British flight from Macau</td>
<td>British dispersal of Chinese troops menacing Macau watched by large crowd, likely to include J. V. Rosa Braga and D. Noronha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>Arrival of British punitive expedition to China</td>
<td>Macau no longer dominated by mandarins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Part 4 – 1841-1900**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Elsewhere</th>
<th>Hong Kong</th>
<th>Rosa Braga and Noronha families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>Sino-British War, 1839-1842; Chuenpi Convention ceded Hong Kong to Britain</td>
<td>British took possession, 26 January 1841</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>Treaty of Nanking, five treaty ports opened, including Shanghai</td>
<td>British occupation confirmed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pottinger assumed office as governor, proclaimed City of Victoria, 26 June</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>Rosa Braga and Noronha families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td></td>
<td>Legislative Council established</td>
<td>Delfino Noronha moved to Hong Kong, began printing establishment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ca. 1845</td>
<td></td>
<td>João Vicente Rosa Braga and his family moved to Hong Kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>First known example of Noronha’s printing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Assassination of Governor Amaral in Macau</td>
<td>Wave of Portuguese emigration from Macau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Continuing decline of Macau</td>
<td>First reclamation of foreshore land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850-1866</td>
<td>Taiping Rebellion</td>
<td>Rapid growth of Chinese population</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>João Vicente Rosa Braga died in Hong Kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Attempt by Chinese baker Cheong Alum to poison the foreign population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858-1860</td>
<td>2nd Sino-British War</td>
<td></td>
<td>Noronha appointed government printer, 1859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>Treaty of Tientsin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td></td>
<td>Occupation of Kowloon by British</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>‘Sabre-rattling’ in Macau: visit of Hong Kong Volunteers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hongkong &amp; Shanghai Banking Corp. established</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td></td>
<td>Club Lusitano opened</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hong Kong Mint established</td>
<td>V.E. Braga appointed assistant accountant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>Opening of Suez Canal</td>
<td>Sense of isolation from the ‘Home Country’ greatly diminished</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>V.E. Braga appointed Chief Accountant, Imperial Mint at Osaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Birth of J.P. Braga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J.J. Braga left Hong Kong for England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>Rosa Braga and Noronha families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Great Typhoon; several hundred Portuguese left Macau</td>
<td>Labour market flooded, driving down wages for Portuguese clerks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J.P. Braga at St Joseph’s College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887-8</td>
<td>José Braga at school in Calcutta</td>
<td>Sino-Portuguese Treaty, forced on China by British pressure.</td>
<td>Three Braga boys died of smallpox, forcing José Braga to return to Hong Kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td></td>
<td>José Rizal in Hong Kong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-5</td>
<td>Sino-Japanese War; China humiliated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J.P. Braga married Olive Pollard, published Rights of Aliens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896-7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J.P. Braga published Odds and Ends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>European pressure on China</td>
<td>New Territories ‘leased’ to Britain for 99 years.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Boxer rebellion</td>
<td></td>
<td>Death of Delfino Noronha; J.P. Braga left Hong Kong</td>
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**Part 5 – 1901-1999**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Elsewhere</th>
<th>Hong Kong</th>
<th>Braga family</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J.P. Braga appointed Manager of Hongkong Telegraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904-5</td>
<td>Russo-Japanese War</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td></td>
<td>Macau border conference</td>
<td>José Braga a member of the Comissão Portuguesa de Delimiticão de Macau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J.P. Braga left Hongkong Telegraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Chinese revolution began</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>End of Chinese Empire</td>
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<th>Year</th>
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<tr>
<td>1914-1918</td>
<td>World War I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>May 4 Movement</td>
<td></td>
<td>J.P. Braga appointed Justice of the Peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jack Braga moved to Macau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>KMT occupied Canton</td>
<td>General strike and trade boycott</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Macau port works completed</td>
<td></td>
<td>J.P. Braga appointed to temporary position on Sanitary Board. Purchased property at Knutsford Terrace, Kowloon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Elected unopposed to Sanitary Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Great Depression commenced</td>
<td></td>
<td>J.P. Braga appointed to Legislative Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J.P. Braga appointed Chairman of Hongkong Engineering &amp; Construction Co. He held the position until 1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Japanese occupation of Manchuria</td>
<td>Purchase of ‘Garden suburb’ site by Construction Co.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Depression at its lowest point</td>
<td>Trade greatly reduced</td>
<td>J.P. Braga organised British Empire Trade Fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J.P. Braga appointed to second term on Legislative Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J.P. Braga Chairman of China Light for this year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J.P. Braga appointed OBE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>First houses completed on ‘the Estate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Japanese attack on China. Occupation of Shanghai. ‘Rape of Nanking’</td>
<td></td>
<td>J.P. Braga left Legislative Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Japanese occupation of Canton. Refugees flocked to Hong Kong and Macau</td>
<td></td>
<td>J.P. Braga Chairman of China Light for this year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>Braga family</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Outbreak of World War II</td>
<td>evac</td>
<td>Hugh, Tony and Paul Braga joined Hong Kong Volunteers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Fall of France, Battle of Britain</td>
<td>Evacuation of British women and children to Australia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>7 December: Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor</td>
<td>8 December: Japanese attack on Hong Kong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td></td>
<td>11-12 December: Anarchy in Kowloon</td>
<td>Braga family sought refuge in Argentine consul’s house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td></td>
<td>25 December: Fall of Hong Kong</td>
<td>Braga family terrified and desperate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Macau neutral. Population swelled to ca. 500,000</td>
<td>16 members of Braga family fled to Macau, April 1942 - June 1944</td>
<td>Braga family members still in Hong Kong close to starvation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943-5</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cared for by Jack and Augusta Braga.</td>
<td>Jack Braga active in Intelligence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>Allied advance on all fronts</td>
<td>Hong Kong’s population fell from ca. 1.6 million to ca. 600,000</td>
<td>Death of J.P. Braga. Tony Braga last to move to Macau. Jean Braga remained in Hong Kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>7 May: defeat of Germany</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>15 August: defeat of Japan</td>
<td>30 August: British fleet arrived, POWs released</td>
<td>Maude released from Stanley Internment Camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Civil war commenced in China</td>
<td>Military Administration until May. Hugh Braga found accommodation for the whole family.</td>
<td>All Bragas returned to Hong Kong, including Jack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Communist victory in civil war</td>
<td>Refugees flooded into Hong Kong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>June: Korean war; December: Chinese intervention</td>
<td>Trade with China frozen. Hong Kong economy imperilled.</td>
<td>All faced difficult conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Maude, Hugh moved to Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Stalemate in Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td>Death of Olive Braga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Armistice in Korea</td>
<td>Gradual economic recovery</td>
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xxvii
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Elsewhere</th>
<th>Hong Kong</th>
<th>Braga family</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Suez Canal crisis</td>
<td>Riot in Hong Kong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td></td>
<td>Beginning of Portuguese emigration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Serious riots in Macau</td>
<td>Serious riots in Hong Kong</td>
<td>Jack Braga sold his library to the National Library of Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td></td>
<td>More serious riots in Hong Kong</td>
<td>Caroline Braga sought unsuccessfully to emigrate to USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970s</td>
<td>1974: Portugal: end of Salazar’s rule</td>
<td>Concessions to Chinese population. Most Portuguese left for Pacific Rim countries</td>
<td>By 1970 only Jean, Tony and Caroline Braga remained in Hong Kong. The other 8 members of their generation had left.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td></td>
<td>Return of prosperity. Rapid economic growth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sino-British Joint Declaration: Hong Kong to be returned to Chinese sovereignty in 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Luso-Chinese Accord: Macau to be returned to Chinese sovereignty in 1999</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td></td>
<td>30 June: return of Hong Kong to Chinese sovereignty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Death of Caroline Braga, last of the 13 members of her generation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>20 December: return of Macau to Chinese sovereignty</td>
<td></td>
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Introduction

The history of Macau and its people, who eventually emerged with their distinctive Macanese identity, is an enigma that poses many questions. How did Macau and its people survive more than four centuries of tribulation? That enigma is set within a larger one: the brief flourishing of a worldwide empire flung into the far corners of the earth by a small country perched on the edge of Europe. How did Portugal briefly become in the sixteenth century the dominant maritime power of the entire coasts of Africa and Asia? How did Macau, the furthest outpost of this remarkable achievement, remain under Portuguese control until the end of the twentieth century despite the collapse of the Portuguese empire? How then did its people fare?¹

¹ Portuguese expansion into South Asia and then South-East Asia received scant attention in English until the late nineteenth century. An English translation of Linschoten’s important late sixteenth century account (Linschoten, Jan Huygen van, and Phillip, William, *Iohn Hvighen van Linschoten: his discours of voyages into ye Easte & West Indies*, London,1598) was followed by little more than passing references in the accounts of Peter Mundy (*The travels of Peter Mundy, in Europe and Asia, 1668-1667*, Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1907) and Richard Walter (*A voyage round the world, in the years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV / By George Anson, esq: now Lord Anson*, London, 1749). Late nineteenth century studies by Fonseca and Danvers, writing about the Portuguese in India, examined the conquest, settlement and decline of Goa and the smaller settlements of Damão and Diu. The Portuguese presence in Malacca was all but forgotten after its long occupation by the Dutch from 1641 to 1807 and the English thereafter. Jack Braga discovered a rich but untapped store of manuscripts in the Ajuda Library in his researches there in 1952. He carefully listed them in his Special File on Malacca (J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/7.3/6). There was little scholarly examination of the whole span of the Portuguese presence in Africa and Asia in the sixteenth century and beyond until Charles Boxer began a lifetime of research, collecting and writing in the 1920s. His unique and important role continued for the rest of the twentieth century, almost until his death in 2000 at the age of 96. His close friendship and collaboration with Jack Braga bore fruit in the latter’s useful and careful studies, especially concerning the beginning of the Portuguese presence in China in the sixteenth century (*The western pioneers and their discovery of Macao*, Macao, 1949). Boxer provided detailed bibliographical information in several of his books, but a major drawback is the absence of references. Nevertheless, one of Boxer’s achievements was to raise the profile of Lusitanian studies in English. His predecessors in the Chair of Portuguese at London University, especially Sir George Young, were interested in literature rather than history. Following Boxer were two studies: the volume contributed by M.N. Pearson to the Cambridge History of India series (*The Portuguese in India*, Cambridge, 1987), and the inclusion of I.A. McGregor’s luminous chapter ‘Europe and the East’ in both editions of vol. 2, *The Reformation, 1520-1559*, of the *New Cambridge Modern History* (1958 and 1990). Fresh ground has been broken in recent years by A.R. Disney, *The Portuguese in India and other studies, 1500-1700*, Farnham, England, 2009.

Scholarly examination of the history of the Portuguese Empire is severely limited by the loss of much of the archival record in the devastating Lisbon earthquake and fire of 1 November 1755. Even after this, as Boxer has established, there are substantial gaps in the administrative records of Portugal Overseas thereafter as an administration in decline led to poor record-keeping and serious losses occurred. Much the same is true of Macau, where both the written and the archaeological record continued to be destroyed well into the twentieth century. The Great Typhoon of September 1874 led also to serious losses. No government gazette existed there until 1838, and there was little attempt to preserve runs of newspapers which often existed for only two or three years. Fortunately, some early papers, *A Abelha da China* (1822-1823), *Gazeta de Macao* (1824-1826) and *Macaista Imparcial* (1835) were preserved and reprinted in *Arquivo Macau*, series 3, 1968-1969. *Abelha da China* has also been republished in facsimile. The ban on printing in all the Portuguese overseas
This thesis sets out to discuss, not all of these large questions, but just one facet of the last question. It seeks to examine in depth the fortunes of one family in Portuguese East Asia, a branch of a family which took the name Braga. It was from this city in northern Portugal that a young man set out in the early eighteenth century for Goa, in Portuguese India. There his descendants married into a family, the Rosas, already well-established in Macau. It traces their affairs through many vicissitudes, first in Goa, then in Macau and Hong Kong as a Macanese family, eventually becoming a British family in Hong Kong. Detailed treatment of the Braga family concludes soon after 1945, as its members began to move away from the places that had been home for several generations.

If the continuity of Macau was precarious, so too was the existence of Portugal. It emerged as a political entity at the beginning of the Reconquista, the drawn-out struggle that lasted from the ninth to the fifteenth century to expel the Moors from the Iberian Peninsula. A key event for Portugal was the conquest of the mountainous well-forested northern region between the rivers Minho and Douro, which in the late ninth century became the county of Portucale. Two centuries later the county’s ruler claimed the title Dux Portucalensis. In 1179 Afonso I was declared king by Pope Alexander III in the bull Manifestis Probatum. The episcopal city of Braga was the spiritual centre of this new northern kingdom, and gained lasting prestige thereby.

The name of this city was adopted as his surname about 1739 by Félix Fernandes, one progenitor of the family on which this study is centred. Here in Braga was built in the eleventh century a cathedral, the oldest in Portugal, an antiquity that became territories from 1736 until 1820 led to a dearth of printed source material in or about all of them. Jack Braga was able to discover only one book about Macau, a sketchy memoir, Memoria sobre Macao, by José de Aquino Guimarães e Freitas, an officer of the garrison for seven years in the early nineteenth century.

The result of this deficiency in the historical record of both Portugal and its colonies is that historical work both on the larger picture of Portuguese exploration and settlement has been stunted if not thwarted altogether. The early works of Ljungstedt (An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China: and of the Roman Catholic church and mission in China, 1836) and Montalto de Jesus (Historic Macao, 1902 and 1926) have been reprinted within the last thirty years but not rewritten or superseded by more recent general histories. Thus the polemical standpoint of both earlier writers has yet to be reviewed.

In short, while the Portuguese Empire found its historian in Boxer, Macau awaits an historian in English to replace books written in and for a bygone era. A recent study by Paul B. Spooner, ‘Macau: the port for two republics’ (PhD, University of Hong Kong, 2009) goes some way to this, but has a thrust that limits its usefulness, focusing, after preliminary discussion, on the porto exterior project of the 1920s.
proverbial. ‘As old as Braga Cathedral’ became a dismissive comment about stale news, much like the English, ‘Queen Anne’s dead’.

The survival of the kingdom of Portugal depended on the hardihood of its people and the strong military arm of its successive rulers who fought for several centuries to defeat the Moors who in the eighth century had swept through the Iberian Peninsula. The Portuguese assault on the Moors was a sustained Crusade that ended only with the conquest of the southernmost province, the Algarve, in 1249. Like the Crusades in the Holy Land, the Portuguese reconquest of their country had the character of a Holy War, which placed the Catholic Church in a supremely powerful position in the emerging kingdom. The religious zeal of people and King, and their determination to destroy infidels, would be translated into comparable action in key positions on the African and Asian coasts during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Just as they had fought valley by valley southwards through Portugal, building churches, cathedrals and forts as they went, so they extended the rule of Portugal and what they saw as the kingdom of Christ, voyage by voyage during those two centuries. The cross and the cannon were never far apart in either of these two great enterprises at home and abroad. The Portuguese caravels which ruled the eastern seas in that brief era of Portuguese greatness sailed under the Lusitanian cross spread across the vessels’ great mainsails.

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2 The Portuguese experience of empire does not readily fit into the models that historians, sociologists and politicians have applied to the pattern of relationships between political systems that came to be known as ‘imperialism’, implying the imposition by force of one system upon another. Apart from a brief reference to the Napoleonic Empire, the word itself did not exist until the later nineteenth century, when it enjoyed a brief vogue of approbation in C.W. Dilke, *Greater Britain*, 1869 and J.R. Seeley, *The expansion of England*, 1902, and a final surge of popularity coinciding with the diamond jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1897. Kipling enunciated it in a popular form, most notably in 1899 in verse: ‘Take up the white man’s burden’. That phase of approbation effectively ended soon afterwards with the debate surrounding the Boer War, a French comment serving to illustrate the negative view then emerging: ‘C’est la guerre de la Bourse contre les Boers’, a caustic view that was echoed by left-wing English writers such as J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism, a study*, 1902. Since then ‘imperialism’ has generally been a term of condemnation. Numerous Marxists would follow and further enunciate explanations of European expansionism as the inevitable outworking of capitalist consumptionism. Of these, Lenin’s famous tract, *Imperialism, the last stage of capitalism*, 1917, was the most influential and certainly the most doctrinaire. Tangentially, left-wingers after the Great War would lash out at the profiteering of arms manufacturers, while the most extreme and crudest denunciation of ‘imperialism’ was part of the stock-in-trade of anti-Semitism, fanned by *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. While focussed upon racial hatred, it also preached the self-immolation of the Jewish-capitalist system of exploitation, and was avidly followed by Nazi Germany.

Such views had a common thread: that capitalism and the imperialism it spawned were essentially self-destructive. However, they were a manifestly inadequate explanation for the phenomenon of empire-building, both in economic and ideological terms. Later writers such as W.L. Langer, *The diplomacy of imperialism*, 1890-1902, 1935 and D.K. Fieldhouse, *The colonial empires: a comparative survey from the eighteenth century*, 1966, stressed non-economic factors such as the politics of world strategy and the desire for assertive display of power. R. Gallagher and J. Robinson,
Only three names from this era came into the consciousness of English history: the planner, Prince Henry the Navigator, and two of the navigators who built on the foundations he had laid, Bartholomew Diaz and Vasco da Gama. The planning, perseverance and courage of these three saw Portuguese ships ultimately arrive on the Indian coast in 1498, there to establish a Portuguese presence that would survive in the East for five centuries. Their achievements were astonishing; they deserve their lasting fame. Not less worthy were their immediate successors, the first two viceroyos of Portuguese India, Francisco de Almeida (1450-1510; held office 1503-1510) and Afonso de Albuquerque (1453-1515; held office 1510-1515), who turned presence into permanence and within twenty years had swept Arab merchant shipping from the seas and had constructed a series of almost fifty strong points on the coast between Mozambique and Malacca. Of these, Ormuz at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, Goa on the west coast of India and Malacca controlling the important spice trade from the Moluccas were the key fortifications. The last to be established was Macau about 1557.

Africa and the Victorians: the official mind of imperialism, 1961, broke new ground in their detailed examination of imperial policies in Africa, perhaps influenced to some degree by the historical methodology of another ground-breaking historian, Sir Lewis Namier, in his The structure of politics at the accession of George III, 1929.

The Portuguese colonial experience does not readily lend itself either to namierisation or to the grand theoretical sweep of Marxist ideology. Even at the height of its success in the mid-sixteenth century, the Portuguese empire was almost a contradiction in terms, for it was not essentially a grab for world power. A small country of little more than a million people briefly controlled most of the maritime commerce of two continents. Portugal had for a short time just sufficient resources of manpower, shipping, capable leadership and the will to achieve the impossible. Very quickly, Portugal found that she lacked the means to sustain all of these things, especially when she faced the determined competition, better marine technology and well-organised entrepreneurial methods of the Dutch. They were hostile, too, to the self-imposed task of the expansion of the Catholic Church.

One thing continued throughout the long Portuguese experience of empire, albeit in a steadily weakening form. This was the padrado, the papal authority and command given to the kings of Portugal to sustain the efforts of Catholic evangelism. Carefully examined by C.R. Boxer in a number of works, especially The Portuguese Padrado in the Far East and the Problem of the Chinese Rites, 1948, and The Portuguese seaborne empire, 1415-1825, 1969, the padrado was pursued with earnestness by Portuguese monarchs for several centuries in a way that defies any attempt to fit it into a theoretical framework of proto-imperialism. In a sense, the padrado was the natural consequence of the Portuguese Reconquista, that centuries-long struggle to regain for Christendom what had been lost to the Moors in the eighth century. Having secured by the mid-thirteenth century the boundaries of what is now modern Portugal, the eyes of Portuguese monarchs continued to look beyond the horizon to the conquest of the coast of Africa and eventually to the maritime supremacy that they briefly enjoyed. To put it in a nut-shell, they simply kept going. However, by the mid-eighteenth century, both the padrado and the Portuguese outposts in Africa and Asia where it lingered on were a pale shadow of what had been achieved by Almeida and Albuquerque between 1505 and 1515 in a few years of often brutal conquest followed by energetic consolidation.

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Two centuries after the viceroyalty of Portuguese India was created in 1504, and about the time that the two men initially discussed in this thesis, Manuel Vicente Rosa arrived in Macau and Félix Braga in Goa, only fragments of the Portuguese Empire remained. Goa was falling into ruins. Malacca was lost to the Dutch in 1641. Macau, a brilliantly successful trading city until the 1630s, was isolated, impoverished and surviving with difficulty, like the rest of the Portuguese empire.3

This study sets out to examine the changing fortunes of one branch of the Rosa Braga family for the following three centuries as the Portuguese experience in the Far East evolved. In the eighteenth century there was a succession of merchants and entrepreneurs whose fortunes, once great, steadily ebbed away as Macau declined in a period of six generations until 1840. The following six generations saw much greater change. In the early 1840s two aspirational men left the old Portuguese settlement for the newly established British colony of Hong Kong. Here they faced different challenges, no longer ones of sheer survival, but the frustrations of being members of an under-class in a profoundly hierarchical and racist colonial system. During the second half of the nineteenth century, several of them decided to move on, convinced that prospects for themselves and their heirs were better elsewhere, in Britain or in Japan. Others, most notably José Pedro Braga remained, determined to bring about change.

The twentieth century brought both greater opportunities and greater challenges. A diversifying economy and gradual social change enabled a whole generation of younger Bragas between 1920 and 1935 to embark on careers that would have been unimaginable thirty years before. Meanwhile, that was the period in which J.P.

3 J.H. Plumb, in an extensive introduction to C.R. Boxer’s *The Portuguese seaborne empire, 1415-1825*, not only poses the questions already raised in this Introduction, but adds searing comment on the long, sad decline. Like others, he marvelled at the tenacity of the remnant, and the grand achievement there had once been.

‘The epic days of plunder gave way to a settled and inefficient exploitation that grew ever more inert as decade followed decade and century century … Deepening conservatism, deepening reluctance to adjust to a changing world became the hallmark of the Portuguese. The Spanish Empire may have grown arthritic, but the Portuguese possessed the rigidity of a corpse … rigid, orthodox, decaying, mouldering like an antique ruin in the tropical heat, the Portuguese empire slept on … At a terrible cost Portugal opened the doors to a wider world, one that she could neither dominate nor control; with history’s usual malice she was quickly overtaken and left moribund, a pensioner in the world stakes, possessing enough for survival, too little for glory … And yet indelibly her name is written across the world’s history: an extraordinary achievement for so small, so poor a country.’ (J.H. Plumb, Introduction to C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese seaborne empire, 1415-1825*, pp. xxii-xxv, xxvii).
Braga, father and grandfather of a dynasty, was able to create an important niche in public life both for himself and for others who followed.

The architecture of this thesis is based upon race relations. Part I, ‘A community takes shape’, examines the way in which relations developed between the Portuguese in Macau and the Chinese mandarins to whom they were beholden. This is followed by a discussion of relations between the Portuguese and the British, who were a growing presence and commercial power from 1770 onwards. While often tense, these relations were never hostile, but a pattern developed in which the Portuguese, supposedly rulers of Macau, became increasingly subservient to the British. This theme is then followed throughout the thesis, with chapters on the Portuguese community in Hong Kong at the beginning and the end of the British era book-ending a detailed examination of the fortunes of the Braga and Noronha families.

A succinct comment on relations between the Portuguese and other communities throughout the history of British Hong Kong was contained in an observation made in 2009 by Dr Colin Day, Publisher of Hong Kong University Press. ‘The Chinese were the sea in which everyone was swimming, and the Portuguese, for their part, seemed at this time to be trapped in a backwater.’ The aim of the thesis is to explain how members of this family succeeded in breaking out of the backwater and in making their mark, not only within their own community, but also in the broader life of Hong Kong for most of the century and a half it was ruled by the British.

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Chapter 1

‘Stubborn endurance’

Macau: the Portuguese and Chinese 1557-1839

Those who came there from the four corners of the earth over several centuries generally saw China as a land of opportunity. Yet, having arrived on the China coast, they often seemed to ignore the Chinese people as much as possible. The Chinese were useful as merchants, providers and as servants, but apart from that, most foreigners had as few dealings with them as possible. Exceptions were Christian missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, whose dedicated lives were often spent selflessly in service of the people to whom they sought to bring the Gospel. For their part, the Chinese people and their government had no understanding of any foreigners other than those who came periodically from beyond the immediate boundaries of the Celestial Empire to make obeisance and pay tribute money to the Son of Heaven.

Foreigners could scarcely be expected to understand, let alone resolve, these fundamental tensions. Ultimately, most came to realise that they were not there by right. People who had lived in the Far East for up to ten generations from the seventeenth to the late twentieth century eventually left, unable to see a role for themselves into the future. Yet in the period they lived there, their achievements were considerable. So too were the challenges they faced, and often the disasters they endured. This thesis examines the role played by one of these extended families. First, however, it is necessary to explain how the strange situation arose in which people like this were able to remain for so long, passing through many vicissitudes.

Initially, the long tenure by the Portuguese of Macau needs to be examined. The Portuguese presence there lasted from 1557 to 1999. It was not the first European colony in the East, for the Portuguese had established themselves in Goa in 1510. However, it was the first European settlement on the China coast, and preceded the next, Hong Kong, by close to 300 years. Hong Kong was handed back to China in 1997, Macau following two years later. So the first colony was also the last. It might
be supposed that was due to a sustained military power, but that was anything but the case. For much of this time, the Chinese could have driven out the Portuguese had they chosen to do so, but they did not.

The Portuguese arrival at and settlement of Macau was remarkable enough in itself. Their prolonged continuation there was still more extraordinary. The Portuguese Empire rose and fell in scarcely more than fifty years in the early sixteenth century, although Macau’s greatest prosperity continued for another ninety years, suddenly being snuffed out in 1639 when foreigners were expelled from Japan and the hugely lucrative trade that the Portuguese had conducted there since the 1550s vanished. Yet, impoverished and defenceless, Macau remained under Portuguese control for more than 350 years longer. Its survival is surely the most amazing story in the long record of relations between China and the outside world.

Colonial expansion is commonly regarded as the result of commercial prowess, often accompanied by religious zeal, sustained by overpowering military and naval force. This is broadly true of the astounding Portuguese conquests as they worked their
way around the African coast and across the Indian Ocean between the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Francisco de Almeida (ca. 1450-1510), the first Portuguese viceroy in the East, and his successor, Afonso de Albuquerque (1453-1515) saw as early as 1509 that to secure trade they must destroy any who might stand in their way. This they did in a major naval engagement off the Indian coast. At that time, the technological superiority of the Portuguese in shipbuilding and gunnery made it easy for Albuquerque to sweep his opponents from the seas. Arab dhows were no match for the far more manoeuvrable and better gunned Portuguese caravels and carracks.

It was not long before the Portuguese ventured further. The Chinese were known in India, where the voyages of the celebrated Chinese admiral Cheng Ho (1371-1433), some fifty years earlier had left a strong memory. The Chinese were seen by the Indians as a civilised people with paler skins than theirs. Thus informed, Albuquerque decided to venture further east. Arriving at Malacca in 1511, he found a fleet of Chinese junks there. He sent one of his captains, Jorge Álvares (d. 1521) to find whether trade could be opened with these mysterious and remote people. In 1515 Álvares landed at an island he named Tamão at the mouth of the Pearl River. Here he placed a padrão, a stone column bearing the arms of Portugal, and in some sense staking a claim for a continuing Portuguese presence in China. This was within striking distance of what was already the great city of Guangzhou (traditionally Romanised as Canton). With no understanding of Chinese culture or language, the Portuguese appear to have applied the name of the province, Guangdong (traditionally Romanised as Kwangtung) to the city. They were unable to pronounce its name, which they rendered as Cantão. In English parlance this became Canton for most of the next five centuries. That name is used in this thesis, as it was the name in general use during the period covered by this study.

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1 Chinese names are usually Romanised in this thesis using the Wade-Giles system of rendering Chinese names in English, the most common form used throughout the Far East in the period covered. Moreover many of the sources referred to use the Wade-Giles system. It remains common in Hong Kong. As most of this thesis deals with events and people in Hong Kong (to use the form ‘Xiang gang’ would be absurd), it is appropriate to use terms within that context. By the late twentieth century, the Wade-Giles system was becoming obsolete, being replaced by the Pinyin system. An attempt has been made to provide a concordance indicating the Wade-Giles, Pinyin and Chinese forms. This may be found in Appendix 17, A Glossary of Chinese names.

2 J.M. Braga has identified this island as Lintin, a conclusion accepted by Charles Boxer. J.M. Braga, China landfall, 1513: Jorge Álvares’ voyage to China; J.M. Braga, Tamão dos pioneiros Portugueses, passim.

Álvares was not permitted to proceed up-river to Canton, but first impressions were so favourable, and the trade casually engaged in so profitable, that others soon followed. In 1517 an embassy was despatched to the Imperial Court at Peking, led by Tomé Pires (ca. 1465-unknown, but after 1524), a scholar whose *Suma Oriental* was an important reference work describing the Portuguese eastern discoveries. He seemed to be the ideal man for what proved to be an impossible task. After lengthy delays, it transpired that the communication to the Emperor which came, not from the King of Portugal, but his underling, the Viceroy at Goa, was not in the form of abject submission deemed proper for barbarian rulers. To make matters worse, another Portuguese fleet arrived off Canton, led by Simão de Andrade, who behaved in a manner offensive to the Chinese, described by them as an ‘outrageous and high-handed way’. This destroyed the position of Pires and his entourage, who were then seen as dangerous spies and thrown into prison in Canton, where some were executed, while the rest died miserably some years later. The Portuguese had discovered, as did other Europeans over the next three centuries, that dealing with the Chinese authorities was difficult, unpredictable, and could be deadly.

This disaster halted Portuguese trade with China for a generation. Cautiously, others ventured back. In 1542, Fernão Mendes Pinto (ca. 1509-1583) and a companion trying to reach China were driven far north by a storm and accidentally discovered Japan, where their arquebuses created a sensation, and were immediately copied by Japanese armourers.

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4 Duarte Barbosa, writing about 1515 averred that pepper could be sent from Malacca to China at a profit of 300%. L. Dames (ed.), *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, vol. 2, p. 215.
5 A. Cortesão (trans.), *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires, an account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515*.
7 J.E. Wills, ‘Relations with Maritime Europe, 1514–1662’, in *Cambridge History of China: Volume 8, The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part 2*, pp. 333–375; C.R. Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, p. xxi. Using Portuguese sources, Ljungstede reported in 1832 that Andrade had built a fort on the island of Tamão near Canton, and ‘ended by arrogating to himself the prerogative of a sovereign; he hazarded to condemn a sailor to death, and had the man executed’ A. Ljungstede, *Contribution to an historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China, of the Portuguese envoys and ambassadors to China, of the Roman Catholic Mission in China, and of the Papal legates to China*, quoted in *Chinese Repository*, vol. 1, no. 10, February 1833, p. 400.
It was the beginning of a vastly profitable trade that lasted for almost a century, based on the fact that trade between China and Japan had been forbidden by the Japanese two centuries earlier. Now the Portuguese found that they could satisfy an insatiable Japanese demand for Chinese silk, paid for in silver, the price of which
was far higher in China than in Japan. Until the end of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese enjoyed a monopoly of this lucrative bonanza. Added to this was the already profitable trade with Europe which had brought them to India and the Far East in the first place. All that was needed was a suitable accommodation with the Chinese and a secure base for a permanent trading operation.

Map 3 – Macao in the mid-seventeenth century


The original map, above, is one of several bound with Faria e Sousa’s massive three volume study.

This map in J.M. Braga’s set of Asia Portuguesa is poorly inked (all the other maps are better), and ought to have been rejected either by the seventeenth century master printer or by the bookbinder.

J.M. Braga had the map redrawn and coloured, probably by Vicente Pacia. nla.map-brsc108.

The city walls and several fortifications are emphasised. These were hurried to completion after the Dutch attack in 1622 was repulsed. The city’s walls and fortifications are the main feature of this depiction. In the foreground is the Inner Harbour, with Ilha Verde (Green Island) on the left. Orientation is north to left.

During the next twenty years this evolved by slow degrees. Several temporary trading sites were selected and then abandoned before a small rocky promontory to the west of the Pearl River estuary became the preferred trading station in the 1550s. This was Macau, populated by a few fishermen. Its only distinction was the location there of a temple to the goddess Mazu, known to the Portuguese as A Má. The name Macau is thought to be derived from the A-Ma Temple, simplified as Macau or Macao, before acquiring in 1586 the title Cidade do Santo Nome de Deos de Amacao
**na China**, the City of the Holy Name of God of Macau in China. By then Macau was seen by the Jesuits, still in the first flush of religious zeal soon after their foundation by Ignatius Loyola, as a springboard from which the whole of China would be thrown open to the Gospel. If the Jesuit mission was to bring fire upon the earth, God’s fire, then in Macau was to be the spark from which that fire would be kindled in China.

This mission was greatly strengthened by the right granted to the Kings of Portugal by a series of papal bulls between 1456 and 1514 to exercise their Padroado, patronage, over all Catholic missions in Africa and the Far East. This Jus Patronatus was both a right and a duty, and for several centuries, the monarchs of Portugal exercised it diligently, though it gradually declined until by the beginning of the nineteenth century the only remnant of this once mighty Padroado was in the Portuguese territories dotted around the African coast, in India and in Macau.

Within a short time, permanent houses were built in Macau, of a standard surpassing that of most people’s expectations in their homeland, Portugal. They were accompanied by numerous churches, a seminary and a convent. This was Macau’s golden age, which lasted for another two generations. Its obvious prosperity and the wealth of its people struck an English visitor, Peter Mundy, who commented on

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10 So styled in a charter granted by Duarte de Menezes, viceroy of Portuguese India. C.A. Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Macao*, p. 48. Montalto de Jesus added, ‘Macao was then the fulcrum of Christianity in the Far East’. p. 54. This important book will be quoted frequently. Its author and the tribulation he faced in publishing the second edition of his book, are discussed in Appendix 4.


12 M. Hugo-Brunt, ‘The Portuguese settlement at Macao’, *PLAN*, vol. 3, no. 3, 1963, pp. 120-128. Hugo-Brunt was a pioneer in examining the domestic architecture of Macau. C.A. Montalto de Jesus *Historic Macao*, p. 58 pointed out that the eleven churches in Macau provided for a European population of about 1,000. These were the Cathedral of the Nativity of Our Lady, generally termed Sé, St Lazarus (the oldest), the parish churches of St Anthony and St Lawrence, four churches attached to the missions of the Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians, two attached to the Santa Casa de Misericórdia and the Santa Clara Convent, and a chapel attached to the Jesuit seminary of Nossa Senhora de Amparo, where Chinese proselytes were trained. Besides all these was a small chapel attached to the Senate House. More churches were built in the early seventeenth century prior to the disruption of the Japan trade: the first was famous Church of the Mother of God, usually known as St Paul’s, in 1602, followed between 1622 and 1634 by Our Lady of Guia (Guidance), Our Lady of Bompanto (Good Hope), Our Lady of Penha de França, Our Lady of the Mount and in the large Convent of St Clare was built the church of the Conception of Our Lady. In the prolonged period of economic collapse that followed, no new church was built on the peninsula of Macau itself until 1929, three centuries later (M. Teixeira, ‘The Church in Macau’, in R.D. Cremer (ed.), *Macau: city of commerce and culture*, p. 42). The presence of all these churches and chapels, and the sound of their bells, dominated Macau.
Their faire large strong Riche and well furnished houses, Their wives and Children as Rich in Jewells and apparel, their Number of slaves.  

To crown all was the opulent and superbly decorated Jesuit Collegiate Church of St Paul. In Europe the Counter-Reformation had stressed, in part, the power and majesty of the church. This policy led to the construction of magnificent ecclesiastical buildings throughout Catholic Europe. The same strategy applied in Macau. By the early seventeenth century, among the eleven churches in Macau were three magnificent early baroque churches, St Augustine’s, St Dominic’s and St Lawrence’s. In the 1840s a French visitor counted fourteen spires – none of them tall because of the frequency of typhoons. All were surpassed with the construction between 1602 and 1637 of the church of the Mother of God situated high upon an eminence above the town. Generally known as St Paul’s from the name of the college of which it was the collegiate church, it was intended to convey the magnificence of the Roman Catholic Church and to symbolise the superiority of Christian civilisation over that of China. If it was intended to foster evangelism by its size and splendour, it appears to have made no impact. It was for more than two centuries the grandest European building in the Far East, and convinced the Portuguese in Macau of their superiority in every possible way – spiritually, architecturally and technically.

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13 P. Mundy, The travels of Peter Mundy, in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667, vol. 3, p. 267. The original spelling of each quotation in this chapter has been carefully retained. The wide variation between seventeenth century spelling and modern spelling will be apparent.
15 M. Yvan, Six Months among the Malays and a Year in China, p. 295.
16 This remarkable building is mentioned by virtually all the journals of visitors to Macau from Peter Mundy in 1637 until Elijah Bridgman’s account of its destruction by fire on 26 January 1835 (Chinese Repository, vol. 3, no. 10, February 1835, pp. 485-486). It was designed by the Italian Jesuit Carlo Spinola during a sojourn in Macau from 1600 to 1602 (when the foundation stone was laid) en route to Japan, where he was martyred in 1622 (C. Guillén Nuñez, Macao’s Church of Saint Paul: A Glimmer of the Baroque in China, pp. 92-93, 101). A thorough account of its significance is given by C.A. Montalto de Jesus, Historic Macao, pp. 59-61.
17 The church of Bom Jesus in Goa, built in 1585, and which survived at least in part the ruination of most of Goa in the next three centuries, was perhaps equally magnificent, especially the bejewelled tomb of St Francis Xavier. St Paul’s in Macau did not have a shrine to give its interior the same degree of magnificence. J.N. da Fonseca, An historical and archaeological sketch of the city of Goa, preceded by a short statistical account of the territory of Goa, pp. 279-280, illustration facing p. 278.
It was a statement of power and presence. To the Chinese, it can only have been a triumphalist statement of oppressive foreign occupation. However, Carlos Montalto de Jesus, the first Macanese historian to write in English, preferred to conclude that ‘the impressive symbology ... is typical of the masterly tact with which the Jesuits knew how to impress pagan minds and arouse a curiosity which generally resulted in conversion’. There is little evidence to support this. His case was weakened when he asserted that the Chinese authorities were apprehensive that the vast facade, built in 1637 and some twenty metres in height, twice as high as the church behind it, was really a fort. Whatever grand structures the Portuguese might build, they chose to ignore the political realities of Macau’s precarious existence.

Elsewhere in the Portuguese empire, there was no question about who was in control. Portuguese law and military power, such as it was, was unchallenged. It was important to Macau that the same situation obtained there as it did in Goa. However,

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18 C.A. Montalto de Jesus, op. cit., p. 60.
the desire and the reality were far apart. The leading European scholar of the western incursions into the Far East, Charles Boxer, refused to take sides: ‘much has been written on the origins of the settlement at Macao itself, but nothing definite has been established’. However, the eminent French scholar and bibliographer of Western books on China, Henri Cordier, had no hesitation. Reviewing Sonnerat’s flimsy evidence for a Chinese cession of ‘a dry and arid little island’ as a reward for the wiping out of brigands who infested the hinterland of Canton, Cordier went on to point out that from 1582, tribute of 500 taels of silver per year had been paid to the Chinese authorities. Besides this, customs duties and anchorage fees were levied. He concluded:

> It cannot be believed at all that the Chinese had abandoned all rights to Macao; in reality, the Portuguese there were the vassals of the Chinese.

J.M. Braga observed ruefully: ‘it must be admitted that no Chinese documents bearing on the subject of the foundation of Macao have been found in recent times’. Boxer pointed out that the Senate as early as 1621, during Macau’s wealthiest era, had admitted that ‘this land in which we live is not ours but belongs to the emperor of China’.

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19 C.R. Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, p. xxxv, a remark repeated in his *Portuguese society in the tropics*, p. 42.

20 H. Cordier, *L’Arrivée des Portugais en Chine*, p. 48. B.V. Pires, ‘Origins and early history of Macau’ in R.D. Cremer (ed.), *Macau: city of commerce and culture*, p. 10, gives the date 1578, adding that the ‘taxes’ were doubled in 1735 to 1,000 taels. The tael was a Chinese measure of silver by weight, which in Canton was 37.5 gm.


22 J.M. Braga, *The Western Pioneers and their Discovery of Macao*, p. 112. Braga reprinted the Jesuit account, originally published in 1719, of a Portuguese expedition which around 1556 wiped out a group of pirates who had crippled the trade of Canton. His Appendix E, pp. 211-214, quoting Fr António Franco, *Imagem da Virtude em o noviciado da Companhia de Jesus no Real Collegio de Jesus de Coimbra*, 1719, vol. II, pp. 402-404. This account, which first appeared more than 160 years after the foundation of Macau, has continued to be repeated ever since. A recent iteration is in an essay on the history of Macau by the distinguished scholar B.V. Pires, ‘Origins and early history of Macau’ in R.D. Cremer (ed.), *Macau: city of commerce and culture*, p. 10. Pires admitted that ‘there are no records’, but went on, ‘it is widely believed that the successful battles that the Portuguese fought against the pirates impressed the Chinese authorities.’

23 C.R. Boxer, *Portuguese society in the tropics*, p. 53. Yet, as time went by, the Portuguese assertion grew more strident. In 1831 Emanuel de Castro, the Captain-General in Goa told Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General of British India, that ‘the small Peninsula of Macao has not for ages been nor now is, a dominion of the Empire of China, but is a Territory and Colony belonging to the Crown of Portugal for three hundred years. It was not obtained as a favour or concession from the Emperor of China to that Crown, but acquired by right of conquest which the Portuguese arms then achieved.’ (Emanuel de Castro to Bentinck, H.B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China*, 1635-1834, vol. 4, p. 265).
The Portuguese assertion of sovereignty was vigorously defended at the beginning of the twentieth century by Montalto de Jesus. A later writer, J.M. Braga, carefully identified many of the sources used by Montalto de Jesus; both assert the sovereignty of Portugal over Macau from the beginning, a notion dismissed by others. Much of Montalto de Jesus’s discourse is devoted to an attack on the position held by Anders Ljungstedt, a Swedish merchant, who began to take an interest in the history of Macau about 1808. He eventually published a series of essays in the *Canton Miscellany* in 1831, and then revised them in two small books, finally producing the first history of Macau in English, *An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China*. Ljungstedt consistently maintained that the occupation of Macau, whenever it occurred, was a local arrangement between merchants and mandarins that suited both parties. Neither the Imperial government in Peking nor the Portuguese vice-regal government in Goa knew of the existence of Macau for several years. As seen through Portuguese eyes, the Imperial reaction was benign:

They [the Portuguese] have travelled on the oceans myriads of miles in a marvellous way and have come, big and small, to place themselves under the regenerating influence of the glorious sun of the Celestial Empire.

The Portuguese assertion, stridently maintained for so long, is hard to sustain, given that only forty years before the Portuguese settlement of Macau commenced, a Portuguese embassy had been first turned away and then exterminated by the

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24 C.A. Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Macao*, pp. 22-37; J.M. Braga, *The Western Pioneers and their Discovery of Macao*, passim. M. Hugo-Brunt provided a useful summary of the discussion in ‘The Portuguese settlement at Macao’, in *PLAN*, vol. 3, no. 3, 1963, p. 121. Great store is set by Portuguese apologists on the description by the old China hand Sir George Staunton of granite columns he saw in the Macau Senate House, ‘with Chinese characters cut into them signifying a solemn cession of the place from the Emperor of China’ (G. Staunton and G. Macartney, *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China*, London, 1797, vol. 2, p. 588). The same pillars were mentioned in 1845 by M. Yvan, *Six Months among the Malays and a Year in China*, p. 296. A. Ljungstedt quoted Staunton, adding that ‘nothing like [these characters] is seen’ (A. Ljungstedt, ‘Actual state of Macao’, *Canton Miscellany*, no. 5, 1831, p. 369). This suggests that the columns referred to by Staunton may have disappeared by 1831. Even if they remained in 1831, these columns did not survive the destruction by fire and subsequent rebuilding of the *Leal Senado* in 1875, nor were they transcribed and recorded in the Senate’s records. The inscriptions on these columns, if they did in fact refer to the cession of Macau, simply posited a unilateral claim, which Staunton noted, but did not endorse, adding, ‘this solid monument is, however, an insufficient guard [for Macau] against the encroachments of its Chinese neighbours, who treat the Portuguese very cavalierly (G. Staunton and G. Macartney, *An authentic account of an embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China*, vol. 2, p. 588).

25 Ljungstedt’s work is carefully discussed in Appendix 3.


27 As quoted, unfortunately without citation, by R.E. Jobez in ‘Macao at the end of the XVIIIth century’ an address to the Portuguese Institute of Hong Kong, *Boletim, Instituto Português de Hongkong*, July 1948, p. 233.
Imperial government. It did not in any way fit into the Chinese scheme of things, succinctly set out two centuries later in the response of the Qianlong Emperor to King George III following the rejection (but not the annihilation) of the Macartney embassy in 1793: ‘tribute missions from the dependencies are provided for by the Department for Tributary States’.28

The idea of alienation of even the smallest part of its territory could never have been contemplated by the Imperial Court. The Qianlong decree, dismissing Macartney’s request for British occupation of a small island near Chusan, made this abundantly clear.

Every inch of the territory of our Empire is marked on the map and the strictest vigilance is exercised over it all: even tiny islets and far-reaching sandbanks are clearly defined as part of the provinces to which they belong ... England is not the only barbarian land which wishes to establish relations with our civilization and trade with our Empire: supposing that other nations were all to imitate your evil example and beseech me to present them each and all with a site for trading purposes, how could I possibly comply? This is also a flagrant infringement of the usage of my Empire and cannot possibly be entertained.29

Macartney, like others before him, came to realise that this was a government like no other. It regarded all foreigners as barbarians whose dealings with it could only be overt manifestations of total submission, of which the ‘kow tow’ was the most demeaning, and utterly unacceptable to him and to all other western emissaries. The mutual incomprehension of Chinese and foreigners did not essentially change for several centuries. As late as the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858, the British forced the Chinese to cease using the term ‘barbarian’. Likewise the kow tow was ended. It was agreed that the British ambassador ‘shall not be called upon to perform any ceremony derogatory to him’.30

It is therefore clear that the Portuguese attempt to invent a diplomatic arrangement between the Emperor of China and a group of merchant adventurers acting without

28 ‘The Ch’ien Lung Emperor, a Decree’, in F. Schurmann and O. Schell (eds), China Readings – 1, Imperial China, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, p. 101.
29 Ibid., p. 105.
credentials or authorisation is absurd. The reality is that the Portuguese occupation of Macau was likely to have been a developing relationship between people on the spot. A *modus vivendi* slowly emerged that was never codified in any way. It was explained by Austin Coates, who understood Macau well. ‘The Chinese conceded nothing of importance. In their view, the peninsula was a fractional part of their country in which non-tribute-paying foreigners, on payment of the normal taxes, were allowed to settle.’

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Coates pointed out that in the initial negotiations between the Portuguese merchants and the local officials, gifts would have been expected, and the Portuguese would have recognised this as a polite requirement. Some would have taken the form of European novelties, some were in cash. Soon the officials discovered that this new settlement had become fabulously wealthy. It then became easy for them to ‘provoke splendid gifts to themselves’ – Coates avoided using the word ‘bribes’ or the evocative term ‘squeeze’, used throughout the Far East. In this he followed the view expressed by Anders Ljungstedt in 1831:

Conscious of their weakness, and of their inability to maintain themselves by force of arms, the settlers determined to continue the old policy. By submission and gifts, petty Mandarins were induced to wink at an increasing population, at the installation of a government, and at the influx of priests, and their exertions to draw infidels over to Christianity. The higher Mandarins had paid, for twenty-five years, but a slender attention to what was going on at Macao.

Over time, gifts became regularised as ground rent, insisted upon by the Chinese authorities and paid regularly until 1847, when the Imperial government was in a far weaker position following its defeat by the British in the first Opium War.

The Portuguese assertion of sovereignty has been dwelt upon at some length because it came to be seen by the British in Macau in the period immediately before their occupation of Hong Kong as a cardinal example of the purblind irrationality of Portuguese attitudes, far removed from the reality of the awkward situation in which all Europeans found themselves. It was a leading cause of their growing contempt for the Portuguese. This attitude continued when all the British, accompanied by some enterprising Portuguese, transferred to Hong Kong in the early 1840s. Although the Portuguese had survived in Macau in a decidedly hostile political environment for over 250 years, the British gave them no credit for their tenacity.

The precarious balance that kept Macau under Portuguese occupation for 450 years from the mid-sixteenth century until the end of the twentieth century is a study in the

33 Ibid., p. 30. He used the phrase ‘provoke splendid gifts to themselves’ several times in describing dealings between the Portuguese and the Chinese. However, he did employ the term ‘squeeze’ in discussing Chinese dealings with the British, in his Macao and the British, p. 44.
34 A. Ljungstedt, An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China, p. 21, repeating in 1835 an assertion he had initially made in Canton Miscellany, no. 4, 1831, p. 227.
35 C.A. Montalto de Jesus, Historic Macao, p. 323. Governor Ferreira do Amaral refused to pay ground rent in 1847. The crisis that followed this step is discussed in Chapter Three.
art of compromise. Naturally its long history is seen in different ways, and the Chinese, Portuguese and British had completely different views about how the Portuguese came to be there, and also about how they remained there. The Chinese view continued to be that their presence was tolerated as long as these foreigners were of good behaviour. The Chinese world view unswervingly asserted the supremacy of the Middle Kingdom. All barbarians were expected to recognise this central fact. The official conclusion to many communications, ‘tremble and obey’, was no mere form of words. It was a manner of address used by all levels of Chinese administration to succeeding European monarchs, governors and plenipotentiaries. They must never forget that they were lesser mortals.

Its constant repetition greatly irritated them. In 1834, the Governor-General of Liangguang (Guangdong and Guangxi provinces), Lu Kun (1772-1835), confronted the rapidly growing menace of the British traders. He concluded one of his thunderings to the newly appointed Superintendent of Trade, Lord Napier (1786-1834), ‘tremble hereat, intensely, intensely tremble.’ In vain did Lord Napier try to turn it back on him: ‘therefore tremble, Governor Loo, intensely tremble!’

The persistent Portuguese view was that their possession of Macau, like that of all their overseas territories, was sovereign. They were there by right, not on sufferance. There was no discussion of this assumption, because the Chinese Empire lacked the administrative diplomatic framework for such a discussion to take place. The Tsungli Yamen the Chinese foreign office, was not established until 1861 as a result of pressure from the Western Powers.

36 The Qianlong decree already cited is one example. Another, from a local official, is the communication from Lin Zexu (1785-1850) to Queen Victoria in 1839 concerning the banning of the opium trade. ‘Our Celestial Dynasty rules over and supervises the myriad states ... the legal code of the Celestial Court must be absolutely obeyed with awe’. S. Teng and J. Fairbank, China’s Response to the West, a documentary survey, 1839-1923, p. 27.

37 The Qianlong Emperor to King George III: ‘Do not say that you were not warned in due time! Tremblingly obey and show no negligence! A special mandate [i.e. command].’, E. Backhouse and J. O. P. Bland, Annals & memoirs of the court of Peking, from the 16th to the 20th century, p. 331.


39 Chinese Repository, vol. 3, no. 5, October 1834, p. 286. Amazingly, Napier concluded his threatening letter to Lu Kun with the polite salutation always used in English official letters at that time, even from superiors to their subordinates: ‘I beg to remain your very obedient servant, Napier’. We cannot know whether the translator quietly omitted it.
It suited the Portuguese world view for their assumption of sovereignty to remain unquestioned by themselves or anyone else. In the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that presence had been established in more than forty fortifications dotted around the shores of Africa, the Persian Gulf and India. Besides being strong points designed to protect commerce, some were intended to be springboards for an energetic evangelistic thrust, initially led by the Jesuits. This was never intended in places like Hormuz in the Persian Gulf, in partibus infidelium. For several centuries Portugal had been locked in deadly military conflict with Islam and evangelism was not contemplated. The African territories became objects of commercial exploitation rather than settlement. However, India and possessions further east presented greater opportunities. The native people here were seen as more civilised than the black Africans, who were enslaved, whereas Indians and Chinese never were. Goa, occupied in 1510, was created an archbishopric as early as 1557. Jesuit missionaries were soon active further east in Malacca and Japan. Ignatius Loyola’s evangelistic zeal firmly embraced Christ’s last command, ‘go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel, and lo, I am with you always, even to the uttermost part of the Earth’. In the second half of the sixteenth century that meant China and Japan. When the Portuguese occupied Macau in 1557 it was soon seen as the principal base for trade and missionary activity in both China and Japan. Echoing the missionary journeys of St Paul, the distinguished Italian Jesuit, Father Alessandro Valignano, established St Paul’s College in 1565, soon after the Portuguese occupation of Macau. It was intended to be the forerunner of a great intellectual thrust of Christian civilisation into the Far East. For the next half century Macau was a centre of commercial and religious activity, all the more splendid when seen from a later and vastly less advantageous perspective.

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42 Tang Kaijian, who did not cite his sources, claimed that by 1577 it had 150 students, and by 1584, 200 students. ‘An investigation of the construction of the city of Macao during the Ming dynasty’, in *Review of Culture*, no. 36/37, 2nd series, July/December 1998, p. 91. The energetic and far-sighted Fr Valignano, the distinguished priest who pioneered this important work, was Visitor of the Society of Jesus in *Asia Extrema*, the Far East. He brought a printing press to Macau, where two, perhaps three books were printed between 1588 and 1590. He then took the press to Japan, where perhaps fifty-four books were printed up to 1614. J.M. Braga, *The beginnings of printing at Macao*, *Studia*, (Lisbon), no. 12, July 1963; M. Teixeira, ‘The IVth centenary of printing in Macau’, in *Review of Culture*, no. 6, July/September 1988, pp. 2-10.
Few grand visions are ever matched by comparable attainment. The early Jesuit successes in both China and Japan gave way to disappointment in China and catastrophe in Japan. Macau was not to be the hoped-for base for trade and evangelism. From 1638, when the last Portuguese galliots left Nagasak, Macau experienced a long period of economic decline. From 1638, trade with Manila was also halted when Spanish galleons arriving at Acapulco were so heavily taxed as to make the trade across the Pacific unprofitable. Trade with China was also unpredictable at best.

A distant view of the barrier wall and gate, ca. 1842.
It was built across the narrowest point of the isthmus, well beyond the small Portuguese settlement at the Praya Grande.

J. Ouchterlony, The Chinese War, facing p. 80

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43 In China, Jesuit missionaries exercised considerable influence over the late Ming emperors, but this came to an end during the Qing dynasty. In Japan the Jesuit missionaries achieved astonishing results until the late sixteenth century, when, first under the Sengoku shogun Hideyoshi, (1537-1598) then the first three Tokugawa shoguns, Ieyasu (1543-1616), Hidetada (1579-1632) and Iemitsu (1604-1651), the Portuguese were ejected, missionaries and traders alike, between 1616 and 1638. Japanese Christians were wiped out in a most cruel persecution concluding with the horrifying Shimabara massacre in 1638. The final and irrevocable stage of the Portuguese exclusion was the beheading of 61 members of an embassy sent in 1640 in an attempt to restore relations.

As early as 1573 a barrier wall was erected by the Chinese authorities across the narrowest point of the isthmus joining Macau to the mainland. The Portuguese were seldom allowed beyond it. Until then, the boundary between the two jurisdictions had not been demarcated, much less agreed upon. It remained a contentious issue right up to the 1920s, an indication that no territory had been sequestered from the Chinese Empire. Its purpose was clear: this controlled the food supply, for little food was grown in the small area of flat land south of the wall. A single gate was opened periodically to enable the Macanese to purchase provisions at a fair in a small fenced area beyond the barrier. At its conclusion, the gate was closed and sealed with the seal of the mandarin of the Heungshan district, the local authority. Beside the gate was a pointed inscription: ‘Dread our greatness; respect our virtue’. 

Barrier Gate, 
sketched by George Chinnery, 1838
He depicted a busy trading scene and transcribed the Chinese characters above the gate, which read ‘Western barbarian gate’
It is clear that the gate was not a defensive position. There was never any Portuguese attempt to storm it.

Toyo Bunko, Tokyo,
published in the catalogue of an exhibition,

45 The Chinese contention remained that the boundary was the city wall, built by the Portuguese in the 1620s, not the barrier wall built by the Chinese in 1573 to regulate commerce. However, a Portuguese writer insisted as late as 1988 that the construction of the wall proved that ‘China accepted that Macau was independent from it’. Isau Santos, then Director of the Arquivo Histórico in Macau, ‘Sino-Portuguese relations via Macau in the 16th and 17th centuries’, in Review of Culture, no. 7/8, October 1988/March 1989, p. 9.
At first the fair was held every five days, then, without notice, only fortnightly. Chinese troops guarded the gate insolently. Describing them, Macau’s historian could not conceal the rage and bitterness that comes of impotence: ‘a disgraceful set of mean, spiritless and badly-armed rogues, who harassed the carriers of provisions for the fair’. The better-off Macanese laid in ample supplies, but the poor starved. In consequence, houses in Macau were built with ample storage for supplies that would keep. Usually the ground floor was a series of store rooms, while the family lived above.

Over time, the screws tightened further. The Heungshan magistrate erected an administrative compound in an elevated position not far away, the more readily to supervise the proceedings of Macau. There was no ignoring it; it was conspicuously painted white, and was therefore termed by the Portuguese the ‘Casa Branca’, the ‘White House’. For the next two centuries, its control was inescapable, but was almost always negotiable, except in criminal matters. Especially was this flexibility true when it came to permits for building, in which the Casa Branca mandarin insisted on compliance, with otiose prescriptions, usually relaxed when sufficient silver was produced. Some exactions were not negotiable: the payment of anchorage dues for Portuguese ships in the Inner Harbour was an example. To ensure that these were paid, a Chinese Customs House was built in 1688 in sight of the harbour, and within the city of Macau itself. It did no good to rail against the ground rent as a ‘sop for Cerberus’ and to wring one’s hands at the ‘accursed yoke of mandarindom’. Moreover, Chinese criminal jurisdiction was exercised over the Chinese residents of Macau as though the Portuguese presence did not exist. Despite all this, the Portuguese clung tenaciously to Macau, with a resilience and a capacity for survival never displayed by later European powers in the Far East.

The growth of Chinese interference coincided with the collapse of Macau as a wealthy trading port; their authority was asserted most effectively at the time of

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46 C.A. Montalto de Jesus, _Historic Macao_, p. 41.
48 It was there by 1688. Ljungstedt, _An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China_, p. 91. Montalto de Jesus could not bring himself to name the place.
50 C.A. Montalto de Jesus, _Historic Macao_, p. 125.
Macau’s greatest weakness. Well before the disastrous end to the fabulous Japan trade, Portuguese strength had begun to fade away.51 Portugal lacked the population or the shipbuilding capability to sustain an empire of the size so rapidly acquired a century earlier, with more than forty forts dotted along the African and Indian coasts. The ships that had ruled the oceans in the sixteenth century, sweeping Arab dhows and Chinese junks before them, were unsuited to surviving the typhoons that beset Far Eastern waters.52 At the beginning of the seventeenth century, British and Dutch merchants, both sanctioned by respective royal warrants, began to challenge them with ships better suited to these dangerous seas. Both had been at war with Spain since the 1580s, and the hapless Portuguese fell prey to their marauding when the Portuguese crown lapsed to Spanish control between 1580 and 1640. In Macau this was never recognised, the Portuguese there seeing the Spanish in Manila as their rivals in commercial and religious terms as well as in patriotic allegiance.

Thenceforth, the Portuguese Jesuits in Macau found themselves in conflict, not cooperation, with the Spanish Franciscans and Dominicans from Manila in missionary activity throughout the Far East. It blighted the efforts of both, and with the collapse of trade and wealth, both missions went into a steep decline. To make matters worse, trade with Canton was also interdicted in 1631 after a protracted dispute about the access of Portuguese ships. Chinese concern about the building of fortifications in Macau following a Dutch attack in 1622 added to the tense situation. A memorial to the Emperor from the Viceroy at Canton asserted that the Portuguese in Macau were ‘a kingdom with great and many forts and a great and insolent population ... it would be proper to debar them from the commerce at Canton’.53

There remained Goa, the important Portuguese base in India, to whose viceroy Macau was subject until 1844. Even this link was severed when the Dutch seized Malacca in 1641, and with better ships, dominated the narrow Straits of Malacca, cutting Macau off from its parent. The profitable Manila trade was also severed the

51 The causes for its decline were brilliantly analysed by C.R. Boxer, The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, pp. 130-151.
52 C.R. Boxer detailed several sorrowful catastrophes in two volumes in the Hakluyt Society’s Second Series: The Tragic History of the Sea, 1589-1622 and Further Selections from the Tragic History of the Sea.
53 A. Ljungstedt, An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China, p. 67; C.A. Montalto de Jesus, Historic Macao, p. 115.
same year, following Portugal’s successful rebellion against Spain in 1640. In little more than a decade, Macau had lost all its trading partners: Japan, China, Manila and Goa. It faced utter disaster. To make matters even worse, a plague broke out, and at Macau alone 7,000 people died, mostly Chinese.54

‘Makou’. Engraving by Johan Nieuhof, ca. 1665. The Dutch ships are rendered faithfully, while the buildings ashore are stylised and the towers exaggerated. Typhoons prevented the construction of high towers. The closer vessel is firing a salute, which is returned from Monte Fort.

Hong Kong Museum of Art AH67.27, reproduced in catalogue of exhibition, Views of the Pearl River Delta, Macau, Canton and Hong Kong, p. 62.

Until commerce with Manila and Canton began slowly to recover, a process that took many years, there remained only the sandalwood trade with Timor.55 It was small by comparison with what had been lost, but it was vitally important for the next two centuries until the sandalwood was exhausted. No-one had bothered to replant the forests.

54 F. C. Danvers, The Portuguese in India, vol. II, p. 292. Danvers added ‘this effectually put an end to commerce there for a time’.
55 C.R. Boxer, Fidalgos in the Far East, p. 187-198. However, there were often only one or two ships each year.
There was but one straw to grasp at: the supremacy of the Portuguese Crown. Overshadowed by the Spanish in nearby Manila, the Portuguese in Macau had clung doggedly to their separate identity after Portugal came under Spanish dominion in 1580. Whether from wisdom or indifference, Spanish kings left the remote, obstinate Portuguese outpost largely to its own devices. The Macau Senate had always asserted its supremacy. Its charter was bestowed in 1586 by the viceroy of India, who at the same time advised against the appointment of a governor for Macau. This charter was confirmed by the royal court in 1595. When a governor was eventually appointed in 1623, the Chinese refused to deal with him, and his authority in consequence was limited to command of the various forts.

On the restoration of the Portuguese throne in 1640, the Senate contrived to send the new king a gift of two hundred bronze guns, cast at Macau, and ‘a great donation of ready money’, from the little that was left following the collapse of trade. King João IV, told of the tenacity of this tiny place at the remotest end of the earth, is said to have remarked wonderingly, ‘não ha outra mais leal’ – ‘there is no other more loyal’. Shortly before his death in 1654, it was added to the city’s motto, and the Macau Council proudly bore the title Leal Senado, Loyal Senate, until 1999. It was a gesture that in reality meant little; it was ignored by Macau’s earliest historian, Ljungstedt. On the other hand, Montalto de Jesus made much of it, though he at once went on to comment on Macau’s defenceless condition.

For the next century, Macau was poverty-stricken, with a declining population, and left with little but a magnificent past upon which to dwell. In 1563, less than a decade after its foundation, Macau’s Portuguese population was about 900. There

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56 The charter was confirmed by King João V in 1712. C.A. Montalto de Jesus, Historic Macao, pp. 48, 161-162.
57 C.A. Montalto de Jesus, Historic Macao, p. 54.
58 C.R. Boxer, The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, p. 288; The Great Ship from Amacon, p. 11.
59 A. Ljungstedt, ‘Portuguese settlements in China: Independent of China’, Canton Miscellany, no. 4, 1831, p. 293, quoting the seventeenth century writer Manuel de Faria e Sousa, Asia Portuguesa [no page number given]. However, Ljungstedt doubted that such a gift was ever received in Lisbon, noting that no reference to it was made there.
60 C.A. Montalto de Jesus, Historic Macao, pp. 107-108.
were also up to 5,000 slaves. In the early seventeenth century, the Jesuit, Fr Álvaro de Semedo (1585 or 1586-1658), who had reached Macau in 1610, returning there in 1621, gave a brief sketch.

The city is not great. In it are about 900 or 1000 Portugueses, who are all rich, and live very splendidly: there are many Chinese Christians, who are clothed, and live after the Portuguesse fashion, there are also Chineses who are Gentiles, and are clothed, and live after the fashion of their own Countrie: all the Artizans of the city consist of this last sort, as also the Shop-keepers and Retailers &c. and are in all about 5 or 6000.

Ljungstedt averred, quoting an official source, that the population at the end of the seventeenth century was 19,500; by 1821 it had declined to no more than 4,600. While it is apparent that the former figure included Chinese, the latter figure, confirmed by an estimate made in 1830, included 1202 white men, 2149 white women and 1129 slaves. Black African slaves had been a substantial feature of Portuguese colonies in Asia since their first settlement.

The deterioration was widespread. Braz de Castro, appointed governor and captain-general in 1648, declined the appointment on the grounds that the previous governor, Diogo Coutinho Doçem, had been murdered. The story was also put about that in 1644 the then governor, the rapacious scoundrel Sebastião Lobo da Silveira had also been murdered by a mob in Macau. The Spanish Dominican friar, Domingo Navarrete (c. 1610-1689), wrote in Tratatos Historicos (Lisbon, 1672) that ‘it would take up much time and paper to write but a small Epitome of the Broils, Uproars, Quarrels and Extravagancies there have been at Macao.’ The worst year was 1662, when an anti-Qing uprising in Guangdong (Kwangtung) province led to an order that the coastline be evacuated. The Chinese population of Macau fled in a body, and the
border was closed for three months. Many people starved to death, but Macau survived by the skin of its teeth because it suited the mandarins to allow it to remain as long as their palms were greased.  

Navarrete described with disgust a deputation from the Senate, now styling itself the *Leal Senado*, to the *Casa Branca*:

> They go in a body with rods in their hands to the Mandarine who resides a League from hence and they petition him on their Knees. The Mandarine in his Answer writes thus: ‘This barbarous and brutal People desires such and such a thing: let it be granted.’ Or ‘refus’d them.’ Thus they return in great state to their City and their Fidalgos or Noblemen with the Badg of the Knighthood of the Order of Christ hanging at their Breasts have gone upon these errands ... if their King knew of these things it is almost incredible that he should allow of them.

This fractious, divided, impoverished and demoralised people, cut off from their distant homeland, became fixated on past glories. There was a fascination with the great age of expansion, now a distant memory, of what the Portuguese discoverers had done two centuries before. However, that brief and magnificent achievement was used to assert Portuguese superiority in all things, to blame the sixty years of Spanish rule for all Portugal’s disasters. There was an insistence on the observance of pettifogging regulations and restrictions, amounting, said Macau’s historian, to ‘suicidal egotism’. The monastery of the Dominican Order to which Navarrete belonged had once numbered twenty-four. By 1670, there were only three, maintained in poverty with great difficulty. Navarrete’s Spanish view, predictably hostile to the Portuguese, was that the people of Manila were free. These people in Macau were slaves (to the Chinese). They were trapped in a most unenviable situation, wracked by penury, but with no way out. Even if ships could be found to

69 C.A. Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Macao*, p. 133. Some of these are discussed in detail, pp. 128-133.
70 That remained the case in 1833, when there were still only three Dominicans. Other Orders were similarly affected. The Augustinians had four monks and the Capuchins three, who were in charge of 37 nuns. *Chinese Repository*, vol. 3, no. 7, November 1834, p. 299.
take them away, where would they go, and how would they evade the Dutch cordon in the Straits of Malacca?

Nevertheless, Macau was held to be, without question, Portuguese sovereign territory. This defied reality every time the barrier gate closed in their faces. It would only re-open on the bidding of the mandarin of the Casa Branca, whose constant admonition to the ‘barbarians of the Western kingdom’, as they were called, remained unchanged: ‘Dread our greatness; respect our virtue’.

If the Portuguese had found themselves unable to deal effectively with the Chinese, they were no better equipped to cope with the British. True, a determined Dutch attack had been beaten off heroically in 1622 in Macau’s palmy days, but in the two centuries after that, growing British commercial might became irresistible. Apart from Sir Francis Drake, a voyager but not a coloniser, Britain did not have a sixteenth century mariner of equal stature to Vasco da Gama, Albuquerque or Almeida each of whom left behind such an amazing legacy. Still less did Britain have conquistadores such as Cortes or Pizarro, who at much the same time destroyed two empires in the Americas. However, neither the Portuguese nor Spaniards had the sustained and growing entrepreneurial drive of the British, best exemplified in the English trading business, the Honourable East India Company, first chartered in 1600 or its counterpart the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie or VOC), which operated from 1602 until 1798. Fully absorbed in India during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the British made few attempts to reach the Far East and trade there until the mid-eighteenth century.

However, they were aware of the Portuguese presence in Macau from the late sixteenth century. An expedition of three ships set out to seek opportunities for trade in 1596, but vanished without a trace. The first British fleet to visit Macau arrived in 1637, immediately after the collapse of the Japan trade. Its commander, John Weddell (1583-1642), was greeted guardedly by the Portuguese and with hostility by the Chinese. He eventually left empty-handed after six months of trouble that ended disastrously. Moreover, he gave the lasting impression to the Chinese that these new

‘red barbarians’ (or ‘hong mao ren’ – ‘red-haired men’) were a great deal more troublesome than the ‘barbarians of the Western kingdom’, the Portuguese, who they had well under control. To emphasise that point, the Chinese Marine Superintendent imposed on Macau the largest fine in its history. However, one of Weddell’s officers, Peter Mundy, besides recounting details of the long and unhappy encounter, set out a detailed description of the newly completed St Paul’s Church, which appears to be the only good description ever made in English. That aside, it was a dreadful beginning to Anglo-Chinese relations.

The British then left China alone for quite some time, while in the late seventeenth century Jesuit influence grew in Peking, chiefly through the outstanding Jesuit astronomer, Fr Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688), who won the confidence of the Kangxi Emperor to such an extent that in 1685, Chinese ports were opened to foreign shipping. It should have been a golden opportunity for Macau to recover much of its former status, but the opportunity to take it up slipped through the fingers of the Macau Senate, which viewed the imperial edict with resentment and suspicion. They saw it as depriving them of their ancient monopoly rights. Such an attitude arose from the entrenched, embittered mind-set that has been outlined above.

It is likely that the emperor underestimated the importance that foreign trade would come to have, but it had an immediate effect, though in a small way to begin with. In 1719, realising that the ‘red barbarians’ might prove hard to control if left unchecked, the Kangxi emperor, towards the end of his reign, again proposed to centre the foreign trade of China at Macau. Incredibly, the imperial offer was once more rejected, seen as a ‘Trojan horse’, giving the Chinese a much larger presence in and control of Macau than they already had. Small-mindedly, the Senate baulked at the cost of having to provide fifty to sixty men to administer the proposal. Perhaps the rejection was not as blinkered as it might have seemed to Montalto de Jesus two centuries later. The Senate had seen too many instances of local mandarins squeezing every bit of pecuniary advantage that could possibly be gained from any

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74 Ibid., p. 41.
75 C.A. Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Macao*, p. 129.
76 Ibid., p. 130.
profitable operations undertaken by the Portuguese. In 1732, thirteen years later, the Yongzheng emperor renewed the proposal. This time the Senate was enthusiastic.

Map 5 - A map of the City and Harbour of Macau, 1840
The five sketches inset at the top are of the seventeenth century fortifications, principally ‘Fort Monte’. The barrier wall is also shown.
W. Bramston (drawn). James Wyld (published)

Hong Kong Art Museum AH1964.0126
Reproduced in The Chater Legacy, p. 87.
However, the Bishop of Macau, João de Casal (1641-1735) who was acting governor, was not, as it would bring English traders, heretics, into the City of the Name of God. Although foreigners were not permitted to reside in Macau, several had slipped in as ‘lodgers’. Most were bachelors, and the effect on Macau’s night life was predictable; these men were not monks. Fearful for the morals of his flock, the bishop persuaded the Viceroy of India, Pedro Mascarenhas (in office 1732-1740), to over-ride the Senate’s wishes. In vain the Senate protested.

Though some may presume that the residence of foreigners might be the cause of mischief and danger to the city, those who have more experience are of opinion that their establishment in the town can never be prejudicial, on the contrary, greatly advantageous, for it is certain that no place can be rich and opulent but by means of commerce.

For the third time, Macau’s chance of economic recovery was pushed aside, this time by the overriding authority of the Viceroy in Goa. Instead of calling at Macau, British ships went to the nearby island of Lintin in the Pearl River estuary to transfer their opium and to bargain with Chinese merchants.

Montalto de Jesus, unfailingly loyal to his Macanese heritage, nevertheless reserved for this huge error of judgment the most biting criticism in his entire book. Ironically, Montalto de Jesus would himself be the subject of a remarkable instance of the same small-mindedness against which he had written so powerfully. Some three hundred copies, the bulk of the second edition of his Historic Macao, were publicly burned in Macau on 11 March 1929, the author being condemned by the local press in Ibsenesque terms as ‘this enemy of the Portuguese people’. In 1902 he had written,

That the whole foreign trade of an empire should have been thus cast to the winds ... was a blunder due to the prevailing narrow-minded views; it was egregious, unparalleled in the history of commerce, and quite characteristic of the nation that spurned Columbus when he proffered the New World.

77 A. Coates, Macao and the British, p. 47.
78 A. Ljungstedt, An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China, p. 104.
79 Jornal de Macau, 28 November 1929. This incident is explained in Appendix 4.
80 C.A. Montalto de Jesus, Historic Macao, p. 130.
This was the sociology of ingrained poverty at work. The pattern that had developed since 1640 of lack of insight, parochialism, incessant bickering and failure to grasp opportunities had become too deeply ingrained to break. From grim necessity, the Macanese had developed a practice of cringing obsequiousness to the Chinese authorities at the Casa Branca and at the Chinese customs house within their very walls. It would be shown repeatedly in the decades ahead. Those who stood out from this pattern were few. Some will be mentioned in later chapters. Nevertheless, through all of this period, despite their limitations, the Portuguese community of Macau continued to show what Charles Boxer called ‘the stubborn endurance of this little colony’.  

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Chapter 2

Ancient Ally

The whole of the British community finally quitted the friendly but ineffectual protection of their ancient ally, and proceeded, the greater part, to the harbour of Hong Kong.

J. Ouchterlony, 1844

British travellers made very little progress in Macau until the mid-eighteenth century. Commodore George Anson (1697-1762), calling at Macau in 1742 during his epic circumnavigation of the globe, was, like Weddell, greeted with hostility. The sight of the small European settlement at the farthest bounds of civilisation must have brought relief to Anson and his men, suffering severely from scurvy. However Anson’s visit placed the Portuguese authorities in Macau in a very difficult position. Even though it was storm-battered and needed urgent repair, his ship, the Centurion, a 60-gun ship of the line, was vastly superior to anything seen on the China coast, and demonstrated to the Chinese authorities the real weakness of the Portuguese position. There was a protracted wrangle about the payment of harbour dues to the Chinese customs office. Anson sought the assistance of the Portuguese governor, Manuel Pereira Coutinho, and at once saw what a precarious position he was in. The ship’s chaplain, Richard Walter, who wrote the official account of the voyage, summarised the situation succinctly.

It was formerly a very rich and populous city, and capable of defending itself against the power of the adjacent Chinese Governors: but at present it is much fallen from its antient splendour; for though it is inhabited by Portuguese, and hath a Governor nominated by the King of Portugal, yet it subsists merely by the sufferance of the Chinese, who can starve the place, and dispossess the Portuguese whenever they please: This obliges the Governor of Macao to behave with great circumspection, and

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carefully to avoid every circumstance that may give offence to the Chinese.\textsuperscript{83}

The Portuguese were thus in a cleft stick.\textsuperscript{84} Anson found that they put every obstacle in his way. It took months of fruitless negotiation before he was able to repair his ship, revictual and set out for home.\textsuperscript{85}

Anson had come from the Philippines, where he had captured the annual galleon bound for Acapulco, laden with treasure. It was the greatest booty ever taken from the Spanish, and on Anson’s return to England this immense treasure earned him flag rank and a peerage.

Yet to the Chinese mind, the capture of this great prize was piracy on a staggering scale. This barbarian, obviously of high rank, was a pirate, the infernal agent of a barbarian kingdom of pirates. The huge gulf between the Chinese and the English widened still further. The viceroy of Canton himself went on board the \textit{Centurion} and was amazed by the number and size of its guns. However, not until 1841 would Lin Zexu, trounced by British guns that had changed little in a century, recommend that China improve its artillery.\textsuperscript{86} Although the visit ended happily enough with Anson’s men saving Canton from a fire that threatened its total destruction, the Chinese determined on a show of strength as Anson left.

\textsuperscript{83} R. Walter, \textit{A Voyage round the World in the years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV, by George Anson, Esq., Commander in Chief of a Squadron of His Majesty’s Ships, sent upon an Expedition to the South Seas}, p. 353.

\textsuperscript{84} Austin Coates discussed Anson’s visit thoroughly, \textit{Macao and the British}, pp. 38-54.

\textsuperscript{85} R. Walter, \textit{A Voyage round the World}, pp. 353-416.

\textsuperscript{86} S. Teng and J. Fairbank, \textit{China’s Response to the West, a documentary survey, 1839-1923}, p. 28.
As he sailed past the last fort on the Pearl River it bristled with soldiers. On the parapet there stalked about a warrior resplendent in shining armour, with a battle-axe in his hand, personifying valour and defiance. Anson examined him carefully, and was astounded to see that the dazzling armour was made, not of steel, but of ‘a particular kind of glittering paper’.  

Not for another century would British forces test Anson’s comments on Chinese military and naval shortcomings, which ‘suffice to give an idea of the defenceless state of the Chinese Empire’. In 1842, an early issue of the Illustrated London News included a hand-coloured illustration of a jingal, a small Chinese field piece, intended to show its readership how ludicrous was the armament of the Chinese soldiery. The growing taste in Europe for Chinese tea and porcelain made a rapid growth of foreign trade with China inevitable. It is outside the scope of this thesis to touch upon this, or to examine the way in which opium came to dominate that trade by the late 1830s. Nor need the nature of trading relations in Canton be discussed, leading to the crisis at the end of the 1830s culminating in war between Britain and China, generally termed the Opium War.

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87 R. Walter, A Voyage round the World, pp. 410-411. W. Alexander, The Costume of China, a volume of plates published for a curious English public, included a ‘Portrait of a soldier’, describing him in terms that Anson would recognise. ‘The dress of the troops is clumsy, inconvenient and inimical to the performance of military exercises, yet a battalion thus equipped has, at some distance, a splendid, even war-like appearance; but on closer inspection these coats of mail are found to be nothing more than quilted nankeen, enriched with thin plates of metal, surrounded with studs, which gives the tout-ensemble very much the appearance of armour.’ Alexander’s book, combined with another similar volume, has been reprinted as W. Alexander and G.H. Mason, Views of 18th century China: costumes: history: customs. Plate XXXI, p. 68.

88 R. Walter, A Voyage round the World, p. 415.

89 Illustrated London News, vol. 1, no. 9, 9 July 1842.
Instead, one purpose of this thesis is to discuss the relationship between the Portuguese and the British, who were the principal players in the growing trade, who came to Macau in increasing numbers from the late 1750s onwards. The pattern had already been established of relations between them that were at best guarded. The relationship was seldom hostile but was never cooperative, despite an affirmation in the 1760s of the centuries-old Anglo-Portuguese alliance.\(^90\) That relationship would soon be tested more closely as the two communities found themselves living in the same place. Although it was their city, the Portuguese were disadvantaged in comparison with the British, more aggressive and successful traders, as the Portuguese had been two centuries before. Before long, the British developed open contempt for their hosts, so obviously and helplessly under the control of the mandarins.

In the mid-eighteenth century, the steady growth of foreign trade led to a Chinese reconsideration of the basis on which it was conducted. Only in Canton was the administrative machinery sufficiently well developed to regulate both trade and traders on both sides. In 1760, all ports were therefore again closed except Canton, and a set of eight regulations issued governing trade. As usual, the prohibitions these contained were negotiable by the time-honoured means of ‘squeeze’. However, in one case there was no room for compromise. No foreign women were permitted in Canton, and foreigners were permitted to reside there only during the trading season, confined to a small area outside the walled city. The reason was obvious. The Chinese knew that permanent residency of foreigners of both sexes would create another European colony.

\(^90\) C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, pp. 187-188.
This created an immediate problem for Macau, which had not long before banned foreign, i.e. Protestant, residence. If Macau continued to exclude foreign residents, they were likely to force their way in. If so, the Chinese were unlikely to stop them, because it was convenient to have them close at hand, but not within the camp. For the Senate, a pragmatic solution was vital lest Macau lose all. This time, the Senate’s urgent request to rescind the ban was heeded, despite the objections of the bishop, now Bartolomeu Manoel Mendes dos Reis (1720-1799, in office 1753-1773). A resolution of the Senate on 9 February 1757 was endorsed by the Viceroy in Goa. foreigners might live in Macau, but they were not permitted to own property.91

The Senate was right in supposing that this volte face was essential to the survival of Macau. Many years later, an English army officer, part of the force sent out in 1840 to defeat the Chinese Empire, drily observed

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91 A. Ljungstedt, ‘Actual state of Macao’, Canton Miscellany, no. 5, 1831, p. 380; H.B. Morse, The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China, 1635-1834, vol. 2, generally. J.M. Braga, ‘A seller of ‘Sing-Songs’ a Chapter in the Foreign Trade of China and Macao’, Journal of Oriental Studies, vol. 6, nos. 1-2, 1961/1964, p. 76, n. 46, pointed out that ‘the Macao archives seem to be silent about the permission given to the representatives of the various Western governments and their East India Companies to install themselves at Macao’. In other words, the local authorities and the arrivés had as little to do with each other as possible.
The English merchants only rent houses here, but since they have been forced to retire from Canton and to reside in this place, Macao has risen from an almost ruined to a very flourishing condition. The Portuguese as well as the Chinese thrive on British wealth and industry; and both will suffer when Macao is abandoned for Hong Kong.92


This very busy map is presented in four segments showing the main centres of Western activity in the Canton region. The first section is a map of Macau with a small inset of the city of Victoria, Hong Kong. The next map is of the whole Pearl River estuary from the open sea to Canton, with soundings shown in fathoms. The fourth and largest segment shows an outline of the city of Canton, with the foreign factories outside the south-west corner of the city walls. The production of such a map as late as 1852 indicates that trade with Canton remained of great importance to British merchants.

Poverty that had ground down the Macanese for generations began to ease, chiefly through the vigorous entrepreneurship of the newcomers. Within a few years, the fine houses on the Praya Grande and the ridge behind, the best real estate in Macau, cooled by the sea breezes, were occupied by foreign, chiefly English tenants. They often found the properties ‘in a wretched condition’; when they were renovated, the owners demanded the house back again, obviously leading to friction. Worse, when the tenants returned after spending some months in Canton during the trading season, they sometimes found that the owners had moved back in.  

At one point the Governor’s wife was said to have demanded to have the residence of the head of the Swedish East India Company, the *Svenska Ostindiska Companiet*, which she regarded as better than her official residence after the Swedes had spent $8,000 on renovations.

Following the Seven Years War which ended in 1763, Britain emerged as the dominant European power in the East; the French had been bundled out of their American and Indian interests, only a token possession remaining. There were a few other Europeans, and after the War of Independence, a growing number of Americans. Needless to say, the British brought with them their class system, with its social norms and expectations. The premier British trading concern in Asia had since the beginning of the seventeenth century been the Honourable East India Company, often called colloquially, with a mixture of awe and joviality, ‘John Company’. Its operations, originally authorised by Royal Charter, had gradually come under parliamentary control after 1773, leading to the Charter Act in 1813 which renewed its monopoly of the China trade for a further twenty years. Though a British enterprise, this huge mercantile company was the world’s first multi-national corporation. Its business was effectively globalised three centuries before the term existed. ‘John Company’ arrived in Macau in 1773, and soon had the biggest

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93 Samuel Shaw, the first American consul at Canton, was one who experienced this. J. Quincy (ed.), *The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw, the First American Consul at Canton*, pp. 239-240, cited by R.W.N. Lamas, *Everything in Style: Harriett Low’s Macau*, p. 22.

94 R.W.N. Lamas, op. cit., p. 22.

95 St Pierre et Miquelon in the Gulf of St Lawrence, and Pondicherry in southern India.

96 To be an officer of the Company in eighteenth century India or China was effectively to hold a licence to gain quick riches, followed by a long, comfortable and well-funded retirement in a fashionable English spa town. There was a contemporary phrase for it: ‘shaking the pagoda tree’, the pagoda referred to being an Indian coin, not a Chinese structure. Brewer’s *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, p. 676.
establishment: four large houses adjacent to the governor’s palace. Joined together, they occupied the finest position in the centre of the Praya Grande, rising from the shore to the ridge above.97

The company’s Far Eastern operation was governed by a Select Committee of three senior officers, ‘the Select’ for short, whose President was its Chief Executive Officer. His residence, rented from Manuel Pereira, head of a leading Macanese family, was the best house in Macau, located on an eminence above the city, with an extensive garden that is now a public park, the Camoens Garden.

This mansion was a display of conspicuous, ostentatious wealth and power. Entertainment there was elegant and formal. The banquet on Christmas Day in 1829 was an example.98 The President kept a fine table, but he and his staff had come to Canton and Macau not only to live well, but to make money. As has been pointed out, European trade was initially in tea, porcelain, soon to be known generically as ‘china’, and in oriental curios. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, opium was insignificant, but it was growing in value and the number of addicts in the Canton area was also growing. Recognising it to be a dangerous drug, the Yongzheng Emperor prohibited its importation in 1729.

As usual, this prohibition was seen in Canton as no more than yet another opportunity for extracting ‘squeeze’ from foreign merchants. At that time, no-one could have foreseen that the insatiable Chinese demand for opium and the vastly increased supply of it from India would eventually drive relations between Britain and China to war. From the late eighteenth century, the illegal trade flourished and

97 The impressive scale of the establishment and its sumptuous furnishings were evocatively imagined by Austin Coates in his novel Macao, city of broken promises, p. 31-34.
98 A young American visitor, Harriett Low, was impressed. ‘Everything on the table was splendid – a whole service of massive [silver] plate. There were about sixty at table. The dinner consisted of every delicacy, served in the most elegant style, and with the greatest order. Everyone brings their own servant to wait on them at table.’ R.W.N. Lamas, Everything in Style: Harriett Low’s Macau, pp. 112-113; S. Braga, ‘An American girl at Macau’, Casa Down Under, vol. 20, no. 5, December 2008.
after 1833, when the monopoly of the East India Company ended, boomed. Its consequences were disastrous for China, but in the short term led to the triumph of British commercial and strategic power in the Far East. Indirectly, the consequences were also disastrous for Macau and its people.

The East India Company could not overtly flout the Chinese prohibition, but it could and did find a way around it. It issued licences to other ship-owners to sail to China. Its monopoly extended there but this remote region was secondary to its interests; therefore a growing number of the Company’s licensees also arrived in Macau. They were termed ‘country traders’, perhaps to emphasise the gulf between the urbanity of the gentlemen of the ‘Honourable Company’ and the uncouth rusticity of all others. The status of the country traders did not match that of the Company men, but they were no less determined to leave the Far East with as much money as possible. This was to be a continuing pattern for British merchants in the Far East. Whereas the Portuguese had come for good, seldom returning to their homeland, the British and a smaller number of other European traders came to enrich themselves and then to leave. However, it would be wrong to conclude that unbridled greed was their only motivation and making money their only activity.

Over time, the foreign, mainly English-speaking, expatriate community developed its own strong social and cultural life. The patterns of upper middle-class life in
Georgian England quickly emerged. Ladies of comparable rank (according to their husbands’ station in life) spent much time visiting each other. They went about in sedan chairs as there were no carriages in Macau.\(^9^9\) Many of the men were well-educated people, with cultivated literary tastes and a genuine desire to participate actively in the community life of this new and strange situation with its inherent unreality of living for half the year in one place, half in another, but neither being home. Both in Canton and Macau cultural activities developed as the foreign communities grew stronger. In 1806, the staff of the East India Company, with time on their hands, set up a subscription library of good books in Canton.\(^1^0^0\) By 1827 a weekly newspaper, the *Canton Register*, was being produced under the aegis of William Jardine, the most prominent of the private traders.\(^1^0^1\) A Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge was started in 1835. Its express intention was to give ‘clear proof that foreigners who come to this country have other objects in view than

\(^{99}\) R.W.N. Lamas, *Everything in Style: Harriett Low’s Macau*, p. 21. Not only were distances short, but there was nowhere for horses to graze or exercise.

\(^{100}\) J.M. Braga, *The beginnings of printing at Macao*, p. 97. Its catalogue, 77 pages in extent, was printed at the East India Company’s press at Macau in 1819, reprinted in 1829 and again in 1832. It was entitled *A Catalogue of the Library belonging to the English Factory at Canton in China*. Copies of the first edition are held by the New York Public Library and the National Library of Scotland. The 1829 issue is held by the British Library. No copies of the 1832 issue are known in public collections. (Worldcat, accessed 26 November 2011). Another copy has come to light in recent years. Noted then as ‘apparently unrecorded’, it was offered by the English firm, Dawson Books, in 1984 (Catalogue 22, item, 572). *Library History*, vol. 8, 1988, p. 62). When the Company closed its operations in 1834, the library was dispersed. Braga, who more than a century later examined a copy of the 1832 issue of the catalogue, now lost, was an avid book collector, and remarked regretfully that the library was ‘a splendid and costly one’. He was not the only one to deplore the dispersal of a fine library that could have been the nucleus of a major collection in the Far East. In 1835, Elijah Bridgman, editor of the *Chinese Repository* recorded the library and mourned its demise the previous year in a lengthy note. He quoted the preface to the catalogue, which described the library’s origins. Its founders planned ‘a library, which … must shortly far surpass in extent, variety, and adaptation to general use, any collection that has hitherto been in possession of, or attempted to be formed by, any European in this country.’

He continued: ‘The catalogue before us was published in 1832, and contains the names of about sixteen hundred different works, most of them comprising two, four, five, or more volumes each, amounting probably to a total of about four thousand. Many, if not most, of these were choice, select books; and were conveniently arranged under the following subjects: 1. divinity, law, and philosophy; 2. biography, history, travels, and voyages; 3. arts, sciences, commerce, and politics; 4. classics, antiquities, translations, and philology; 5. poetry, drama, and novels; and 6. miscellaneous. Such a library, if well managed and made accessible to the public, in such a place as this, must ever be regarded as of great value. Hence, we were not surprised, on the breaking up of the factory last year, when the library came into the hands of a few individuals, that efforts were made to perpetuate the institution, and to render it available to all the foreign residents in China. We regret exceedingly, as many others do, that those efforts were not successful. But ‘the deed is done’; and the valuable collection is scattered, not so widely, however, we trust, as to be beyond the hope of at least a partial recovery. In this hope, we are encouraged by what has already been done.’ *Chinese Repository*, vol. 4, no. 2, June 1835, p. 96.

\(^{101}\) J.M. Braga, *The beginnings of printing at Macao*, pp. 88-89.
mere selfish gains’. Though it met in the American hong (factory) most of the twenty present were British merchants, including William Jardine and Alexander Matheson, nephew of James, Jardine’s partner. The unquestioned leader of the community being Jardine, he became President. Interestingly, one of the growing Parsee community was there, Framjee Pestonjee. This community was to distinguish itself repeatedly in Hong Kong in the following century.

St Paul’s Church A procession mounts the steps. To the right are the old college buildings, which by the 1820s were abandoned, and had become ‘the habitation of the most robust rats’.

The church was destroyed by fire on 26 January 1835. This sketch of the interior was drawn by George Chinnery on 31 August 1835.

Toyo Bunko, Tokyo, published in the catalogue of an exhibition, George Chinnery – Macau, Macau, 1985

In Macau, cultural life developed too, with a broader appeal. A visiting Italian opera company, the Corps d’Opera Ambulant, stayed for six months in 1833 and at the great hall of the Company’s establishment put on eleven operas which it seems to have been de rigueur for the smart set to attend.

With a few exceptions, that did not include the Macanese. Most of their music was in the liturgy in the numerous churches, though when the Italians left, there was a Portuguese version of Cinderella, conducted by Francisco José Paiva.\textsuperscript{104} There was no library in Macau; indeed, as is shown in Appendix 16, printing was banned in all the Portuguese colonies from 1736 until 1820.\textsuperscript{105} Therefore there was no published literature. One searches in vain for Macanese poetry, letters, diaries or memoirs of this period. The most dramatic occurrence for perhaps a century was the burning of the great St Paul’s Church in 1835; it was recorded only by the noted American Protestant missionary, Elijah Bridgman (1801-1861).\textsuperscript{106} The English artist George Chinnery drew St Paul’s shortly before the fire, and recorded its ruins afterwards.

There were however two short-lived weekly newspapers. A Abelha da China, The Bee of China, appeared for fifteen months in 1822 and 1823, not long after the ban on printing was lifted. However, this was not so much a response to a public demand

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\textsuperscript{105} J.N. da Fonseca, An historical and archeological sketch of the city of Goa, preceded by a short statistical account of the territory of Goa, p. 58.

for news as a vehicle for a waspish Conservative attack on their Miguelist, more liberal, opponents. It was succeeded between 1824 and 1826 by the more moderate Gazeta de Macao. 107 Both papers reprinted long extracts from European papers. Neither had much local content, for there was little to report, so both closed for want of public support. 108

As Boxer has pointed out, there was almost no painting except for formalised religious subjects, and portraits and landscapes were rare. 109 For several centuries the only depictions of Macau were by British, Dutch and French artists and their Chinese students. 110 To these should be added Chinnery’s student Marciano Baptista, who produced a notable corpus of work, mainly landscapes. 111 This was a sorry tale of cultural deprivation and neglect.

Foreign observers seldom saw the community life of the Macanese within their own homes. An exception was a well-educated Frenchman, Dr Marcel Yvan, who visited in the 1840s. He was one of the few who paid attention to Macanese women. He wrote:

They are possessed of a remarkable taste for the poetical in everything: I have heard them sing sentimental ditties in the most expressive manner, and the songs, which were generally the composition of one of their countrymen, combined elegant ideas, with happy expression—the great charm of poetry in every country. 112

107 A similar paper, the Gazeta de Goa, was published in Goa between 1821 and 1825, J.N. da Fonseca, An historical and archæological sketch of the city of Goa, p. 59.
110 As evidenced in the catalogue of the major exhibition, Views of the Pearl River Delta, Macau, Canton and Hong Kong, drawn largely from the Hong Kong Museum of Art and the Peabody Essex Museum, U.S.A., 1996. There is not a single artist from Macau represented in the catalogue of the great Chater collection, most of which was sadly lost during World War II. J. Orange, The Chater Collection, pictures relating to China, Hong Kong, Macao, 1655-1860.
111 Three examples are in the J.M. Braga collection in the National Library of Australia.
112 He went on: ‘This natural love of poetry, renders the women of Macao very observant of the language addressed to them; I was, upon one occasion, present at a reunion, at which several young people were expressing to a charming girl, the feelings of admiration with which she had inspired them, and I was quite struck with the soft, elegant language they employed, when a discussion arose among the matrons of the party as to the merits of the songs which had been sung; one of the party was particularly remarkable, among the female assemblage, for the correctness of her language, and although she made use of some terms somewhat foreign to the general custom, it was a charming discussion.’ M. Yvan, Six Months among the Malays and a Year in China, p. 287.
One of the songs is certain to have been the Macao Lullaby, a traditional melody of singular beauty. Overall, Yvan gave a disturbing picture of a community in which for ordinary people intellectual life was at a very low ebb.

As to the younger inhabitants, they pay very little attention to studies from which no pecuniary profit can be derived, and the appellation of learned, considered so desirable on the other side of the wall which separates the Portuguese territories from China, is thought very little of in La Cidade de Santo-Nome-de-Deos de Macao.

I need scarcely say, that with such a neglected state of education, the amusements and conversation of the natives are not very interesting; in his own house the Portuguese reads little, yawns a great deal, and fans himself the whole of the day, while his wife in a light style of deshabillé seats herself behind the blind, and with her fan in her hand, and a cigarette or a morsel of arecnut in her mouth, gazes listlessly at the passers-by, who are not very numerous in the quiet streets.

On the other hand,

At Macao, as in other places, there are clever, intelligent men, free from the weaknesses of their fellow countrymen, salons in which as much intellectual conversation may be heard as in London or Paris, as well as elegant women and well educated youths.

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113 It does not seem to have been set down in manuscript until it was arranged by Harry Ore, noted for his discoveries of folk music, and published by W. Paxton & Co., London, ca. 1963.

114 ‘As may readily be imagined, the education of both sexes is very much neglected here, and the means of obtaining instruction extremely limited, particularly as regards females, the suppression of some of the religious orders having contributed to the backward condition of this country when compared with the progress of the European nations; it is true that the ancient communities of Santa Clara and Rosa still exist, but as they are strictly prohibited from receiving novices, they may be considered perfectly useless, as far as education goes. In former times, when these establishments were at the height of prosperity, the metropolis of this country was now and then visited by religieuses who had been brought up in the convents of Lisbon, and were enabled by their superior training, to impart much useful information, but of late years the Macaists have been deprived of this intellectual advantage.’ M. Yvan, Six Months among the Malays and a Year in China, p. 285.

115 ‘And the same remark applies to the men, for those who have been educated in Europe are perfect gentlemen, and even among those who have been brought up in their own country, some remarkable persons may be found ... There are many other men at Macao living and labouring in tranquil retirement, without even the wish for celebrity, loving art and science for their own sakes alone; amongst their number I may name an excellent priest, Father Remedios, whose happy family was grouped around him in a state of harmony, delightful to witness.’ M. Yvan, Six Months among the Malays and a Year in China, pp. 290-291.
Yvan thus made it plain that there was a social hierarchy among the Macanese, which he went on to describe. At the apex was a small group of wealthy families, who had profited from the booming opium trade. Foremost among those Yvan had in mind were the Pereira and Paiva families, both of whom were socially acceptable at English and American parties, and spoke English.\textsuperscript{116} Both had arrived in Macau from Portugal in the second half of the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{117}

![Image of two girls and a woman with text](http://www.macanesefamilies.com/)

George Chinnery (attributed), Aurélia Susana Viana Pereira and two of her children, perhaps Eduardo Pereira b. 16 September 1817 and Maria Joaquina Pereira b. 15 August 1818.

Oil on canvas, ca. 1827.
Hong Kong Museum of Art AH1964.0161.

The Pereiras were possibly the most anglophile people in a community in which many people disliked the British after their unsuccessful attempts to occupy Macau in 1802 and 1808. António Pereira was instrumental in securing for the Company a small plot of land to build a Protestant chapel next to the cemetery acquired earlier in 1821.\textsuperscript{118} This family would have been notable in any society; the fact that they

\textsuperscript{116} R.W.N. Lamas, \textit{Everything in Style: Harriett Low’s Macau}. pp. 110, 218. As well as the group portrait shown here, Chinnery painted another family group, which appears also to be of the Pereira family, ca. 1822. R. Hutcheon, \textit{Chinnery, the man and the legend}, p. 45.
\textsuperscript{118} L.T. Ride & M. Ride, \textit{An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao}, p. 63. The East India Company had with great difficulty secured permission in 1821 to purchase a small plot of land for a Protestant cemetery, a step resisted for many years by the ecclesiastical authorities, determined not to allow the burial of heretics within the walls of the City of the Holy Name of God. It was stipulated that the cemetery must have high walls and there must be no bell to offend the ears of the Catholic faithful. No place of worship was to be erected, though some years later, through the good offices of António Pereira, a small chapel was permitted as a gathering place for those attending burials. The chapel was not described as a place of worship, which would have been anathema to the
owned numerous African slaves did not create adverse comment from an American visitor, Harriett Low, who wrote admiringly in November 1829,

Mrs Pereira called to see us today. She was most splendidly dressed in a rich crimson velvet pelisse neatly trimmed, with a handsome white hat. She is a very pleasant woman.

Next month Harriett called on Mrs Pereira. She described her mansion. It was

A perfect palace. She has 18 Caffres [black Africans – not necessarily Kaffirs] live with her and is obliged to keep 12 sepoys [Indian servants] to take care of them beside China servants, Bengalies and everything else. She has an immense household.

Their wealth attracted the expatriate community to the Pereiras and to another leading family, the Paivas. Harriett noted two weddings of members of the Paiva family – ‘one of the most respectable families here’. 119 She did not attend the wedding, but remarked at the size of Ana Rita Paiva’s dowry – said to be $80,000. The second Paiva wedding was the subject of small-town gossip about the match-making ambitions of the mother of the bride, Inácia Vicência Paiva.120 Her brother, Francisco José Paiva would later become the first Portuguese consul in Hong Kong.121 The Pereiras, like the English gentry in India and later Hong Kong, sent their sons to England for their education.122 Soon after the establishment of Hong Kong, Eduardo, now Edward, moved permanently to England, perhaps the first Portuguese from Macau to do so. Others soon went to England too, including João Joaquim Braga, whose career is also dealt with in a later chapter. To Harriett, not immune from snobbery, like most of the expatriates in Macau, to be ‘respectable’ was to be wealthy. To be wealthy, you had to deal in opium, but polite society never

Catholic authorities, but ‘a place of reception for the funerals of deceased foreigners, on account of its contiguity to their place of interment’. J. Crouch-Smith et al., Macau Protestant Chapel: a short history, p. 39.

119 Macanese families. http://www.macanesefamilies.com/, accessed Tuesday 22 February 2011. These were Ana Rita de Paiva, #30915, who married Bernardino da Costa Martins at S Lourenço on 10 September 1831, and Francisco Paiva, #30912, who married Auréia Pereira, #30941, on 29 October 1833, for her money, if Harriett can be believed. The identifying numbers are those used on the website; M. Teixeira, Galeria de Macaenses ilustres do seculo dezanove, p. 131.


121 M. Teixeira, Galeria de Macaenses ilustres do seculo dezanove, p. 131.

122 R.W.N. Lamas, op. cit., pp. 164-165. When they returned some years later, their mother did not recognise them, nor they her.
spoke about it. Only one trading firm, Olyphant & Co., a partnership of two American Quaker brothers, steadfastly refused to do this, and left a lasting memory of their integrity. 

Increasingly, Macau became subservient to British interests, not in partnership with them. A major cultural change was that many Macanese learned English. They had to, because the expatriates seldom bothered to learn Portuguese or Cantonese. Chinese merchants and servants were spoken to (or spoken down to) in a crude form of basic English termed ‘pidgin’, the word originally a corruption of ‘business’. It remained the norm for patronising communication to inferiors until after World War II. A few young Portuguese men found employment as junior clerks in the British firms that increasingly dominated the economy of Macau. Speaking Portuguese, English and Cantonese, they were useful as interpreters. Some years later, this established in Hong Kong a pattern both of employment and social hierarchy for most of the Portuguese community there that changed little until the 1960s. Their employment was largely clerical, in government offices and private commercial firms. Foreign managerial staff were at the apex, with Portuguese clerks beneath. Below both in status and remuneration in this rigid system were the

124 J.P. Braga, The Portuguese in Hongkong and China, pp. 148,149. See the note in part 4 of Appendix 5 on the printing history of this book.  
125 R.W.N. Lamas, Everything in Style: Harriett Low’s Macau, p. 93.  
126 W. Tarrant, Hongkong, part I, 1839-1844, p. 119. A century later it was described by Austin Coates as ‘finely-shaded babytalk’. Macao and the British, p. 61.
Chapter 13 discusses in further detail what came to be described as a ‘three-tiered system of employment’. Taking their lead from the President of the Select, all Englishmen considered themselves to be superior to all Portuguese and all Chinese. An attitude of racial superiority was part of the reason for this. There were few Portuguese-born men in Macau or Goa. From the beginning in the sixteenth century, there had been very few women accompanying men to the Far East. To ensure their permanent occupation of the places they had occupied, commanders from Albuquerque onwards encouraged their men to marry local women, much as Alexander the Great had done two millennia before, and for the same reason. Portugal was described by the unsympathetic Charles Boxer as ‘more priest-ridden than any other country in the world, with the possible exception of Tibet’. However, with fewer constraints in Portuguese India, there was widespread and flagrant concubinage that scandalised the priests. This was not the case in Macau, where ‘it usually needed no lusty blast on the ecclesiastical whistle to bring the laity humbly and crouchingly to heel.’

Maurice Collis, another mid-twentieth century English writer familiar with the history of the Far East, went much further in his condemnation of the Macanese in the eighteenth century.

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130 Ibid., pp. 40-41.
A half-caste society, priest-ridden, poorly educated and living on past glories, it ambled into modern times, a caricature of itself, its grandees often slavers, cruel, debauched, and lazy, but managing to keep on good terms with the Chinese government by careful observance of its orders.\footnote{M. Collis, ‘Macao, the City of the Name of God’, \textit{History Today}, vol. 1, no. 4, April 1951, p. 49.}

By the late eighteenth century, most Macanese people, other than the ruling elite, were racially mixed. Two contemporary observers chose to comment on this. The Swede, Anders Ljungstedt, described these ‘\textit{mestiços}’ as mongrels.\footnote{A. Ljungstedt, \textit{An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China}, p. 22. He added that in 1834 the number born in Portugal did not exceed 90 in a Portuguese population of 4628.} It was a contemptuous remark that gave enormous offence to those involved.\footnote{e.g. to J.P. Braga, \textit{The Portuguese in Hongkong and China}, pp. 70-74. However, Braga himself was not a \textit{mestiço}, having descended from \textit{reinóis} families, i.e. pure-born Portuguese.} However, a view maintained for many years was that ‘the Portuguese in the East rapidly degenerated’.\footnote{e.g., by F.B. Eldridge, \textit{The Background of Eastern sea power}, p. 170.} Even stronger observations were made by a Portuguese artillery officer, Colonel José de Aquino Guimarães e Freitas, stationed in Macau from 1815 to 1822. Alone of civil or military officers in the early nineteenth century, he published his memoirs. He wrote, as might be expected, appreciatively of the fortifications, even though these had been built almost two centuries earlier. He had scant regard for Macau’s venerable buildings:

> In no other part of the World, looking at their proportion, is there such a large number of churches and convents. The Church of St. Paul deserves and holds the attention of the not indifferent traveller: it is a Jesuit foundation, and is most remarkable, even if, as happens everywhere, it is poorly maintained, despite the creative spirit of that Society. The Convent attached to the Church, where there was a large and scholarly library, was formerly the retreat of the French Jesuits, to whom Louis XIV presented a clock, which still keeps good time. This tyrant did not respect the Church, and still less the Convent, which now serves as the habitation of the most robust rats (\textit{robustissimos ratos}).\footnote{J. de A. Guimarães e Freitas, \textit{Memoria sobre Macão}, p. 12. The passage was kindly translated by Alberto Guterres.}
It is a disturbing picture of the decline of a once-magnificent compound. Guimarães e Freitas had scant regard for the Macanese people as well as their buildings:

They can be accurately divided into three classes. The first, Europeans, the second [are] mestiço-Europeans and the third, mestiço-Asians. The first are best-known to my brush, the second too swarthy, and seldom fail to show the vices of breeding, as the product of white with black, or vice versa, if possible.\(^{136}\)

He reserved his most withering comments for what he called the mestiço-Asians, those with chiefly Chinese ancestry.

‘The third is the most horrible variety of the human species, a variety which seems destined in the immediate future to become a prison of humanity’.

However, he observed qualities in the Macanese, mestiço-Europeans, his second class, that their British employers in Hong Kong in the following century also appreciated. He too deplored the lack of educational opportunity:

Good and bad features are best considered separately, but generally speaking, the Macanese is good-humoured, sober, orthodox and consequently a fine citizen. The third class still has plenty of firm Chinese moral character, which perfectly accompanies the physical. Education, if at all, is worse than mediocre, for lack of schools. It would be easy to cite exceptions, but they only serve to prove the rule.\(^{137}\)

Yvan was not as severe as this patrician officer who looked down his aquiline nose at the local people. Unlike the English, he did not ignore the Macanese, nor did he hold them in contempt. His account of their racial mixture avoided the offensive tone that Ljungstedt perhaps intended and that Guimarães e Freitas certainly did:

Almost all the Portuguese inhabitants of Macao were born in the city itself, and as most of the ancient families intermarried with the Asiatics and Africans, the origins of their descendants are of

\(^{136}\) Ibid., p. 16. He appears to have painted them, but no paintings are known. It should be noted that military and naval officers were routinely taught to sketch in the era before photography. He seems to have made a distinction between mestiços with a predominately European background and those with a predominantly Chinese background.

\(^{137}\) J. de A. Guimarães e Freitas, op. cit., p. 16.
a very mixed nature ... one remarkable circumstance with regard to this heterogeneous mass of population is, that the members of one family rarely bear the slightest resemblance to each other, and now and then there reappears amongst them a striking resemblance to someone long since dead and forgotten.  

Yvan was thus aware of the complex social and ethnic fabric of Macau. A picture emerges of a very varied community. Large elements of it were lethargic – almost moribund, and had been for generations. Others were dynamic and vibrant. These were the more recent arrivals, determined to make the most of whatever opportunities still offered.

For the most part the British ignored the local authorities and people as though they did not exist. An important exception is the presence in Macau from 1825 to 1852 of the very prolific artist George Chinnery (1774-1852). But for Chinnery’s large corpus of work, little would be known visually of Macau at this significant period of its history. Yet Chinnery’s work consisted largely of views, street scenes and studies of the Chinese; he and the Macanese ignored each other. However, the expatriates

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138 He went on to explain: ‘I used often to go and visit a Portuguese family residing at Macao, near Praia-Manduco; they were the undoubted descendants of the ancient conquerors, and their European origin was universally acknowledged; these good people lived in a little cottage of one storey, and the family consisted of six persons, the mother, two sons, and three daughters; the latter, who bore the names of Mariana, Maria, and Monica, were all as opposite in appearance as possible; Mariana was a white negress, with rather woolly hair, thick lips, coarse features, high cheek bones, and a pale face: Monica, on the contrary, had the dark rich tint of the Andalusian, the upper lip covered with a light down, and remarkably beautiful hair; as to the third, she was as yellow as amber, more resembling the women seen on the shores of the Ganges than her sisters; the two sons were thoroughly Chinese.’ M. Yvan, *Six Months among the Malays and a Year in China*, pp. 283-284.

139 He spelt this out: ‘The Portuguese Macaists can scarcely be said to form a distinct people, although there are some remains of aristocracy amongst them, and their European descent seems to regulate their privileges in proportion as it is more or less decided. In the picture I have endeavoured to give of the appearance, manners, and customs of the inhabitants of *La Cidade do Santo Nome-de-Deos*, I have rather sought to convey an idea of the *tout ensemble*, than to describe individualities.’ M. Yvan, *Six Months among the Malays and a Year in China*, p. 290. Yvan appears to have stumbled a little on the correct spelling of the name Cidade do Santo Nome de Deos.

140 R.W.N. Lamas, *Everything in Style: Harriett Low’s Macau*, passim. Ljungstedt mentioned by name none of the Macanese of his own time, from 1798 until the early 1830s.

141 It is thought that Chinnery never had an exhibition of his work in Macau during his 27 years there. When he died in 1852, there was no attempt to keep any of his work in Macau. An important exhibition was eventually held at the Leal Senado in September 1985, the works being drawn from two significant collections: those of the Toyo Bunko, Tokyo [Tokyo Art Museum] and the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa. The published catalogue is in the collection of the National Library of Australia, which has catalogued it thus: Chinnery, George, and Macao. Leal Senado. *Qiaozhi Qiannali: Aomen = George Chinnery: Macau Aomen shi zheng ting*, [Macao: 1985, Catalogue of two exhibitions held 5-30 September 1985 at Galeria do Museu Luís de Camões, and 6-30 September 1985 at Galeria do Leal Senado de Macau]. While this is the citation called for by the Library, I feel that it obscures the catalogue, which is a copiously illustrated book containing much work unknown to other writers about Chinnery. The exhibition was noted by Geoffrey Bonsall, ‘George Chinnery’s
did not ignore those Portuguese families who maintained a position of pre-eminence, and as the local economy prospered in the 1830s, increased their wealth and standing until the crisis of 1839 that brought everyone to ruin. Some will be discussed in the next chapter, especially the Rosa family.

Just as the British, American and other foreign communities (apart from the Olyphant brothers) grew rich on the booming opium traffic, so too did the Portuguese merchant community in Macau, though in a much smaller way. The best opium, Patna and Benares, came from Bengal, ruled by the Company after 1757, while the Americans, who arrived in 1784, obtained theirs from Smyrna, in Turkey. Opium grown in the central Indian district of Malwa, not yet under British control, was exported from nearby Goa by Portuguese merchants from Macau, only too keen to join in the opium frenzy. It was hastened by the advent of the clipper ship, fast and efficient, the apogee of the sailing ship’s long development, though the Portuguese ship owners lacked this latest improvement.

What is most striking about the events of the half century from 1790 to 1840 is the massive growth of trade led by British merchants, set against the complete failure of British diplomacy in China at the same time. Moreover, two British attempts to occupy Macau by military force in 1802 and 1808 both failed, through a combination of Chinese intransigence, British heavy-handedness and Portuguese adroitness. Both failures left a legacy of Portuguese animosity towards the British, not that there was anything they could do to stem the increasingly dominant British commercial presence and their growing arrogance.

142 A. Coates, Macao and the British, p. 125.
143 J.P. Braga commented, ‘Sad to relate, Portuguese merchants at Macao were not above trafficking in the “black mud” of such evil repute.’ The Portuguese in Hongkong and China, p. 63.
144 Montalto de Jesus, Historic Macao, pp. 210-228; A. Coates, Macao and the British, pp. 94-110. The British tone is evident in the transcript made by J.M. Braga of the despatches of the Marquess of Wellesley, who gave this menacing advice to the Governor of Macau, José Manuel Pinto: ‘Your Excellency’s wisdom and discernment will suggest to you the inutility of opposing any resistance to the accomplishment of this measure; your Excellency’s justice and humanity will not permit you to expose the lives and property of the inhabitants of Macao to the danger of an unavailing contest with the superior power of the British arms’. British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 13,710. The transcript is in the J.M. Braga Papers, National Library of Australia, MS 4480.
145 A. Coates, Macao and the British, p. 126.
A succession of British missions to China all failed: Macartney in 1793, Amherst in 1817, and – most abjectly – Napier in 1834, expelled from Canton in utter humiliation, a dying man. It took a few more years before matters came to a head, but when they did, early in 1839, this seemed to the Daoguang Emperor (reign dates 1820-1850) the moment to rid China once and for all of the British and their damnable curse of opium.

In the four years following the death of Lord Napier (1786-1834), the annual volume of opium reaching China doubled from 20,000 chests to over 40,000 chests. When the emperor determined at last to end this terrible scourge, it seemed from the Chinese point of view that after their recent successful repulse of Napier, stern measures would easily succeed. Lin Zexu, the Imperial Commissioner who arrived in Canton on 10 March 1839 to accomplish this, at once adopted the usual measures for enforcing compliance: stopping food supplies to the Canton factories. As ever,
the method was eventually successful, and after a protracted, tense siege, more than 20,000 chests of opium were handed over in May 1839 and promptly destroyed by Lin.\footnote{A. Waley, \textit{The Opium War through Chinese Eyes}, pp. 20, 27-46. In a rare error, this distinguished scholar gave the date as 10 March 1838.} The opium was surrendered, not by the merchants, but by the British Superintendent of Trade, Captain Charles Elliot (1801-1875), who had succeeded Davis, thus forcing the hand of the British Government. Seeing what was coming, the Governor of Macau, Adrião Acácio da Silveira Pinto (held office 1837-1843), instructed merchants there to get their whole stock – from 2,000 to 3,000 chests – away to Manila before Commissioner Lin could demand its surrender too.\footnote{C.A. Montalto de Jesus, \textit{Historic Macao}, p. 297; Ljungstedt’s tally of opium imports in 1834 accords with this figure of about 10% of the 1839 seizure of British-owned opium. \textit{An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China}, pp. 105-106. Coates gave a figure of 3,000. \textit{Macao and the British}, p. 187.}

Elliot also sought and secured from Silveira Pinto an assurance of protection for all British subjects in Macau.\footnote{A. Coates, \textit{Macao and the British}, p. 184.} Not for the first time was Macau placed in an invidious position. Silveira Pinto did what little he could to maintain Macau’s neutrality, realising that it was indefensible in the face of a resolute Chinese blockade. J. F.
Davis contemptuously referred to the Portuguese garrison as ‘two or three hundred starved blacks’, who could be seen begging for food at the doors of convents. Others sneered at their fondness for sticking feathers in their hats, apparently to compensate for their shabby uniforms. That neglect had gone on for a long time. Seventy years before, an English visitor saw ‘a few sallow-faced, half-naked, and apparently half-starved creatures in old tattered coats that had once been blue, carrying muskets upon their shoulders, which, like their other accoutrements, were of a piece with their dress. These wretches were honoured with the title of soldiers’.

On the Chinese side of the barrier wall, Lin commenced a threatening military build-up. In 1834, during the stand-off which occurred while Lord Napier was attempting to stare down the Imperial Viceroy, Lu Kun, in Canton, two large war junks were moved into Praya Grande Bay to intimidate the British. It is likely that this action was repeated five years later to add visibly to the sense of menace. During the tense summer of 1839, the British were divided into two groups. Some took refuge in Macau, while others remained on board British merchant vessels which

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149 J.F. Davis, *The Chinese*, p. 89; A. Coates, *Macao Narrative*, p. 65. John Francis Davis (1795-1890), the last President of the ‘Select’ (1832-1834), held office as Superintendent of Trade (1834-1839), was appointed, as Sir John Davis, bart., Governor of Hong Kong, 1844-1848. This situation was similar to what happened in Goa, where the soldiers lacked proper training, uniforms or even standardised weapons. ‘When the monsoon began in May or June, they were left for several months to beg for their food on the streets.’ M.N. Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, p. 59.

150 *Chinese Repository*, vol. 3, no. 10, April 1836, p 580.

151 Memoirs of William Hickey, vol. 1, cited by C.R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East*, p. 259. Boxer observed that ‘Portuguese garrisons were commonly ill-provided with sufficient weapons and when they had them they were often neglected, rusty and other-wise unserviceable’. C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, p. 120.

152 Any such attempt was futile, the British having already reached firm conclusions about the Chinese war junks. ‘The Chinese war ships (junks) are large unwieldy-looking masses of timber, with mat sails, wooden anchors, rattan cables, a considerable sheer, flat upright stems, no stern posts, enormously high sterns ornamented with gold and paintings, considerably weakened too by a large hole in which the monstrous rudder can be hoisted up and housed in bad weather: immense quarter galleries, and look-out houses on the deck; generally drawing but little water, flat floored, painted red and black, with large goggle eyes in the bows ... such is the appearance of a celestial “first rate”. Few are over 250 to 350 tons, and the generality are armed with but two or four guns which ... are on solid beds, and must therefore be useless, save in the smoothest water. We have occasionally, however seen six guns in a large war junk, on special service; and two which were stationed in front of the Praia Grande at Macao, during the business of the late Lord Napier, had each eight, of various sizes; two of which, taking the whole width of the deck, were old brass field pieces, which, had they been fired, must have either sunk the junk, or gone, with the recoil, over the gangway in the rear.’ *Chinese Repository*, vol. 5, no. 4, August 1836, p. 173.
gathered in the sheltered waters of what would soon become Hong Kong harbour. Here too, Lin adopted an aggressive posture, building two powerful batteries at the southern point of Kowloon peninsula, with the British merchant vessels under their guns.

An unfortunate incident in July 1839 greatly aggravated the crisis. This was the murder at Kowloon of a Chinese villager by some drunken sailors. It was at once obvious to British and Portuguese alike that a grave situation had arisen. That incident inevitably harked back to two incidents, one in 1773 and the other in 1784 that left in the British mind an indelible memory and a lasting contempt for both the Portuguese and the Chinese. Nothing leaves a deeper impression than a perception of gross injustice. The British were horrified by these events. The first was the supine way in which the Portuguese had appeared to sanction the callous judicial murder by the mandarins of an innocent British subject. The second convinced all the Europeans of the barbarism of what passed for justice in the Chinese mind. These

153 It had been used since 1837 as a rendezvous for British shipping. W. Tarrant, Hongkong. Part I, 1839-1844. A history of Hongkong from the time of its cession to the British Empire to the year 1844, p. 2.


155 It is important to observe that the Chinese justice system was by no means as flawed as the Europeans took it to be. H.B. Morse held the view that in the case of homicide, it was based on two fundamental assumptions. The first was that the loss of a life must be atoned for by another life. No distinction was made between murder, manslaughter or misadventure. Someone was always responsible and must atone. The second assumption was that the village headmen were responsible for the maintenance of law, but not for judgment. That was the prerogative of the highly educated mandarins. Headmen were required to deliver a criminal for judgment and sentence because they were in control of their villages. On the whole it was a straightforward system that worked well in the Chinese context, but European concepts of evidence were not part of it. Therefore foreigners found
events had not been forgotten in the 1830s, when a correspondent identified only as ‘A Visitor to China’ wrote that ‘the blood of innocent Englishmen still cries out for redress’.\textsuperscript{156} It is necessary to summarise them to explain why the crisis of 1839 unfolded as it did. It led first to the temporary flight of the British, then to their decisive victory, but it also led indirectly to the lasting disadvantage of the Macanese both in Macau and in Hong Kong.

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In 1806 the Select Committee foreshadowed what would later become the principle of extraterritoriality, referring to another case of homicide. ‘We are of [the] opinion that it would be in the utmost degree injudicious and improper to appeal to that [Chinese] Government or to invite its interference, by which measure a most dangerous precedent might be established, and the right of the Chinese admitted to impose their Laws upon strangers, which are not only very arbitrary and corruptly administered, but founded on a system in many respects incompatible with European ideas of Equity or Justice.’ H.B. Morse, \textit{The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China, 1635-1834}, vol. 3, p. 40.
However, at that stage, 1806, no-one had examined Chinese statutes in any detail. This omission was rectified in 1810 when Sir George Staunton published his important compendium, \textit{Ta Tsing leu lee, being the fundamental laws, and a selection from the supplementary statutes of the penal code of China.}
The following section on homicide from the on-line version of the book corresponds with Staunton’s Division VI, Book II, Sections CCLXXXII-CCLXXXVI, pages 303-308 (first portion of section 25 of the Chinese edition).

\textbf{SECTION 282. —Preconcerted Homicide; Murder.}
In every case of persons planning the crime of homicide, whether, with or without a design, against the life of a particular individual, the original contriver shall suffer death, by being beheaded, after the usual period of confinement. All the accessories to the contrivance, who likewise contribute to the perpetration of the preconcerted homicide or murder, shall suffer death, by being strangled, after being confined until the usual period.
The other accessories not actually contributing to the perpetration of the murder shall be punished with 100 blows, and perpetual banishment to the distance of 3000 li. In these cases, sentence is not to be pronounced finally, until the decease of the person mortally wounded. When the wounds inflicted in consequence of a previous design to commit murder, do not prove mortal, the original contriver of the deed shall be strangled, after remaining in confinement the usual period. The accessories contributing to the perpetration shall be punished with 100 blows, and perpetual banishment to the distance of 3,000 li. The other accessories shall be punished with 100 blows, and three years banishment [one li is about half a kilometre]. When a homicide has been preconcerted as aforesaid, but no blow struck, the original contriver shall be punished with 100 blows and three years banishment: —the accessories to such contrivance shall be each punished with 100 blows.
The original contriver shall suffer punishment as a principal, though not otherwise contributing in any manner to carry the design into effect; but the accessories to the contrivance who are not guilty of any subsequent overt act, shall suffer punishment less by one degree than those of the accessories, who acted in some respects upon the contrivance, although they did not personally contribute to the perpetration of the deed. Those who commit murder for the sake of plunder shall, as in the case of a robbery, all of them be beheaded, without any distinction whatever between principals and accessories.’
What seems to have occurred in the cases that so antagonised the foreigners is that the law was being deliberately applied to the barbarians in a harsh and high-handed manner that was at variance with the codified law of China. Moreover, the \textit{principle} of justice might be one thing; the \textit{administration} of justice quite another.
\textsuperscript{156} \textit{Chinese Repository}, vol. 5, no. 3, July 1836, p. 130.\end{flushright}
Both cases involved the death of Chinese citizens. In 1773, the year in which the Company arrived, Francis Scott, a British subject, was accused of the murder of a Chinese man in Macau, but when the case came to trial by the Portuguese court no-one would testify against him. However, the Casa Branca mandarin informed the Senate that Scott was guilty and must be surrendered for execution. This meant death by slow strangulation, a most cruel and protracted death, clearly contrived with deterrence in mind. When the Senate refused to hand him over, the usual coercion was applied: the closing of the barrier gate, with Macau set to starve. The Senate was at first determined to stand firm, but when after some time it became clear that the mandarin would not yield, it was at last persuaded to alter its decision by the Vicar-General of the Diocese, Alexandre da Silva Pedrosa Guimarães, who was an *ex officio* member.157

![Alexandre da Silva Pedrosa Guimarães. Vicar-General of the Diocese of Macau. in office, 1773-1789.](image)

*The effect of a tropical climate on the portrait is apparent.*

*Reproduced in monochrome in Review of Culture, no. 20, 2nd series, July/September 1994, p. 95.*

*The caption here reads: One of the prelates in Macao history who fought most for morality and decency in dressing.*

*The location of the portrait is not indicated, but it is likely to be held by the Diocese of Macau.*

This was the same prelate who had successfully vetoed the Senate’s attempt to permit the transfer to Macau of the East India Company’s factory.158 Guimarães argued:

> When a tyrant demands even an innocent person, with menaces to ruin the places, the republic can say to any innocent, you must go and deliver yourself up, for the sake of saving, from inevitable destruction the community, which is worth more than the life of an

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individual. Should he refuse to obey, he is not innocent, he is criminal.\textsuperscript{159}

It was the counsel of Caiaphas, another High Priest, and the Senate, grasping at straws, took it, urged on by the Procurator, who added, but without the priest’s sophistry, ‘the Mandarins are forcing away the Chinese retailers, determined to make us die of hunger; we had better surrender the Englishman’. After what can only have been a tense and solemn meeting, this was done, and Scott came to a cruel end.\textsuperscript{160} The second case, eleven years later, was even more horrible, because the victim was plainly innocent, but it did not involve the Portuguese. The \textit{Lady Hughes}, a country ship (i.e. privately owned), arrived at Whampoa near Canton on 24 November 1784, and fired the customary salute as it approached the anchorage. A small Chinese vessel was hit, and two men were killed. In vain did the foreign community plead that the deaths were accidental. Food and water were cut off from all the foreign factories until the culprit was surrendered. The original gunner could not be identified, but instead, another gunner, an old and frail man, was most reluctantly handed over with a letter pleading for clemency, in a stratagem clearly intended to appeal to the well-known Chinese veneration for age. Supplies were at once restored. In a macabre way the plea seems to have partly succeeded. Nothing happened for several weeks while the matter was sent to Peking for consideration by the Throne. Eventually the heads of the various foreign factories in Canton were summoned and told that although two men had died, clemency had indeed been granted: only one need be executed. The foreign barbarians were told to be more obedient in future, and to surrender culprits for punishment without delay. Meanwhile, the elderly gunner was being strangled outside.\textsuperscript{161} Writing in 1822, 38 years later, Peter Auber wrote that ‘the surrender of this man is considered to have inflicted indelible disgrace upon all parties concerned’.\textsuperscript{162}

\textsuperscript{159} A. Ljungstedt, \textit{An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China}, pp. 65-66. The text as given by Ljungstedt appears to be a close transliteration from a document no longer extant. Significantly, Montalto de Jesus chose to ignore this important and far-reaching case.

\textsuperscript{160} The Scott case is also discussed in H.B. Morse, \textit{The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China, 1635-1834}, vol. 5, pp. 182-185.


\textsuperscript{162} P. Auber, \textit{China, an outline of its laws and policy}, cited by H.B. Morse, \textit{The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China, 1635-1834}, vol. 4, p. 34.
By contrast, a similar case in Canton in 1807 produced a markedly different result.\footnote{Morse gave the date 1808 (H.B. Morse, \textit{The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China, 1635-1834}, vol. 4, p. 46), but a contemporary lithograph gives the precise date of the hearing before a Chinese court: 8\textsuperscript{th} March 1807 (\textit{The Chater Legacy}, p. 19).} It was a familiar scenario for sailors on shore leave to get out of hand. A drunken brawl involving the crew of the Company’s ship \textit{Neptune} left a Chinese dead. This time the British determined not to give way. The memory of the old gunner’s fate and of their own humiliation in 1784 was too strong. Those involved in the brawl were questioned in groups of five; one Edward Sheen was selected, but he was not surrendered. An inconclusive enquiry took place before the Select Committee, who then sought to take him away to Macau, but failed to achieve this. Sheen seemed doomed. However, at Macau was a British ship of the line, HMS \textit{Lion}, 64 guns, Captain Robert Rolles. Rolles, who was present at the interrogation, took matters into his own hands with a show of strength, declaring his intention to proceed to Canton and take Sheen on board. The record of the incident does not say this, but we can imagine that on \textit{Lion} the guns were run out and the decks cleared for action in a bustle of noise, activity and shouted orders. The whole crew would have enjoyed this show of strength.

To their surprise, the Englishmen found that a face-saving device could then be contrived, even when a Chinese life had been lost. A story was invented that Sheen
had opened a window, from which a piece of wood fell, killing the man below. A suitable piece of wood was sent to Peking to verify the tale. The Imperial consent to Sheen’s release was quickly obtained, and a fine of 12.42 taels, about £4, was imposed. The British were not impressed:

This singular transaction proves at once how easily the emperor may be deceived, and with what readiness the local government can get out of a difficulty.

Man or myth? Two views of Lin Zexu:
Right: a modern statue at Lin Ze Xu Square, East Broadway, New York.

The Select Committee’s report to the Court of Directors of the East India Company praised Rolles’ ‘able advice and assistance’. They were delighted with the outcome, and Captain Rolles was awarded £1,000 for his firm action – a huge

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reward. In the foreign factories in Canton, the message was clear. Meet force with force.

Thirty years later, in the tense situation he faced in 1839, Commissioner Lin would never succumb to the device worked out in 1807, but nor would a British subject ever again be sacrificed to what was seen as the caprice of Chinese injustice. In the time-honoured manner, Lin demanded a culprit from the British community in Macau. Their Chinese servants were ordered to leave, and supplies were cut off from them, but not from the Portuguese, Lin hoping to drive a wedge between the two foreign communities.

At first this did not work, the servants of the Portuguese community obtaining food supplies for the British, who were effectively under house arrest. 167 It stands greatly to his credit that Silveira Pinto held out for several days, but placards in large letters were carried through the streets and market places by Chinese soldiers, forbidding any person whatsoever to supply food to the English.

They soon found it very difficult to obtain even bare necessities. 168 Silveira Pinto realised that it was only a matter of time before all supplies would be cut off from Macau. Reluctantly, he advised Elliot that he could no longer guarantee the safety of British citizens. This time there was no Lion on hand to roar with its 64 guns. Instead, Chinese vessels seemed to possess greater force. That was indeed true at the time; towards the end of August, a small British schooner, Black Joke, was attacked near Macau and its whole crew killed, a single passenger surviving. 169

The news provoked panic in Macau. Silveira Pinto had no option but to advise the whole British community to leave the next morning. After a sleepless night, their footsteps were hastened by ‘an infernal din of gongs and the yelling of a raving

169 M. Collis, Foreign Mud, p. 246.
populace’. At noon on Monday, 26 August 1839, the second British exodus from Macau commenced, including even Chinnery, who had lived and worked there since 1825 in perfect safety. The pathetic ineffectiveness of the Portuguese garrison is apparent in the following account.

Men, women and children, with bag and baggage were hurried through the streets of Macao amidst terrible excitement of the whole population, expecting every moment a massacre by the Chinese soldiery. The refugees assembled on the Praya in the presence of Governor Pinto who had the whole of the Portuguese troops (some 400 Indian lascars and 500 Caffre slaves) under arms, and embarked hurriedly on board British ships, lorchas [vessels with a European hull and the rigging of a Chinese junk], schooners and boats of all descriptions, which immediately set sail for

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170 C.A. Montalto de Jesus, Historic Macau, p. 300.
171 Panic-stricken, Chinnery wrote to Jardine. ‘To be away is everything to me. I should like to paint a few good pictures (at least try at it) before I am put to the sword’. M. Collis, Foreign Mud, p. 244. Collis explained (p. 512) that he had been granted unprecedented access to the Jardine, Matheson archives.
Ever courteous, Silveira Pinto was at the Praya to bid them all farewell. Most made for the fleet already in Hong Kong harbour where by December there were thirty-two merchant vessels at anchor awaiting a resolution of the crisis. On 3 September, eight days after the flight of the British, Commissioner Lin came to Macau in a splendid sedan chair carried by eight bearers to survey the scene of his triumph and was welcomed with a guard of honour and a nineteen gun salute. Two years later, Lin’s principal adversary, Captain Charles Elliot, would receive only a thirteen gun salute from the forts of Macau when he was recalled in disgrace. By then, Lin was disgraced too. The Americans remained in Canton, still doing ‘pidgin’, as they had signed undertakings not to deal in opium; they had knuckled under. The British had all gone from Macau after seventy years of growing trouble. From the point of view of the Chinese mandarins, the Portuguese, still there after close to three centuries, could stay, for they had always been compliant and an easy source of lucre.

Some of the departing British appreciated what their Portuguese hosts had tried to do for them, faced with an impossible situation. An officer who came next year with the inevitable punitive expedition heard their stories and caught their mood. ‘The whole of the British community finally quitted the friendly but ineffectual protection of their ancient ally, and proceeded, the greater part, to the harbour of Hong Kong.’ Silveira Pinto, who remained governor until 1843, continued to be held in high regard by the British community. In later years, the perception changed in line with the growth of British contempt for the Portuguese, and looking back on the role

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174 Ibid., p. 246. Lin made a circuit of the town, finally parading along the whole length of the Praya Grande, where the Chinese inhabitants erected pai laus (ceremonial arches) decorated with scrolls expressing their ‘profound gratitude for the visit of His Excellency the High Commissioner who had saved them from a deadly vice and removed from them a dire calamity by the destruction of the foreign mud’. R. Hutcheon, *Chinnery*, pp. 118-119.
178 *Chinese Repository*, vol. 12, no. 10, October 1843, p. 555. Bridgman observed, in a rare commendation of a Portuguese official, ‘We think a better representative of the place, or one more likely to succeed, could not be found’.
of the Portuguese governor in 1839, a mid-twentieth century Hong Kong writer condemned this ‘vacillating and unpredictable Governor’ with his ‘unfriendly and unco-operative attitude’. Others turned their backs on Macau with bitterness. Few had ever enjoyed their stay. A writer (i.e. junior clerk), on leaving in 1831, penned some lines of verse that were probably widely relished:

Farewell to Canton,
Farewell to Macao,
In joy and in gladness we part,
In truth may I say,
That I hallow the day,
When thy shores from my sight shall depart.

Farewell to Tea Scales,
To Dollars and Tales,
To Congo, Souchong and Bohea;
To Macao’s Rocks and Caves,
To her numerous Graves;
And now for a long voyage at sea.180

The most outspoken critic was J.F. Davis, whose remarkable career included a long period with the East India Company in Canton from 1813 to 1834, the last two years as President of the Select Committee. He lived in lordly fashion, enjoying an income said to be $25,000 a year.181 When the Company ceased operations in 1834, he became, jointly with the ill-fated Napier, the first Superintendent of Trade, a Government position. Looking back on the whole British connection with Macau, Davis, who as Sir John Davis, baronet, became the second Governor of Hong Kong, had not a good word to say for the Portuguese in an important work, *The Chinese: a General Description of China and its Inhabitants*, published in 1836, well before the debacle of 1839. He claimed that even from early contacts in the seventeenth century they had treated the English with perfidy, adding that ‘in the course of time they have been able to exclude us altogether even from Macao’.182 He maintained that

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179 R. Hutcheon, *Chinnery*, p. 119.
180 He was identified only by the initial ‘B.’, *Canton Miscellany*, no.1, 1831, pp. 49-51. ‘Tales’. i.e. ‘Taels’. Congo, Souchong and Bohea were varieties of tea. Another verse, omitted here, obliquely mentions the weighing of different grades of opium: Patna and Benares, as among the writer’s tasks. It was rare for the nefarious trade to be mentioned by its practitioners.
A year later, in August 1839, 32 ships took refuge there after British citizens fled from Macau. There is little attempt at topographical accuracy in Borget’s representation. Hong Kong’s sheltered anchorage first attracted British shipping in 1837.

Hong Kong Museum of Art AH64.391.4, Reproduced in Historical Pictures, collection of the Hong Kong Museum of Art, p. 17.

they had caused the failure of the British attempt to occupy Macau in 1808 by ‘their customary intrigues with the Chinese government’. 183 Perhaps with greater justification, but ignoring the illegality of the opium trade, he commented that ‘the Portuguese have had ample leisure to repent their short-sighted and narrow policy towards our countrymen which had the effect of driving the whole of the Indian opium trade from Macao to Lintin, and thereby depriving the former place of its most fertile, and indeed only source of wealth’. 184 Devastatingly, he characterised the whole of Portuguese policy to the Chinese as marked by ‘their usual servility’. 185

Davis’s book was very well received and ran through many editions. It became the standard reading on China in the mid-nineteenth century. 186 The respected and

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183 Ibid., vol. I, p. 81.
184 Ibid., vol. I, pp. 81-82.
185 Ibid., vol. I, p. 91.
186 The Rev. Dr James Legge, a noted sinologue and the first Professor of Chinese at Oxford in 1876, regarded it in 1872 as ‘still the most readable and entertaining work on the country up to the time to which he was able to bring it down’ [1834]. J. Legge, ‘The colony of Hong Kong’, in China Review,
scholarly editor of the *Chinese Repository*, Elijah Bridgman, who lived in Canton during these stirring times, went so far as to describe it as ‘the best account of the Chinese Empire and its inhabitants which has ever appeared in the English language’, thus perhaps endorsing these scathing remarks. It was left to the Frenchman, Marcel Yvan, to express a more moderate view. Referring to Davis, he observed:

In his valuable work on China, he has rendered himself quite the detractor of the [Portuguese] heroes of the sixteenth century; his observations are evidently made in a spirit of chagrin and ill humour; and it is quite visible that he is actuated by intense hatred for the first discoverers of these far-distant shores.

Yvan was right. Davis ignored the accomplishments of the Portuguese, not only in the heroic age of exploration, but in maintaining their position in Macau for so long despite insuperable difficulties. Looking about them in the 1830s, the British saw a once great trading port that had fallen upon very hard times. Macau grew nothing, produced nothing and seemed to have no visible means of support. Its slide into decrepitude, begun in the 1640s, had continued for two centuries. The British at once discerned the precarious nature of the Portuguese presence in Macau and often commented on it. Their understanding of the legal basis of a colony was that a formal claim had been laid on the territory in question and that the claim had been made good by occupation. Thenceforth the law of the occupying power was enforced and no other. Obviously this was not the case in Macau, seen by the British as a pseudo-colony, which had survived for so long only by humiliating compromise. Yet they were quite prepared to make full use of the Portuguese presence until the crisis of August 1839.

When that crisis came, they were glad to take refuge on British ships in Hong Kong harbour, albeit threatened by Chinese guns at the newly constructed Kowloon forts. What would happen to the 4,000 Macanese left in Macau? The victorious

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187 Chinese Repository, vol. 5, no. 6, October 1836, p. 280.

188 M. Yvan, *Six Months among the Malays and a Year in China*, pp. 129-130.

189 The *Canton Register* warned that this step ‘would be viewed by the Chinese as a retreat from their force, and an encouragement to further acts of aggression.’ So it proved, and on 11 November the Kowloon batteries commenced a cannonade that lasted through the night. Untrained Chinese gunners
Qing emperors had wiped out vast numbers of opponents in the seventeenth century, especially in South China. Was this to be the fate of those Europeans still there? The British never gave it a thought. It would not have occurred to them that there was no escape for the Macanese. As ever, they must survive as they had done for so long by making the best accommodation they could with the mandarins. This was a unique community. Its people had developed their own ethnic identity and their own language they called patuá, a creole composed largely of Portuguese and Malaccan influences. They were intensely pious, and remained so for much longer. They had a very strong sense of family ties. Many of them seemed to have been left behind by an advancing world that had suddenly intruded upon their quiet backwater. Some remained caught in a time warp, but others would seize very different opportunities that were about to open. They never forgot that they had descended from a nation that had once dominated two oceans, the coast of Asia and achieved great things.

failed to hit any of the British ships, which moved away. Another bombardment followed on 14 November. ‘The report of these guns filled the resounding bay of Hongkong with their echoes’. This time all but nine of the ships deserted Hong Kong harbour. W. Tarrant, *Hongkong, part I, 1839-1844*, p. 10. Another 102 years would pass until the sound of artillery again terrified the population of Hong Kong when the Japanese attacked in December 1941.

William Tarrant’s account may be typical of contemporary British attitudes towards the Portuguese. ‘We can hardly end our story of the year [1844] without a glance at Macao, where the effect of the bigoted, illiberal policy of the Government began to be felt directly Hongkong got fair headway. The act of siding with the Chinese Government during our war, and ordering us to leave because the place, in reality, belonged to the Chinese, was first made to tell on them by an ordinance of the Hongkong Government, in which the Holy City was declared part and parcel of the dominions of the Emperor of China, a measure which gave great umbrage to the most Faithful Majesty of Portugal, and brought about a correspondence resulting in an order to the Hongkong Government to make some provision for alteration in the working of any process of the ordinance mentioned. England did not desire war with Portugal on the point: – but, though making an extraordinary alteration in working with the law, we did not abolish it, maugré [sic. An obsolete word in English, derived from the French malgré, meaning ‘in spite of’] the complaint. To keep pace with the times the following ordinances were enacted.’ [Macao was declared a free port on 27 November 1844, in the hope of emulating the growing prosperity of Hong Kong]. W. Tarrant, *Hongkong, Part I, 1839 to 1844*, p. 142. Tarrant’s account concludes with a sneer: ‘Now that Macao can boast of a very large surplus revenue, the following story of the state of the public chest in 1844 becomes interesting by contrast. We have before us a most melancholy account of the deplorable state of affairs in Macao. The Government are literally bankrupt. Not a stiver to pay a few miserable half starved troops, who have the equivocal honour of wearing the uniform of Portugal. We hear that since April the exchequer has been empty, – the troops threaten that they will stand it no longer and a riot is far from improbable.’ p.144.

This is discussed more fully in Appendix 10, Malacca and Macau.
Chapter 3

Search for identity: Macau and Hong Kong, 1841-1900

Part 1 – Macau after the Opium War: a decade of peril

Unsettling events in Macau in 1839 were a harbinger of how community relationships would develop in Hong Kong under British rule. Hong Kong’s first decade would confirm those relationships, with Macau and its people slipping still further in British estimation. In the next half century, various national groups would pursue their commercial activities, mostly with little communication between each other. Self-interest was, by-and-large, the driving force. What held the thriving colony of Hong Kong together, despite these inherent polarities, was their reliance on each other to carve out successful livelihoods. These relationships, already well-established between the Portuguese and British communities by 1839, were thrown sharply into focus by the dramatic events that unfolded in the next two years in what would come to be called the Opium War.192

192 In Macau, no-one from the governor down can have had any idea of what was going on in the confused and threatening situation that unfolded around them. Both Chinese and British combatants ignored the neutral Portuguese. A detailed history of what was then termed the Chinese War, and became more commonly called the First Opium War, lies outside the scope of this thesis, but it will be useful to sketch the main events and consequences. In Macau, people had little idea of what was going on in the bizarre, confused and threatening situation that unfolded around them. There were two significant naval actions and a land battle virtually at the gates of Macau. These events had the initial effect of liberating Macau from nearly three centuries of vassalage, but the commercial consequences then plunged it into a severe economic depression for most of the next century.

On 21 June 1840, a British expeditionary force of three 74-gun ships of the line, Melville, Wellesley and Blenheim, supported by fourteen frigates, reached the Pearl River estuary. Their total fire-power was 596 guns, nearly ten times greater than anything seen on the Chinese coast hitherto. There were also four armed steamers belonging to the East India Company. They were sent to navigate rivers which the sailing ships could not do. There were thirty transports carrying 4,000 marines commanded by Sir James Gordon Bremer. It was an overwhelming force. (Details of the force were given by J.L. Shuck, Portfolio chinensis, p. 191, at the conclusion of his important reprint of Lin Zexu’s regulations against opium).

The lack of military capacity of the Chinese forces was evident from first to last in the fighting that dragged on for nearly three years. Elliot’s force could have brought about the defeat of the Chinese Empire far more rapidly than it did, but he had been instructed to use no more force than was necessary. This he did, seeking only to bring the Chinese to the negotiating table and to restore an amicable trading arrangement. It gradually became evident that this was next to impossible, first because of the prevarication of local authorities; he then encountered the intransigence of the Daoguang Emperor, unable to accept that his forces had been vanquished until the ‘red barbarians’ literally stood at the gates of Nanking, China’s ancient capital city on the Yangtze River. Then, and then only was the Treaty of Nanking wrung out of the Chinese government, forced at last to accept humiliating terms on 29 August 1842. Earlier, events in South China had moved more rapidly, with
The precipitate departure of the British in August 1839 left Macau in limbo, and in severe economic difficulty, with trade at a standstill. The British were in desperate trouble. Elliot did his best, under heavy pressure from people cooped up in ships in Hong Kong harbour in the broiling heat of summer, to reach a three-way accommodation with Lin and Silveira Pinto for the British to return to their comfortable homes in Macau. Such a plan could never hope to succeed, with the constant threat of starvation as a Chinese trump card. After two months, when negotiations broke down completely in October 1839, military action was inevitable.

three naval engagements at Chuenpi at the mouth of the Pearl River which left Canton at the mercy of British forces. The first was in November 1839, then two more in January and February 1841. In August 1840, a British force sailed north to Tientsin, presenting a demand for compensation for British losses. The Daoguang Emperor reacted by replacing Lin Zexu with Qishan, who was instructed to kill all the ‘red barbarians’. In this he failed conspicuously, there being a second Chinese naval defeat at Chuenpi five months later on 10 January 1841 and a third the next month. In March, Qishan was sent in chains to Peking following the Chuenpi Convention, the agreement he had reached with the British to avoid the destruction of Canton. That agreement included the cession of Hong Kong to Britain, a concession that was at once acted upon when Bremer and a party of marines took possession of what was soon derided in Whitehall as a ‘barren rock’ on 26 January 1841.

Whitehall and Peking had this much in common: neither understood the local situation. Each dismissed in disgrace the man best placed to resolve an intractable impasse. To both the Chinese Emperor and the British Foreign Secretary the idea of negotiating was inconceivable. The Daoguang Emperor saw Elliot as no more than the headman of a particularly troublesome set of uncivilised barbarians. Palmerston had a broadly comparable view. He saw the Chinese government as corrupt, debased and incapable of civilised standards of justice and equity.

Elliot left in August 1841, the victim of a sustained campaign of vilification orchestrated by William Jardine, the most rapacious of the opium traders, who happened to be in London throughout the early part of the conflict. Elliot’s acquisition of Hong Kong only served to confirm his utter lack of capacity in the eyes of his far-away superiors. The following year, the Treaty of Nanking confirmed the British presence in Hong Kong, ratifying the Chuenpi Convention. However, the British Foreign Secretary in Whitehall was infuriated with Elliot, the Daoguang Emperor in Peking with Lin Zexu and Qishan. Qishan, at first sentenced to death, was then banished to Lhasa in Tibet, perhaps a fate worse than death. Elliot was posted as British consul-general to Texas, as far west as it was possible to send him. Later, fifty years after Napoleon had been banished there, Elliot eventually became Governor of the minor colony of St Helena in the 1860s. By then, a modus vivendi originally intended only to give security to British merchants troubled by constant threats in Canton and Macau had more than achieved its purpose. Hong Kong would continue to be a British possession and a highly successful commercial base until 1997.

The tangled affairs of the Opium War created a considerable literature. The British public sought information about China, a strange place where war had broken out at the end of the earth. Of several soldiers’ memoirs, the very detailed and careful account by John Ouchterlony, an officer in the Royal Engineers, is valuable: The Chinese war: an account of all the operations of the British forces from the commencement to the Treaty of Nanking. This and other similar books were published some years later. However, those close to the scene of the action, English-speaking people in Macau, needed urgently to know what was going on. There was occasional news in the Chinese Repository, but it was not a newspaper. In the tense period from August 1839 until the arrival of the expeditionary force in June 1840, there was little accurate information about the decisions taken and proposed by the Chinese authorities. A vastly different source of information became available in July 1840: J.L. Shuck, Portfolio chinensis or a collection of authentic Chinese state papers, illustrative of the history of the present position of affairs in China: with a translation, notes and introduction. This is a reprint in Chinese and translation into English of Lin Zexu’s regulations against opium, which had been issued in Chinese, but the details of which were unknown to westerners until Shuck’s book appeared just after the arrival of the British fleet. Shuck thereupon added a brief appendix describing the powerful force about to be brought to bear on China. There soon followed what Austin Coates aptly called ‘the crude wrench of war’. (A. Coates, Macao and the British, 1637-1842, p. 175).

Lin, sure that he held the advantage, began by threatening to bombard the unarmed vessels in Hong Kong harbour. Elliot, who had just been reinforced by the arrival of two 18-gun corvettes, HMS *Hyacinth* and HMS *Volage*, countered by a feint near the entrance to the Pearl River leading to Canton. It turned into a naval battle; his two ships, led by *Hyacinth*, with Captain Smith in command, defeated a Chinese fleet of 29 war junks in ‘a sharp action’ on 3 November at a place Elliot called Chuenpee.  

This escalation left Macau in a precarious position, the Chinese smarting from their unexpected reversal. Smith’s subsequent entry into the Inner Harbour forced Silveira Pinto to demand his immediate withdrawal, for there was a fresh crop of placards demanding death to all the British. Smith withdrew as requested, but steadily deteriorating events in succeeding months led to a significant action which proved to be decisive for Macau’s security for the next century. It was triggered by the capture at Macau in August 1840 of an English missionary, the Rev. Vincent Stanton, who was imprisoned in chains at Canton, his life clearly in peril following the death of the

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Miller, ‘Chinese War. Volage & Hyacinth, 3 November 1839’  
National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, PAF4873

villager in Kowloon. Stanton’s predicament led to an immediate response. The long
and trying stalemate at Macau ended when Smith landed a force just north of the
barrier gate and destroyed the Chinese encampment that had menaced Macau for
twelve months.195 This exercise of force majeure led after four months to Stanton
being released, not strangled. He kept the chains, which for many years afterwards
continued to be exhibited in London.196

An Engineer officer who was present noted that 600 rounds of thirty-two pounder
shot were fired in what was the largest display of armed strength in Macau since the
repulse of the Dutch in 1622. He added that the action was watched by a ‘vast
concourse of people’ from the excellent vantage point of Mong Ha, a hill just south
of the barrier.197 It must have made a deep impression on those present. It seems
certain that the Portuguese young men who went to Hong Kong a few years later
were there. They would have readily made up their minds about the future of
European presence on the China coast.

In a short engagement, Smith effectively brought to an end the suzerainty enjoyed by
the Casa Branca mandarins for 250 years. Hitherto, no building might be erected or
repaired in Macau without their permission, for which a fee had of course to be paid.
This requirement was ended in 1843. At the same time, it was agreed that
communications between Macau and the Casa Branca mandarin would be on the
basis of equality.198 However, this did not significantly strengthen the position of
Macau. For some time to come, it became in effect a dependency of Hong Kong, as
events would prove twice in the next twenty years.

The first such event was the assassination of the governor, João Maria Ferreira do
Amaral, on 22 August 1849, set upon by a Chinese mob when he rashly ventured
outside the city wall. This led to an immediate response by the Governor of Hong
Kong, Sir George Bonham, who despatched two British naval vessels, HMS
Amazon, commanded by Captain Troubridge, and the steamship HMS Medea, to
Macau. He told the hastily set up Macau Governing Council:

195 A. Coates, Macao and the British, p. 203; C.A. Montalto de Jesus, Historic Macao, p. 305. This
Portuguese writer passes over this immensely significant action in a few lines; it was, after all, a
British, not a Portuguese achievement.
197 J. Ouchterlony, The Chinese War, pp. 80, 81.
Captain Troubridge will remain at Macao for the present, and I trust the arrival of H. M. vessels at this juncture will be sufficient to shew the Chinese Authorities that the British Government fully sympathize with that of Her Most Faithful Majesty on this distressing occasion, and that the Chinese will, if evilly disposed, be induced in consequence to refrain from any further acts of aggression.199

Three days after the governor’s death, and with Macau facing a menacing situation, a small local force, 36 men strong, led by a young sub-lieutenant of the artillery, Vicente Mesquita, bravely and successfully stormed Baishaling (Cantonese, Pak Shan Lan; Portuguese, Passaleão), the nearby Chinese fort, heavily garrisoned, but with untrained soldiers.

199 It is noteworthy that permission was neither sought from nor granted by the ad hoc authorities in Macau for this armed British incursion. Bonham continued: ‘I yesterday addressed a Letter to the High Commissioner on the subject of this atrocious murder, and informed him that I conceived it to be one in which all the Representatives of the Foreign Powers in China were directly concerned, and that I fully expected that he would cause the perpetrators of the bloody deed to be at once apprehended, should they have taken refuge within the dominions of the Emperor of China.’ J.F. Marques Pereira, Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo, Lisbon, 1899, vol. I, p. 233, cited by J.P. Braga, The Portuguese in Hongkong and China, p. 179. ‘Her Most Faithful Majesty’, was the title of the Queen of Portugal, the title ‘Rex Fidelissimus’ having first been bestowed on King John V in 1748 by Pope Benedict XIV.
A Portuguese view of ‘the Battle of Passaleão’. The artist had little idea of what actually took place. Passaleão was to the north-west of Macau, and Green Island, not shown here, is in the bay between Passaleão and Macau. This view is from the north-east, showing Guia (left) and Mong Ha (right). In the distance, to the left of Guia, is Penha, the hill at Macau’s south tip. In the distance is the Chinese island of Lappa, to the west of Macau.

To the east of Macau is open sea.

The depiction of Mesquita’s troops as a highly disciplined force is likewise fanciful.

J.F. Marques Pereira,

The fort’s guns were spiked and its magazine blown. The mob had severed Amaral’s head and hand which were seized as trophies. In a savage act of reprisal, Mesquita did the same to an unarmed mandarin, a civilian, who was captured.²⁰⁰

The entire map, inset to right, shows the boundaries of territory held by Macau (edged in blue) and China (edged in yellow). The detail from this map (left) refers to boundary disputes and tensions that remained unresolved after 1849, and continued to cause friction between Portugal and China until the 1920s.

A neutral zone north of the Barrier Gate (Porta do Cêrco), is boldly marked in red. This was protected by the Chinese Fortaleza de Passaleão until its destruction in 1849. Thereafter, Portuguese guns at the hastily constructed Fortaleza de Mongha (No. 7), south of the Porta do Cêrco, prevented Chinese reoccupation of the plain between the two positions. This plain is marked Campo neutro ou terreiro desocupado pelos chins desde 1849 a 1890 (Neutral ground or land unoccupied by the Chinese from 1849 to 1890). However, it is still edged in yellow, a recognition that it remained Chinese territory.

To the west is the Casa Branca (the White House), headquarters of the Heung Shan magistrate, once formidable, but impotent after 1849.

Lest the Chinese contemplate a counter-attack, Troubridge occupied the position with his marines, well-armed, well-trained and supported by the guns of the Amazon and the Medea, a far stronger statement than Mesquita’s spectacular sortie, heroic though it undoubtedly was. That was a display of bravado; the British naval

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201 C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, pp. 119 and 302, pointed out that Portuguese military tactics for several centuries amounted to no more than a wild on-rush, accompanied by the war cry ‘Santiago e a elles’ – ‘St James and at them’ (the traditional representation of St James shows him armed with a sword). In this case it was highly successful, unnerving a disorganised enemy who fled at the sight of cold steel. However, many years later, Fr Manuel Teixeira unconsciously revealed how poorly equipped they had been. He told how a public-spirited citizen, Constantino Maria de Sousa, had presented the newly established Macau Museum in 1929 with the lance used by his father...
presence and the fort’s occupation by the Royal Marines was power of a different order. The French sent a detachment of troops too, and the Spanish later sent a gunboat from Manila.  

The destruction of Passaleão was a local incident, and it resolved the immediate threat to Macau. That did not stop a panicky exodus of Macanese to Hong Kong, certain that China would seek vengeance. That did not happen until 117 years later, when in 1966 a rioting mob tore down a large statue of Mesquita that had been erected as recently as 1940 in the Largo do Senado, the chief public place in Macau.

During the next few years, friction between British and Chinese increased. Another war seemed certain, and, inevitably, when it was fought between 1857 and 1860, it was won by Britain. China was further humiliated. As for Macau, it slid further into obscurity. Within a few years, it was beneath notice; there was no longer a British consulate there from 1846 until World War II. The Portuguese government sought to negotiate a treaty with China that placed Portugal on an equal footing with Britain. This treaty was signed at Tientsin on 13 August 1862, and was hailed in Macau and Lisbon as a diplomatic triumph for Portugal. The governor who negotiated it, Isidoro Francisco Guimarães, was elevated to the peerage as Viscount de Praia Grande de Macau. However, when his successor as Governor of Macau, José Rodrigues Coelho do Amaral, went to Tientsin in June 1864 to exchange ratifications, the Chinese prevaricated. After fruitless negotiations, it became clear that the Chinese had no intention of ratifying the treaty ‘as Macau could not but be regarded as Chinese territory’. ‘Then go and conquer Macau’, retorted Coelho do Amaral.

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202 A. Coates, op. cit., p. 96.
204 L. & M. Ride, *Voices of Macao Stones*, pp. 53-54.
207 Ibid., pp. 376-377.
He had placed himself in an awkward situation. The Chinese had suffered heavy defeat at the hands of the British twice in twenty years, but they might take on the far less powerful Portugal. Indeed, they had begun gunboat diplomacy on the China coast.\footnote{When war junks threatened Lord Napier in 1834, as discussed in Chapter 2. \textit{Chinese Repository}, vol. 5, no. 4, August 1836, p. 173.} However, much had changed, and in 1864 it was the British, not the Chinese who could use gunboats to impose their will.

\begin{figure}
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\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image.jpg}
\caption{Hong Kong Volunteers in Macau, 19 November 1864, Illustrated London News, 21 January 1865, p. 65.}
\end{figure}

The second Chinese War had led to a major British naval and military presence in Hong Kong,\footnote{The \textit{China Directory}, 1861, detailed the naval vessels and military units then in Hong Kong.} and any further disturbance to stability in the Far East would certainly lead to renewed British intervention. Governors of Macau were used to walking a tightrope, and Coelho do Amaral now found himself in that situation. It did not warrant asking for gunboats, but a limited show of strength and solidarity might work wonders. He could not mount the display of naval or military might that Britain would be able to put on.\footnote{British support did not extend to forcing China to ratify the 1862 treaty, which was quietly forgotten. The Royal Navy had eleven ships at Hong Kong, while all Amaral could muster was a single lorch, the grandiloquently named \textit{Amazona} (\textit{The Times}, 17 November 1864). He might have taken comfort from the fact that two of the British gunboats, the \textit{Hardy} and the \textit{Staunch}, were actively hunting down pirates on the China coast (\textit{The Times}, 28 November 1864).} Sir Hercules Robinson, the Governor of Hong Kong, determined on another piece of tacit British support – not gunboat diplomacy.
this time, but nevertheless a barely veiled piece of sabre-rattling. This was an ostentatious and well-publicised official visit to Macau by the newly raised and well-led Hong Kong Volunteer Defence Corps, which significantly took its small arms and light artillery with it to visit this foreign jurisdiction.\textsuperscript{211} Not until 1887 was there grudging Chinese admission of the sovereignty that Portugal had vainly claimed for 330 years.\textsuperscript{212} That too would be summarily dismissed in the negotiations a century later that led to the return of Macau to China in 1999.

Throughout the nineteenth century, prospects for Macau grew steadily bleaker, and the trickle of emigration continued, particularly following Amaral’s death in 1849 and a generation later in the aftermath of the immensely destructive Great Typhoon in 1874.\textsuperscript{213} Another French visitor, Fr Evariste Régis Huc, wrote in 1855:

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{212} The Treaty of Peking, \textit{Tratado de Amizade e Comércio Sino-Português}, was signed on 1 December 1887. Far from being dictated by Lisbon in the manner of most of the unequal treaties forced upon China in the later nineteenth century, it was the result of a British initiative designed to forestall the possibility of a French occupation. Montalto de Jesus, ever the apologist for Macau, complained: ‘an actual dependency of Hongkong, indeed, could scarcely be more subordinated to British dictation than the spoliated and perverted Portuguese colony’. C.A. Montalto de Jesus, op. cit., p. 432. A Chinese view, written soon after the Revolution of 1949, was broadly similar. Writing of the influence of Sir Robert Hart, Inspector-General of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs Service from 1863 to 1908, Hu Sheng wrote: ‘In controlling the customs service, the Inspector-General was actually in a position to control the destiny of the Manchus. Having the customs under its control, imperialism used it to establish dominance over China’s policies. It was in essence a rope thrown around the neck of the Manchu Government which the imperialists used for various acts of aggression against China.’ (Hu Sheng, \textit{Imperialism and Chinese Politics}, p. 66).
\item \textsuperscript{213} In the next year more than 200 people left Macau for Hong Kong. S. Braga, ‘The Great Typhoon of 1874’, \textit{Casa Down Under: Newsletter of the Casa de Macau, Australia}, vol. 20, no. 4, September 2008.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
At present Macao is a mere remembrance; the English establishment at Hongkong has given it the mortal blow, and nothing is left of its former prosperity but fine houses without tenants; in a few years more, perhaps, the European ships, as they sail past this once proud and wealthy Portuguese colony, will see only a naked rock to which the Chinese fisherman will come to dry his black nets.214

Thus post-bellum Macau had little to offer aspirational young men. The attraction of a better life in Hong Kong was irresistible to growing numbers. The careers of three of them are examined in subsequent chapters.

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Part 2 – The early years of Hong Kong: race relations established

The exhaustive debate about the merits of the selection of Hong Kong as a British naval and trading base need not be discussed here.215 It has been shown how Macau again endured troubled times after 1839. Macau’s transient prosperity during the 1830s was a by-product of the explosion in the opium trade. With the sudden cessation of the opium trade in 1839, Macau’s economy collapsed as suddenly as it had done in the late 1630s. After Captain Smith’s demonstration of ‘shock and awe’ in August 1840, the Chinese threats vanished. Some British residents had already begun to trickle back to Macau; the rest now followed. The inward flow of opium and the outwards flow of tea and silver resumed as before. Prosperity resumed briefly in Macau, while the uncertainty of Hong Kong’s future as a British colony made people hesitant about moving there. It was by no means certain until August 1842 that the acquisition of Hong Kong in January 1841 by Captain Charles Elliot would be confirmed by a British government reluctant at best, hostile at worst, to the idea of acquiring this barren rock almost devoid of flat land on which civilians might build or troops parade. Had Britain left Hong Kong, it would not have been the first time that it had withdrawn from an unsuitable location. Therefore, for the first two years of occupation, all arrangements were temporary and makeshift, though land...

215 The choice of Hong Kong by Captain Elliot, the subject of bitter criticism throughout the 1840s, was ably defended by Austin Coates, *Macao and the British*, pp. 212-217. Coates viewed Elliot’s policy, not so much with the benefit of hindsight, as with a measured appreciation of his wisdom in dealing with intractable difficulties, exacerbated by the serious rate of illness and mortality in the forces available to him.
sales had been conducted in June 1841 and land was snapped up by the same merchants who were Elliot’s sternest critics.216

Most of those who went there in the first three years were adventurers rather than economic migrants. From August 1841, a considerable number of Chinese arrived, camp followers catering for the British military encampment already present. They were described by an officer as ‘about as rascally and vagabond a community as could be found in a similar situation in any part of the world’.217 As a result, a gaol was rushed up by October 1841.218 The earliest years of western presence in Japan in the 1850s were marked by similar opportunism, as were the early post Civil War years in the late 1860s in the defeated Confederate States in America, where the word ‘scallywag’ entered the language to describe their behaviour.

Hong Kong’s ‘scallywag’ period was eventually resolved, but it took many years. A schoolboy essay written in 1843 by a Chinese student at the Morrison Education Society’s school in Hong Kong wrote that ‘[the] year before last almost all the Chinese who lived in Hong Kong were robbers ... but a great change has taken place’.219 It was far too optimistic a view, and lawlessness continued. The Rev. George Smith, who visited Hong Kong in 1844, later to return as its first Anglican bishop, wrote discerningly and devastatingly of the mutual antagonism that prevailed between the British and Chinese. Whereas he had found in northern China ‘an intelligent and friendly population’, Hong Kong was different.

The lowest dregs of native society flock to the British Settlement in the hope of gain or plunder ... the principal part of the Chinese population in the town consists of servants, coolies, stone-cutters, and masons engaged in temporary works ... the colony has been for some time also the resort of pirates and thieves, so protected by secret compact as to defy the ordinary regulations of police detection or prevention. In short, there are but faint prospects at present of any other than either a migratory or a predatory race being attracted to Hongkong, who, when their hopes of gain or

218 G.R. Sayer, *Hong Kong, 1841-1862*, p. 118. It was well filled by 1843. Among the inmates were nine Portuguese rogues; itinerant adventurers had arrived from Macau too. (*Chinese Repository*, vol. 12, no. 10, October 1843, p. 534. The report was copied by William Tarrant in his newspaper *The Friend of China*, and further reprinted in his *History of Hongkong Part I, 1839-1844*, p. 71. Details of these nine are unknown, but their diet is recounted. Each man was given daily a pound of beef and a loaf of bread. They would all have quickly fallen victim to scurvy. The Chinese fared better, with rice, fish and vegetables).
219 *Chinese Repository*, vol. 12, no. 7, July 1843, p. 365.
pilfering vanish, without hesitation or difficulty remove elsewhere.  

Smith was horrified by the contempt in which the Chinese were held and dismayed at the heavy-handed attempts at control of the lawless situation by means of a curfew.

The Chinese are also treated as a degraded race of people. They are not permitted to go out into the public streets after a certain hour in the evening, without a lantern and a written note from their European employer, to secure them from the danger of apprehension and imprisonment till the morning.

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220 G. Smith, A Narrative of the exploratory visit to each of the consular cities of China, quoted by G.B. Endacott and D.E. She, The diocese of Victoria, Hong Kong, 1849-1949, pp. 7, 8.
The poisoning incident gained international notoriety. The baker’s premises are unlikely to have looked anything like this mid-Victorian architectural pastiche concocted by the artist.

Illustrated London News, 28 March 1857

The problem of lawlessness, but not of race relations, was discussed at some length, by the Rev. Dr James Legge, resident in Hong Kong from 1843 until 1872. Legge was one of the victims of a botched attempt in 1857 to poison the entire British population, all of whom were known to eat bread for breakfast. The baker, known to Legge as ‘A-lum’, put too much arsenic into the dough, and succeeded only in making his 400 victims violently sick. Later, in prison, ‘the respect and deference

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shown him by all the prisoners were wonderful’, wrote Legge. The attempt to wipe out the intruders failed and was not repeated.

Perhaps it was in an attempt to rid Hong Kong of its evil reputation for lawlessness that Sir Henry Pottinger, who succeeded the disgraced Elliot as British plenipotentiary in August 1841, decided, on announcing his assumption of office as

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224 A decade later, the governor, Sir Richard MacDonnell, was quite candid in his comment: ‘In the Chinese quarter of the town, it was possible, till lately, and is even now occasionally so, for a man to be knocked down at noon and robbed in presence of fifty witnesses, without any intervention in his aid, or the least disposition to give information to the police.’ MacDonnell to the Duke of Buckingham, 29 October 1867, R.L. Jarman, Hong Kong Annual Administration Reports, 1841-1941, vol. I, p. 304. However, by 1870, his successor, Sir Arthur Kennedy, could report that ‘the Chinese population are docile and orderly’. Kennedy to Carnarvon, 24 August 1870, R.L. Jarman, Hong Kong Annual Administration Reports, 1841-1941, vol. I, p. 423. In the meantime, MacDonnell had recruited a large contingent of Sikh police, not susceptible to bribes from local people. Fifty years later, an old resident, R.C. Hurley, looked back on MacDonnell as ‘the best Governor the Colony has ever known’, whose ‘resolute policy for the suppression of crime and vice was inaugurated and immediately put into severe practice with highly satisfactory results’. R.C. Hurley, Picturesque Hongkong, p. 111.
the first Governor of Hong Kong on 26 June 1843, to advance the rapidly growing town to the dignity of the City of Victoria. He proclaimed that ‘his excellency the governor is further pleased to direct, that the present city, on the northern side of the island, shall be distinguished by her majesty’s name’.\footnote{Chinese Repository, vol. 12, no. 7, July 1843, p. 379.} There could no longer be any doubt that the British presence would be permanent and formidable.\footnote{Pottinger also firmly put to rest any doubts as to where the main settlement should be, others having promoted the cooler but more exposed southern coast. Two typhoons in July 1841, the first of many which would devastate Hong Kong in years to come, had already effectively ended that idea.}

**Part 3 – British ascendancy: ‘the racialisation of urban form and space’**

Most Europeans who came to Hong Kong from 1844 onwards would have regarded themselves as ‘respectable’.\footnote{Reliable demographic statistics for nineteenth century Hong Kong are difficult to obtain. It is especially difficult to provide a dissection by nationalities of the European community. An attempt has been made to do this in Appendix 2.} Most foreign communities in Hong Kong during the first century of its existence were composed of entrepreneurs who, like the shakers of the ‘pagoda tree’ in early nineteenth century India, returned to Britain or the USA having secured a competency – or far better. Most foreign communities were transient, but the Portuguese community, which came to be the second-largest after the British, made Hong Kong their home for up to five generations.

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*Hurjeebhoy Rustomjee, Macau, ca. 1835*


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Among others who came to be significant were various Indian groups. The first of these were Parsees, who already had a presence in Macau at a small enclave near the
Colina da Barra. They were present in Canton in the 1830s, and rapidly became significant in the early decades of Hong Kong’s existence. Later, the Police Force and Prisons Department were largely staffed by Indians, not subject to the pressure that might otherwise have come from the local Chinese community.

Apart from these was a small but very significant Jewish community. Though initially based in Shanghai, they came to have an importance in the economy of Hong Kong far beyond their numbers. All these communities gave Hong Kong its distinctive character.

After its hesitant beginning, the new colony began to develop more rapidly in 1844, though economic prosperity took some years longer to accelerate. However, it was

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clear that the British would never return to Macau in large numbers. Instead, a number of Portuguese began to move to Hong Kong, mainly seeking employment in government service and in private commercial houses. There was no indication either in the choice of its location or in the layout of the town that this little place, with a precipitous mountain behind and a deep water anchorage in front, might one day become a great city.\(^{229}\)

The eight Chinese villages on the northern side of Hong Kong Island, with a total population of little more than 5,000, were left alone.\(^{230}\) Temporary structures, built of bamboo poles covered with mats woven from bamboo leaves, and known locally as mat sheds, were run up adjacent to the anchorage early in 1841, and the transfer of commerce from Macau began, Jardine, Matheson & Co. leading the way. Running north-east from the chain of mountains sheltering the anchorage from the worst fury

\(^{229}\) By comparison, Melbourne and Adelaide, both founded less than ten years earlier, had been carefully laid out, as was Christchurch, founded a little later. Town planning was not unknown in the British Empire, but the exigencies of rapidly transferring trade from precarious Macau to a secure location under British naval protection precluded such considerations.

\(^{230}\) The following account of the settlement is principally drawn from the notes provided in *Historical and Statistical Abstract of the colony of Hongkong, 1841-1920*, pp. 1-6, and C.H. Ho, introduction to *City of Victoria*, translated by S. Bard, pp. 13, 47.
of the typhoons that periodically laid waste the China coast was a prominent ridge that in November 1841 was reserved for Crown use. Subsequently named Government Hill, it became the site for the residences of the Governor and the General Officer Commanding the troops. Here too were the offices of the Colonial Secretary and St John’s Cathedral, for the Anglican Church was seen as the established church, the government’s ecclesiastical arm, in these infant years of the colony, state aid continuing until 1892. On the lower slopes of Government Hill were the military barracks and parade ground, with the naval dockyard on the shore below. Their location was soon seen to impede the growth of the city, but the naval and military authorities refused to move them to a more suitable location for well over a century.

This meant that commercial and residential areas could only be developed to the west of Government Hill and to the east of the barracks. To the east, Spring Gardens, later called Wanchai became a European residential area, where fine residences with harbour views were built. Later, it became a zone of social deterioration, as demographers have it, and by the 1940s was one of the most crowded slums in the world. To the west, houses and business premises were crammed into the small available space. The towering mountain above the newly proclaimed City of Victoria became Victoria Peak. In both cases, the royal appellation eventually fell into disuse; Victoria became Central, and the peak became The Peak. At the same time the recognition of vastly different European and Chinese standards of housing, living and hygiene led to rapid action, but it was not to remedy the situation. Any Chinese living in what had become almost exclusively a European residential area were forced to move further west to Sheung Wan.

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232 G.B. Endacott, History of Hong Kong, p. 164. It was a frequent complaint that Hong Kong was ‘strangled at its waist’. J.M. Price, quoted by Endacott, p. 163.
234 The 1921 Census Report, in enumerating the inhabitants of the City of Victoria added that it was ‘a term hardly known to ordinary residents and rarely heard or seen except in maps and official reports’. Report on the Census of the Colony, 1921, pp. 152-153. Hong Kong Sessional Papers 15/1921.
235 W. Tarrant, A history of Hongkong, pp. 101-105. An English correspondent described the Chinese quarter as ‘filthy and disreputable’. A petition to the governor, Sir Henry Pottinger, signed by 89 Chinese shopkeepers in the Upper Bazaar sought ‘your Excellency’s celestial benevolence’. Pottinger yielded only to the extent of having the ground cleared and levelled at public expense in the location to which these people were compelled to move.
Apart from the mansions of the taipans, the heads of the main English trading houses, who had already built their residences on Morrison Hill and Hospital Hill, higher ground east of Government House, the Europeans were at first located almost entirely at Spring Gardens, a small area along the shoreline. This began a defined pattern of rigidly separate communities that would persist until towards the end of the twentieth century. It set in place what has been termed ‘the racialisation of urban form and space in Hong Kong’. It reflected and intensified the earlier complete separation of the Portuguese and Chinese communities in Macau, the Largo do Senado being the dividing line between the two. In Hong Kong, reclamation began in the 1850s to wrest a little more land from the harbour, a process that continued on an increasing scale for the next 150 years and more. Settlement had not yet begun to move up the steep slope of the Peak towards what eventually became the Mid-Levels. This took place after 1870, as the area behind the waterfront, the ‘praya’ or ‘praia’ – a Portuguese word borrowed from Macau, one of the few to take root in British parlance in Hong Kong – became impossibly overcrowded, and with steep rises in the price of land, the Portuguese population was forced out as rents also rose. They would always be on the fringe.

Part 4 – Religious diversity: ‘defenders of the faith’

Within a few years of their arrival, the British community had established all the organisations that marked a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant colony of the mid-nineteenth century: an elite gentleman’s club, the Hong Kong Club, a Masonic lodge, Zetland Lodge, a cricket club, St John’s Anglican Cathedral and the Hong Kong Jockey Club. In the 1860s, the Botanical Gardens were laid out nearby, the governor reporting that ‘a place of recreation, whereto the inhabitants may resort

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236 ‘Here the intersection between ideas and images concerning civil society, cultural identity, architecture, and the official practices of colonial urban planning is demonstrated … this coalescing of ideas, images, and practices in the colonial environment of British Hong Kong not only led to the racialisation of urban form and space there but also contributed to the apparent anxiety exhibited by the European population over the preservation of their own identity through the immediacy of the built environment.’ G.A. Bremner and D.P.Y. Lung, ‘Spaces of exclusion: the significance of cultural identity in the formation of European residential districts in British Hong Kong, 1877-1904’, Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 21(2), p. 223.


238 As reported by the Governor, Sir William des Voeux to Lord Knutsford, 31 October 1889, R.L. Jarman, Hong Kong Annual Administration Reports, 1841-1941, vol. 2, pp. 60-61.

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after the toil and heat of the day, is not only a luxury, but indispensable in a climate such as that of Hong Kong’.

Besides serving the interests of the ruling community, these institutions also reflected and established geographical and social boundaries which excluded not only the Chinese, but also severely constrained what became a quite substantial Portuguese community from Macau.

Further east was Wong Nei Chong valley, with the village of that name at its head. It was well watered – too well watered. It was swampy and malarial. Disastrously, the military cantonment was placed not far away because there was flat land at Happy Valley for a parade ground. In the first three years, 1841 to 1843, there was an appalling death rate from what was termed Hong Kong Fever, probably a strain of malaria, for there was little understanding of tropical diseases. The name Happy Valley was a macabre contradiction in terms for this death trap. Hundreds were buried there in the Colonial Cemetery, generally known as Happy Valley Cemetery. ‘Our life here is emphatically in the midst of death’, wrote a correspondent to the

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240 W. Tarrant, Hongkong. Part I, 1839-1844. A history of Hongkong from the time of its cession to the British Empire to the year 1844, p. 65. Tarrant quotes in detail a paper on the ‘Hongkong fever’ read by Dr Dill, the Surgeon of the 55th Regiment, to the China Medico Chirurgical Society in 1845.
Chinese Repository, whose editor recorded sombrely in November 1843 ‘the rapid filling up of our graveyards for the last 18 months’.241

To the west of Victoria, in what is now the Sheung Wan district, was a rapidly growing Chinese settlement. As this area became overcrowded with a huge influx of people escaping from the turmoil of the Taiping Rebellion in the 1850s, settlement spread uphill into Tai Ping Shan, above Sheung Wan and straight below the steep rise of Victoria Peak.242 Between the Chinese settlement and the British town of Victoria, a Portuguese enclave developed. The people who lived here were the first wave of the diaspora from Macau, those who came soon after the British occupation of Hong Kong. In Macau the whole Portuguese population had lived within the sound of church bells. So it would be in Hong Kong until well into the twentieth century. Intensely devout, they lived within the sound of the church bells which sounded the Angelus each evening. With Chinese heathen on one side and English Protestants on the other, the Portuguese community drew closer together in defence of and in commitment to the Catholic faith.

241 Chinese Repository, vol. 12, no. 11, November 1843, pp. 611, 612.
242 A dense population was crammed into slums constructed without any planning controls until a serious outbreak of bubonic plague in 1894 forced the authorities to take drastic action. (S. Braga, ‘“An unexampled calamity”, the Hong Kong Plague of 1894’, Casa Down Under: Newsletter of the Casa de Macau, Australia, vol. 19 no 3, June 2007). The problem had been ignored, not remedied, and the price then paid at the end of the nineteenth century was a heavy one both in deaths and badly soured relations between the Chinese community and their British rulers.
For many years, that community had only one focus. A Catholic church was built well ahead of St John’s Anglican Cathedral, not completed until 1849, though since 1843 there had been an official (Anglican) Colonial Chaplain, who conducted services in a mat shed on the parade ground.243 The Catholic Church moved far more quickly. A Prefect Apostolic, Mgr. Theodore Joset, was appointed in 1841, arriving in Hong Kong on 3 March 1842. He chose a spot for his church and received a grant of land from the Government of the new colony upon which he ‘erected a structure of mat-sheds for Catholic service. But even on the first day on which it was opened this structure was insufficient for the congregation, consisting of soldiers and others (especially Portuguese who had already begun to settle in the new colony).’244 A

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243 G.B. Endacott & D.E. She, *The Diocese of Victoria, Hong Kong*, p. 9; G.B. Endacott, *History of Hong Kong*, p. 43. This was the Rev. Vincent Stanton, whose capture in August 1840 had led to Captain Smith’s *tour de force* in Macau. Until his arrival, one of the naval chaplains conducted services in the mat shed. *Chinese Repository*, vol. 12, no. 10, October 1843, p. 549.
244 *The Rock*, new series, vol. 1 no. 9, September 1928, p. 298. This report is at variance with a contemporary report of the consecration of the permanent church in 1843, which suggests that there were few Portuguese at the first service. Their numbers grew slowly as businesses transferred from Macau.
permanent structure was soon built, situated near the corner of Pottinger Street and Wellington Street in the lower part of the town, and remained in use for fourteen years.  

Dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, and consecrated on Trinity Sunday, 11 June 1843, it was located about 500 metres to the west of the symbols of English

Map 11 – The Anglican and Catholic Cathedrals, the Chapel and Jamia Mosque.

Detail from ‘The city of Victoria, Hong Kong, from Lt. Collinson’s Ordnance Survey, 1845, with references from a map by A. F. Alves, 1862’.

1. Jamia Mosque, Shelley Street, 1843, rebuilt 1849
2. Non-conformist chapel, 1842, relocated in Mid-Levels
3. Church of the Immaculate Conception (Catholic), 1843, rebuilt 1859
4. St John’s Cathedral (Anglican), 1849

dominance and closer to the praya.\textsuperscript{246} It was surrounded by crowded rows of semi-detached cottages, which remained a Portuguese enclave until the 1870s. This church both reflected and defined the geographical location of the Portuguese community, devoutly and conservatively Catholic. Destroyed by fire in 1859, it was replaced by a fine building with twin towers which dominated its immediate neighbourhood.

A quarter of century later, the growth of the Catholic community was such that it too had to be replaced. In commenting on the Catholic community of Hong Kong in the nineteenth century, J.P. Braga would observe:

For the first half-century after the setting up of the Catholic Mission in Hongkong, the congregations of the Catholic churches were almost entirely Portuguese. The students attending the Catholic schools were also nearly all Portuguese.\textsuperscript{247}

Thus an enclave was established that would exist until the early twentieth century, an area of small terraces extending up the hillside, between Caine Road and Robinson Road near the Mosque. It gradually expanded into Robinson Road, first laid out in 1861.\textsuperscript{248} It was termed by its residents \textit{Mato Moiro}, ‘the field of Muslims’, the name deriving from the Jamia Mosque, built in 1843.\textsuperscript{249}

Here, within a kilometre of each other were the Anglican and Catholic cathedrals, the mosque, a non-conformist chapel and, later, the Jewish synagogue.\textsuperscript{250} It was an appropriate symbol of such religious diversity, and was made necessary by the tiny

\textsuperscript{246} \textit{Chinese Repository}, vol. 12, no. 6, June 1843, p. 336; \textit{Historical and Statistical Abstract of the colony of Hongkong, 1841-1920}, p. 3; W. Tarrant, \textit{Hongkong, Part I, 1839-44}, reprinted in A. Sweeting, \textit{Education in Hong Kong}, p. 157. An account of the consecration in the \textit{Friend of China}, 22 June 1843, indicated that there were few Portuguese in Hong Kong at that early stage: ‘The Roman Catholic church has been completed. It is called the Chapel of the Conception and is located on Wellington Street with its front towards the bay in the middle of our burgeoning town. A college is attached to educate Chinese for the ministry. The church is 112 ft long and 48 ft wide. The first 12 feet is the porch and the last 38 feet is the altar leaving an area of 62’ x 48’ for the congregation. There are eight 30” diameter columns supporting the roof, four along either side at 6½’ centres from the outer walls. The walls are granite, infilled with brick, the roof is wood. There is a granite walkway from porch to altar but the rest of the floor to either side is wood. The walls are painted white and the roof is light blue making it cheerful inside. Father Feliciani thinks he can house 1,000 persons. The cost was $9,000 of which one third came from mission funds and the rest from donations by residents.’ About 100 people attended the first service - Negroes, Bengalis, Madrassis and Chinese. There were soldiers from the 55\textsuperscript{th} Regiment (Connemara), sepoys and native artillerymen as well as Portuguese, Italian and other foreign seamen. The English were in two groups at the sides near the altar. There were 7-8 women present as well. In addition the orchestra numbered about 50 musicians.


\textsuperscript{247} J.P. Braga, \textit{The Portuguese in Hongkong and China}, p. 162.

\textsuperscript{248} \textit{Historical and Statistical Abstract of the Colony of Hongkong, 1841-1920}, p. 12.

\textsuperscript{249} \textit{Chinese Repository}, vol. 12, no. 10, October 1843, p. 549, \textit{Historical and Statistical Abstract of the Colony of Hongkong, 1841-1920}, p. 3. Several units of the garrison were Indian regiments. It was deemed necessary to build a mosque as quickly as possible, even before a Protestant church.

\textsuperscript{250} The first to be completed was the chapel built on Queen’s Rd by the Rev J.L. Shuck, the American Southern Baptist missionary, and opened for worship on 17 July 1842 (W. Tarrant, op. cit., p. 37).
wedge of land on which the city of Victoria was built in its first half century. The adherents of each saw themselves in some sense as ‘defenders of the faith’.

The Portuguese enclave was readily identifiable by the dress of the women, many of whom attended Mass twice a day. They usually appeared in public wearing a dó, a long black cape-like costume, a cover-all. It was very distinctive and Portuguese women wearing it were immediately recognisable.251

A clear picture of the business community of Hong Kong does not emerge until the late 1840s, when a few Portuguese were in business for themselves, mainly in service industries, where opportunities seemed to be available. British commerce dominated the next half century. The reliance on opium, tea and general wares grew more complex and sophisticated, though still based on shipping. As time passed, British firms embarked on banking and insurance as well as the staple import/export businesses. A study by Solomon Bard in 1993 based on a careful examination of

local directories and the early Hong Kong press identified 88 British firms in business in Hong Kong between 1843 and 1899. Of the dozens of British firms, three should be included here. Butterfield and Swire commenced business in Hong Kong in 1870, just as the benefits of the Suez Canal were beginning to be felt in the Far East. Shipping and sugar refining were the basis of its long period of prosperity, enhanced with the development of the important Taikoo Dockyard. The other two will be briefly mentioned. They are Shewan, Tomes & Co. and Gilman & Co. Both were of significance in the business careers of members of the Braga family in the early decades of the twentieth century, and will be discussed in that context. For more than half a century from 1903 when their premises were all built together on the new praya following a major reclamation of the harbour foreshore, the grand and imposing Edwardian buildings of Butterfield and Swire, Jardines, Shewan, Tomes & Co., the travel agent Thomas Cook and the General Post Office, lined the waterfront near the Star Ferry. A significant open space, Statue Square, was dominated by a statue of Queen Victoria, later joined by other royal personages. The square was flanked by the Supreme Court

The unveiling of the statue of Queen Victoria was marked by suitable military pomp.
Illustrated London News, 18 July 1896

252 S. Bard, Traders of Hong Kong: some foreign merchant houses, 1841-1899, pp. 52-79, 84. Some had been established in Canton in the 1830s, most notably Jardine, Matheson & Co., the largest trading company in Hong Kong for well over a century. It had antecedents in Canton going back to 1780, easily the oldest foreign firm in the Far East. ‘By the end of the nineteenth century it stood at the peak of the mercantile community of Hong Kong, its success assured’, was Bard’s assessment (p. 67). Another important company was Dent & Co, active from the 1820s until the serious depression of 1867. Longer lived was Gibb, Livingstone & Co., founded in 1836, and still extant as part of a larger entity, the Inchcape Group, which also absorbed Gilman & Co., another former Canton trader. The following brief discussion of British and other foreign businesses is based on Bard’s important and detailed research, the product of decades of familiarity with Hong Kong’s institutions. Bard indicated that a few of the 88 may have been American firms.
and the Hong Kong Club, powerful symbols of British commercial and political supremacy.

At every point as they played out their lives, the heads of these companies and the heads of government departments were acutely conscious of prestige and status. The Hong Kong Club and the Masonic Lodge were obvious loci for such display. So too was St John’s Cathedral, for this was still an era when attendance at Divine Service was expected, just as it had been in Macau, where the President of the Select Committee instructed the junior members of his staff that such observance was required by the Court of Directors in London and enjoined by him.253 Andrew Carnegie, the American capitalist, visited Hong Kong as a young man and on Christmas Day 1878 enjoyed the service at St John’s very much. The previous Sunday he wrote, with a sense of egalitarianism that would have been incomprehensible to these people:

I could not help being somewhat shocked on Sunday, as I strolled about the Cathedral, to see some thirty odd sedan chairs on one side, and I suppose as many on the other, each with two, three and sometimes four coolies in gorgeous liveries in attendance, all waiting for the closing of prayers ... It did not seem to me to be quite consistent for some of my Scotch friends who stand so stoutly for Sabbath observance to keep so many human beings on duty, say three for one who worshipped, just to save them from walking a few short squares to and from church, for the town is small and compact ... Really, three men kept at work that one may pray seems just a shade out of proportion.254

Within a few years the fabulously wealthy Carnegie could have bought the entire assets of all these soi disant potentates. Inside the Cathedral, the position of one’s pew indicated the importance of the occupant. That was worked out when the cathedral was opened in 1849, but by 1865, the growth in size of the Royal Navy’s China Station caused the Admiral to demand a sitting of the same status as the General Officer Commanding the troops. This was achieved, but by means of an exchange which was to the disadvantage of one of two brothers, evidently

253 ‘Mr Roberts [President of the Select Committee] begs to acquaint the Gentlemen of the factory that in compliance with the orders, Divine Service will be performed the next and every Sunday following in the Company’s hall at eleven o’clock in the forenoon when their presence will be required in obedience to the orders of the H’ble the Court of Directors’, H.B. Morse, The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China 1635-1834, vol. 3, p. 31, cited by J. Crouch-Smith et al., Macau Protestant Chapel, a short history, p. 22.

Huguenots, who ran the firm of Vaucher Frères. There followed months of wrangling and unpleasant scenes in the cathedral before the matter was referred to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Duke of Newcastle, who ruled that ‘parishioners have a claim to be seated according their rank and station’. Vaucher got his sittings back, seats 29 and 30 in the sixth pew from the pulpit, two feet and six inches (less than a metre) closer than the spot to which he had been relegated. The lengths to which the elite in Hong Kong were prepared to go to establish and maintain their prestige is almost beyond belief to observers 150 years later. How would others fare? The answer depended on their success in business.

Part 5 – Foreign business communities: ‘phenomenally successful’

A measure of political stability returned to China following the defeat of the Taiping rebels in 1864. It was followed by three major developments in communications: the advent of the telegraph, the opening of the Suez Canal and the development of steam navigation on China’s river systems. Hong Kong and Shanghai, especially the latter, became boom cities. While Shanghai was cosmopolitan and international, Hong Kong was firmly a British colonial city. Nevertheless, several significant foreign communities prospered there. The principal ones were the Americans, the Parsees, the Jews and the Germans. All did better than the Portuguese, who were by far the most numerous but the least prosperous.

Before World War II, American firms lacked the enormous strength of British commerce in Hong Kong, though they had their own establishment (‘factory’ or ‘hong’) at Canton. Bard identified seven, including three originating in Canton before 1839. The American share of the opium trade was only 5% of the British, who held a near-monopoly on Indian opium. The oldest American firm was Russell & Co., founded in 1818. Like other American businesses, it remained in Canton well after the British had departed, only moving to Hong Kong in 1850. There it became a ‘great and successful’ enterprise, before waning later in the century, then being taken over by two of its British members, Robert George Shewan.

255 G.B. Endacott & D.E. She, The diocese of Victoria, Hong Kong, a hundred years of church history, 1849-1949, pp. 35-37.
256 S. Bard, Traders of Hong Kong: some foreign merchant houses, 1841-1899, p. 80.
and Alexander Tomes. Second was A. Heard & Co., whose impressive building dominated Hong Kong’s Central Business District for some years, but the firm declined from what had been a very strong position before the American government banned the opium trade in 1858.\textsuperscript{257} Third was Olyphant & Co., already noted for its probity, ‘at a time when these qualities were not abundant’, observed Bard.\textsuperscript{258}

Of a different order of success was the Parsee trading community. The Parsees, a distinct ethnic and religious Indian minority largely originating from Mumbai (then Bombay), were already active in East Asia by the late eighteenth century. Like the British, with whom they always enjoyed good relations, they set up business in Canton, four of them moving to Hong Kong as early as June 1841, where they bought land at the first land sale.\textsuperscript{259} Thirty-five Parsee firms were in business in Hong Kong between 1841 and the early twentieth century. Their significance in business and community life was out of all proportion to their numbers. The early Parsee merchants were opium dealers, like the early British and Americans, but most seem to have been active later in the nineteenth century after the opium trade was in decline. They were, commented Bard, ‘excellent merchants, honest and fair in their dealings’.\textsuperscript{260} Several became noted for their generous benefactions. Hormusjee Mody’s gift of the princely sum of $285,000 made it possible to establish the University of Hong Kong; he was knighted at the ceremony of laying the foundation stone on 16 March 1910.\textsuperscript{261} Three generations of the Ruttonjee family first established and then provided constant and most generous support to the Ruttonjee Sanatorium, which cared for sufferers from tuberculosis. Other Indian communities are discussed in a later chapter, as their significance in commerce, the Police Force and the Civil Service belongs principally to a later period.

Akin to the Parsees in their small numbers and major importance were the Jews, whose business acumen has left a substantial footprint wherever they go. The first

\textsuperscript{257} Ibid., p. 81. 
\textsuperscript{258} Ibid., p. 82. Matheson required the resignation of one of his captains who refused to deal in opium on the Sabbath, commenting to his partner, Jardine, that ‘we fear that very godly people are not suited to the opium trade’. M. Collis, \textit{Foreign Mud}, p. 292.
\textsuperscript{259} These were Dhnjebhoy Ruttonjee Bisney, Hirjibhoy Rustomjee, Pestonjee Cowasjee and Framjee Jamsetjee. S. Bard, \textit{Traders of Hong Kong: some foreign merchant houses, 1841-1899}, pp. 85-89.
\textsuperscript{260} Ibid., p. 85.
\textsuperscript{261} B. Harrison, \textit{University of Hong Kong, the first 50 years, 1911-1961}, p. 34.
Jew prominent in the affairs of Hong Kong was Emmanuel Rafael Belilios, spectacularly successful from the moment he arrived in Hong Kong from Calcutta in 1862. Belilios, who had initially made a fortune in opium trading, was by 1883 chairman of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, a member of the Legislative Council, and noted for his philanthropies. 262 These included the endowment of Hong Kong’s first government girls’ school and a scholarship set up in memory of his wife. An early winner was J.P. Braga, who would build on this initial achievement to create a prominent role in public affairs. Belilios did not found a dynasty, unlike several other Baghdadi Jewish families, notably the Sassoons and the Kadoories. The earlier of these were the Sassoons, whose patriarch, David, was born at Baghdad in 1792.

The Sassoons never spoke of their reason for leaving Baghdad after many centuries. 263 David Sassoon moved in youth to Mumbai, where he and his sons developed a strong position in the opium trade. A move to Shanghai and later Hong Kong followed naturally. Arthur Sassoon was one of the founders of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation in 1864. 264 By 1877 the Sassoons’ staff in various ports in the Far East numbered thirty-five, marking it as a large firm at that time. 265 In the 1880s, two brothers of another Baghdadi Jewish family, Ellis and Eleazar (always known as Elly) Kadoorie, arrived in the Far East, setting up a broking business first in Hong Kong, and later investing heavily in Shanghai. Both made a reputation for their conspicuous flair for business, and also for their philanthropy. Both were knighted with the KBE, Sir Ellis in 1917 and Sir Elly in 1926. 266 Both of Sir Elly’s sons, Lawrence and Horace also received the KBE in later years. Lawrence’s son Michael was knighted too; the Kadoories became a dynasty uniquely distinguished in the history of the British colony of Hong Kong. 267

262 G.B. Endacott, History of Hong Kong, pp. 177, 238.
263 That was left to another emigrant, David Solomon, who became a Singapore merchant. Solomon told a visitor in the 1860s that persecutions in Baghdad had increased until he was forced to flee. ‘The soles of my feet were beaten until they were raw; for they wished to torture me into disclosing treasures which I had not.’ (J.T. Thomson, Some glimpses into life in the Far East, p. 244.)
265 From the 1890s they decreased their interest in Hong Kong, moving to Shanghai and London. S. Bard, Traders of Hong Kong: some foreign merchant houses, 1841-1899, p. 94.
266 Knight Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire.
267 J. Green, in M. Holdsworth and C. Munn (eds), Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography, pp. 216-218.
Like Belilios and the Sassoons, Sir Elly was a superb businessman, with an acute eye for new opportunities. He had a remarkable grasp of detail, a fine memory and a flair for selecting competent business associates. All of these were evident in his long association with J.P. Braga. The important partnership between these two is discussed at a later point in this thesis.

Observations made about the acute eye for new opportunities that Jewish merchants displayed could also be made of German businessmen. Already present in the Far East early in the nineteenth century, they arrived in larger numbers as German political development gathered pace in mid-century, and as they came to realise that Hong Kong was a much better place at that time than the treaty ports of Shanghai, Canton, Amoy or Ningpo. Shanghai’s speedy growth was interrupted by the Taiping Rebellion. By contrast, under British administration, Hong Kong not only created an excellent business environment, but also established a social and political order that Europeans found easy to live with. For this reason, the 1860s witnessed the mushrooming of German firms in Hong Kong.268

As a small minority in a British colony, the Germans initially chose to integrate into the British community. In the confined space of the European quarter, they lived close to the British and were sometimes members of the Hong Kong Club. Their presence was important.269

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life came to revolve around their own fraternal associations, notably the German Club founded in 1859, and later named ‘Club Germania’, to which only members of the large firms had access. Having few alternatives, many German merchants chose to spend their free time there.\textsuperscript{270} It thus became something of a cultural cocoon, despite ‘a large number of the English community, including His Excellency the Governor,’ being present when it commemorated its fiftieth anniversary in 1909.\textsuperscript{271} The opening of a Lutheran church in 1879 meant that the German community became even more self-contained.\textsuperscript{272}

It was natural for German businesses to flourish in Hong Kong following the unification of the German Empire in 1871.\textsuperscript{273} They were phenomenally successful, as reflected in the construction of a five-storey building in 1902 for the German Club in what was then the dress circle of Hong Kong, Kennedy Road, well above the town. It was much bigger than that pillar of the British establishment, the Hong Kong Club, which it overlooked.

German nationalism became more assertive in the later nineteenth century, and tensions between the two nations grew.\textsuperscript{274} Germany’s acquisition of Jiaozhou (Kiaochau in German) as a naval base in 1898 in the Shandong Peninsula was promptly matched by Britain’s move on nearby Weihaiwei. Soon afterwards, at the beginning of the twentieth century, ill-feeling began to grow between Britain and Germany over Germany’s support of the Boers in South Africa.\textsuperscript{275}

\textsuperscript{270} Besides offering a library, a reading room, a concert hall, a billiard room, a bowling alley, a bar, and a dining room, the German Club organised concerts and lectures. There was also a lowlier ‘Captain’s Club’ which owners of small German stores frequented. R.K.S. Mak, ‘The German community in 19th century Hong Kong’, \textit{Asia Europe Journal}, vol. 2, 2004, p. 249.


\textsuperscript{272} \textit{Historical and statistical abstract of the colony of Hongkong, 1841-1920}, p. 22.

\textsuperscript{273} Between the 1860s and 1914, thirty German firms were located in Hong Kong, mostly after 1871. S. Bard, \textit{Traders of Hong Kong: some foreign merchant houses, 1841-1899}, pp. 96-105.


\textsuperscript{275} Despite the Germans’ drive and commercial success, their presence in Hong Kong depended on the goodwill and cooperation of the British. Once this goodwill and cooperation gave way to hostility at the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the influence of the Germans in Hong Kong came to a sudden end. R.K.S. Mak, ‘The German community in 19th century Hong Kong’, \textit{Asia Europe Journal}, vol. 2, 2004, p. 254.
Naturally, the growing success of the Germans drew envious comment. In 1907, the first editor of the *South China Morning Post*, Douglas Story, commented sourly that British trade ‘was drifting into the hands of the enterprising Americans, the industrious Germans, the indefatigable Japanese and the unsleeping Chinese’. He continued:

Every evening, at five o’clock, the great bar of the Hongkong Club is lined with the British who have finished their work. In the street, the offices of the British firms are dark and silent, but from the windows of the German merchants broad streams of electric light signal the nation’s industry until after midnight. On Sunday the British, to a man, are engaged in launch parties and on bathing excursions, at golf and at play. The Germans devote at least part of the day to work.

A few merchants from other European countries and Japan also found their way to this cosmopolitan city, but they totalled fewer than ten in the period under review.

**Part 6 – The Portuguese in Hong Kong: ‘a vastly inferior status’**

Story did not comment on the commercial activity of the Portuguese, already the second-largest non-Chinese community in Hong Kong. No Portuguese competition threatened the dominance of British, Parsee, Jewish, German or American businesses. Nor did Portuguese clerks threaten the British managers’ jobs, which were beyond the reach of all local people, Portuguese or Chinese. The continuing employment of Portuguese clerks in private concerns depended entirely on the vagaries of trade. Never in a position to threaten others, they were themselves only as secure as the businesses that employed them, for cheap local labour was the basis of the British mercantile system. Naturally, there were casualties, and the employees of failed businesses faced hard times, especially in the recession of the 1860s.

Yet it was at that very time that the Portuguese community set up its own social club, perhaps because of the need to assert its identity in these difficult circumstances. Not all Portuguese employment was threatened. Some businesses were flourishing, and

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several senior positions in government departments were held by Portuguese who had through their successful careers become prominent in the community. It was this group of business leaders and senior public servants who decided to establish Club Lusitano, which came into existence in 1865, some twenty years after the elite British club, the Hong Kong Club, founded in 1846, and from which the Portuguese community was barred.

Such a step had been mooted in January 1863 in a literary magazine, *O Movimento*, an ambitious but futile attempt to cultivate Portuguese literature in Hong Kong. One essay advocated the establishment of a Portuguese club in Hong Kong.\(^{278}\) The magazine did not take root, but the idea of a club did. It had taken this length of time for the leaders of the Portuguese community first to establish themselves and then to set about providing organisations in which community life might prosper. In the next half century others, especially sporting and charitable organisations would follow.

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\(^{278}\) *O Movimento*, March 1863.
cost.\textsuperscript{279} An English writer, a Hong Kong resident for more than forty years, wrote in 1923:

The Old Club Lusitano, one of the earliest Social Institutions in Hongkong, was for the last half century to be found in Shelley Street with the southern front on Elgin Street at an elevation of about 400 feet above sea level. It owned and occupied a substantial three storied building of brick and white granite, its interior fittings mostly of teak. A brief sketch of its history is here given.

The chief object for which it came into being was to promote social, recreative and intellectual intercourse among the members and families of the Portuguese Community.

In the early days the number of Portuguese residents in the Colony all holding responsible positions both in the Government Service and in the principal mercantile hongs, was, in proportion, much greater than it is today. They were the interpreters and go-betweens in many of the big contracts and export-business transactions put through during the Co-hong at Canton as well as in the trade which passed through old Macao.

In these stirring times there was a total absence of any provision for healthy recreation or amusement adapted either to their means or tastes, and to supply this great want certain prominent members of their community came together and started the Club Lusitano during the early sixties.

The foundation of a very suitable clubhouse was laid on the 26th of December, 1865, in the presence of the Acting Governor, the Hon. W.T. Mercer, attended by the Civil, Military and Naval Authorities of the Colony: and, on the 17th December, 1866, just a year later, the inauguration took place, the celebration being in the form of a grand Ball at which the Governors of Macao and Hongkong were present, together with a large number of the foreign element including half the residents of Macao.\textsuperscript{280}


\textsuperscript{280} R.C. Hurley, \textit{Picturesque Hongkong}, pp. 113-114. Hurley gave further details: ‘The building was of such a substantial character that today it is the private residence of a wealthy Chinese gentleman. It appears much the same as it was fifty years ago. Its appointments were complete, with Reading-room and Library, Billiard, Dining and Card rooms, having also several bedrooms. There was also a ball-room, one of the best in Hongkong, and a theatre originally attached in which travelling Opera and Comedy Companies often used to perform, as also the local Amateur Dramatic Society of its day: sad to say, the theatre after the City Hall was completed, had to be demolished. The Jubilee of the Club Lusitano was duly celebrated on the 16th day of December, 1916, by a reception in the afternoon when a large number of friends from all communities attended: this reception was followed by a grand ball in the evening amongst the members and their friends. The Club Lusitano enjoys a somewhat unique privilege. It is accepted by Government Officials and the Foreign Communities as the representative institution of the Portuguese Community.’
In its early days, it also served a broader community function. It was the venue for a production of Donizetti’s opera “Lucia di Lammermoor” on 11 March 1868.\(^{281}\) Later, ‘the first demonstration of wireless telegraphy’ was held in its big hall.\(^{282}\)

Delfino Noronha, though one of the most successful Portuguese settlers, and one of the Club’s principal founders, could still look back on early opportunities that he had lost, especially in land dealings when land was cheap and plentiful in the first few years. His grandson recalled that Noronha ‘used to say that the Portuguese are fine workers but, while keeping their heads bent to their tasks, they are apt to lose sight of good business opportunities flitting past them.’\(^{283}\)

This was a severe judgement, and it reveals a situation that was in stark contrast to the overall story of thriving foreign communities and sustained success despite the disasters which befell Hong Kong from time to time: several destructive typhoons, serious epidemics and at least two severe recessions. Besides these there was the uncertainty caused by the constant turmoil in China as the Qing dynasty slowly disintegrated. Yet the situation the Portuguese brought upon themselves, as J.P. Braga described it, was entirely consistent with the ingrained pattern of decline and failure to seize opportunities that the Portuguese brought with them from Macau. Generally speaking, that intellectual baggage could not be discarded overnight, or even in two or three generations.

Other foreign communities tended to stick together, but the Hong Kong Portuguese were often faction-ridden. A series of short-lived newspapers and magazines between 1846 and the end of the nineteenth century reflected this, especially after the 1874 typhoon, when a wave of emigrants arrived from Macau.\(^{284}\) They envied the

\(^{281}\) *China Mail*, 7 March 1868.

\(^{282}\) J.P. Braga, *Portuguese Pioneers of Hong Kong*, p. 6. The date is unknown, but may have been early in the twentieth century.

\(^{283}\) J.P. Braga, *The Portuguese in Hongkong and China*, p. 193. Noronha’s great-grandson, J.M. Braga, observed much later that ‘those who bought property did well, but curiously enough few did this. Generally the families were too large for the wage-earner to save much, and at the death of those who did leave good sums the share of each person was woefully small.’ Jack Braga to Paul Braga, 4 May 1970. Paul Braga Papers.

\(^{284}\) J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/7.3/7. Braga prepared careful notes on the history of the Portuguese press in Hong Kong. Of *O Porvir (The Future)*, published from 1897 to 1907 he commented that ‘it did much to create a split in the community, with the younger Portuguese, who had been coming from Macao in increasing numbers after the 1880s, and the older Portuguese, who were British subjects and educated in British schools in Hong Kong.’ Of *O Patria* (1900-1904, published by Noronha & Co.) he noted that ‘this paper sought to heal the differences between the pro-Portuguese and pro-British members of the community’.
success of those who, like the Noronha and Braga families, had become well-established.

While the Portuguese were unable to establish trading companies to rival the enormously successful mercantile and financial enterprises of the British and some other Europeans, they readily found employment in those enterprises and in government service. Over time, and especially as educational provision improved, they developed attributes of sustained hard work, of thoroughness and attention to detail. They gained both as an ethnic group and as a class of clerical workers a reputation for probity and reliability. In the first few years of Hong Kong’s existence, they were the backbone of most British businesses, which could not have afforded to pay expatriate salaries to men brought out from their homeland, expecting rapid social and economic advancement. The preparedness of Portuguese clerks to work for much lower wages and their ability to speak English and Cantonese made them indispensable in running the companies for which they worked. Yet these traits fixed them into a pattern of social and economic inferiority from which only a few escaped in the next century. Sir John Davis’s jibe, ‘their accustomed servility’, made in 1836, no longer applied to relations between the Portuguese and the mandarins of the Casa Branca. However, their British employers in Hong Kong expected, if not servility, then a similarly ready compliance and a willingness to accept a vastly inferior status.
Chapter 4

The Rosa and Braga families in Macau and Goa, 1714-1841

Part 1 – the Rosa family in Macau

Europeans colonising distant parts of the Earth seldom arrived with the intention of learning much of the people among whom they settled. Instead, they maintained resolutely as much of their own culture as possible. Marcel Yvan was surprised to find that, after nearly three centuries in Macau, its inhabitants had adopted none of the cultural attributes of the Chinese Empire to the fringes of which they had clung for so long – domestic architecture, furniture, language, dress. They remained resolutely Portuguese in all respects save one, the necessity of intermarriage with local people.

The same was true of their governmental and community organisations. Macau, like all far-flung Portuguese communities, conformed in practically every detail to the systems of local government, justice and to the benevolent institutions that had developed in Portugal during the fifteenth century. Naturally, the same is true of its ecclesiastical arrangements. However, the missionary task the Church set itself in early years did shape the form and outlook of its seminaries. Perhaps the most enduring organisation of Portuguese Macau was its camara, the municipal council, universally known locally, as it was in Goa, as the Senado, the Senate. Founded in 1583, it remained largely unaltered until 1783, when its powers were severely curtailed by royal decree which required that ‘no decision could be taken without the governor being heard’. They were further reduced in 1833 as part of a general overhaul of municipal arrangements, and then continued until 1999, exercising more limited functions.

\[285 \text{ Não tomasse qualquer decisão sem que fosse ouvido o Governador. M. Teixeira, Toponimia de Macau, vol. 1, pp. 59-60. This implies the Governor’s consent. I am indebted here and at other points in this thesis, to the skilled assistance and advice of Alberto Guterres in clarifying the relations between governor, council and citizens in early Macau.}
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\[286 \text{ M. Teixeira, Toponimia de Macau, vol. 1, pp. 45-46; C.R. Boxer, Portuguese society in the tropics, p. 44.}\]
However, for most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Senado in Macau exercised in the Portuguese community what were in effect paramount powers, because the mandarins of the Casa Branca refused to deal with the governor, whose jurisdiction effectively extended only to the various fortifications. Here too, the Senado dominated to the extent that it supplied the ordnance and paid a miserable
pittance to the garrison. By contrast, in Goa, the Viceroy’s powers exceeded those of the Senado do Goa, although the Senate was set up at the foundation of the city of Goa itself in 1510. Albuquerque’s immense influence as the conqueror of Portuguese Asia meant that the Viceroy had unquestioned authority for more than three centuries afterwards.

Despite this, the prestige and authority of the Senado do Goa made membership of it a prize coveted by citizens. It was at this point that the status of the Portuguese-born men and Goanese of mixed blood sharply parted company. Pure-blooded Portuguese men, reinóis, in effect recent arrivals, were the only people who might aspire to positions of eminence. This led, over time, to the expectation that an elite of parvenus would hold sway. It rewarded aspirational young men who came from Portugal. They may have come from humble origins, but once they arrived in the East, it was not difficult to acquire the manner, bearing and self-confidence that would ensure success.

Another path to prominence in the East was the purchase of a position. Always short of money, the Portuguese court was well known for selling offices, even quite minor ones. A major position in Portugal itself or in Brazil might prove costly. A judicial post in a minor African colony or in far off Macau, just a quiet backwater, might be attainable to an aspirant with little money and no family distinction. This appears to have been the background of two young men who became the forebears of the Braga family, later to achieve distinction in its own right in the British colony of Hong Kong. The first was Manuel Vicente Rosa, from the small town of Tancos, who took up the position of Ouvidor (a judge appointed by the Crown and therefore of high standing) in Macau in 1714. The second was Félix Fernandes, who on arriving in Goa in 1739 from the city of Braga, assumed the surname Braga with its

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287 Ibid., p. 54. These unfortunates, usually from the African colonies, received what was left, if anything, after all other expenses had been met, especially the exactions of the mandarins. The Senate even had to pay the stipend of the bishop, often years in arrears.
289 However, the garrison at Goa fared badly too. Because of the threat from the Marathas, whose territories lay close to its Indian possessions, the Portuguese Government was obliged throughout the eighteenth century to maintain a garrison of about two thousand European soldiers. ‘These soldiers were miserably paid and as miserably fed.’ J.N. Fonseca, An historical and archeological sketch of the city of Goa, pp. 180-181.
290 C.R. Boxer, Portuguese society in the tropics, p. 67.
connotations of social eminence. Each was to make his mark in the place of his choice.

Manuel Vicente Rosa and his heirs and descendants for the next four generations were prominent members of the business community of Macau throughout the eighteenth century. Fr Domingo Navarrete had written in 1670 of ‘the Broils, Uproars, Quarrels and Extravagencies there have been at Macao’. They continued unabated in the following century, and the Rosa family were enthusiastic participants in them. There is no record of a Rosa family in Macau before 1704, the year in which Manuel Vicente Rosa is thought to have arrived. Many years later, Marcel Yvan was surprised to find in Macau ‘two rival governments, or rather two contesting powers, perpetually striving to extinguish each other’. That had been the situation for most of Macau’s history. Rosa, who saw himself as the founder of something like a dynasty, also saw himself as the leader of the cohort ranged against the governor for at least part of his 47 years in Macau.

According to Jorge Forjaz, that indefatigable researcher of Macau’s genealogy, his father was Vicente Rosa, who was born about 1650 in the small town of Tancos, in Vila Nova da Barquinha, in the district of Santarém, Estremadura province, some 80 km from Lisbon along the valley of the River Tagus. It was a little known place, not prosperous and certainly not the country seat of a distinguished family with noble ancestry. Yet this was an age when young men could arrive in the colonies and acquire instant gentility. One had only to be Portuguese-born to be seen as one of the fidalgos, the gentry. Prosperity, dress and deportment would effortlessly achieve in the East what could never be gained in the homeland, where mere merchants could never attain fidalguia or nobreza, gentility or nobility. Given that the whole of Macau’s population, Portuguese and Chinese, survived through trade, strict rules of gentility could never be applied. Yet in 1710, not long after Rosa’s arrival in

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291 Some sources use the name ‘da Rosa’ or ‘Roza’. J. Forjaz, *Famílias Macaenses*, uses the form ‘Rosa’, which is the correct form and has been followed here.
293 M. Yvan, *Six Months among the Malays and a Year in China*, p. 300.
294 J. Forjaz, *Famílias Macaenses*, vol. 3, p. 295. Nothing else is known of the origins of a man who achieved prominence as soon as he arrived in this distant Portuguese outpost. Speculation that, in the light of his subsequent career, he may have had legal training must remain just that.
295 This was despite the presence of some families descended from the *fidalguia e sangue e espada*: the old nobility, the nobility of blood and sword. These included the d’Almada e Castro family, who would eventually become prominent in the early history of Hong Kong (Information from Alberto M.
Macau, a royal decree, confirming a requirement of the Viceroy at Goa in 1690, stated that the posts of the municipal government of Macau cannot be given to ‘os que não forem nobres’ – ‘those who are not nobles’, while recognising that this did not require descent of pure Portuguese blood, given that few Portuguese women ever went to the East. Thus this qualification grew more elastic, and could be claimed by any resident with some degree of education. Whatever his background may have been, Manuel Vicente Rosa was from the first one of the poderosos, or ‘great ones’ in the community, or ‘people of influence’ in Macau.

He was born in Tancos, his father’s home town, about 1680, and arrived in Macau about 1704. He made, said Forjaz, a large fortune in commerce, and was regarded as ‘one of the most powerful and influential businessmen of his time’. This suggests that he may have started with some capital. Like all successful businessmen, he was also a public figure. Among other positions, he was a councillor of the Senate and held the significant position of Juiz dos Orfãos, Judge of Orphans, in 1712. An unpaid position, normally held for three years, it gave the incumbent experience in administration, and showed whether he was suitable for higher office.

The position of Ouvidor in a small colony was of singular importance, especially when, as in Macau, the governor’s position was relatively weak. As a Crown appointee, the Ouvidor was responsible to the Crown through the Viceroy of India at Goa, but not accountable to anyone in Macau. Thus there was plenty of scope for the holder of the office to use it for his own benefit, for he was both Chief Justice and administrator. ‘These men are kings out here’, wrote a young adventurer to his father, recommending that his younger brother join him in the East as Ouvidor in Goa. The post had been abolished in Macau in 1642 following a petition from the citizens, but was re-established in 1702, leading to a renewed succession of abuses.
In the next ten years, two holders of the office were quickly removed, the second, Thomaz Garcez do Conto, being recalled to Goa as an excommunicated prisoner after a year in office, having fallen foul of the bishop. 301 The next appointee, Rosa, did not last long either. He held the position only from 1714 to 1716. The office itself did not endure, and was again briefly suspended in 1740. 302 A century later the administration of the ouvidores of this period would be described as a ‘torrent of iniquity’. 303 One instance of Rosa’s use of his position against an enemy was striking.

The number of wealthy, powerful men in Macau at a time when commerce was declining can only have been few. Wealth created rivalry and enmity. Among Rosa’s enemies was António de Albuquerque Coelho, who as President of the Senate in 1712 played a leading part in the re-establishment of commercial relations with Cochin China and conducted negotiations with the Heungshan mandarins. His critics, chief amongst whom was Rosa, gained the ear of the Viceroy of Goa, Vasco Fernandes Cesar de Menezes, who ordered his arrest and return to Goa in 1714 to answer charges of ‘tyrannous behaviour not only to the citizens of Macau but equally to the foreign nationals who sought to trade in that port’. 304 When these instructions reached Macau, Rosa took advantage of his position as Ouvidor to imprison Albuquerque Coelho in the fortress of Nossa Senhora da Guia.

However, when the case reached Goa, Menezes not only quashed the charges but went on to appoint Albuquerque Coelho to the post of Governor and Captain-General of Macau. By the time he eventually returned in triumph to Macau in 1718, his enemy, the despotic Rosa, had already been removed by Menezes from his position as Ouvidor under orders from Goa, following a petition from Macau. 305

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301 C.A. Montalto de Jesus, op. cit., p. 167.
302 G.A. Gomes, Efemérides da história de Macau, p. 76.
304 C.R. Boxer, Fidalgos in the Far East, p. 245.
305 The episode was dealt with at some length by M. Teixeira, Os Ouvidores em Macau, pp. 89-91, C.R. Boxer, Fidalgos in the Far East, p. 206, and C.A. Montalto de Jesus, op. cit., p. 167. Boxer, however, identified the Viceroy who restored Albuquerque and removed Rosa from office as Menezes’ successor, the Archbishop of Goa, Dom Sebastião de Andrade Pessanha.
Rosa may have grown more circumspect following this severe reversal of fortune. The record of his activities following this contretemps is a catalogue of commercial dealings, growing wealth and importance and a significant role in community leadership.\textsuperscript{306} Perhaps the most significant document bearing his name of which a record has survived was a carefully worded memorial to the Kangxi Emperor in 1719, accompanying a gift of selected European delicacies and curiosities. Significantly, the gift did not include clocks, which were already known to fascinate the Chinese.\textsuperscript{307} That was probably beyond the straitened means of the Senate. The Address, signed by the \textit{vereadores} (councillors) of the Senate, headed by Manuel Vicente Rosa, carefully avoided claiming Portuguese sovereignty over Macau, and shrewdly stopped just short of acknowledging vassalage. It was occasioned by the imperial prohibition of navigation to foreign countries, which did not include the Portuguese, but put a stop to Chinese external trade.\textsuperscript{308}

\textsuperscript{307} C.A. Montalto de Jesus, op. cit., p. 137. The great Jesuit missionary, Matteo Ricci, had enchanted the Viceroy of Guangzhou with a clock as early as 1582.
\textsuperscript{308} C.A. Montalto de Jesus, op. cit., p. 129.
Whether it was drafted by Rosa cannot be known, but as his was the first signature, this may have been so. It may be presumed that he was the President of the Senate.

The Portuguese of Macao govern the place, Manoel Vicente Rosa etc., with all the others, have always received immense favors of your Imperial Majesty, whose name fills all the world, and lately a new one bestowed upon us by not being included in the prohibition of navigating the southern seas; we have more than ten thousand mouths to provide for. The favor of not being comprehended in the prohibition is above all comparison great, and certainly we can never acknowledge it as we ought. To shew in some way our thankfulness, we have selected a few articles, which we at present transmit to the Tsung-tuh, or Viceroy, begging him to have the goodness to present them to your Imperial Majesty, and we shall be very happy, &c. Macao, 1st March, 1719.

Signed, M.V. Rosa, &c. 309

What this letter did not convey was the Senate’s rejection of the emperor’s offer to centre at Macau the entire foreign commerce of the Chinese Empire. 310 For this catastrophic error of judgement, discussed in Chapter 1, Rosa must take his share of responsibility. However, the Senate would take the opposite view in 1732, having seen the commercial necessity for such a step. As a leading participant in the situation, Rosa was likely to have been part of this sea-change.

As a private trader, Rosa was a successful shipowner, dealing, among other things, in rice shipped from Siam to Macau and China. 311 Despite these successes, or perhaps because of them, he became ‘o mais rico e o mais odiade de toda a praca’, the richest and most hated man in the whole place. 312 He remained influential, too important to be ignored. 313

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310 C.A. Montalto de Jesus, op. cit., pp. 129-130.
312 A contemporary comment, quoted by C.R. Boxer, without citation, in *Renascimento*, November 1943, p. 458.
313 In June 1719, he was a member of a delegation of three: himself, Pascoal da Rosa and Manuel Leite Pereira, sent as envoys by the Senate to the Viceroy of Kwangtung to receive a present from the Emperor of China to the Senate. M. Teixeira, ‘A Missão Portuguesa no Sião’, in *Boletim Eclesiástico da Diocese de Macau*, vol. 60, no. 703, November 1962, p. 933.
In 1724, lacking an heir, he considered returning to Portugal. But the governor, superiors of the religious orders, members of the Senate, and other influential citizens asked him to stay. The resolution of this assembly was corroborated by the Viceroy of India who, in a letter of 11 January 1725, expressed the desire of seeing him continuing his work in Macau.314

The following year, in 1726, Rosa vindicated their opinion of him when he gave 726 taels of silver for expenses relating to Alexandre Metello de Sousa’s embassy to the Chinese Emperor.315 A long series of disputes followed. In 1731 a later Ouvidor, Moreira da Souza, was sent in chains to Goa by order of the Captain-General and Governor, António Barretto, who had been bribed by Rosa, it was alleged, with ten gold bars. Moreira da Souza too was reinstated, with orders from Goa to send back both Barretto and Rosa, also in chains, for further enquiries. Rosa escaped by seeking sanctuary in the seminary.316 It may have been then that he withdrew to Bangkok, where he had trading contacts, returning when the fuss had died down.317

More than thirty years after the Albuquerque Coelho imbroglio, another Menezes was appointed Captain-General and Governor of Macau in 1747. António Telles de Menezes became instantly feared by personally thrashing one of the judges, António Pereira Braga, for neglect of his duties. Rosa pursued this second Menezes with implacable animosity. He did not have to wait long for an opportunity. A fracas concerning the Chinese customs officials spun out of control, leading to the death of two Chinese and thus placing several Portuguese soldiers in peril of strangulation by the Chinese authorities. Menezes was accused of handling the affair badly, and this was held to be grounds for impeachment. The accusation was supported by Rosa, no stranger to bribery, with a present of solid gold oranges to the Viceroy in support of

314 Arquivos de Macau, February 1965, p. 127 and March 1965, p. 148. See Note on Sources for an explanation of this series.
315 M. Teixeira, ‘A Missão Portuguesa no Sião’, in Boletim Eclesiástico da Diocese de Macau, vol. 60, no. 703, November 1962, p. 933. This was in addition to the 18,500 taels that the Senate was required to raise to finance this grand expedition. To do this, it had to mortgage its revenue, and its finances were crippled for over thirty years (C.R. Boxer, Portuguese society in the tropics, p. 56).
316 Recounted at length by C.A. Montalto de Jesus, op. cit., pp. 168-170. The seminary was either the Jesuit Seminário do S. Paolo, which remained active until 1762, or the Seminário de Nossa Senhora do Amparo, razed to the ground in 1749 at the insistence of the Casa Branca mandarin for sheltering a Chinese catechist caught proselytising in his native land. Historic Macao, pp. 178-179.
317 According to an unreferenced note in J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/7.2/88 – Rosa, Manuel Vicente.
the allegation.\textsuperscript{318} This time, Rosa had the satisfaction of seeing his enemy removed for good, first being imprisoned in Guia fortress. Of all such turmoils, the Macanese historian Montalto de Jesus had this to say: ‘The colonies, all stunted by the royal trade monopoly, were further blighted by the blinded, suicidal egotism of Portuguese merchants’, contrasting this deplorable situation with the Dutch, whose prosperity, he maintained, was mainly due to their solidarity of purpose.\textsuperscript{319}

As often happens with wealthy, driven businessmen focussed solely on amassing personal power, wealth and prestige, Rosa had a succession problem. After many years’ residence in Macau, he married Isabel da Cruz, sister of another rich merchant, António da Cruz. She died not long after, probably before 1738, leaving a legacy of $10,000 to the convent of \textit{Nossa Senhora do Rosário}.\textsuperscript{320} With no heir, and in his fifties, Rosa sent home to Portugal for his nephew, Simão Vicente Rosa, a young man of twenty, to come to Macau, be adopted by his uncle, marry well and soon inherit his rich uncle’s fortune. It was a prospect that the nephew, impecunious and with no prospects, could not resist. He arrived in Macau on 3 October 1738, and sixteen days later was married off to Maria de Araújo Barros, a bride pre-selected by his uncle. Teixeira hinted that the bride was ugly;\textsuperscript{321} be that as it may, there were seven children by 1750.\textsuperscript{322}

Manuel Vicente Rosa died the next year, aged about 70, confident that the succession problem was solved. He was to be seen in retrospect as one of the three most important personalities of eighteenth century Macau.\textsuperscript{323} The next Rosa generation would become still richer, but by 1835 those of their descendants who are discussed in this study had lost everything. Like his wife, Rosa was buried in the

\textsuperscript{318} In recounting this strange tale, C.R. Boxer cautiously observed that “the nineteenth century historian, António Marques Pereira, a careful and conscientious writer who lived many years in Macau, claims that the truth of this story was proved by authentic documents which he himself had examined.” \textit{Fidalgos in the Far East}, p. 245. C.A. Montalto de Jesus, op. cit., pp. 171-175 gave a detailed account of the episode, citing António Marques Pereira’s pioneer work, \textit{As Alfandegas Chinesas de Macau}, p. 109.

\textsuperscript{319} C.A. Montalto de Jesus, op. cit., pp. 133-134. A Franciscan friar, José de Jesus Maria, who lived in Macau from 1742 to 1745, was appalled by the venality of the place. Remonstrating, he was told that it was impossible to live in Macau without indulging in dishonesty and deceit. C.R. Boxer, \textit{Fidalgos in the Far East}, p. 256.

\textsuperscript{320} M. Teixeira, \textit{Os Ouvidores em Macau}, p. 83.

\textsuperscript{321} Ibid., p. 82.

\textsuperscript{322} J. Forjaz, \textit{Familias Macaenses}, vol. 3, pp. 296-297.

\textsuperscript{323} By C.R. Boxer, \textit{Portuguese society in the tropics}, p. 68.
churchyard at the entrance of St Dominic’s church.324 Like her, he left a substantial legacy, the former Judge of Orphans leaving 1,000 taels of silver (37.5 kg) to poor orphans to enable them to marry, this being an era in which dowries were essential.325

Map 13 – ‘Plan de la ville et du port de Macao’.

A French map of Macau by Nicholas Bellin, 1784, reissued by a Dutch cartographer. The map shows the built-up area, the city walls and fortifications in considerable detail. To the north-west of Macau is the compound of the ‘Casa Branca’ mandarin.

325 Ibid.
Rosa made a major impact on Macau in the 47 years of his residence. Like many successful entrepreneurs, he was an enigmatic figure. The phrase *homens de maior condição*, men of higher standing, the essential qualification for public office in Macau, was sometimes used too loosely, but it was well applied to Manuel Vicente Rosa. While enriching himself, he had also, as a shipowner, provided employment for young Macanese men as seafarers. He was personally successful in a period of continuing decline. He readily fitted into the traditional role of community leadership that Macau’s particular circumstances gave, not to its own well-established families, but to young men fresh from the motherland. He was aspirational, opportunistic and at times ruthless. He was both a great hater (and was greatly hated, for success breeds envy) and a respected spokesman for Macau, dextrous in handling the difficult relations with the Chinese authorities. Yet the Senate, of which he was a leading member at the time, turned its back in 1719 on the Emperor’s offer to give Macau a monopoly on foreign trade. However, having changed his mind, he appears to have been part of the strong but unsuccessful advocacy in 1732 for opening the port to foreign traders. By then it was seen as a vital opportunity of reviving Macau’s premier trading position. Within the lifetime of Rosa’s nephew Simão, the Viceroy’s rejection of this renewed opportunity was seen to have been a serious error of judgement.

Simão Vicente Rosa was possibly still more successful in business than his uncle. As well as being a prominent trader, he secured a powerful position in Macau by

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326 C.R. Boxer, *Portuguese society in the tropics*, pp. 61, 63.
lending to the Jesuits, whose earlier strong position in China had faded away significantly. The younger Rosa was aged 33 when his uncle left him the fortune that he had anticipated for thirteen years. He inherited his uncle’s wealth, his business acumen, and perhaps his opprobrium. Part of the inheritance was a large house on the *Praia Pequena*, the small praia, on the Inner Harbour, and well-placed to watch over shipping.\(^{327}\) After his death on 31 January 1773, Rosa’s mansion passed to his son-in-law Manuel Homem de Carvalho. It became one of many leased to foreigners, in this case to the Dutch East India Company.\(^{328}\)

Rosa became embroiled in a bitter dispute with the Bishop of Macau concerning his uncle’s legacy, which he refused to hand over. The Bishop of Macau, Alexandre da Silva Pedrosa Guimarães, appealed to the Viceroy in Goa, and Rosa was made to pay.\(^{329}\) Another appeal to Goa yielded greater success for him. The attractive *Ilha Verde*, Green Island, just north of Macau’s Inner Harbour, had been owned by the Jesuits since Macau’s early days. The hard times on which Macau had fallen affected most people and institutions, including the Jesuits. To maintain their mission, they borrowed from Rosa, the debt totalling 6,174 taels by the time of the suppression by Pombal of the Jesuit Order in 1762.

In satisfaction of the debt, Rosa claimed Green Island, and on 14 April 1766 the Viceroy ordered the Macau Senate to hand the island to Rosa.\(^{330}\) It had been the site of a Jesuit retreat house and chapel from the early days of the settlement and had become an orchard – hence its name.\(^{331}\) Rosa now turned it into a private park.\(^{332}\) Later, he and other members of his family would be buried there in a private

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\(^{327}\) The *Praia Pequena*, the ‘small praya’, was on the other side of the peninsula, far from the fashionable, mansion-lined Praya Grande, the ‘big praya’. Apparently one of the best houses in Macau, it was selected by the Senate as the residence for another ambassador who came to Macau en route to Peking in 1752. However, the Governor asked that the Bishop’s palace be used instead (M. Teixeira, *Toponimia de Macau*, vol. I, p. 401).

\(^{328}\) Notes prepared by M. Teixeira for his *Toponimia de Macau*. J.M. Braga Papers. MS 4300/15.1/29.


\(^{331}\) It was described in 1637 by Peter Mundy in appreciative terms. ‘On the Inner side of the City lieth a little rocky Island called Isla Verde or Greene Island belonging to the Padres of Saint Paulle, or the Jesuits, and by them caused to bee planted, soe that now in a Manner it is covered with fruit trees that yieldeth by report 2 or 3000 ryall off yearly profits to them.’ M. Hugo-Brunt, ‘The Portuguese settlement at Macao’, *PLAN*, vol. 3, no. 3, 1963, p. 127.

cemetery that existed until the 1920s. It was later left to his youngest daughter, and became part of her dowry on her marriage to Manuel Homem de Carvalho, so passing out of the Rosa family. Rosa was one of the few creditors in Macau, which continued to decline gradually. The Senate, like the Jesuits, was also in his debt, still mired in the huge cost of the 1726 embassy and the constant exactions of the mandarins. He had his own wharf at a place called Tarrafeiro on the Inner Harbour.

Naturally this prominent man was significant in the affairs of the Senate. He held the major post of procurador for the years 1745, 1759, 1761, 1764 and 1771. Most Portuguese town councils had a procurador, generally an attorney representing the interests of artisans who lacked the franchise to vote for councillors.

Because Macau had no Portuguese artisans, the role of procurador was quite different, and vastly more important. Here he was appointed from the elected

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333 The grave may have been moved to Green Island from St Dominic’s. J.M. Braga to Lieut. Fernando Amaro, 12 April 1961, ‘I remember seeing on the top of Green Island the tombstones of my ancestors, Manuel Vicente da Rosa and his [adopted] son’. J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/4.4/13.
335 J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/7.2/88 – Rosa, Manuel Vicente.
336 Cantonese speakers often have difficulty with European sounds, but the name Simão (the terminal syllable pronounced rhyming with ‘lung’) was readily adapted, and up to the mid-twentieth century the place where Simão Vicente Rosa’s wharf and godown were located was, according to J.M. Braga, still called ‘See-mang Ma Tau’. The name ‘See-mang Ma Tau’ is not given in Chinese characters in J.M. Braga’s notes. He spoke Cantonese, but did not read or write Chinese.
vereadores, and was the Senate’s representative in all dealings with the Chinese. He was accorded by them the grade of a junior mandarin to enable such dealings to take place. He had to negotiate the amount of ‘squeeze’ to be paid and see to its raising in Macau.  

Hence he was the key man in the city, with greater importance than the Governor. For Rosa to hold this position five times was a sign of his capacity, but it also reflected the dwindling pool of those who were seen as suitable people, so that office-bearers increasingly became a self-perpetuating oligarchy.

Simão Vicente Rosa was one of the very few people of his era of whom something approaching a likeness is known. In the almost complete absence of portraiture, statuary was the only way of creating a likeness. He commissioned a plaster statuette, still extant, a rare survivor of the last years before British commerce became dominant in Macau. It is thought to have been made in Manila about 1770, three years before Rosa’s death, so the artist may have relied on a written description of the subject. It shows a be-wigged fidalgo in his fifties, clad in frock coat and breeches, and indicates that formal colonial attire followed closely that of metropolitan Portugal. His dress indicates his station in life, for inhabitants of Macau

Simão Vicente Rosa
1718-1773

Statuette of Simão Vicente da Rosa,
wood and plaster, painted; height 51.3 cm on plinth 27 x 25.5 x 8 cm
ca. 1770
nla.pic-an6227500

339 C.R. Boxer, Portuguese society in the tropics, p. 52.
340 Ibid., pp. 45-46.
342 It is held in the Pictures Collection of the National Library of Australia as part of the J.M. Braga collection. nla.pic-an6227500.
‘who are not Europeans by birth or descent’ were prohibited in 1744 from wearing wigs or carrying of a paper umbrella, a visible sign of status.\textsuperscript{343} This was a colonial society in which upward social mobility was almost impossible except for reinóis, those born in the homeland. Simão Vicente Rosa could not have foreseen that this was at the end of a time when a successful career could be celebrated in this way.

This statuette, commemorating a successful man towards the end of his career, is accompanied by a smaller bust of a much younger man at the beginning of his. This is of Simão d’Araújo Rosa, the fifth child and fourth son of Simão Vicente, born in 1745.\textsuperscript{344}

![Simão d’Araújo Rosa](https://example.com/1745-1821)

\textit{Bust of Simão d’Araújo Rosa. Plaster, wood; height 15.5 cm. on plinth 11.7 x 13.5 cm nla.pic-an6396552}

Although he was a younger son, he, not his brothers, succeeded his father in business in 1773. His bust is less self-important, and less self-assured. It is perhaps a portent of what would follow as Macau continued to decline. According to his descendant, J.M. Braga, Simão d’Araújo Rosa carried on his father’s business but he did not participate in the growing trade between Calcutta and Macau. By that, of course, he meant the lucrative opium trade. Rosa and most other smaller traders were left behind as that trade accelerated. Simão d’Araújo Rosa, like his predecessors, confined his trade to dealings in Bangkok and occasionally Goa.\textsuperscript{345}

\textsuperscript{343} C.R. Boxer, \textit{Portuguese society in the tropics}, p. 69; A. Ljungstedt, \textit{Contribution to an historical sketch of the Roman Catholic Church at Macao; and the domestic and foreign relations of Macao}, p. 31.

\textsuperscript{344} It is also held in the Pictures Collection of the National Library of Australia as part of the J.M. Braga collection. Height 15.5 cm. on plinth 11.7 x 13.5 cm. nla.pic-an6396552.

\textsuperscript{345} J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/7.2/88 – Rosa, Manuel Vicente.
His prosperity gradually slipped away. The *Arquivos de Macau* provides an occasional glimpse of a man doing his best to maintain the trading business he had inherited:

Captain and supercargo of ship *St António e Bom Successo* owned by Simão de Araújo Roza to Bengal and Malacca, passport 31 December 1784.346

To get his ship away, it seems that he had to mortgage a house near Monte (the principal fort) and shops at *Bazar Grande* in the Chinese quarter.347 That was one voyage, the success of which is unknown. Montalto de Jesus gave the overall picture:

Towards the end of the eighteenth century Portuguese shipping at Macao had dwindled to some eight or ten vessels trading mostly with Siam; and from Portugal one or two vessels annually came with Brazil snuff, then in great demand among the Chinese, and the usual small shipment of home produce, bringing in return but a dwindling cargo of oriental products. In a word, trade at Macao was dying out ... the people of Macao grew none the better, but became poorer; and their poverty was an evil without remedy.348

In 1789, Five years after the voyage of the *St António e Bom Successo*, Simão de Araújo, under the name Simão Vicente Roza, appears to have borrowed 2,500 taels from the *Misericórdia* using a ship, the *Effigenia*, as security.349

The situation remained much the same in the 1830s. In 1831, the whole shipping, according to Ljungstedt, consisted of sixteen ships totalling 5,331 English tons. In 1834, there were fifteen, totalling 4,185 tons. He added that ‘the greater part of the shipowners are destitute of sufficient means to lay in a suitable cargo, and to bear the charges and expense of long voyages’.350 As one of those shipowners, Simão d’Araújo Rosa had seen over the years the gradual collapse of the prosperity his family had once enjoyed.

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347 Court file, 1782, indexed by Carl Smith. Arquivo Histórico de Macau, Carl Smith Index Cards, MO/AH/CS/INDEX/ 31275.
348 C.A. Montalto de Jesus, op. cit., pp. 136, 137.
349 Session of the *Santa Casa de Misericórdia*, 8 November 1789, indexed by Carl Smith. Arquivo Histórico de Macau, Carl Smith Index Cards, MO/AH/CS/INDEX/ 31301a.
350 A. Ljungstedt, *An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China*, p. 103, repeating a comment made initially in his article ‘Actual state of Macao’ in the *Canton Miscellany*, no. 5, 1831, p. 351.
Despite what must have been years of constant worry, Rosa carried out his civic duties as his forebears had done. As a young man he was a councillor of the Senate during the Francis Scott case in 1773.\(^{351}\) Much later, he was received into the brotherhood of the *Santa Casa de Misericórdia*, the Holy House of Mercy, rather late in life, on 14 April 1810.\(^{352}\) The *Misericórdia* was for several centuries an important and effective means of exercising charity in a community in which other social services were absent.\(^{353}\) Apparently active and conscientious in his duties, Rosa became the secretary of the *Misericórdia* on 1 November 1812.\(^{354}\) He was also *mestre de campo do Terço de Auxiliares*, an officer in the militia.\(^{355}\) Forjaz, diligent in his fact-finding and checking, also recorded that he described himself as *cavaleiro da Ordem de Cristo*, a knight of the Order of Christ, but added, without comment, that his name does not appear in the register of the Order in the National Archives in Lisbon.\(^{356}\) This may have been a clerical omission, but may also reflect Rosa’s endeavour to bolster his family’s sagging reputation.

He married in September 1760, aged fifteen, as was common in a tropical place where life was uncertain. His wife, Maria Ana de Liger Lopes da Silva, bore him seven children between 1761 and 1772, but by 1782 he was a widower.\(^{357}\) He married again in 1790, there being no further children.\(^{358}\) He died on 22 December 1821, aged 76, with Macau in a sad plight, its economic woes accentuated by a conflict between the Conservatives and the Miguelists, reflecting the political situation in Portugal, soon to be wracked by civil war.

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351 Notes prepared by M. Teixeira for his *Toponimia de Macau*, p. 21.
352 *Arquivos de Macau*, July 1981, p. 265. In Portugal and its colonies, the *Misericórdia*, as it was commonly termed, went hand in hand with the council. In Macau, the *Misericórdia* had been established in 1569 (J.M. Braga, *The Western pioneers and their discovery of Macao*, p. 91; C.R. Boxer, *Portuguese society in the tropics*, p. 59), the Senado a little later, in 1582. It was a mark of distinction in the community to be elected to membership of either, though originally, and for many years afterwards, membership was separate. Despite its name, the *Misericórdia* was a secular organisation, though that scarcely applied in a community that was profoundly devout and observant of its religious duties. To be a brother of the *Misericórdia* was a pious obligation for a *poderoso*.
355 C.R. Boxer, *Portuguese society in the tropics*, p. 54. This was the *ordenança*, a citizens’ militia, often set up in Portugal and its territories, ‘to protect property and to establish and ensure order’. It was organised by the Senate and officered by them. It mounted nightly patrols ‘to protect property and to establish and ensure order’.
357 Court file, 1782, indexed by Carl Smith. Arquivo Histórico de Macau, Carl Smith Index Cards, MO/AH/CS/INDEX/ 31275.
The eldest of his three sons succeeded to his business interests. This was another Simão d’Araújo Rosa, sometimes known in the records as Simão Vicente Rosa. He may have adopted the alias, seeking to borrow the lustre of the name of his famous grandfather. He was born in Macau about 1765 and died there on the 21 October.
1835.359 From about 1785 there are fewer references in the archives to a family that had fallen on hard times. He still had connections with Thailand, which presumably led in 1828 to an invitation to go to Bangkok as commissioner of the Senate ‘to care for various subjects’, but he declined the invitation.360 The details are unknown, but he was then aged 63 and the prospect of a sea voyage cannot have been attractive. Moreover, this sad man, a widower since 1823, had by 1827 fallen into debt to the Misericórdia.361 Nevertheless, he was in 1825, the provedor, the president of the board of guardians, of the Misericórdia.362 This was its most important elected position, and a significant recognition of community status. In earlier times, before the greatly reduced circumstances into which Macau fell, the role of the provedor was set out in clear terms. ‘He must always be a fidalgo of authority, prudence, virtue, reputation and age, in such wise that the other brothers can all recognise him as their head.’363 By the 1820s, it was hard to find a community leader with the family background and the financial standing that was once taken for granted in such a position. Simão d’Araújo Rosa was indeed a man of good reputation, but the once wealthy Rosa family was now in difficulties. Following his death, aged 70, on 21 October 1835, his personal effects and property: his house and three shops were seized and auctioned.364

Part 2 – the Braga family in Goa

In happier times, as a young man of 27, Simão d’Araújo Rosa had travelled to Goa, perhaps in his father’s ship, and there married on 14 May 1792 Ana Joaquina, daughter of António Félix Fernandes, also known as António Félix Braga, and Ana

359 Ibid., p. 298.
362 Elected on 26 October 1825. Carl Smith Index MO/AH/CS/INDEX/ 31301a.
Rosa Pereira de Azevedo. Ana Joaquina’s father would have considered this a good match. The bridegroom was a member of a notable family who had made their mark in Macau throughout the eighteenth century. His father, Simão de Araújo Rosa, in addition to his commercial interests, was prominent in public life in Macau. He was Mestre de campo-de-Terço de Auxiliares, Secretary of the Santa Casa de Misericórdia and adopted the title of cavaleiro da Ordem de Cristo.

'A Prospect of the City of Goa’, from Herman Moll, A map of the East-Indies, 1719. A Dutch view in the margin of the map. It omits most of the grand ecclesiastical edifices, while emphasising the tower of the imposing Senado do Goa.

National Library of Australia, RM 285

365 J. Forjaz, Familias Macaenses, vol. 3, p. 298. The names of Ana’s parents’ were obtained by Forjaz from the baptismal record of her son João Vicente; J. Forjaz and J.F. de Noronha Os Luso-Descendentes da Índia Portuguesa, vol. 1, p. 299. Researched and published later than Familias Macaenses, this work added the name de Azevedo.

In Macau and later in Hong Kong, the descendants of Simão d’Araújo and Ana would use the names Rosa, Rosa Pereira, Rosa Braga, and later simply Braga, reverting to a name which had earned distinction in Goa.\footnote{‘Mestre de campo-de-Terço de Auxiliares, escritão da Santa Casa de Misericórdia de Macau e cavaleiro da Ordem de Cristo, e de Maria Ana de Liger Lopes da Silva. C.g em Macau que usará os apelidos Rosa, Rosa Pereira, Rosa Braga, e mais tarde só Braga.’ J. Forjaz and J.F. de Noronha, Os Luso-Descendentes da Índia Portuguesa, p. 299.}

Fernandes was the original name of this family, but its members had, since the arrival of Félix Fernandes in Goa in 1739, adopted the surname Braga. Like many of the eighteenth century Portuguese who went to the Far East and Brazil, the forebears of the Braga family came from the most northerly province, Minho e Douro. Nothing is known of the Braga antecedents beyond sketchy details of marriages in two generations in the later seventeenth century. The first to be identified was António Fernandes, who married a Senhorina Pires.\footnote{All of the personal details concerning people in eighteenth century Portugal and Goa are taken from J. Forjaz and J.F. de Noronha, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 297-299. The authors gave considerable attention to those whose careers they regarded as particularly significant, including Félix Braga and his son António Félix Braga.}

They were residents of the parish of Santa Maria Madalena at Chaves, 10 km south of the Spanish border.\footnote{The parish register described them as ‘moradores da freguesia de Santa Maria Madalena das Alturas, comarca de Chaves’, J. Forjaz and J.F. de Noronha, op. cit., p. 297.} Chaves had been a town since Roman times, and the great sixteen-arched Roman bridge across the river Tâmega survives intact. This river crossing was seen as a key to northern Portugal; the town’s name is Portuguese for ‘keys’. Chaves was never large, being the centre of a farming community tightly packed into a small fertile valley. In this mountainous area, good agricultural land was scarce, and smallholdings were common. However, large families were the general rule, so there was every incentive for younger sons to emigrate.\footnote{C.R. Boxer, The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, p. 56.}
António’s son, Sebastião Fernandes, was born in Chaves, and baptised in his parents’ church. On 29 December 1706 he married Maria Marques, a citizen of Braga, at, the splendid new baroque church of St Vitor in this ancient and prestigious city, distinguished for its archiepiscopal see, the oldest in Portugal. Sebastião and his wife settled in Braga, where their son, Félix Fernandes, was baptised at St Vitor, on 10 October 1712.

371 Following the repulse of the Muslim invasion in the 11th century, Braga was the first Portuguese diocese to be restored. The Archbishops of Braga then held primacy over all other Portuguese sees for several centuries. In the mid-eighteenth century, two royal archbishops gave the see and the city of Braga added prestige. These were José and Gaspar de Braganza, both natural sons of Portuguese kings, who held office between 1741 and 1789. López Bardón, Tirso. ‘Archdiocese of Braga’, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. vol. 2. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907. http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02728a.htm. Accessed 26 December 2011.
Some 2,400 young Portuguese men went to the Far East each year, but few returned. Félix was among them; there is no indication that he or any of his descendants returned to Portugal until the mid-twentieth century. In 1739 Félix sailed in the ship Nostra Senhora da Conceição (Our Lady of the Conception) to Goa, where he took the surname Braga after the place of his birth.

The name Braga carried considerable prestige – even gravitas – which he was able to adopt. He at once became a leading member of the community, and was elected a Brother of the Santa Casa de Misericòrdia in 1743. Goanese archives record several other civic appointments during the next twenty years. The culmination of a significant public career was his appointment as President of the Senado do Goa in 1766. The date of his death is not known, but he was still living in 1779.

From 1510 to the early seventeenth century, the first of four and a half centuries of Portuguese occupation, Goa had been ‘Golden Goa’. The triumph of the Dutch and
later the English brought that era to a sudden end. There remained numerous splendid baroque churches, convents and associated religious edifices such as an orphanage and an asylum for the poor, for Goa had been thought of as the base from which heathen India would be evangelised. All these buildings gradually fell into decay. The Senate House had been particularly magnificent, standing on a high point in the centre of the city. It was here that Félix Braga presided in the 1760s, but this was a period which coincided with the greatest power of the Maratha Empire which all but surrounded Goa and frequently threatened it. This was a ‘period of trouble and disaster’ for what had once been the axis of Portuguese power in Asia. 376 Félix Braga had some wealth and influence; he was a poderosa, a great man, but in a city that had almost ceased to function. His descendants would leave Goa at the earliest opportunity.

Félix married twice. His first wife, whom he married before 1743, was Felícia Dias da Costa, and they had two children: António Félix Braga and Maria da Costa Braga. Following the death of Felícia, Félix married Josefa Maria da Silva; there were no children. Félix settled at Ribandar (now

376 J.N. Fonseca, An historical and archaeological sketch of the city of Goa, pp. 113, 180. Yet this was a period during which those who considered that they were entitled to them scrambled for royal honours. (Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes and Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Centro de História de Além-Mar, Tradition and modernity in eighteenth-century Goa, 1750-1800, Manohar, New Delhi, 2006, pp. 136-137). Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the French orientalist A.H. Anquetil Duperron found Goa in ruins and almost abandoned, though the Senate continued to hold its meetings in the old Senate House for many more years. A Dutch visitor in 1831 noted that it was used as a hospital for the sick of the Misericôrdia, and was ‘going fast to ruins’ (D.L. Cottineau de Kloguen, An Historical Sketch of Goa, p. 88). Less than forty years afterwards it was ‘merely a heap of ruins’ (J.N. Fonseca, op. cit., p. 210).
Ribander), a town on the banks of the Mandovi River in the Portuguese colony some five km east of the city of Goa itself. Along the river bank, as seen by Anquetil Duperron, was ‘a row of elegant buildings which together with the distant turrets and cupolas in the city and its suburbs presented an extremely charming sight’. Even though it was impoverished, Goa still had a select area, and the law courts were situated at Ribandar.

Félix’s son, António Félix Braga, was born at Ribandar, date unknown, and also died there on 8 May 1785. Like his father, António Félix Braga became a Brother of the *Santa Casa de Misericórdia*, elected on 10 August 1765. That higher standing gave the brothers something to live up to. They must be ‘men of good conscience and repute, walking in the fear of God, modest, charitable and humble’. It would be asking too much of human nature to expect that all brothers lived up to such a standard, but at least the expectation was there. In Goa and Macau, much smaller in the mid-eighteenth century than they had been in the prosperous times of 150 years earlier, and with comparatively few *homens de maior condição*, men of high standing, the *irmãos* of the *misericórdia* were necessarily a small and elite group. That led to a greater expectation within the community that their job would be conscientiously and effectively done. So it was for a very long time. These men were respected community leaders.

António Félix Braga married Ana Rosa Pereira de Azevedo on 28 August 1769. They had four children: Ana Joaquina, Mariana Antónia, Manuel António and José Vicente. The last two became priests, both entering the Convent of St Augustine in

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379 J. Forjaz and J.F. de Noronha, *op. cit.*, p. 297. He does not appear to have been elected to the Senate. Charles Boxer has pointed out that in both Goa and Macau, council members usually came from the leading families in the community, and it was a mark of honour to be one of the *vereadores* (councillors) of the *câmara* or an *irmão* (brother) of the *Santa Casa de Misericórdia*. The *poderosos* were expected to be active both in municipal affairs and in charitable work (C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, p. 289).
381 She was born at Goa, and died at Ribandar on 12 February 1830, outliving her husband by almost 45 years. She was the daughter of António Vicente Rosa, a native of Tancos in Portugal. It therefore seems likely that she was connected with the Rosas who went to Macau in the early eighteenth century. Forjaz and Noronha added that António Vicente Rosa was a merchant from Macau, who died when his ship *Nostro Senhor da Penha de França* was wrecked when he was returning from India. ‘comerciante em Macau, que faleceu num naufrágio em local desconhecido a bordo do seu barco *Nostro Senhor da Penha de França*, quando regressava da India’. J. Forjaz and J.F. de Noronha, *op. cit.*, p. 298.
Goa in 1789. They then had long and notable ministries at Goa until the 1820s.\(^{382}\) The two daughters married at Ribandar, Ana Joaquina leaving with her husband for his native Macau, while Mariana, who married twice, lived at Ribandar for the rest of her life. Both daughters had large families and a vast progeny. All four adopted the surname Rosa as well as Braga, following the Portuguese custom of using the surname of both parents, the mother’s surname usually following the father’s.

Ana Joaquina Rosa Braga, as she became, was born at Ribandar in 1770, and died in Macau on 21 June 1823. Following their marriage, Simão d’Araújo Rosa Jr. took his wife’s surname and henceforth used, but not invariably, the name Rosa Braga.\(^{383}\) Over the next three generations, most of their descendants reverted to the surname Rosa. However, the descendants of one son, João Vicente, dropped the patronym Rosa. This will be discussed in the following chapter. Between 1792 and 1803 five children were born to Simão and Ana. None was named Simão, a name which had held for three generations. Instead, all three sons were given the second name Vicente, recalling the family’s era of prosperity, now a distant memory. Indeed, the eldest son was named Manuel Vicente after his illustrious great-great-grandfather.

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\(^{382}\) J. Forjaz and J.F. de Noronha, op. cit., p. 298.

\(^{383}\) J. Forjaz, *Familias Macaenses*, vol. 3, p. 298. In noting this circumstance, Forjaz added rather opaquely that ‘he was the first of this family to use the surname Braga, and it ends, but with the passing of time, and in certain cases, for preferring the proper names of the original family’. Forjaz, although he was an indefatigable and skilled genealogist, often expressed himself poorly.
The son to be followed in this study is the third son and the last of the five children: João Vicente, who was born in Macau on 25 October 1803 and died in Hong Kong on 21 October 1853, four days before his fiftieth birthday. Little is known of his life; he lived in hard times when there was little to record. On 15 August 1825 he married Priscila da Trindade Noronha, who was born in Macau on 8 June 1800, and died in Hong Kong on 18 March 1883. She was a member of a well-connected and long-established Macanese family with roots in the Far East reaching back to the sixteenth century, indicating that they were not by the early nineteenth century considered to be reinòis. However, the Noronhas were certainly regarded as one of Macau’s leading families.

João Vicente’s father and grandfather had been irmãos, brothers, of the Santa Casa de Misericórdia, and João Vicente, following in their footsteps, was elected a brother on 28 October 1830. It is apparent that he inherited little or nothing from his father, who died in 1835, so that there was little to hold him to Macau.

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384 J. Forjaz, Familias Macaenses, vol. 3, p. 298. Forjaz noted that the information was gleaned from the Casa’s Livro de Termos das Eleições, Cod. 144. His two elder brothers, Manuel Vicente and José Vicente are not shown to have been Brothers of the Casa.
Between 1828 and 1841, eight children were born to João and Priscila. They were:

João Joaquim, born on 10 January 1828; died at London on 27 May 1876
Pulquéria Maria, born on 17 October 1828; died at Macau on 28 July 1911
Franciscas de Paula, born on 5 March 1831
Francisco Maria, born on 7 August 1833
Vicente Emílio, born on 12 February 1834; died at Shanghai, 21 March 1911
Engrácia Maria, born on 23 April 1835; died at Macau on 30 April 1916
José Francisco, born on 13 August 1836; died at Manila before 1908
Carlos José, born in 1841.

The lives of three will be discussed in the following chapter. Within a few years after
the British took possession of Hong Kong, João Vicente, like others, had decided
that there was no future in Macau for himself or his children. The decision to leave
Macau was courageous, perhaps even desperate. João Vicente would have been
aware that in his forties, then considered well on in years, he had nothing to offer any
employer in Hong Kong.

Only one of his sons had reached employable age at the time of the family’s move to
Hong Kong. João Joaquim turned seventeen in January 1845. Francisco Maria was
twelve; Vicente Emílio was eleven, while the other two sons were infants. Their
father wisely realised that it was essential to get in at the beginning. Opportunities do
not present themselves twice. It is not known whether the boys were sent to Hong
Kong when they were old enough, the rest of the family remaining in Macau until
later, or whether the whole family emigrated together. João Vicente Rosa Braga must
remain an obscure figure, for no record has been found of his activities in Hong
Kong. Lists of Hong Kong residents between 1846 and 1850 do not include his name
and no will has been discovered. Nevertheless, it was he who took the leap in the
dark, and gave his family opportunities that he himself never had. It was up to his

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386 He was not among the very few who could bring capital with him, but according to his great-grandson, J.M. Braga, ‘Joao Vicente was interested in the trade in lead and silver, at the place which came to be called Silver Mine Bay, Lantao Island, and in the Mirs Bay area, principally in Lin Ma Hang.’ J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/7.2/88 – Rosa, Manuel Vicente. Lin Ma Hang is a village close to the border between Hong Kong and mainland China.
387 *Hongkong Almanack*, 1846-1850; a search in the Hong Kong Public Record Office did not locate a will.
sons to start afresh. He did not live to see that two of them did better than he could ever have imagined.

João Joaquim became a shrewd businessman and investor in property. Having done well in this respect, he was one of only a few Macanese of his generation to emigrate to England, where he and his family remained. His brother Vicente Emílio had a rather chequered career in Hong Kong until 1870 when he received a magnificent offer from Japan that he could not refuse. Leaving his family behind, he too never returned to Hong Kong. The careers of these two émigrés, João Joaquim Rosa Braga and Vicente Emílio Rosa Braga are discussed in the next chapter.
Part 1 – The first Portuguese in Hong Kong

Three months after Pottinger’s proclamation of the city of Victoria on 25 June 1843, with its firm direction for the future of British rule in the Far East, another of Macau’s periodical turmoils occurred, demonstrating yet again its insecurity. Elijah Bridgman, editor of the *Chinese Repository* succinctly reported the incident.

A serious disturbance occurred in Macao between the Chinese and the Portuguese troops on the 25th ult. [September] at a fire outside the San António gate. It is said that the poor people who lived in these mat sheds got the impression that their hovels had been set on fire by the Portuguese, and when the troops appeared, as they always do at fires, some of them made a desperate onset and mortally wounded a soldier. The guard thereupon fired, killing three and wounding others. A row arose on 1st inst. [October], from a Chinese attempting to pick a soldier’s pocket, and another native was killed. A Portuguese soldier was also found dead two nights after. The excitement was very great among the Chinese.\(^{388}\)

It was yet another indication, if one were needed, that Hong Kong was a more secure place to live in, even if its climate was perilous to life. However, there was no sudden rush of refugees. Portuguese emigration from Macau to Hong Kong in the rest of the nineteenth century took place in several waves.\(^{389}\) From 1843, the pace quickened of British businesses moving to Hong Kong, taking their Portuguese clerks with them.

Chief among them were Leonardo d’Almada e Castro and his brother José Maria. The elder, Leonardo, first entered the service of the British Government in 1836, in the office of the Superintendency of British Trade in China at Macau. His younger brother, José Maria, was Second Clerk in the Superintendency. Both were transferred from Macau to the Colonial Secretariat in Hongkong.

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388 *Chinese Repository*, vol. 12, no. 10, October 1843, pp. 555-556.
389 Especially in 1849 and 1874 to 1875, as discussed in Chapter 3.
Leonardo arrived on 27 February 1842 as one of three members of staff of the infant Colonial Secretary’s office, at first located in a tent.\(^3\) With ten years of experience in British administrative procedures, he was appointed clerk of the Hong Kong Executive and Legislative Councils in May 1847.\(^4\) He acted briefly on two occasions as Colonial Secretary, the highest civil service post in the colony, and thereafter claimed the right to act in that capacity whenever the occasion arose. This claim led to much trouble, with the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies, eventually ruling against d’Almada, but noting that senior officers of the service ‘appeared to be set against him’. It did not help when d’Almada then applied for British citizenship, but it may have made Newcastle change his mind. In 1854, he directed Sir John Bowring, newly-appointed as governor, to appoint d’Almada Colonial Secretary on a local salary, a large saving on the sum paid to a British appointee. This was solidly and successfully opposed in Hong Kong, W. H. Mercer, who would have been ousted, observing sourly some years later in 1862 that he was ‘a Portuguese of the better class’, ‘but hardly eligible for higher appointment’.\(^5\) Not until after his death in 1875 at the age of 61 would a generous comment be made.

\(^5\) G.B. Endacott, A Biographical Sketch-book of Early Hong Kong, p. 121.
The Chief Justice, Sir John Smale, then referred to him as ‘a very dictionary of public events, transactions and correspondence received during an official career of thirty-four years’. His death was also marked by a warmly appreciative minute in the proceedings of the Legislative Council, but the British Empire would continue to deny equal opportunity to outsiders for many years to come.

A decade later, in telling a group of Portuguese community leaders in Hong Kong of Newcastle’s recommendation, a later governor, Sir John Pope Hennessy, wisely refrained from telling them of the ensuing fracas. Leonardo’s brother, José Maria, became private secretary to Pope Hennessy, and was Chief Clerk in the Secretariat and Clerk of Council when he died in 1881. J.P. Braga, a much later leader of the Portuguese community, paid his own tribute to the manner in which these two had risen far above the position of the rest of their compatriots:

There can be no disputing the propriety of assigning the premier place among the Portuguese pioneers of Hongkong to these young men, both of whom were subsequently raised to positions of honour and distinction in the service of the Government of Hongkong.

By late 1845, there were four clerks in the Colonial Secretary’s office, the 4th clerk being another Portuguese, Alexandre Grande-Pré, who later became official interpreter in Malay, Bengali and Portuguese. Another named in the Official Establishment was João de Jesus, Portuguese interpreter in the Chief Magistrate’s Office. Two other clerks, J. dos Remédios and F. Noronha, occupied junior positions in the Post Office and the Police Rate Assessment Office – a total of six Portuguese among 36 named clerical staff.

In the early 1840s, the young clerks had no choice but to accompany their employers. To remain in Macau meant unemployment and the loss of the English-language skills they were in the process of acquiring. Everyone knew that without

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393 Ibid.
396 H. Ingrams, *Hong Kong*, p. 250. Ingrams, who spent two months in Hong Kong in 1950 undertaking fieldwork for this book, interviewed members of this leading Hong Kong family.
398 Ibid., p. 123; *Hongkong Almanack, 1846*, p 5.
399 *Hongkong Almanack, 1846*, pp. [5,6]. The Almanack is unpaginated. These are page numbers I have assigned.
British commerce, Macau would revert to the bleak poverty into which it had earlier fallen. Following the clerks – who may have numbered twenty to thirty in the first few years – a few others ventured into the British colony. They needed to have skills to offer and a service to provide. An essential skill was English, and all these early arrivals must have spoken English, without which they could not hope to get a job or start a business. Closely allied to it was their knowledge of Cantonese. Conspicuous among these early arrivals was the printer Delfino Noronha, the subject of the next chapter.

Part 2 – João Joaquim Braga 1824 - 1876

Others had less to offer the British community, and had to cast about for a means of providing the British with something they needed. Among them were the sons of João Vicente Rosa Braga, Delfino Noronha’s brother-in-law. They did not have far to look, for as well as their entrepreneurship, the British brought a degree of susceptibility to tropical diseases greater than that of the Portuguese in Macau.

By autumn 1845, the earliest date on which information is available, in the Hongkong Almanack for 1846, most British firms had moved from Macau and Canton to Hong Kong, but the extensive Parsee community and most American firms remained in Canton. Few businesses were listed as still having any presence in

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400 The family relationship is explained by the Macanese Families website. João Vicente Rosa Braga [5676] married Priscila Trindade de Noronha [5675], the daughter by his first marriage of Manuel José dos Remédios de Noronha [5522]. Delfino Noronha [3002] was the youngest son of his second marriage.
One was the Victoria Dispensary, a pharmacy, a business then known as a ‘druggist’. Its proprietors were Thomas Hunter in Macau and George K. Barton, who ran the Hong Kong branch on Pottinger Street. The Almanack named Barton’s three assistants: João Braga, Miguel de Rozario and Jozé Leão. João Vicente’s eldest son, João Joaquim, was then aged 17. It is possible that the family knew Hunter in Macau, and that Hunter agreed to take the promising youth into the business in Hong Kong. There were two other European druggists, as well as 18 listed Chinese medicinal druggists, besides five wholesale opium dealers and eleven opium retailers listed among the numerous Chinese traders. Of the 312 listed ‘foreigners’ (i.e. non-Chinese) in Hong Kong, 41 were Portuguese.

The other druggists were the short-lived English partnership of James Welch and Charles Stocker and the more substantial Hongkong Dispensary. This was run by James H. Young, M.D., who also had two Portuguese assistants. Much later, J.P. Braga observed that ‘for a number of years at the beginning, [the Portuguese] maintained nearly all the pharmacies of Hongkong’. Two years later, the 1848 Almanack listed by occupation 455 foreigners in Hong Kong, of whom 68 were Portuguese. Most were clerks, and the second largest group were compositors, followed by ‘mercantile assistants’. By then there was a fourth druggist, Alexander Taylor, running the Medical Hall. Perhaps competition obliged the Victoria Dispensary to trim its staff. There was only one assistant, his name now being given

\[401\] Hongkong Almanack, 1846, pp. [8-15].
\[402\] Ibid., p. [14]. J. Forjaz, Familias Macaenses, following J.P. Braga, indicated that its proprietor was João Vicente Braga. This is inaccurate.
\[403\] J.P. Braga, The Portuguese in Hongkong and China, p. 149.
in full as ‘Sr João Joaquim Roza Braga’. By the following year, 1849, the business had moved to the more central location of Queen’s Road, and J.J. Rosa Braga, then aged 21, was manager.404

He was obviously an able and trustworthy young man. The Medical Hall was by then being managed by José L. Pereira, his cousin.405 During the next few years, his name was to be found in the press and various official records as João Joaquim Rosa Braga. He began to do well for himself. His connection with Victoria Dispensary came to an end when on 24 August 1857 he re-opened the Medical Hall Dispensary, described by the Hongkong Daily Press as an ‘apothecary shop’ in Queen’s Road.406

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404 *Hongkong Almanack, 1849*. J.P. Braga mistakenly took this entry to mean that he was the ‘Managing Proprietor’. The Portuguese in Hongkong and China, p. 141.
405 *Hongkong Almanack, 1849*. J.M. Braga inaccurately stated that José L. Pereira set up the Medical Hall. (J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/7.2/88 – Rosa). ‘José L. Pereira’ appears to be the name by which Manuel Luis Rosa Pereira (#1344) was known, to give him his full name. He was the son of Maria Joaquina Rosa Pereira (née Rosa Braga), sister of João Vicente Rosa Braga, father of João Joaquim Rosa Braga. The two young men working in competing pharmacies were therefore cousins.
406 Hong Kong Public Record Office, Carl Smith Index. Hereafter CS. CS/1021/00200755, from Hongkong Daily Press, 24 August 1857. Other mentions were on 3 November 1858 and 17 November 1859.
Two of his younger brothers, Carlos and Vicente, briefly joined the business, but soon left to start an enterprise of their own. In 1859, there were three other employees as well: João L. Britto, Francisco da Roza and J. Jesus. By 1861, J.J. Braga’s Medical Hall (known in Cantonese, following euphoniously its proprietor’s name as ‘Pa-la-ka Yeuk fong’), was employing a staff of five. Braga had succeeded phenomenally well, reversing three generations of declining family fortunes as Macau’s economy deteriorated.

There were many adjustments to be made by Portuguese people in the British colony. One was a cultural difference in the use of family names. Put simply, it was frequently a Portuguese custom to use the surnames of both parents, with the father’s name taking precedence. The British practice was to use the patronym only, unless the wife was a wealthy heiress, in which case the two surnames were hyphenated. In early colonial Hong Kong there was no understanding of the Portuguese practice. An example is to be found in the reporting of the actions of the Governor of Macau during the first opium war, Adrião Acácio da Silveira Pinto. To Portuguese writers and the editor of the Chinese Repository, he was, correctly, Silveira Pinto. To the first historian of Hong Kong to write in English, he was, incorrectly, Pinto. Over time, many Portuguese families in Hong Kong were obliged to accommodate themselves to the majority culture. Thus ‘Rosa Braga’ gradually became ‘Braga’, and by the 1860s, that was the name by which this branch of the family was always known.

407 The Hongkong Directory, 1859, shows them on p. 24 as associated with the Medical Hall, but the same issue shows them on p. 42 running their own soda water business.
408 João L. Britto, Francisco da Roza and J. Jesus had been joined by two more ‘apothecaries’: A. Botelho and F. d’Azevedo. China Directory, 1861.
410 E.J. Eitel, Europe in China, p. 102.
411 An enduring myth is that the change came from the contretemps in the 1750s between Simão Vicente Rosa and the Bishop of Macau over the legacy of Manuel Vicente Rosa. The bishop is said to have cursed the whole Rosa family ‘with bell, book and candle’. To escape the curse, the Rosas changed their name to Braga. The myth was orally transmitted. Some myths have a small element of fact embedded in them; this one does not. Not only did the name change occur a century later, but the name Braga did not appear in Macau until after the marriage of Simão de Araújo Rosa to Ana Joaquina Braga in 1792. Moreover, most of the Rosa Bragas eventually reverted to the name Rosa or Roza. The myth was probably concocted when a child asked why the name Rosa had been dropped. It was, no doubt, embarrassing to admit that the dominant British culture had again prevailed over Portuguese tradition as it had so often done. Like all such tales, it asserts that the family took the initiative in the situation, which was not the case. They had simply bowed to the inevitable. The name ‘Rosa’ that had once been famous in Macau meant nothing in Hong Kong. The myth was seldom committed to paper, but was recounted by James Braga, in an outline of family history to a distant cousin, Ann Blake, in Singapore. James Braga to Ann Blake, February 1986. He sent a copy to this writer.
João Joaquim was married in 1856 using the name Braga. Unlike most of his forebears, he did not marry young. His single-minded application to building a new life for himself precluded domesticity. Many young men went to Hong Kong alone, returning to Macau to find a wife. This man who had assimilated so well into the British colony went back to Macau, like others, to find a wife. He married Vicênçia de Paulo Calado on 10 June 1856. They had one son, João Francisco, born on 21 September 1858 and baptised at the Hong Kong Catholic Cathedral on 3 October.

Coming from a well-connected family, Vicênçia Braga brought a dowry that helped her husband to set up in business a year later. His nephew would later relate that ‘his business throve and he put his savings into property, choosing for his investments land and houses in Lyndhurst Terrace, Gage Street, and Arbuthnot Road’. It was a wise selection, for these were just above the densely settled streets of the Portuguese community, and would soon become an extension of that residential area. Various records indicate land purchases in Macau and Hong Kong from a small beginning in Macau in 1856 to larger purchases in Hong Kong between 1854 and 1863.

He also made a substantial contribution to the rebuilding of the Catholic Cathedral in Hong Kong following its destruction by fire in 1859. In 1865, following the completion of the new building, he presented the cathedral with a splendid baroque altar of Italian marble. It has a Pieta in the upper shrine and an image of Jesus

412 As reported in the Hongkong Daily Press, and recorded by Carl Smith. CS/1021/00200755.
413 J. Forjaz, Familias Macaenses, vol. 3, p. 319. The marriage was also noted by Carl Smith. CS/1021/00200756.
415 J.P. Braga, The Portuguese in Hongkong and China, p. 191. This time the story was correct.
416 The extensive work done by Carl Smith on the affairs of J.J. Braga indicates that Smith saw him as a significant figure in the history of Hong Kong and Macau. CS/1021/00200759 – 4 October 1856, João Joaquim Braga, bought 1 Travessa Bispo $1100; CS/1021/00200760 – I.L. 185 in 1854, I.L. 145 in 1867 (‘Inland Lot’ is the term used in Hong Kong real estate for property that is not reclaimed); CS/1021/00200773 – Memorial 1700, dated 1 October 1859, Inland Lot 12A and 12B in consideration of $2,000; CS/1021/00200774 – Memorial 2009, dated 20 March 1861, Inland Lot 274 in consideration of $1,700; Memorial 2696, dated 18 February 1863, Section A, Inland Lot 105 in consideration of $5,300.
417 S.J. Ryan, The Pontifical Foreign Mission Institute in Hong Kong, 1858-1958, chapters 19 and 20; J.P. Braga, The Portuguese in Hongkong and China, p. 160, claimed that his father, V.E. Braga, had contributed to the erection of the altar, but the claim is not supported by Ryan’s history, by Law’s handbook on the Chapel (next footnote), or by the report in the Hongkong Daily Press, 3 September 1870, of the presentation of the insignia to ‘Mr John Braga …for many services rendered to [the] Catholic Mission in Hong Kong’. CS/1021/00200755.
carrying the cross in the lower shrine in a traditional Portuguese style known as the ‘Merciful Jesus Statue’. In recognition of this donation, he was awarded a knighthood in the Papal Order of St Sylvester, the sword, appropriately enough, being made in Portugal. When the cathedral was rebuilt in 1888 at Caine Road, closer to the area to which the Portuguese community had moved, the altar was moved there. Marble plaques set into the base of the building’s great granite columns record the names of major donors. Among them are J.F. Braga, son of J.J. Braga, and D. Noronha, the subject of the next chapter.

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419 *Hongkong Daily Press*, 3 September 1870, reported the presentation of the insignia to ‘Mr John Braga …for many services rendered to [the] Catholic Mission in Hong Kong’. CS/1021/00200755. The insignia are in the possession (2012) of John Patrick Braga, Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire, great-great-grandson of J.J. Braga.

420 *The Rock*, vol. 1, no. 1, October 1920, p. 32.
In the mid-1860s he returned to Macau, where he became a community leader.\textsuperscript{421} In 1871 he was appointed Treasurer of the Administrative Commission for the recently established Association to Promote the Education of the Macaenses, an important community initiative to provide much-needed educational opportunity.\textsuperscript{422} He subscribed $300 of the $11,000 raised to establish the school.\textsuperscript{423} The next year he was appointed Captain in the Macau National Battalion, an honorary appointment accorded to a man recognised as having merit and distinction.\textsuperscript{424} In 1872 he became a member of the Commission for Administration of the Misericórdia.\textsuperscript{425} Although the old system of irmãos had been modified, he was still the fourth generation of his family to have had this honour.

However, by then he had set his sights elsewhere. Another successful Macanese had already left Hong Kong for England. This was Eduardo, now Edward Pereira, certainly the most completely anglicised of all the Macanese who had come to Hong Kong in its early years. English-educated and wealthy, Pereira had become a partner of Dent & Co., one of the largest mercantile operations in the colony.\textsuperscript{426} All of his fellow partners retired to Britain; so too did Pereira, living in a mansion on Grosvenor Square, London. He was the only member of the Portuguese community to be accepted as an equal into British society in Hong Kong. He was a member of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, China Branch in 1848.\textsuperscript{427} He was one of the ninety-nine members of the Hong Kong Volunteers when the Corps was raised in 1854.\textsuperscript{428} Returning to England where they had been educated, the Pereira family at

\textsuperscript{421} He was included in the Macau census of 1864. CS/1021/00200762 – Parish Sé [Cathedral], pharmacist, aged 38, married, Hong Kong.

\textsuperscript{422} CS/1021/00200761 – Boletim Eclesiástico, 2 October 1871; M. Teixeira, Liceu nacional Infante D. Henrique jubileu de oiro 1894-1944, p. 15.


\textsuperscript{424} CS/1021/00200760 – Macau Directory, 1872; CS/1021/00200761 – Boletim Eclesiástico, 28 May 1872.

\textsuperscript{425} CS/1021/00200761 – Macau Gazeta, 18 November 1872.

\textsuperscript{426} China Directory, 1861.

\textsuperscript{427} Hongkong Almanack 1848.

\textsuperscript{428} Nine of the ninety-nine original volunteers were members of the Portuguese community. They were Luiz Barros (# 36819), Joze Felippe Borges, Ricardo Homen de Carvalho, Alexandre Joaquim Grandpré (#24770), João José Hyndman (# 25402), Richard Marcwick (#27812), Domingos Pio Marques (# 27923), Edward Pereira (# 31257) and Stefan Yvanovich (# 2710). I am grateful to J. Bosco Correa for carefully researching these names, principally from Philip Bruce, Second to None, the story of the Hong Kong Volunteers and various issues of the Hongkong Almanack. Later, in the twentieth century, the Portuguese members of the Volunteers would be segregated into a separate Portuguese Company. Marcwick appears to be a local spelling adopted in the Hong Kong Portuguese community by the descendants of Richard Markwick (#27808), an English hotelier in Macau (L. & M. Ride, An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao, p. 186), who had three natural children with a local woman, Maria Quiteria Angela Vidal (# 27809). These were brought up
once moved into genteel society. In 1862 Edward married into the titled Stonor family.\textsuperscript{429}

Even the most successful owner of a chemist’s shop could not hope to achieve such eminence. However, he could hope to set the feet of his son on the road to success in Britain. João Francisco Braga, henceforth John Francis, was fourteen when he and his parents left for England in November 1872.\textsuperscript{430} The move was carefully planned. A Certificate of British Citizenship, dated 13 March 1872 and signed by the Governor of Hong Kong, was obtained for the boy.\textsuperscript{431}

His father made his will before leaving Hong Kong. J.J. Braga left his mother, then aged 72, an annuity of $660 per annum. He wanted his son ‘to have [a] first class education such as will qualify him for any of the learned professions’.\textsuperscript{432} He died less than four years later on 29 May 1876, aged 48.\textsuperscript{433} He had done well in business, but by his mid-fourties was burnt out, perhaps through overwork. The boy who had arrived almost penniless from Macau thirty years before had made it possible for his son to enter the medical profession in England. His Hong Kong properties continued to provide for his widowed mother.

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within the Macanese community, later moving to Hong Kong. The Richard Marcwick identified as one of the ‘Ninety-nine’ appears to be his grandson. Borges and Carvalho are not included in the Macanese Families database.


\textsuperscript{430} CS/1021/0020761 – Macau Gazeta, 18 November 1872.

\textsuperscript{431} The certificate is in the possession (2012) of John Patrick Braga, and is identified in the owner’s records as JFB1.

\textsuperscript{432} CS/1021/0020761-2.

\textsuperscript{433} Probate File No. 1019 of 1876. Hong Kong Public Record Office HKRS No. 144/4/329. CS/1021/0020761 – Hong Kong Probate Cal. 1876, July 12, João Joaquim Braga, died London, 29 May 1876. Probate was granted to his executors, João Joaquim dos Remedios and Januário António de Carvalho [his brother-in-law], the estate being valued at $38,000, then a substantial sum. The two executors were among the most prominent members of the Portuguese community of Hong Kong, as had been the testator. His English estate was quite minor, being declared at less than £1,500 (England & Wales, National Probate Calendar, Index of Wills and Administrations, 1861-1941).
John Francis Braga did indeed follow the career his father intended. He qualified as a medical practitioner in 1881, adding in the next ten years two diplomas in Public Health to his initial Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries. In addition he joined several medical societies and gained fellowships in other learned societies: the Linnaean Society, the Geological Society, the Chemistry Society and the Royal Geographical Society. When the new cathedral was built in Hong Kong in 1888, he became one of the major donors to the building fund.

He died aged 46 of tuberculosis in London on 7 January 1905, leaving a widow, Sophia, and four children in comfortable circumstances in the south London suburb of Penge. The local view in Hong Kong was, inevitably, tinged with a little envy.

An agent was appointed to look after their Hongkong properties while they were able to live comfortably in England on the income from their fortunate investments.

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434 John Patrick Braga, commented: ‘The picture is arguably that of a young man of independent means acquiring diplomas in what might be described as a dilettante fashion in London, Dublin and Edinburgh, rather than that of the normal dedicated and impoverished medical student ... It is very likely that he worked hard to appear truly English – to ‘fit in’ to the class-conscious and race-conscious Victorian society in which he found himself. To our eyes now, society at that time was snobbish and racist. An ‘English Gentleman’, i.e. someone of English extraction with a private income and preferably an English Public School education was seen as the pinnacle of society. Dr John, if he was at all ambitious, would have sought to emulate this model.’ John Patrick Braga, email to this writer, 19 April 2009, citing the 1902 Medical Directory.

435 His name is incised on one of several marble plaques set into the granite bases of the columns separating the nave and the aisles. These men were thus memorialised as pillars of the church.

436 As far as Hong Kong was concerned, the end of the story came some time later. The families had not kept in touch, and the name of João Joaquim Braga had not been correctly remembered. J.P. Braga incorrectly remembered him as João José Braga. He added: ‘On the death of their parents, the grandchildren of Mr. and Mrs. João José [i.e. Joaquim] Braga paid a visit to the land of their forefathers. In Hongkong, they discussed with their agents the matter of their property ... In due
Part 3 – Vicente Emílio Braga 1834 - 1911

While João Joaquim, the eldest of the five brothers, had gone out on his own, three of the younger sons of João Vicente Braga attempted a joint enterprise when they reached adulthood, after a brief time in the late 1850s working with their elder brother. If the British community needed druggists, it also needed soda water suppliers. This was a community much given to whisky and soda. In 1861, there were four suppliers, three of them Portuguese businesses. One was a short-lived partnership of Carlos José and Vicente Emílio Braga at 404 Queen’s Road, with F. Braga as assistant. This was probably their brother [José] Francisco, who appears in no other record in Hong Kong, but who may be the F. Braga employed as a clerk by Smith, Archer & Co., Shanghai, in 1870.

It is hard to imagine a business selling soda water in a nineteenth century British colony not succeeding, but it seems that this enterprise failed. Only C.J. Braga was still there in 1862. Their other brother, José Francisco, went to Shanghai in the 1850s as a clerk with the P. & O. Steam Navigation Co., later moving to Manila.

course the properties in Arbuthnot Road, Lyndhurst Terrace and Gage Street were sold at the height of a land boom, bringing in a pretty figure. The same plots of land, which the far-sighted old gentleman had acquired from Government for a mere pittance, and on which he had built, had soared fantastically in value within the span of only two generations!’ (J.P. Braga. The Portuguese in Hongkong and China, p. 191).

Information received from John Patrick Braga in June 2010 was that the proceeds were invested largely in Chinese railways, then considered a very good proposition, with the Kowloon-Canton Railway soon to open, and with a large railway network planned or under construction throughout China. However, the political turmoil of the next forty years wiped out the investment. His English estate was valued at £2,213. His Hong Kong estate was far larger. The Probate (No. 16 of 1916) could not be located, but the Hong Kong Probate Duty, noted on a copy of his English Will filed in Hong Kong, amounted to $25,500. Hong Kong Public Record Office HKRS No. 144/4/2865.

438 The Crime Return for 1869, a few years later, revealed 620 cases of drunkenness, an increase of 27.2%, or 169 cases over the previous year. The offence was, added the Superintendent of Police, ‘almost entirely confined to foreigners’. R.L. Jarman, Hong Kong Annual Administration Reports, 1841-1941, vol. 1, p. 345.
439 China Directory, 1861.
441 China Directory, 1862.
This venture did not succeed. The brothers apparently sold only a single, low value product. Moreover, there was too much competition.

From the China Directory, 1861.

V.E. Braga appears to have given up the attempt to run the soda water partnership, and by 1864 his name was on the Jury List as a clerk. A small soda water business could not support a family, for he had married and needed a regular income. His marriage on 13 May 1862 was another link between the Braga and Noronha families: Carolina Maria Noronha was the eldest daughter of Delfino Noronha, the government printer, and a leading member of the Portuguese community. It was more a matter of Vicente Braga marrying into the Noronha family than Carolina Noronha marrying into the Braga family, for Vicente moved into the Noronha family compound at Oswald’s Terrace.

There were eight children of the marriage, all born in Hong Kong. All the sons carried the matronym ‘de Noronha’, and Delfino Noronha or his wife were godparents as well as grandparents to all the children. The Noronha ménage was a patriarchy as much as a household. The children were:

Francisco Xavier de Noronha, 24 January 1863

Maria Teresa, 19 December 1863

João Vicente de Noronha, 26 April 1867

Umbelina Maria (‘Bellie’), 12 March 1868
During the 1860s, Vicente did his best to establish himself in Hong Kong. His elder brother João Joaquim was highly successful in business in these years, but in 1868 Vicente had a promising career snatched from him. At the end of the decade another golden opportunity was offered to him, but in accepting it he paid a heavy price.

After the failure of the soda water business, he appears to have been employed in a bank, possibly the Oriental Bank, the oldest and largest in the colony, though others had been established within the previous decade, notably the Hongkong and
Shanghai Banking Corporation in 1864. His first real break came in 1866, when his brother-in-law, Januário Carvalho, 1st clerk of the Treasury, recommended his appointment as 1st clerk of the newly established Hong Kong branch of the Royal Mint. It appears that a local appointment was made to this senior position to save costs, as it was by no means certain that the opening of a Mint in Hong Kong would be successful. The Mint was indeed unsuccessful from the beginning, more through trading circumstances than any shortcomings with its operations or the quality of its coinage, though both were inevitably criticised.

The Mint and its garden, artist unknown, ca. 1866. Looking East towards Causeway Bay and North Point.

*Hong Kong Museum of Art, AH 88.13 reproduced in Historic Pictures, p. 42.*

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450 CS/1021/00200934. ‘Auth. 43 – Mint – 13 April 1866 – Recommend Mr Braga, chief clerk, $120.00, recommended by his relative Mr Carvalho of Treasury. Will not require them until opening of Mint’. The appointment was included in the Blue Book for 1866. CS/1021/00200933.
The Mint opened on 7 April 1866, ceased operations in the summer of 1867 and finally closed in April 1868.\footnote{452}{G. B. Endacott, \textit{History of Hong Kong}, p. 147.} The attempt to impose a European system of coinage was both a commercial failure and a disastrous administrative error. Chinese merchants preferred to weigh silver rather than to trust coinage, too often found to be debased, and this antipathy could not suddenly be changed.\footnote{453}{Yet twenty-five years later there had been a complete reversal. In 1867, when the Hong Kong Mint closed, the circulation of silver coins amounted to $10,000 in value. There was a slow increase until 1881, when the value was $46,600. In 1888, it rocketed to $910,000, though these coins were minted in London, not Hong Kong. As the governor, Sir William des Voeux, explained to Lord Knutsford on 31 October 1889, ‘this coinage is growing more and more in favour among the vast population of the neighbouring [Chinese] Empire, probably owing to confidence in its exactly uniform standard of value, and that the coins are not only used as money, but are to a considerable extent converted into buttons and other ornaments.’ R.L. Jarman, \textit{Hong Kong Annual Administration Reports, 1841-1941}, vol. 2, p. 42.} However, there was no condemnation of the Mint’s staff. On the contrary, Vicente quickly won the esteem of Major William Kinder, the Master of the Mint. Known to be an exacting employer, Kinder was a hard man to please; some of his Japanese employees a few years later were truly afraid of ‘\textit{Kaminari san},’ ‘Mr Thunder,’ as he was called.\footnote{454}{R.S. Hanashiro, \textit{Thomas William Kinder and the Japanese Imperial Mint, 1868-1875}, pp. 124-125.}

With the Mint under threat, Vicente found employment as a temporary clerk in the Colonial Secretary’s Office as early as 1867.\footnote{455}{CS/1021/00200933.} He gained rapid promotion, and the next year became 5\textsuperscript{th} clerk.\footnote{456}{Hong Kong Blue Book, 1868, CS/1021/00200933; Auth. 46, Mint, 14 June 1867, CS/1021/00200934.} While a secure position, it did not compare with the responsibility he had enjoyed at the Mint. The Mint seemed to have offered a splendid opportunity, and its closure must have been a cruel blow to Vicente. He already had four children, and another three were born in the next two years including the birth in June 1870 of twin sons, one of whom died in infancy. With a large family, he needed a fresh opportunity and a secure income. Moreover, the economic outlook in Hong Kong at the time was bleak; besides the closure of the Mint, six of the eleven banks in Hong Kong failed in 1867.\footnote{457}{G. B. Endacott, \textit{History of Hong Kong}, pp. 146, 159.} As has happened so often, Hong Kong’s future seemed doubtful. Then in August 1870, out of the blue, came the offer of a senior and responsible position in Japan.\footnote{458}{R.S. Hanashiro, op. cit., p. 126.} The Japanese government, keen to establish a new currency, purchased the machinery of the Hong Kong Mint and employed its Master to set up the Imperial Mint at Osaka. Kinder,
now Director of the Japanese Imperial Mint, was keen to take with him experienced and capable staff from Hong Kong, and recommended his former clerk for appointment to the position of Chief Accountant.

Map 16 – South-East Asia

A steady trickle of Portuguese left Macau and Hong Kong for better employment opportunities in Japan and the Treaty Ports along the China coast and the Yangtze River.

From António M. Jorge da Silva, The Portuguese Community in Hong Kong

Unlike the Hong Kong Mint, this venture could not be allowed to fail. For more than two centuries until the 1850s, foreign trade had been all but prohibited by the Japanese government, though sufficient contact was kept with the Dutch for the government to be aware of the vast growth of Western power and influence in the first half of the nineteenth century. Matters came to a head in 1868, when a small group of samurai seized power in the name of the young Meiji Emperor, who had recently ascended the throne. They began a thorough-going overhaul of the Japanese political and economic system. One of the leaders of the new Japan was Ito Hirobumi, who as a young man of 26 was sent abroad in 1870 to study Western
currency systems. Returning to Japan in 1871, he established a new taxation system and was the prime mover in currency reform.\footnote{Ito realised that a firmly-founded monetary system is one of the necessary conditions for the development of industry and the progress of trade. At the time of the Meiji Restoration the monetary system of Japan was in a hopelessly confused state, there being then in currency over sixty kinds of gold, silver, copper, and iron coins of heterogeneous forms, sizes, and qualities. Besides these there were as many as 1,600 kinds of coins current only within the dominions of various daimyo clans. This unsatisfactory situation was made still worse by the fact that the Imperial Government coined pieces of inferior quality to meet its pressing need for money during the War of the Restoration when troops had to be paid to fight daimyo who resisted the new order.}

In 1871 a new currency adopting the gold standard system was promulgated, in line with international practice. The new Mint was an essential first step in ensuring its success. Ito was fortunate that both plant and personnel were available in the Far East. To keep the accounts of the Mint, Kinder recommended the appointment of two men who had worked under him in Hong Kong. They were Vicente Braga as Chief Accountant and his brother Carlos as assistant accountant.\footnote{Notes by K. Nishikawa, evidently from the records of the Imperial Mint, sent to J.M. Braga, October 1959. J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/4.4/22. V.E. Braga was employed by the Mint from 15 June 1871 to 13 March 1875, and C.J. Braga from 18 July 1872 to 11 January 1875.} The Mint was an enormous project for the new Japanese government. It went much further than the regulation of the Japanese currency, and was one of the key institutions of the government’s effort to modernise Japan. Braga, who remained at the Mint until 1875, was one of three Westerners who filled crucial roles in the early development of double-entry book-keeping in Japan.\footnote{The others were a young Englishman, Alexander Allan Shand (1844-1930), who was in Japan from to 1867 to 1877, and an American, William Gogswell Whitney (1825-1882), in Japan from 1870 to 1875. K. Nishikawa, \textit{The Early History of Double-entry Book-keeping in Japan}, p. 380.}

Braga hesitated for some time before accepting the position offered to him in Japan. He initially accepted Kinder’s offer on 5 September 1870, but then withdrew. He had six small children, and leaving them in Hong Kong was initially too much to contemplate. It is not known whether he intended moving them to Japan, but taking his large family to a strange country without modern medical care was too great a challenge, to say nothing of the expense. However, in October 1870 he changed his mind and wrote two letters to Kinder, already in Osaka, seeking to withdraw his refusal. Kinder sent the letters on to the Minister of Finance, strongly recommending Braga’s appointment.
Well knowing the intricate and difficult accounts you will have in your department of the Mint I cannot too strongly advise you to accept his services as I am certain his special knowledge gained partly in Banks and partly under myself in the Royal Mint, Hong Kong, will be of great advantage to you. 462

Mr and Mrs Kinder and three of the foreign staff. Vicente Braga is behind Mrs Kinder’s left shoulder. The body language of the young man on the right leaves no doubt about her role in the group of foreign staff.

From R.S. Hanashiro, Thomas William Kinder and the Japanese Imperial Mint, 1868-1875

Braga was not yet in Japan by 25 November,463 and appears to have left Hong Kong for Osaka at the beginning of December 1870, when he resigned from his position in the Colonial Treasury.464 He was in Yokohama by 19 December, when he signed a contract with the Oriental Bank, later renegotiated with the Japanese government on 1 August 1871.465 He was paid a good salary of $200 per month; the Prime Minister received 800 yen, the yen being then in parity with the dollar.466 He was also provided with a ‘suitable Japanese home furnished in the vicinity of the Mint’, plus a passage for himself and his family. He was entitled, as were expatriates generally in the Far East, to a year’s salary after three years’ service.467 Moreover he was accorded recognition that he could never have gained in Hong Kong, nor could any other Portuguese have done so for the greater part of another century. He was regarded, as a foreign employee of the Mint, as equal to the British senior staff.

462 K. Nishikawa, Nihon boki shidan, p. 82.
463 R.S. Hanashiro, op. cit., p. 126.
464 CS/1021/00200934, Auth. 1 December 1870. Appointment of Kraal, 5th clerk, Col. Secretary Office, vice Braga, resigned.
466 R.S. Hanashiro, op. cit., p. 115.
467 Ibid., pp. 213-214.
Indeed Kinder was instructed that all his foreign staff had to be British subjects.\textsuperscript{468} The Braga brothers were two of only a few exceptions.

Vicente’s family never joined him, and he may never have returned to Hong Kong. Whether he deliberately left them for good, or whether his wife refused to leave Hong Kong for the uncertainties of Japan can never be known. He left his wife newly pregnant with another child; José Pedro Braga, their eighth and last, was born on 3 August 1871. There can be no doubt that she was deserted, and felt deserted, with seven small children to be cared for, not by their father, but by her father.

In Japan, Vicente Braga did not disappoint his employer. He proved to be a valuable employee who performed his duties with diligence and competence.\textsuperscript{469} He kept all the books of the Mint in English; these were then translated into Japanese, thus making complete sets of books in each language. There were two contrasting views of his influence. One was that his behaviour was manipulative, and that he created an unpleasant atmosphere in the Accountant’s Department, with the result that his three year contract, which ran until August 1874, was not renewed, but continued on a short-term basis. He eventually left the Mint on 13 March 1875.\textsuperscript{470} The other view, not irreconcilable with the first, was that his personal influence was so great that his style of penmanship was practised in the Mint long after he had gone.\textsuperscript{471}

\begin{quote}
\textit{Japanese Imperial Mint, Osaka, 1899.}
\textit{National Diet Library, Tokyo}

Source [Tabi no Iezuto No.23]
旅の家つと 23 号
Call Number (請求記号)YDM22666
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{468} Ibid., p. 129.
\textsuperscript{469} Ibid., p. 129.
\textsuperscript{470} Ibid., pp. 148-149, 213. Most other foreign experts had also gone by that time.
\textsuperscript{471} K. Nishikawa, op. cit., p. 381; Notes by K. Nishikawa, evidently from the records of the Imperial Mint, sent to J.M. Braga, October 1959. J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/4.4/22.
His influence ran well beyond that. His assistant, Mishima Tametsugu, became well versed in double-entry book-keeping, which attracted the attention of officials of the Ministry of Finance in Tokyo. Some were sent to study at the Mint, and were placed under the supervision of Mishima. Other ministries followed, and many students were placed under Mishima’s direction. Within a few years, western book-keeping methods became general throughout Japan, and Vicente Braga, Mishima’s mentor, was acknowledged as the father of modern book-keeping in Japan.\(^{473}\)

Although he remained at the Mint for fewer than four years, he left with a glowing testimonial.\(^{474}\) He had trained his successors well. A group of them knew of the English practice then in vogue of recognising achievement with a formal, sententious address. This they adopted for a man who was obviously held in esteem. Some months later they wrote:

Osaka 26\(^{th}\) January 1876
Dear Sir,

At the present time you are most distinguished for imparting and for so kindly giving your instruction that we have learned that useful art of book-keeping which you have established for us ... Although we are far away off we hope our friendship will continue for ever ... and we shall never forget your services as the introducer of the useful art of book keeping into our country.\(^{475}\)

[Nine signatures follow]


\(^{475}\) Ibid.
The Imperial Mint had an immediate and profound effect on the Japanese system of currency.\textsuperscript{476} A British visitor to Japan in 1877, Anna Brassey, left an impression of the Mint’s successful impact, emphasising the powerful Western influence in the way it operated.\textsuperscript{477}

Vicente Braga’s role as both accountant and instructor was by 1875 well known in Tokyo. This led to his appointment on 19 December 1875 as Instructor of Book Keeping in the Okurasho, the Finance Ministry at the excellent salary of 400 yen per month, plus a ‘suitable residence in Tokio’.\textsuperscript{478} It was a most significant appointment.

\textsuperscript{476} A special silver coin, similar in quality and weight to the Mexican dollar then in general use in Asian countries, was coined as the medium for trading, and was circulated, under the name of the ‘trade silver yen’ as legal tender within the limits of the ports already opened to foreign trade. Over time, it proved impossible for the Japanese government to maintain the gold standard adopted in 1871, and from 1878, the silver yen was circulated freely throughout the country. T. Masuda, \textit{Japan: its commercial development and prospects}, p. 46.

\textsuperscript{477} The Imperial Mint of Japan is a large handsome building, in great force just now, for the whole of the old money is being called in and replaced by the government. The contrast between the two moneys is very great. The ancient coinage consisted of long thin oval obangs and shobangs, worth from two dollars to eighteen pounds each, square silver itzeboos, and square copper pieces, with a hole in the centre; while that which is taking its place is similar to European coinage, and is marked in English characters, and ornamented with Japanese devices, such as the phoenix and the dragon. It did not seem worth while to go minutely over the Mint, as it is arranged on exactly the same principle as the one in London, and the processes are carried out in the same manner. A. Brassey, \textit{A Voyage in the ‘Sunbeam’}, p. 348.

\textsuperscript{478} A copy of the Official Translation of the letter of appointment is in the Braga file at the Hong Kong Heritage Project.
Among the Ministries of Finance in the world’s developed states, that of Japan, the Okurasho, is like no other. The Okurasho was the hub of real bureaucratic power in Japan’s economy, and an intellectual and political force as well as an economic one. For this ancient and prestigious Japanese institution to appoint a foreign instructor was remarkable, even astonishing. It is a reflection both on the desire for radical reform on the part of the Meiji government, and on the calibre of the consultant chosen. Braga drafted an accounting and book-keeping system for the Japanese Government, and gave courses in accounting which were attended by several pupils who later became teachers and writers on book-keeping.

It appears that during this time he became personally known to Marquis Ito, who later referred to him as ‘my old friend, Mr Braga’. His appointment to the Ministry of Finance continued until 31 July 1878, after which he joined a British firm. This was probably Cornes & Co., a leading commercial house. His commercial ability and government contacts would have been invaluable in this firm’s varied trading activities. Between 1887 and 1895 he was the first Portuguese Vice-Consul in Kobe. This was usually an honorary appointment, given to a leading national resident in the city.

Vicente Braga seems to have left Hong Kong with hardly a backward look. Did he ever think of the family he left in Hong Kong? We shall never know, but his eldest son, Francisco Xavier, followed his father to Japan in 1880, married and settled there, working with Cornes & Co. at Kobe. In July 1911 he went to Shanghai to

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479 Its roots run deep into Japanese history. In the seventh century the ruling imperial court was said to be made up of three parts: the focal (inner) shrine of the kami (gods), the outer shrine of the tenno (emperor) and the okura, or treasure-store. From the okura, the Ministry of Finance derives its name, ‘great storehouse ministry’. P. Hartcher, The Ministry: The Inside Story of Japan’s Ministry of Finance, reviewed by Raymond Lamont-Brown, Contemporary Review’, August 1998.


establish a branch of the business, but the next year contracted cholera and died aged 48 on 17 September 1912.486

Vicente’s younger daughter Umbelina (‘Bellie’) married António Hugo dos Remédios in Hong Kong in 1890. She moved to Shanghai where she brought up a family of ten children.487 It is clear that there was no breach in this relationship, for in 1891 Vicente was godfather to her eldest daughter Maria.488 About 1897, he left Japan to join her in Shanghai.489 He died there on 22 March 1911.490 His death passed unnoticed and unrecorded by the family in Hong Kong whom he had last seen forty years earlier, though a brief obituary appeared in the Hongkong Daily Press.491 His youngest son, José Pedro, had nine sons, several of whom were named after their father’s forebears and siblings. These included both his grandfathers, three brothers who died young and his brother-in-law Hugo Remédios. None was named after his own father. His last two children were daughters, born in 1911 and 1914. Both were named in memory of their grandmother, who had died on 11 January 1906. The first was Carolina Maria, the second, Maria. His father and his elder brother Francisco who had joined Vicente Braga in Japan were firmly excluded from those held in honoured memory.

Yet Vicente Braga had created a career that was highly distinguished. He had the strong advantage of being present at the beginning of what became a great commercial revolution in Japan, and there establishing modern accounting practices ab initio. The success he achieved and the esteem in which he was held would not have come but for the competence he plainly possessed, recognised by the

486 CS/1021/00200719. Hongkong Telegraph, 23 September 1912.
489 Japan Times, 24 May 1961. A newspaper cutting kept by his grandson, Paul Braga. The Will of Delfino Noronha, drawn up in 1897, indicated that V.E. Braga was then in Shanghai. Hong Kong Public Record Office, Probate File No. 1019 of 1876. Hong Kong Public Record Office HKRS No. 144/4/1011.
490 Hongkong Daily Press, 23 March 1911. Carl Smith, CS/1021/00200931. It appears that his body was returned to Japan for burial in Shogahara Cemetery, Kobe. His grave there is notable for its unique decoration. It bears an open ledger in recognition of his important role in the introduction of double-entry book-keeping to Japan (K. Nishikawa, Nihon boki shidan, p. 113). Much later, a drawing of the grave appeared in Ripley’s Believe it or not.
491 K. Nishikawa, op. cit., p. 117.
government, his employers and his students. Curiously, the son he never saw, José Pedro, had a career even more distinguished. The common ground between them, though J.P. Braga despised his father for his desertion, was that their careers were built entirely through their own endeavours and their conspicuous merit.

**Part 4 – Carlos José Braga, born 1841**

Carlos José Braga, the youngest of the five sons of João Vicente Braga, represents another aspect of the endeavours of this aspirational family’s attempt to break out of the strait-jacket of the ‘Portuguese clerk class’ in Hong Kong. Two of his brothers succeeded in doing so; Carlos did not. He tried to emulate the success of his brothers by emigrating. The fragmentary details known of his career serve chiefly to indicate how hard it was for an ambitious man to succeed if he did not have early breaks. His efforts did not lead to the long-term success towards which he obviously worked hard, and to which two of his elder brothers had attained. His attempts at a successful business career met with three failures before he reached the age of 34, and he is likely to have become, as so many of his compatriots did, an obscure clerk, his name unnoticed in any published records.492

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492 He married in his teens, and had a son, born in Macau in 1859, the year in which he briefly worked in his brother João’s pharmacy (CS/1021/00200661. Baptisms Sé – José Calisto Braga leg. son of Carlos José Braga and wife Filomena Maria Braga, b. 14 October 1859. Bapt. 21 October 1859). The soda water business mentioned earlier was set up jointly with Vicente when he was twenty, practically the age at which João Joaquim had become the successful manager of the Victoria Dispensary. Following the failure of their venture, he and Vicente joined in real estate speculation that seems to have ended badly as economic times worsened during the straitened 1860s (CS/1021/00200659-70. Memorial 2326, dated 27 March 1862, Inland Lot 699, Section A in consideration of $5,000, Carlos José Braga and Vicente Emigdio [sic] Braga, Victoria, trader, to Chun Ah Sing, trader. Registered: 28 March 1862. Memorial 2330, dated 27 March 1862, Section B, Inland Lot 679 in consideration of $2,000, Carlos José Braga and Vicente Emigdio Braga, trader to Joaquim Caldeiro, trader. Registered 29 March 1862. Memorial 2685, dated 1 August 1863, Inland Lot 679 – remaining part in consideration of $5, Carlos José Braga and Vicente Emigdio Braga to Joaquim Caldeiro. Registered: 4 August 1863). He again tried his hand as a chemist and joined the staff of the French Dispensary, which had been set up at 118 Queen’s Road in 1853. In 1866 he bought into the partnership, and it became C. Braga & Co., but it seems that it did not prosper. In September 1869, it was taken over by J.J. Britto, a former long-standing employee of J.J. Braga’s Medical Hall, who then ran the business in his own name (CS/1021/00200657. The following information seems to have come from the Hongkong Daily Press. 1866, 19 June – Mr Carlos José Braga admitted partner in French Dispensary – in future Figuereido, Braga and Co. (108 Queen’s Road, Central). 1866, 25 August –
João Vicente Rosa Braga and his family had set off for Hong Kong about 1844 with high hopes for a bright future in the British colony. It is remarkable that at the end of the nineteenth century, as the year 1900 drew to a close, not one living member of his family in the male line remained in Hong Kong. All five of his sons appear to have left Hong Kong permanently, for Britain, Japan, Shanghai and the Philippines. In the following generation, his youngest grandson, J.P. Braga, also planned to leave Hong Kong for what he hoped would be a brilliant career in Britain. However, in 1900 he left Hong Kong, not for Britain, but to go into exile in Macau, apparently a ruined man. As it turned out, he returned to Hong Kong two years later, then to build in the next forty years a public career of far greater distinction that his grandfather could ever have imagined. It was a splendid vindication of João Vicente Braga’s courageous leap in the dark.

C.J. Braga has taken over French Dispensary, Mr Figuereido’s interest ceased 21st [instant] – i.e. 21 August. 1869, 17 September. Int[erest] of Carlos José Braga ceased 15 September – and João Luciano Britto admitted partner, C. Braga & Co., French Dispensary – in future firm conducted in name of J.L. Britto. 1869, September 29 -. Int[erest] of Carlos José Braga in French Dispensary ceased 15th, and João L. Britto adm[itted] partner, business in future under style J.L. Britto, 17 September 1869). Carlos may have felt that his brother João Joaquim had let him down. Carlos followed his brother Vicente to Japan not long after the Imperial Japanese Mint commenced operations, and was employed there as Assistant Accountant. (R.S. Hanashiro, op. cit \( R.S. \) Hanashiro, op. cit, p. 113.). His background does not suggest any experience in this occupation, so he must have been under his brother’s close supervision. Vicente was in charge of the valuable Bullion Office, while Carlos did the accounts for the far less important Copper Department (K. Mochizuki, Japan To-day. A Souvenir of the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition held in London, 1910, p. 219). The foreigners employed at the Mint were regarded as very status conscious, and this was particularly true of Carlos Braga (R.S. Hanashiro, op. cit., p. 148). In Japan’s very hierarchical society it was decided to assign ranks for all the foreign staff, akin to the Japanese civil service ranks. Vicente, the Chief Accountant, was placed in the sixth rank; Carlos, his subordinate, was in the eighth rank. This he flatly refused to accept, as did several other junior foreign staff, though the government did not budge from its determinations (R.S. Hanashiro, op. cit., pp. 113-115). They felt that their social status as gentlemen had not been appropriately recognised. Naturally, this stand did nothing to endear them to their employers. As soon as the Japanese authorities felt that they could dispense with foreign staff, they did so. Whereas Vicente went on to become a senior adviser to the Japanese government, the services of Carlos were dispensed with early in 1875 after less than three years (Notes by K. Nishikawa, evidently from the records of the Imperial Mint, sent to J.M. Braga, October 1959. J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/4.4/22. Carlos José Braga was employed by the Mint from 18 July 1872 to 11 January 1875). Thereafter, he dropped out of sight. Whether he returned to Hong Kong is not known.
Table 3
Leading members of
the Rosa Braga family in Hong Kong
1840s to 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
<th>Date of Death</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>João Vicente Rosa Braga</td>
<td>25 October 1803</td>
<td>21 October 1853</td>
<td>Macau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priscila da Trindade Noronha</td>
<td>08 June 1800</td>
<td>18 March 1883</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicente Emílio Rosa Braga</td>
<td>12 February 1834</td>
<td>21 March 1911</td>
<td>Shanghai, China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolina Maria Noronha</td>
<td>02 December 1843</td>
<td>11 January 1906</td>
<td>Macau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

José Pedro Braga
b: 03 August 1871 Hong Kong
d: 12 February 1944 Macau
Chapter 6

Delfino Noronha and the Portuguese community, 1844-1900

Portuguese emigration from Macau to Hong Kong in the nineteenth century took place in several waves. The first was in the early years of the British colony as British merchants moved from the uncertain Portuguese presence in Macau to the far more stable British jurisdiction some 60 km away. It was backed, not only by a treaty wrung by force from the reluctant Chinese government, but reinforced solidly by the presence of the Royal Navy and a substantial garrison. Naturally, British merchants took their staff with them. This included young Portuguese men from Macau, who in recent years had been taken on in junior clerical positions and as translators.

The British brought with them to Hong Kong two characteristics: their love of order, of carefully-prepared lists, newspapers, almanacs, books and pamphlets. They brought, too, a degree of susceptibility to tropical diseases that seemed greater than that of the Portuguese in Macau. The old Protestant Cemetery in Macau bears mute witness to the high mortality rate already suffered by members of the British, American, Danish and Prussian communities between 1821 when the cemetery was opened until 1857 when it was formally closed.493 The Colonial Cemetery at Happy Valley in Hong Kong was thereafter used even more intensively as the British garrison, as well as the growing mercantile community, suffered grievously from malaria and other tropical diseases. In 1843, 24% of the garrison died. One regiment, the 55th, lost 218 of its 491 men. ‘The lives of the remainder were only saved by the prompt, judicious and humane conduct of General D’Aguilar [the commanding officer] in immediately embarking the men for England’, reported Sir John Davis, the governor of Hong Kong.494

493 L.T. Ride, A Protestant Cemetery in the Far East, p. 275. A marble tablet above the entrance to the cemetery bears the date 1814; this refers not to the opening of the cemetery, but the year in which letters-patent were granted, permitting the East India Company to acquire church property, resulting in the acquisition of the site in 1821. The tablet, therefore, affirms the right of the Protestant community to own the property. Ride, op. cit., p. 65.
494 Davis to Lord Stanley, 2 August 1844. R.L Jarman, Hong Kong Annual Administration Reports, 1841-1941, p. 5. A row of small houses built here in 1842 were soon unoccupied, their occupants soon dying of fever (W. Tarrant, op. cit., p. 45).
These two British characteristics, one industrious, the other tragic, provided opportunities for a small group of young Portuguese men whose emigration arose from their aspirations rather than from the circumstance of their employment. Among these were members of several families, notably the d’Almada, Rozario, Remedios, Noronha and Rosa Braga families. Because of their significance, each family is discussed in this study, principally members of the last two: Delfino Noronha and the sons of João Vicente Rosa Braga. This chapter is concerned principally with Noronha. Already closely related, the two families were again connected by marriage in 1862.

Delfino Noronha was born on 30 June 1824, and not yet 20 when in 1844 he set up in Hong Kong what would eventually become the colony’s leading printery. His grandson, J.P. Braga, later averred that he was possibly the first Portuguese to establish his own business in the new British colony.495

Noronhas had been eminent in the Portuguese empire in the East since the sixteenth century,496 but little is known about the Noronha family in Macau other than their genealogy. Delfino Joaquim Noronha was born on 30 June 1824, the sixth and youngest child of Manuel José dos Remédios de Noronha and his second wife, Ana Rita do Rosário. Manuel de Noronha was also the youngest child in his family. He was the seventh son of João de Noronha, thought to have been born in Macau about 1735 to Baltazar de Noronha, born about 1710.497 It is likely that the family arrived in Macau in the early eighteenth century from Goa. Thus by the 1830s, the family had been established in Macau for perhaps a century.

496 C.R. Boxer, Portuguese Seaborne Empire, pp. 72, 325-326.
Delfino was thirteen when his father died on 7 December 1837. The numerous and perhaps reasonably well-off Noronha family must have been in a position to send a boy who showed promise to the well-regarded St. Joseph’s College. Education was one of the pillars of the Portuguese occupation of Macau in its early days. The renowned St. Paul’s College had been founded in 1565 but was closed in 1762 under Marquis Pombal’s decree dissolving the Jesuit Order throughout Portuguese territories, and the premises were occupied by the military garrison. Its splendid church, built between 1620 and 1637, lay neglected and steadily deteriorating until its destruction by fire in 1835. Only its facade survived, to become an enduring symbol of Macau’s vanished glory.

In addition to St. Paul’s, St. Joseph’s College was established in 1730 by the Jesuits. It had a fine and grand set of buildings which took more than a quarter of a century to complete, finishing with a splendid rococo chapel in 1758. However, in 1762 it too was closed, when its Jesuit community was swept away along with that of St. Paul’s. St. Joseph’s remained closed until 1784, when it was re-opened by the ‘Congregation of Missions’, Lazarist Fathers from the Seminary of Chorão in Goa. The Portuguese Crown, acting under the abiding principle of the Padroado, met the expenses of repairing, provisioning, staffing and furnishing the college,

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which was now able to claim royal patronage, as ‘the Royal College of St. Joseph’. It was almost the last remnant of this fifteenth century arrangement between the papacy and the Portuguese Crown. The next twenty years saw the college at its height, training both Chinese priests and the sons of local citizens who, as Ljungstedt would term them, were of ‘the first rank in society’. In this, it took the place of St. Paul’s College, which never re-opened.

During the Napoleonic Wars, St. Joseph’s College had great difficulty in obtaining staff from Portugal; as a result, the college struggled on with difficulty. Nevertheless, in 1831, Ljungstedt wrote warmly of it:

The priests belonging to this Royal College are all Europeans, men of exemplary conduct and benevolent dispositions, and are esteemed by the public not less for their virtues as for their talents. These Professors are six in number, one of whom is the Superior. The principal aim of this institution is to provide China with evangelical teachers.

During the 1830s, a definite decline set in. A somewhat jaundiced view in 1835 was that the college ‘has seen its best days’. The subsidy from the Portuguese Crown evidently ended during three years of civil war in Portugal from 1832 to 1834, which left the nation bankrupt. By 1836, Ljungstedt had withdrawn his warm praise of the staff of St. Joseph’s, replacing it with a non-committal remark:

The priests belonging to this college are all European Portuguese, commonly six: their superior is appointed from Europe. Of this institution, the principal aim is to provide China with Evangelic teachers.

He gave a detailed description of the curriculum that young Delfino Noronha would have studied, though not as a candidate for the priesthood. He was one of thirteen

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504 A. Ljungstedt, in *Canton Miscellany*, no. 5, 1831, p. 358. The word ‘evangelical’ refers, of course, in this context, to the work of missionary priests, not to a school of churchmanship. This description was repeated in 1905 by J. Dyer Ball, *Macao the Holy City, The Gem of the Orient Earth*, pp. 22, 23, without attribution, apart from the comment, ‘So much for an old account of St. Joseph’s’. Did Dyer suppose that nothing had changed in 70 years?
506 ‘Extracts from a private journal’, *Chinese Repository*, vol. 4, no. 6, October 1835, p 293. The anonymous writer, familiar with Macau, was either British or American.
local Portuguese boys.\textsuperscript{508} Even allowing for the fact that education was then the prerogative of a tiny elite, this seems small, given a Portuguese male population of 1,202 in 1830.\textsuperscript{509} St Joseph’s had a precarious existence during the mid-nineteenth century. Seminary teaching ceased in 1836, but the college continued to function until 1845, when it closed, part of the general collapse of activity in Macau following the British occupation of Hong Kong in 1841 and the subsequent removal of British merchants there in the next few years. It eventually reopened in 1862, but was briefly closed again in 1870 when the Jesuits were expelled for the second time.\textsuperscript{510}

Although the college may have been in decline as an academic institution, its reputation suffering as a result, it nevertheless turned in these difficult years to a new form of training that proved to be of enormous importance. With dwindling opportunities available, even to the sons of the elite of Macau, the Lazarist Fathers adopted a new strategy that proved to be highly successful for the boys and of cardinal significance for the future of the Portuguese community throughout the Far East. This was to acquire a disused printing press in Macau to train their students as printers. The idea that Portuguese people would ever engage in manual work in the Far East was out of the question, but the ‘craft’ of printing was a different matter. It followed that its practitioners would strive to ensure that their work was excellent. So it proved. Printing had only recently arrived in Macau, but in the late 1820s and 1830s, a thorough grounding in the ‘craft’ of printing was given to the boys of St Joseph’s through the work of an outstanding man, Fr Joaquim Gonçalves.\textsuperscript{511}

The families of these boys were obviously as forward-looking as the priests who taught them. A small group of people who had for decades dominated the albeit

\textsuperscript{508} A. Ljungstedt, \textit{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}, p. 31. The figures are the same as those he gave in \textit{Canton Miscellany}, 1831. He also detailed the curriculum: ‘The Professors give instruction in the Portuguese and Latin grammar, arithmetic, rhetoric, philosophy, theology etc. Many children of the inhabitants participate in them, though few of them are made priests. The Chinese language is taught, and English and French occasionally. Parents, who can afford to pay for their children a small remuneration monthly, for food and cell, fix them at college, where the students learn to speak genuine Portuguese, and acquire sometimes, a taste for the improvement of their minds. Some children dine at the College and join their families at night; others attend the lectures delivered ‘gratis’ by the Professors at distinct hours. In 1815 eight young Chinese, two Malays, and sixteen boys, born at Macao, were settled in the college. In 1831, seven young Chinese, two boys from Manila whose fathers were Portuguese, and thirteen born at Macao.’

\textsuperscript{509} \textit{Canton Miscellany}, no. 5, 1831, p. 356.


\textsuperscript{511} The work of Fr Gonçalves is discussed in detail in Appendix 16.
limited commercial life of Macau watched helplessly as business opportunities slipped away. They now grasped the new opportunity of what in later generations would be termed technical education. It gave their sons what seemed to be the only chance of a good career in what was clearly going to be a very different world.\textsuperscript{512}

Printing was still seen as a craft, rather than a trade. Over a long period of time the Portuguese, like all Westerners in Macau, refused to have anything to do with manual work.\textsuperscript{513} The day of universal literacy lay well into the future, and the market for printed materials in Portuguese or English was in the 1830s and early 1840s still quite small, though growing rapidly. High standards were \textit{de rigueur} for the well-educated British and American merchants these technically educated boys hoped would be their clients.

Although there are no contemporary records to indicate this, it is clear that local people must have been employed as compositors to put out the growing volume of printed material, particularly at Canton. The only ones with any knowledge of printing were the Portuguese boys trained at St. Joseph’s, who found ready employment in nearby Canton in the 1830s, and a few years later in Hong Kong.

In effect, St. Joseph’s College became for a few years the forerunner of technical education in the Far East. It was heir to the long tradition of Catholic endeavour in Goa and Macau that began with the Jesuit mission in the 1560s. Nor did that tradition of technical education end there. A century after Fr Gonçalves’ most praiseworthy efforts, Delfino Noronha’s grandson, J.P. Braga, would initiate a comparable endeavour in Macau to provide technical education for Portuguese youth who had sought refuge in neutral Macau during World War II, their chance of education in Hong Kong having been snatched from them in wartime.\textsuperscript{514}

Let J.P. Braga tell the story of his grandfather’s experience at St. Joseph’s. His account leads directly to a discussion of the role of the Portuguese in the printing


\textsuperscript{513} A correspondent in the \textit{Hongkong Telegraph} in August 1895 observed: ‘there are no Portuguese carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, cabinetmakers, blacksmiths, journeyman engineers … Why not? … [The Portuguese] must turn their attention to trades and handicraft and eschew clerkships. There is a pride of race among them that is out of place in this Free Trade generation.’ Cited by J.P. Braga, \textit{The rights of aliens in Hongkong}, p. 44.

\textsuperscript{514} Its records are in the J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/8.1/20.
industry throughout the Far East. He traces its origin to the farsighted decision of the Lazarist Fathers in Macau to give the cream of the colony’s youth a new direction in life.

The explanation for the steady increase in the number of Portuguese compositors in Hongkong can be found in the fact that there had been a printing press at St. Joseph’s College in Macao at which Portuguese lads were given training as compositors and printers. Some of the young type-setters upon completing their apprenticeship migrated to the neighbouring British colony as the demand there for men skilled in this class of work increased with the growth of the settlement.

The priests of the well-known school had adopted the idea of giving instruction in the art of printing as a means of providing the youths of Macao with a desirable profession when the older calling of the mariners’ career no longer offered the rewards which could be had by them in older days. During the second and third decades of the XIXth Century increasing numbers of foreign ships had appeared in Far Eastern waters, competing for China’s trade, and sharing in the trade between Macao and a number of other places. The wealthy trading concerns of Britain, the United States, and other countries had greater resources than the Portuguese, and this had the effect of reducing the number of Portuguese vessels engaged in commerce in the East. This meant fewer opportunities at sea for Portuguese youths in Macao who were seeking employment. For some of such youths the printing press at St. Joseph’s College, at Macao, offered a training in a new craft which provided a remunerative living, as it proved, in Hongkong and elsewhere in China.

The young Portuguese compositors trained at that institution were the ones who staffed the printing works not only of the British and American missionaries and other foreign printing establishments at Macao, Hongkong, Canton and other places, but also the composing rooms of Hongkong’s newspaper offices for several decades. But for these Portuguese compositors, the newspapers in Hongkong could not have functioned, as the expense of engaging compositors from England or elsewhere would have been prohibitive.515

One such who set out on his own in Macau was F.F. da Cruz, obviously aiming at American patronage with the business name ‘New Washington Press’. Félix Feliciano da Cruz was born in Macau about 1810, and died on 1 March 1879 in Hong Kong.516 He is known to have printed the important Portfolio Chinensis, edited by Jehu Lewis Shuck (1812-1863), Shuck, one of the earliest American Baptist

missionaries to China, arrived in Macau in 1836, moved to Hong Kong in 1842, and subsequently settled at Canton. Like Elijah Bridgman and some other early American missionaries, he was also a scholar who sought to improve understanding of relations between China and the West.\(^{517}\) Da Cruz’s work indicates that a high standard in printing both European type and Chinese characters had already been achieved, the Chinese characters evidently having to be individually hand cut. By 1849 he had moved to Canton and was operating the Armenian Press.\(^{518}\)

Delfino Noronha is likely to have gained experience in one of the printing establishments in Macau. It was one thing to learn the ‘craft’ of printing, quite another to learn how to run a printing business. He was fortunate to have a family who could set him up as an independent printer in the early days in Hong Kong. He was married in Macau, but the date is unknown, having not been located in the surviving registers of any of Macau’s parishes.\(^{519}\) It was possibly in 1840 when he was sixteen and his bride eighteen.\(^{520}\) She was Umbelina Maria Basto, the natural daughter of António Teixeira Machado Basto, a member of the Macau Council, and Carolina Dober, perhaps the child of a visiting Dutch seaman.\(^{521}\)

Early marriages were common, and it seems that Umbelina was brought up in an orphanage until she was eighteen and then married off.\(^{522}\) Despite her background,
she was the daughter of a *vereador*, a member of the Council, and one of the *homens de maior condição*, men of higher standing, respected community leaders.\(^{523}\)

Three children were born to Delfino and Umbelina in Macau in the next four years:

- Henrique Lourenço de Noronha, 9 August 1841
- Carolina Maria, 2 December 1843
- Diocleciano Lúcio, date of birth unknown, but probably in 1845.

A further ten were born in Hong Kong between 1847 and 1859, including at least one set of twins. Besides Saturnino António and Secundino António, it seems probable that Maria Clotilde and Leonardo were also twins.\(^{524}\) The ten were:

- Maria Clotilde, 25 February 1847
- Leonardo, 1847
- Capitolina Maria ‘Lily’, 5 August 1848
- Henrique Delfino, 1849
- Saturnino António, 9 June 1850
- Secundino António, 9 June 1850
- Lídia Maria, 22 August 1851
- Maria das Dôres ‘Quita’, 13 April 1853
- Maria Antónia ‘Avonina’, 8 June 1856
- Carlos Henrique ‘Charlie’, 22 January 1859.\(^{525}\)

Two of them were to become particularly significant in the story of this family: Carolina Maria, the eldest of six daughters and Charlie, the youngest of seven sons.


\(^{524}\) J. Forjaz, *Familias Macaenses*, vol. 2, pp. 821-822. Twins were common in the Noronha family. Alberto Guterres (email to writer, 20 January 2011) disagrees with the list given by Forjaz, regarding Secundino as the younger twin brother of Saturnino, both born on 9 June 1850.

All but one, Lídia Maria, survived infancy. The survival of all the others is a tribute to the remarkable improvement in public health in the British colony, in the generation that discovered modern hygiene in the mid-nineteenth century.

As Delfino’s sons grew up, some were taken into the business, and acquiring their father’s skill and attention to detail, became in due course successful printers in Shanghai, Singapore and elsewhere in the Far East. It does not seem that any of them remained in their father’s business in Hong Kong. It may be that they, like their father, were keen to head out on their own, and were encouraged by him to do so.

It seems that Noronha moved to Hong Kong some time in 1844, despite a claim in the China Directory, 1871, that his firm was founded in 1841, right at the beginning
of British settlement. This is improbable, not only because of his youth, but because continued British occupation of Hong Kong was by no means certain until 1843. Moreover, his second child was born in Macau in December 1843. Soon afterwards, as his grandson observed, ‘he dared to face the rigours of the climate and the social uncertainties of young Hongkong without the assurance of a fixed salary’. Macau, though close to Hong Kong, was cooled by sea breezes, and had a more equable climate in summer. Hong Kong soon gained the reputation of being a most unhealthy place, and many young British men, not only soldiers, died soon after arriving. Moreover, any Portuguese subject going to Hong Kong was venturing into the unknown. Would he be able to make his way in this new British colony, in which there might be no place for foreigners?

The maker of the printing press available to Noronha when he set up business in 1844 in Hong Kong is not known, but initially it may have been one of the presses earlier established in Macau, bereft of its clientele on the departure of the British community to Hong Kong. In that case, Noronha and his backers, presumably his uncles, may have been able to acquire a press relatively cheaply. J.P. Braga mentioned that his grandfather brought a small press with him from Macau. A comparison of the early printing done for the British and American communities in Canton and Macau suggests that there may have been several identical presses, with much the same array of fonts. Suppliers of printing presses in England probably sent

526 A. Cartwright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hong Kong and Shanghai*, p. 354. The 1841 claim is contained in an advertisement for Noronha and Sons in the *China Directory, 1871*. I am indebted to Mr Wang Gang of Hong Kong for this reference.

similar equipment to clients around the world. The name of one early Canton press, the Albion Press, suggests that its equipment came from this famous maker.

Noronha set up business in Hong Kong in Oswald’s Terrace, Wellington St, a little to the west of the new English settlement. It was close to what had already been designated as the Chinese quarter of the town, where buildings were crowded close together and rents much cheaper than the Central Business District. He remained there for more than twenty years. Given that the occupation of Hong Kong was still uncertain, all arrangements were temporary and makeshift for the first two years. Early paintings show a little settlement clinging to the coast of a rocky island with a towering mountain behind it. Here developed the community in which Delfino Noronha lived, worked and eventually prospered.

The earliest example of his work known to survive is the *Hongkong Almanack for 1847*, the first issue in 1846 having been printed by Shortrede at the *China Mail*

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528 W. Tarrant, *A history of Hongkong Part I, 1839-1844*, p. 45. ‘West of Cheung-wan [i.e. Sheung Wan] came some China houses built by Mr Oswald (Noronha’s Printing Office now)’. [i.e. 1861, when Tarrant’s book was printed.]. This appears to have been Richard Oswald, a shopkeeper who ran a business named R. Oswald & Co. (*Hongkong Almanack*, 1846). Tarrant, describing the town in detail, commented that before this part of it was reached, ‘civilization, in the shape of bricks and mortar stopped’. (p. 43). An obituary of Noronha in the *Hongkong Daily Press*, 8 February 1900, claimed that this was then the Central Business District. In fact that has always been Queen’s Road Central.


530 Copies of the *Almanack* for 1846 to 1849 are held by Hong Kong University Library, of the 1848 *Almanack* by the Library of the Hong Kong Legislative Council, and copies of the 1849 and 1850 issues by the National Library of Australia. It is not known why the archaic form ‘Almanack’ was used.
office. The 1847 issue, a modest booklet of 14 pages, bears Noronha’s colophon at the foot of the title page, and was printed for William Tarrant. Tarrant held a senior government position as Clerk of the Registry Office, a position that eventually evolved into Registrar-General.

A vade mecum such as the Almanack would have been an essential reference in his work, and the following year he expanded it ambitiously. As well as a monthly calendar, it contained a complete listing of the officers of the Establishment, of British, American and European business houses and an alphabetical listing of all non-Chinese residents in Hong Kong, Canton and Shanghae (sic).

The Almanack and Directory for 1848 was comparable to similar publications issued at much the same time in the Australian colonies, but was not as elaborate as English provincial directories of that period, which were commonly illustrated with small steel engravings of major features of the town described. Nevertheless, it was a formidable undertaking, apparently done in his spare time. The Hong Kong market for such a publication was very limited; indeed, in the issue for 1849, Tarrant admitted that more than half of the previous issue had remained unsold.

The Price of the present Almanack and Directory is fixed at ($1 ½). One and a half Dollars. If the Editor was obliged to pay only a moderate rate of wages for the labour of compilation and correction of the press (instead of doing it himself unassisted) the publication even at this price, (which in English Money is large,) would prove an absolute loss. This remark it is hoped will have the effect of urging the Public to patronize it to a greater extent than heretofore, and not allow more than half an edition to remain on hand – waste Paper.

Victoria, Hongkong, December 1848. WILLIAM TARRANT

By 1848 Noronha was employing a compositor, L. do Rozario, and again printed the Hongkong Almanack and Directory for 1849 for Tarrant, his compositor by then being António Fonseca. Besides listing all the official establishments, the early Hong Kong almanacs carefully listed all the non-Chinese adult population. Most were

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531 Like most mid-nineteenth century pamphlets, it was issued in blue paper wrappers. A copy was offered for HK$70,000 at the International Antiquarian Bookfair, Hong Kong, in January 2009 by Picture This, Hong Kong.
532 e.g. Tunbridge Wells: Clifford’s Descriptive Guide for Tunbridge Wells, with Rules for Drinking the Waters, Tunbridge Wells, n.d. [1837].
533 The Hongkong Almanack and Directory for 1849, p. 3. Tarrant signed and dated the preface, indicating that his work was as up-to-date as possible.
employees of the large English merchant houses, or of several German and other European traders. The European staff of each firm was listed; they included 35 Portuguese. Most of the British concerns employed Portuguese staff from the first, but never in managerial roles. This became a settled pattern both of employment and social stratification. However, the clerks in the various merchants’ offices, many of them Portuguese, were listed only in their place of employment, and not in the alphabetical listing of residents. What came to be called the ‘Portuguese clerk class’ had already emerged by 1848, and its members effectively dropped out of sight as far as the British businessmen and government officials were concerned.

There was also a substantial Indian mercantile community initially composed of Bohras from Mumbai (then Bombay). Thirty-eight Indian traders are listed in the nineteenth century Hong Kong directories, beginning as early as 1841, with Abdoolally Ebrahim & Co, still in business towards the end of the twentieth century. In 1849 there were only three independent Portuguese businessmen: José Lourenço Pereira, who managed the ‘Medical Hall’, Delfino Noronha, printer and António Luiz d’Encarnação, auctioneer. All three conducted service businesses rather than the far more profitable mercantile enterprises. All seized the opportunities offered by the new British settlement. Hong Kong was notoriously unhealthy, and the mortality rate, especially among the hapless troops, was high for several years.

As well as these three, João Joaquim Rosa Braga was employed at the Victoria Dispensary for more than a decade in these early years of the British colony, soon becoming its manager, and eventually purchasing the Medical Hall. His success has already been discussed. The varied fortunes of other members of the Braga family for the next three generations form a large part of this thesis and their story will be taken up in later chapters. The Noronha family too would have a significant role in the business history of Hong Kong for several generations, the printery being still in family ownership in 1941, when the Japanese Occupation brought all European business activity to a sudden end. Delfino Noronha’s successors maintained the high standard established by their distinguished forebear.

534 S. Bard, Traders of Hong Kong: some foreign merchant houses, 1841-1899, p. 106. They are included as employees of the various ‘hongs’; their identity, indeed the chief reason for their presence in Hong Kong at all, was bound closely to their employment.
Following the first three, several successful Portuguese mercantile enterprises emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century. M.C. Rozario & Co. was perhaps the most successful of these. Marcos Callisto do Rozario was at first a partner of James Stevenson, one of the many who came from Canton to Hong Kong where he established the firm of Messrs. Stevenson & Co., shipping agents and merchants trading with Australia. In 1857 Rozario established his own firm, and became a substantial exporter of many kinds of valuable commodities, mainly to the USA and Australia. Rozario & Co. was seen as ‘a large and profitable business’. Its founder was regarded by the Portuguese community as one of its leading members, like Noronha, with whom he formed a close friendship. He was among the first to send his sons to England for their education; a small trickle would follow. ‘He left a large estate at his death’, observed J.P. Braga regretfully in 1943, having himself lost everything in 1941 when Hong Kong was occupied by the Japanese.

Another early Portuguese settler in Hongkong did very well in business. João José dos Remedios ‘took with him a fortune’ from Macao in the 1850s and continued to prosper in Hongkong. He was an enterprising man and among his ventures was a shipping service, J.J. dos Remedios & Co. By 1867 he had a staff of six, and set up a subsidiary company, Remedios & Co., both companies trading as merchants. ‘It is

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said that at the time of his death his estate exceeded a million dollars – a vast fortune for that time’, sighed Braga.\textsuperscript{537} By the 1870s, the well-to-do of all communities were looking to escape the crowded confines of the praya district. Remedios was the first Portuguese resident to buy land in a locality then regarded as far from town. He acquired a Farm Lot at Pokfulam, where he built his family residence, with enough spare land for a sizeable flower and vegetable garden from which the family table was supplied with fresh produce daily. Pokfulam, high above the western extremity of the city, was well beyond the reach of the only public transport at that time, the sedan chair.\textsuperscript{538} Braga added that ‘Mr. Remedios must have had considerable enterprise to build a home in such a far-off suburban district. But he was one of the fortunate few who could afford the upkeep of a small buggy and pony to provide the means of quick transport to the city and back for his ordinary daily business.’\textsuperscript{539}

There were few other Portuguese-owned joint stock companies in the nineteenth century. One that survived for more than forty years until 1905 was Brandão & Co., with offices in Wellington Street, Hong Kong, and also in Macau. José G. Brandão began as a bank clerk, and in 1863 set up in business with several related partners. These were José M. V. de Figueiredo and his two brothers-in-law, the sons of João Baptista Gomes, regarded as ‘an old and well-to-do Macao family’. All the partners, says Braga, took an active part in Portuguese community life.\textsuperscript{540}

Three more were short-lived: Francisco Paulo Soares set up as F.P. Soares & Co, general merchants, at 525 Queen’s Road between 1861 and 1867. Figueiredo & Co. was in Stanley Street from 1872 to 1876, and Ribeiro & Co. in Graham Street, also from 1872 to 1876. All were located in the small area near the Catholic Church. Concentration close to the focus of community life was a characteristic of the Hong Kong Portuguese until their departure in the 1960s and 1970s.

More than once in his seminal book written during World War II, J.P. Braga commented on the Portuguese lack of initiative in early Hong Kong, deploring the

\textsuperscript{537} J.P. Braga \textit{Portuguese in Hongkong and China}, p. 150. S. Bard, op. cit., p. 107. The date of his death is unknown.\textsuperscript{538} Pokfulam was one of the ten smaller villages on Hong Kong Island described by Tarrant in \textit{A history of Hongkong Part I, 1839-1844}, p. 3. Romanisation was haphazard before the Wade-Giles system was adopted. The names are recognisable, but are now somewhat changed. The ten, as rendered by Tarrant, were: Sookunpoo, Hoong-heong-lao, Sow-ke-wan, Sai-wan, Shek-hoe, Tai-tam, Wong-nau-kok, Kong-lam, Shek-pai-wan and Pok-foo-lum.\textsuperscript{539} J.P. Braga, \textit{The Portuguese in Hongkong and China}, pp.189-190.\textsuperscript{540} S. Bard, op. cit., p. 107; J.P. Braga, \textit{The Portuguese in Hongkong and China}, pp. 144, 205.
fact that they had drifted into the subordinate role of an unenterprising underclass, while others prospered, including not only the British, Americans, Germans and Jews, but also Indians and, conspicuously, some Chinese compradors as well. He saw how well the British and Americans in particular, had made use of what was still a new development in the Far East, the limited liability joint stock company. His severe criticism of his own community was wholly justified, given that so few Portuguese had exploited what for many others became a golden opportunity.

If the Portuguese pioneer settlers in Hongkong had recalled the lessons of the past they might have repeated the success of their fore-fathers. The changing nature of trade and the greatly increased cost of ships created new problems, it is true, but the difficulties of the newer age could have been overcome had the Portuguese been willing to club together in joint stock enterprises. Unfortunately, however, the peculiar jealousy they harboured of one another’s

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541 The word *comprador* has a remarkable history in the Far East. A Portuguese word meaning ‘buyer’, it came from Goa, originally referring to the native servant who went to market to buy supplies for his master’s household. His role, both in Goa and Macau, grew to encompass the keeping of household accounts. In nineteenth century Hong Kong, the word evolved to refer to the intermediary between a European trading house and its Chinese suppliers. A successful comprador had to have an excellent command of both English and Chinese. H. Yule & A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 243. Possibly the most successful comprador was Robert Ho Tung, Head Comprador of Jardine Matheson & Co. in the 1880s. This important role and his outstanding business acumen made him fabulously wealthy and influential. His support of the Braga family, sustained for half a century, is discussed in Appendix 14.
success proved to be an impediment to any attempt at Portuguese collective enterprises. The children of those who did succeed seldom inherited the thrifty and business-like traits of their fathers, and great fortunes were lost by the second or third generation.542

Noronha produced work of a high standard from the beginning. An example of his early work is striking proof of this. It is a theatre programme printed on silk in 1849.543 It indicates several things. It shows skill in dealing with a difficult medium. The inking is even and the execution shows a good grasp of the aesthetics demanded by an elite clientele and, importantly, it reveals that the printer had a good press and an extensive range of font and other devices available to him. He was in a position to compete for the top end of the colony’s business.

His grandson’s memoirs, written with filial pride, provide an insight into Noronha’s work practices:

Mr Noronha was himself an expert compositor. Until his business justified the larger staff which he came to employ in later years, and sometimes even after then, he would often set up the type himself for the more important of his publications, a practice which he dropped, however, in the last decade of his life. Nor is it generally known that in the first years his wife used to help with the inking and the working of the printing press, thereby proving herself to be a true woman pioneer who was willing to share the hardships and the work of the men who ventured forth into new fields of endeavour.

By dint of hard work and thrift, and in spite of the ravages of the climate and other handicaps of life in Hongkong’s early days, Mr Delfino Noronha brought up a large family of children and grandchildren and built up a prosperous business.544

The first printing in Hong Kong was the Hongkong Gazette which appeared on 1 May 1841, later becoming the Hong Kong Government Gazette. From 1843, it was printed by Andrew Shortrede, a well-established Edinburgh printer who apparently came to Hong Kong to exchange a cold climate for a tropical one.

542 J.P. Braga The Portuguese in Hongkong and China, p. 150.
543 An example was offered by Charlotte du Rietz Rare Books, Stockholm, at the Third International Antiquarian Bookfair, Hong Kong, December 2009. The Amateur Dramatic Club had been formed in December 1844, but soon languished, and was revived in 1848. This was one of its early productions. Historical and Statistical Abstract of the colony of Hongkong, 1841-1920, p. 4.
The terrace houses to the right are on Zetland Street, close to the Anglican cathedral and the premises of Augustine Heard & Co., later the French Mission. Noronha lived and worked on Zetland Road from the late 1870s until his death in 1900.

Noronha had three competitors, the chief of whom was Shortrede, who also produced a newspaper, the China Mail, first published in 1845. The Hongkong Almanack and Directory for 1846 shows that Shortrede had ten employees, seven of
whom were Portuguese compositors. Shortrede was one of the inner circle of English businessmen and public servants, and of the elite group who founded the Hongkong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, established under vice-regal patronage in 1847. He drafted its rules and printed its journal. He is likely to have been a member of Zetland Lodge, the Masonic Lodge, which almost immediately became a significant and very prominent part of the Hong Kong social and commercial scene. Like all freemasonry at the time, it excluded Catholics, and was thus part of the intentional system of exclusion of non-British communities from the governing and social elite of the colony.

Noronha’s next competitor was John Carr, who started the colony’s first newspaper, the *Friend of China and Hong Kong Gazette* in 1842. By 1845 he had a flourishing business, employing five Portuguese. Carr ran this paper until 1859, when it was purchased by Tarrant. The third was John Cairns, who in 1843 took over the *Hongkong Register* on the death of its proprietor, John Slade. The *Hongkong Register*, which continued until 1863, was the successor of the *Canton Register*, first published in 1827.

For Noronha to compete with Shortrede, Carr and Cairns was both courageous and daunting. Not only were they already well-established on the scene, but they were also well-known in the small community. In the three or four years since they set up their businesses, it had become established that in the printing industry the Portuguese were employees, not proprietors. There would scarcely have been room for another printer, and Noronha struggled for some years to gain a foothold in the limited market.

545 They were: Jozé M. de Silva, Manoel Luiz Roza Pereira, Francisco C. Barradas, Vicente F. Barradas, João Braz Garcon, Simão V. Roza and Joaquim da Silva, with two Englishmen, Andrew Dixon the overseer and J.W. Warren, the book-keeper. Athanazio de Fonseca joined the firm in 1847. *Hongkong Almanack for 1846*, p. 43; *Hongkong Almanack for 1847*.


547 They were a book-keeper, Jozé P. Souza, and four compositors, Luiz M. de Azevedo, António de Azevedo, António R. Vidigal and Roque R. Vidigal. *Hongkong Almanack for 1846*, p. 38; *Hongkong Almanack for 1847*, p. 38.


550 Shortrede and Cairns were members of a jury enquiring into the deaths of three Chinese seafarers in an altercation with Hong Kong police. *Straits Times*, Singapore, 4 November 1849.
Yet within 15 years, Noronha had proved himself the best of the four. Andrew Shortrede died in 1858, and his firm, Shortrede & Co., was taken over by its long-time overseer, Andrew Dixon, from whom Noronha was able to wrest the government contract. Noronha had successfully set himself a huge challenge in beating such strong opposition. Shortrede, a peppery Scot, had troubled relations with several early governors. By contrast, the able young Portuguese printer, with a workforce comprising his own compatriots, was an attractive alternative to the incoming governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, in 1859.

It must have given Noronha immense satisfaction to sign the following memorandum:

Memorandum of agreement between H.E. Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor of Hong Kong and Delfino Noronha, printer: Delfino Noronha agrees to carry out printing etc. for the Hong Kong Government including the publishing of a separate sheet or sheets called ‘the Hong Kong Government Gazette’ and shall be at his liberty to insert advertisements in such gazette.

By 1860 his business had expanded to such an extent that he employed six compositors. The government contract gave Noronha public standing as well as assured business, which increased when a Chinese edition of the Government Gazette was published from 1 March 1862 onwards. As the writer of an obituary expressed it on Noronha’s death in 1900, ‘the printing business of Mr. Noronha continued to prosper and in 1868, now greatly assisted by his sons, was then the most important in the colony.’ A family tradition, proudly recounted by J.P. Braga, was that Robinson’s successor, Sir Richard MacDonnell, assured Noronha that so long as

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551 Information from Mr Wang Gang, Chief Editor, Petrel Publishing House, Hong Kong, 14 March 2008.  
552 G.B. Endacott, A Biographical Sketchbook of Early Hong Kong, pp. 150-151.  
553 HKRS 149-2-133 and HKRS 149-2-216, both 10 December 1859, Public Records Office, Hong Kong.  
554 All were Portuguese. They were: J.J. da Silva e Souza, Vicente Barradas, H. Rodrigues, L. d’Azevedo, C. Sanchez and H.C. Pereira. China Directory, 1861.  
555 Historical and statistical abstract of the colony of Hongkong, 1841-1920, p. 12. The Chinese edition was discontinued after about fifteen years.  
556 An unsigned obituary in the Portuguese weekly, O Porvir, Hong Kong, 24 February 1900, possibly written by his son Henrique.
his firm continued to give satisfaction, they would remain government printers in perpetuum.557

In 1860, Noronha’s business was still located at Oswald’s Terrace, Wellington St. He continued to use the business name, ‘Noronha’s Printing Office’ in 1864, but by 1867, it had become ‘Noronha & Sons, printers to Hongkong Government’, or ‘Noronha e Filhos’ for Portuguese publications. By 1874, the name ‘Noronha & Co’ had been adopted, and the firm would continue under this name until 1941.558

558 A small select bibliography of the firm’s output was recorded by J.M. Braga, J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/7.2/72 – Noronha & Co. This was printed in his father’s book. J.P. Braga, *The Portuguese in Hongkong and China*, p. 153.
A disastrous fire on 30 October 1866 nearly destroyed the business. However, as the obituarist expressed it, ‘Mr. Noronha was able to minimize his losses and create a better establishment that remains the best up to today with no other firm able to surpass it in present Hongkong’.\textsuperscript{559} He moved to two large houses nearby at the corner of Pottinger St and Hollywood Road opposite the Central Police Station.\textsuperscript{560}

By 1879 he had moved again to 5-9 Zetland Street. This was a particularly salubrious address, slightly above the waterfront, but in the Central Business District where the English firms were located. Importantly, it was across the road from Zetland Lodge, the stately headquarters of Hong Kong’s leading Masonic Lodge. Noronha had become well-established, and he remained in residence and in business there for the rest of his life. Noronha & Co. was the largest of a number of Portuguese printing firms, and survived longer than the rest.\textsuperscript{561}

For some years between the 1860s and the 1880s his sons Henrique and Leonardo were in the business. In 1870, the mid-point of this period, he employed six others,

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\textsuperscript{559} O Porvir, Hong Kong, 24 February 1900.

\textsuperscript{560} Hongkong Daily Press, 8 February 1900, referenced by Carl Smith, CS/1017/00165937-8. Smith also mentioned an obituary in the China Mail.

\textsuperscript{561} S. Bard, op. cit., p. 109.
all Portuguese. None had been with him ten years earlier, and all those there in 1860 had moved on. Some who had been with Noronha for several years set out on their own. In 1865, J. de Souza advertised that he had ‘established himself in this Colony’, citing ‘five years manager in Noronha’s Printing Office’ as his credential. Having had excellent training himself, Noronha was now training the next generation of printers.

Over the years, some of his sons went to Canton, Shanghai, Manila and Singapore, where their father assisted them to launch out on their own, as he himself had done. The first was Henrique Lourenço, who had become his father’s right hand man. In 1879 he was invited to Singapore to take charge of the Government Press, accepting a twenty-year contract. Here he produced the Straits Settlements Government Gazette, in much the same way as his father’s role in Hong Kong, eventually retiring to Hong Kong in 1899.

In 1880 Delfino bought an established Shanghai printing business, ‘Celestial Empire Press’, following the death of its owner, António H. Carvalho, and renamed it ‘Noronha & Sons’. Carvalho had been the Portuguese consul in Shanghai, an indication of the importance of printers in the Portuguese community there as elsewhere in the Far East. It was initially managed by Henrique Hyndman, a member of the Portuguese community, and later by one of Noronha’s sons, possibly Leonardo.

Other sons stayed in Hong Kong, but it seems that they did not remain in their father’s business. It appears that there was a rapid turnover of staff, perhaps because of the owner’s exacting standards and punishing deadlines, with the Government Gazette to be produced each Saturday. There was also a Chinese Gazette produced

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562 They were B.P. Campos, foreman, and five compositors, F.F. de Pinna, F. Xavier, A.A. Pereira, A. Perpetuo and A.S. Pereira. China Directory, 1871. However, Henrique, like most Portuguese youths, had earlier started his career as a bank clerk, with the Oriental Bank. China Directory, 1861.
565 J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/7.2/21 – Carvalho, António; MS 4300/7.2/72 – Noronha & Co.
566 Hongkong Daily Press, 8 February 1900.
three times weekly, on Monday, Wednesday and Thursday.\textsuperscript{568} The nature of such publications suggests that copy must often have reached the printery with very little notice and that hours were long.

Whereas others did not stay long, several grandsons joined the firm. Noronha’s eldest daughter, Carolina Maria, had married Vicente Emilio Braga in 1863, and had five sons. Three of them died of smallpox in 1887 and 1888, still in their teens. Their youngest brother, José Pedro, a very promising boy, had been sent to Calcutta to further his education, but at his mother’s urgent behest, returned to Hong Kong in 1889 to take his brothers’ place. The next chapter will discuss this family tragedy.

Young J.P. Braga had the opportunity to observe his grandfather closely in the last decade of his life. He found, not merely a busy and successful printery in which high standards were set and expected, but also a centre of intellectual activity. He could see and emulate the personal qualities that had made the older man a successful businessman and a respected community leader. Nearly half a century later, he wrote,

\begin{quote}
Of him I cherish fond memories, with his gentle ways and courteous manners. He was small and slight, and was always immaculately dressed, and he was my ideal of a perfect gentleman. He was popular not only in Hongkong but he also enjoyed a wide circle of Macao friends.\textsuperscript{569}
\end{quote}

As a significant community leader, Noronha was one of the principal founders of the Portuguese community club, Club Lusitano, the foundation of which in 1865 was discussed in Chapter Three. By 1904, it had 195 members.\textsuperscript{570} In the next half century other clubs, sporting and charitable organisations would follow.

In the eyes of Austin Coates, the only Hong Kong historian to bother with the Hong Kong Portuguese, Noronha was the outstanding figure in that community.\textsuperscript{571} His business success enabled him to invest in property, albeit in a much smaller way than the large British mercantile establishments. In 1865 he took out a mortgage for $1,500 on a Chinese temple property, described in the records as ‘Inland Lot 257

\textsuperscript{568} China Directory, 1871.
\textsuperscript{569} J.P. Braga, The Portuguese in Hongkong and China, p. 129.
\textsuperscript{570} Bye-laws of the Club Lusitano Ltd, pp. 17-19.
with Joss House, dwelling house and building erected thereon'. The mortgage remained unpaid, and in 1869, as mortgagee, Noronha sold the temple to a committee of three representatives of the Chinese community.

Marciano Baptista, Kowloon Point, Hong Kong, ca. 1870-1875

J.M. Braga collection, nla.gov.au/nla.pic-vn3294981

J.P. Braga also wrote of his grandfather’s role in developing Kowloon on the north side of Hong Kong harbour. Added to the colony of Hong Kong in 1860, it remained unoccupied by Europeans for some years. Noronha was a co-founder of the Hongkong Horticultural Society, and developed a ten acre estate at Yaumati, on the western side of Kowloon.

Mr Delfino Noronha was the first Portuguese to invest in land across the harbour … at Yaumati. The first plots of land sold in the area were not originally building lots; they were known at the

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572 Researched by the distinguished local researcher Carl T. Smith, and described by him in the ‘Notes and Queries’ section of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Hong Kong Branch, October 1973, p. 136.

beginning as ‘farm lots’ and were sold by public auction. Two of
the first lots, namely F.L. 2 and 3, of a total of five acres, were
bought by Mr Delfino Noronha from the original owner, and he
subsequently acquired an additional lot consisting of a further five
acres of land adjoining his first purchase. He then invited his friend
Mr Marcus Calisto do Rozario to become joint owner with him of
this land. Mr Rozario agreed, and as a distinctive name for the
property, the partners adopted the initial syllables of their Christian
names. Thus it came about that the estate came to be called
‘Delmar’. 574

Twelve lots were sold in this first auction in 1869, at least three of them to
Portuguese, including José d’Almada e Castro. Chinese villagers were
understandably hostile to what was taking place, so no development could take place
without the prior construction of a police station. This was done in 1873, and what
was described as ‘a fine house’ was then built on the ‘Delmar’ estate. ‘Many of the
shanties are being removed’, added the Hongkong Times. 575 The rights of Chinese
villagers who had been there for centuries counted for nothing.

Keen to develop the area further, Noronha commenced an irregular ferry service to
Kowloon, running between Central and Yaumati, the main centre of population in
Kowloon in the 1870s. 576

This early form of transport did not last long. A Parsee opium merchant, Dorabjee
Naorojee, commenced operations with a regular service between Central and
Tsimshatsui, naming the business the Star Ferry Co. in 1898. By 1897, the
population of Yaumati had grown to 8,051 compared with 218 in Tsimshatsui, 577 but
the rest of Kowloon still remained largely undeveloped. It took vigorous action by an
early twentieth century governor, Sir Matthew Nathan, to hasten its progress.

574 Ibid., p. 228. F.L. – Farm Lot. Kowloon was then entirely rural.
575 Hongkong Times, 9 September 1873, quoted by John Luff, ‘Round and about in Kowloon’, South
China Morning Post, 7 August 1967, Paul Braga Papers.
576 ‘The service began with a single-deck steam-launch called Blanche, which, after its name, was all
painted white. At the beginning, a single fare amounted to less than one cent, and so fares were
collected in cash (a cash was worth 1/10 of a cent). There was no regular timetable. A long blast from
the boat’s whistle announced the impending departure of the ferry, which took place when the
Chinese coxswain thought that the launch had a sufficient complement of passengers on board.’ J.P.
577 Public Record Office, Hong Kong:
His role as Government printer made Noronha more politically aware than most members of his community. He became a classic nineteenth century liberal, and must have followed the struggle for manhood suffrage in Britain with keen interest, but Hong Kong did not share in the constitutional developments of other parts of the British Empire. The chief outlet for a liberal was to take an interest in events abroad, although he permitted his young grandson, José Braga, to publish a philippic attacking the injustices of British rule in Hong Kong. José became friendly with the Filipino radical José Rizal. However, it was a liaison that may have disturbed some members of his family, leading to difficulty after his death. The execution of Rizal in 1898 enraged young Braga, already seen as a hothead, and perhaps the elderly Delfino as well. That can be inferred from the grandson’s reminiscences, written nearly fifty later.

I still recall the horror and indignation which filled the Portuguese community in Hongkong when the news reached the British colony of the treacherous manner in which the beloved leader of the Filipino people had been done away with.578

If J.P. Braga’s recollection is correct, this ‘horror and indignation’ felt by the Portuguese community in Hong Kong is perhaps a reflection of their own feelings towards the British. It is significant that they identified themselves, not with fellow Iberians, the Spanish, but with the Filipino nationalists. There was the same sense of common purpose against a perceived injustice, the antipathy of a suppressed group towards those in power.

Noronha’s 67th birthday on 30 June 1891 was celebrated in fine style with a musical soirée at which members of his family did him honour.579 In his community, Noronha was pre-eminent among perhaps half a dozen respected leaders. By the time of his death, he was the last survivor of the group of pioneers who had come from Macau almost at the beginning of British rule in Hong Kong. Unlike most of the others, he had prospered and became a man of substance, with property on Hong Kong Island and a large estate in Kowloon, then still largely undeveloped, but with unlimited future prospects. However, the estate was not retained by his heirs.

579 The programme, presumably printed by Noronha & Co., and listing the music and recitations as well as the names of the participants, is in a photograph album compiled by J.P. Braga’s daughter, Caroline Braga, now in the possession of this writer. The event is further discussed in the next chapter.
To the Portuguese community, he was ‘Prestimoso e benemesto macaense’ – ‘the most prestigious and benevolent Macanese’. However, from the British point of view, he was not impressive. A small, sallow man, he would have fitted well into the British stereotype of the qualities they sought in members of the Portuguese community, who were required to be inconspicuous, quiet, hard-working, dependable, and subservient. Like most other members of the Portuguese community of Hong Kong, he did his job ably and reliably. However, while the Portuguese printers, some of whom were descendants of fidalgos, the Portuguese gentry, saw themselves as craftsmen, their British clients saw them as tradesmen. As such, in the values of the nineteenth century, they belonged to an inferior and menial social order, described generically as ‘service’.

Delfino Noronha, O Porvir (The Future), Portuguese weekly newspaper in Hong Kong, 24 February 1900

Noronha’s grave, Catholic Cemetery, Happy Valley, Hong Kong

Print from microfilm in Macau Public Library

Photograph by Stuart Braga, 23 March 2012

Noronha died at the age of 75 on 6 February 1900, and was buried in the Roman Catholic Cemetery, Happy Valley, next to his wife, who had predeceased him in 1894. A fluted column was raised over the grave, an apt metaphor for strength and continuity. The firm of Noronha & Co. was taken over by his sons Henrique, who

580 A headline in an obituary in O Porvir (The Future), 24 February 1900.
581 As menials, they were poorly paid. The Chinese Repository had observed in 1834 that ‘a European printer would require as much salary as ten Chinese put together’. Chinese Repository, vol. 3, no. 6, October 1834, p. 254.
died in 1905, Leonardo, who died in 1913, and Secundino.\textsuperscript{582} Leonardo had married Maria Joséfa de Castro Basto, whose brother José Maria ‘Jeje’ de Castro Basto, managed the company after Leonardo’s death. Eduardo ‘Edo’ Noronha (Leonardo’s son and Jeje’s nephew) then ran the company until his death in 1921.\textsuperscript{583} The exclusion of J.P. Braga from this management team of family members will be discussed in the next chapter. Noronha and Co. moved again from Zetland Street to No. 3A Wellington Street, not far from where it had begun, on the western fringe of the Central Business District. It remained there until the fall of Hong Kong in 1941.

Delfino Noronha was one of a small group of Portuguese immigrants in mid-nineteenth century Hong Kong to create a significant niche for themselves as senior government officers, in the legal profession or in successful businesses.\textsuperscript{584} Most others entered clerical employment, becoming for several generations an under-class of bank clerks, racially disqualified from gaining managerial rank. Noronha was among a few whose aspirations went much further; moreover many of his descendants were distinctly aspirational too. His obituary, published in \textit{O Porvir (the Future)}, a Portuguese community weekly, was clearly written by one of them. Referring to that family, the writer noted:

\begin{flushright}
\textit{Wellington Street, Hong Kong, early twentieth century.}

\textit{The premises of Noronha & Co. are on the right, behind the gas lamp post.}

\textit{Courtesy of Mr Wang Gang.}
\end{flushright}

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\begin{tabular}{c}
\textsuperscript{582} Probate File No. 19 of 1900. Hong Kong Public Record Office HKRS No. 144/4/1011. \\
\textsuperscript{584} An obituary appeared in the Hongkong Daily Press, 8 February 1900. The English press seldom noticed the passing of members of the Portuguese community.
\end{tabular}
\end{flushright}
Delfino de Noronha was a true patriarch and in his life was fortunate to share his life with 10 children, 59 grandchildren and 35 great-grandchildren, with 8 children, 48 grandchildren and 27 great-grandchildren living at the time of his death.\textsuperscript{585}

\begin{center}
\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image}
\caption{The twin towers of the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception (1859-1888) dominate the foreshore of this crowded scene. The small terrace houses in the foreground were the homes of the Portuguese community until the mid-1870s when rising rents forced most of them to move higher up the hill. Oswald’s Terrace, where Noronha’s printery was located, is immediately in front of the left tower. Hong Kong harbour was always crowded with shipping, and even more so after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. The photograph was taken from Caine Road in the Mid-Levels, ca. 1870. The cathedral was rebuilt here in 1888.}
\end{figure}
\end{center}

\textit{Hong Kong Museum of Art, Historical Pictures, p. 71.}

\textsuperscript{585} \textit{O Porvir}, 24 February 1900.
Noronha’s achievement, like that of several other heads of eminent families, was based on unflagging personal drive, a passion for excellence, and a strong sense of public duty. His place in the Portuguese community in Hong Kong was that of a patriarch both in his family and the Portuguese community he had done much to support. While politically sentient, he was not an activist, realising that it would serve no purpose. However, he blazed a trail that his grandson, who held him in high esteem, would follow with determination in later years.
Chapter 7

Printer’s devil – J.P. Braga, 1871-1900

Many people in public life have a chequered career. One has only to think of great figures such as Churchill, Napoleon and Roosevelt to be aware of the heights to which they ascended and the severe crises they endured. Much the same is often true in quite minor positions of leadership. Success is seldom uniform, seldom unaccompanied by serious reversals and even tragedy. This was certainly true of J.P. Braga, described by a later community leader as ‘the community’s biggest champion for a long period of years, one who was a keen fighter against discrimination’.\textsuperscript{586} As a boy he had shown great promise, but a potentially brilliant career was denied him. A decade later, at the age of 29, he was exiled, rejected by his family and his career again apparently ruined. Recovering, he built an increasing public reputation over several decades, but never gained a strong financial position and died a poor man. He married young and had thirteen children, but the marriage was consistently unhappy. In his last years, he was overwhelmed by the catastrophe of war and was forced to abandon all that he had worked hard to achieve, fleeing from once prosperous Hong Kong to the comparative safety of nearby Macau, which his grandparents had left behind them a century before. He died in 1944, before victory was in sight. Yet he was to leave his mark in a distinguished record of disinterested public service. Another lasting contribution was a substantial portion of a written record covering over a century of his community’s contribution to Hong Kong.

He was born on 3 August 1871. It seems that he never saw his father, Vicente Emilio Braga, who left Hong Kong for Japan in December 1870, never to return, leaving his wife newly pregnant with her eighth child. Naturally, this led to gossip, the kindest of which was that he had fled to escape a loveless marriage.\textsuperscript{587} In the absence of José’s father, a kinsman, Januário A. Carvalho (1830-1900), came to have a large


\textsuperscript{587} According to his grandson, A.M. Braga, in \textit{South China Morning Post}, 31 May 1987. However, Tony Braga, a bachelor, was always something of a misogynist. The comment may say more about Tony Braga than about his grandfather.
role in the boy’s life. Carvalho was a close friend of his grandfather and, as Chief Cashier in the Colonial Treasury, was the most prominent leader of the Portuguese community at that time. ‘Was Carvalho more than just a good friend?’ asked the rumour-mongers. The gossip concerning J.P. Braga’s paternity lingered and may have been a contributing factor to his serious reversal of fortune in 1900.

In 1878, Carvalho was the first Portuguese nominated to the Legislative Council of Hong Kong. This nomination arose from his position in the Treasury rather than his leadership in the Portuguese community. The imaginative initiative of the Governor, Sir John Pope Hennessy, it outraged the British ruling class of merchants, bankers and senior public servants. They were relieved when it transpired that he could not take his seat, as he was an alien, a Portuguese subject, and therefore unable to take the oath of loyalty to the Queen. Carvalho continued to take a keen interest in the boy’s welfare as he grew up.

Writing in 1943 as an old man of 72, José Braga gave a glimpse of childhood in a traditional Portuguese home in Hong Kong in the 1870s.

No attempt to delineate an average Portuguese family in Macao or Hongkong would be complete without a description of the family prayers and devotions which are an important part of life in most Portuguese homes – and especially of the old-fashioned homes. The family group assembles in the parents’ room, as a rule after the evening Angelus. The senior feminine member generally leads the prayers, and the responses are said by the others in unison before the little family altar (no matter how humble, each home has its family altar). The whole of the five mysteries of the rosary are recited. At the conclusion, upon rising, the children in turn take the right hand of their parents and kiss them “Good-night”, invoking their blessing in a single word: “benção”, to which the parents reply: “Deus dei graça” (“May God bless you.”).

He added that ‘this formula is the Macao patois for corrupted Latin. In Portugal, the correct reply is “Deus te abençoe” ’.

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588 The brother of Januário Carvalho ( #14446 ), Geraldo Carvalho ( #29160), married Capitolina (‘Lily’) Noronha ( #29159), sister of Carolina Maria Rosa Braga ( #14475), J.P. Braga’s mother. Thus Januário Carvalho was J.P. Braga’s uncle’s brother.

589 Naturally, this rebuff humiliated not only Pope Hennessy and Carvalho, but the entire Portuguese community as well, who presented an adulatory address to Pope Hennessy (read by Carvalho) when he left the colony in March 1882. Reviled by the British community, Pope Hennessy was viewed by the Chinese and Portuguese in a far more favourable light. G.B. Endacott, *A History of Hong Kong*, pp. 181-182; J.P. Braga, *The rights of aliens in Hongkong*, pp. 89-95. A photograph of Pope Hennessy adorned the frontispiece of this pamphlet.

The boy was fortunate to be the youngest in his family. Educational provision for the youth of Hong Kong, Portuguese or Chinese, had been indifferent since the founding of the colony thirty years before his birth. However, since 1850 there had been a Portuguese Boys’ School in Wellington Street, in the Portuguese enclave, and close to Noronha’s printery.\textsuperscript{591}

There had been little provision for schooling in Macau a generation before, but the Portuguese community in Hong Kong was now beginning to embrace the greater opportunities now available to them. José’s four brothers who survived infancy, Francisco Xavier, João Vicente, Braz Maria and António Manuel, are likely to have had their schooling here or at the Italian Convent School before being taken into the family printing business as junior compositors. The Canossian Sisters, an Italian order, opened a school, usually known as the Italian Convent School, in 1860.\textsuperscript{592} J.P. Braga would later aver that three generations of his family had been taught there.\textsuperscript{593}

\textsuperscript{591} A. Sweeting, \textit{Education in Hong Kong, pre-1841 to 1941}, p. 146. J.P. Braga gave the foundation of this school as ten years later. ‘In September 1860 the first Catholic school for European boys was opened in a very small house in Staunton Street with two teachers’. \textit{St. Joseph’s College golden jubilee celebrations: brief historical retrospect. Being an Address delivered at the College by Mr. J.P. Braga, a former pupil, on the 17\textsuperscript{th} May, 1926}, p.1. This pamphlet bears no printer’s colophon, but is set in type similar to other work known to have been printed in his printery. It is likely that he had some copies of his address run off. Braga identified his source as ‘the Paper from Hongkong presented to the Imperial Education Conference in 1911’.

The growth in the Portuguese community led to the establishment of another school. Both were ‘supported by the scholars’, but the authorities seem to have taken little notice of them (G.B. Endacott, \textit{History of Hong Kong}, p. 142. Dr James Legge, the noted sinologue, who was at the forefront of Chinese and English education in Hong Kong for thirty years, ignored the Portuguese community entirely. Shortly before he left Hong Kong to take up the position of inaugural Professor of Chinese at Oxford University, Legge delivered a lengthy lecture describing in detail Hong Kong when he arrived in 1843. The Portuguese community, already present in some numbers, was not mentioned then or later. \textit{China Review}, 3, 1874, pp. 163-176, reprinted in \textit{Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Hong Kong Branch}, vol. 11, 1971, pp. 172-193).

\textsuperscript{592} A. Sweeting, op. cit., p. 150.

\textsuperscript{593} Fragment of an autobiographical note written ca. 1943. J.M. Braga Papers, MS4300/13.1/1.
There was no provision for Catholic secondary education until a commercial college, St. Saviour’s, was established on Wellington Street in 1865, combining the two earlier schools. It began with 152 boys, but enrolments fell away, as the school was simply not preparing boys well enough for commercial life in Hong Kong. It was taken over by the French Lasallian Brothers in 1875, completely re-organised, along lines that had already proved effective in Agra and Colombo and renamed St. Joseph’s College.

St. Joseph’s College commenced with 75 boys, and grew rapidly to 256 by 1879. Although it catered entirely for the Portuguese community, its instruction was in English, since boys with good English stood far better chances of employment. The

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595 Its leading apologist, Fr S.J. Ryan, saw it as ‘the equal of any boys’ school in the Colony’. S.J. Ryan, The Pontifical Foreign Mission Institute in Hong Kong, 1858-1958, chapter 17. A government report in 1876 presented a different view. It ranked St Saviour’s sixth of nine schools inspected, and reported that ‘arithmetic was very weak indeed’. Kennedy to Carnarvon, 24 August 1876, R.L. Jarman, Hong Kong Annual Administration Reports, 1841-1941, vol. 1, p. 430.
596 The Anglican Church, aided by the government, had established St. Paul’s College as a high quality secondary school in 1849 (A. Sweeting, op. cit., p. 146). Its founder, the Rt. Rev. George Smith, the Anglican bishop, chose the same name as the famous Jesuit College in Macau, established three centuries earlier. Its name was chosen for the same reason: it was planned to be the spearhead of an evangelistic thrust into China (A. Sweeting, op. cit., p. 325). However, few if any Catholics would ever go to an Anglican School at this time of deep division between the Catholic Church and all Protestants. The Portuguese community was clearly at a disadvantage at a time when the provision of secondary education was rapidly expanding throughout the world, including Hong Kong and Shanghai. Like the establishment of St. Francis Xavier’s College in Shanghai in 1874, the reorganisation of St. Saviour’s as St. Joseph’s College in 1875 in Hong Kong was both a major endeavour to remedy the situation and a strong response to anti-Catholic sentiment following the Vatican Council of 1870 which promulgated the dogma of Papal Infallibility (Saint Francis Xavier's college diamond jubilee souvenir album 1874-1934; St. Joseph’s College, Hong Kong: diamond jubilee 1875-1935; A. Sweeting, op. cit., pp. 209-211).
Portuguese community was deeply divided about this, as immigrant communities tend to be. Those who stood for cultural maintenance saw this as ‘an act of hostility to the Portuguese’. There were, however, Portuguese classes for those who wanted to study the language. In May 1883 these were suspended because of the small number enrolling in them. José Braga, who entered the school that year, and his nine sons in later years had an English education.

José was fortunate to attend St. Joseph’s during a period of experienced administration, strong growth and a vigorous building programme. From 1884 to 1889, while José Braga was a pupil, Brother Ivarch Louis was Director and consolidated a growing

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598 This led to an outburst of bitter hostility towards the French brothers and Bishop Raimondi (an Italian) who supported them. While the critics’ cultural concerns were genuine, this was yet another example of the small-mindedness that had so often wracked the Macanese community in days gone by; the critics did not then set up their own language classes. The realities of life in Hong Kong demanded English education, and parents knew it. The next year, 1884, enrolments grew to 382, and Raimondi’s opponents gradually fell silent. S.J. Ryan, op. cit., chapters 18 and 19.

599 An able Director from 1880 to 1883, Brother Cyprian, had been a distinguished teacher in New York and Quebec and had held the directorship of several schools in his native land, Canada. In order to cater for the needs of the fast-growing school, he bought a block of land in the Mid-Levels on Glenealy below Robinson Road and a two-storey building was built in 1881, a third storey being added ten years later. A contemporary handbook called it ‘a large and handsome building’ (B. Shepherd, The Hong Kong Guide 1893, p. 80).
reputation for excellence. The curriculum was what had by the 1880s become the standard Modern curriculum, fairly recently introduced in England, and replacing the traditional rigid emphasis on mathematics and the classical languages. Young Braga was introduced to English literature and history and world geography. He kept for the rest of his life the programmes for the 1884 and 1886 annual distribution of prizes at St. Joseph’s.

In 1884, Master J.P. Braga, aged 13, was given an unusually early opportunity of public speaking, which may well have been formative in his thinking and in his public career many years later. Then in the ‘Special Class’, he delivered an extract from a speech in the House of Commons by William Pitt the Elder on the American War, a classic statement of British policy in the Seven Years’ War (1756-1763) from the man chiefly credited with the rise of Britain as a world power in the mid-eighteenth century.

Two years later, in 1886, at the end of the proceedings, he gave the closing address at what was also the close of his school days there. He played the lead role in a play described as ‘A Farce’, ‘Mr Handsome’s Private State Letters’. He also had some private tutoring from a Mr Hart-Milner. He had excelled at school and received the reward for the conspicuous distinction he had attained. This was the award of the Belilios Scholarship, ‘the highest and most coveted prize, with the exception of the Queen’s Scholarship.’

602 Press cutting, possibly from O Extreme Oriente, a Portuguese newspaper published in Hong Kong, 6 April 1889.
603 St. Joseph’s College, Annual Presentation of Prizes, 27 December 1884 and 22 December 1886. Both programmes were printed by Noronha & Co.
604 It had been endowed not long before, in 1883, by E.R. Belilios in memory of his wife (E.J. Eitel, op. cit., p. 564). A sum of sixty dollars was paid to the headmaster of the school, to be paid to the
It was already an established practice for some Portuguese families to send a promising boy to Calcutta to complete his education. Delfino Noronha had already done this for his youngest son Carlos Henrique. He now sent his youngest Braga grandson too. Whether his grandfather, Delfino Noronha, or J.A. Carvalho, or both in combination, paid for him to go to school in India is unknown, but one thing is certain. As José left Hong Kong, Carvalho gave the boy two copies of a photograph of himself, one of which was inscribed: ‘A meu caro José. J.A. Carvalho, Hong Kong 2 de Dez. de 1886’ (‘To my dear José ...’). He kept them on his desk for the rest of his life. Both still exist, scratched, faded and marked with a couple of ink splashes.

Carvalho’s example of community leadership, his encouragement and practical support were a life-long inspiration for the fifteen-year-old boy venturing into the unknown. José also kept another important document. Before he left, Delfino Noronha made sure that his grandson’s citizenship was clarified. To put his status beyond doubt, José was granted a Certificate of Nationality under the Governor’s seal attesting to his British citizenship.

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605 Writing in 1943, J.P. Braga instanced ‘João Maria Silva [who] received his early education in Hong Kong, but continued his studies in the Jesuit College of St. Xavier in Calcutta where several Portuguese lads from Hong Kong also went for their studies in the last quarter of the 19th century.’ J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/13.3/3.
606 E. Morrison, Looking up, looking down the road, p. 9.
607 Pictorial collection, National Library of Australia, nla.pic-vn3597099.
608 J.P. Braga Papers, MS 4380, MS Acc08/113.
On 13 January 1887, José entered St. Xavier’s College, as one of 146 boarders. St. Xavier’s was India’s leading Jesuit school, located at 10 and 11 Park St, Calcutta. The Jesuits had followed their tradition of aiming at the top level of society, and opened their school in 1860 in two properties on Calcutta’s best street, close to the fine Regency mansion built in 1808 by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, effectively the Athenaeum of Bengal. St. Xavier’s rapidly won the reputation of being the best Catholic school in the Far East, a distinction that St Paul’s College in Macau had once boasted. Its staff was almost entirely Jesuit. As early as 1862 it was granted
affiliation with Calcutta University. This was primarily an elite academic institution, and Fr Armand Neut, S.J., the Rector, was strongly opposed to an attempt made in 1886 to introduce technical education. Among a few mementos of his school days, José Braga kept the school calendar for 1887 and the programme of the school’s prize-giving on 13 December 1887. Both were substantial and well-printed booklets, the calendar being of 60 pages and the programme of 16 pages. The expert printer’s grandson would have cast an approving eye over both, noting that they were printed at the Catholic Orphan Press. Another generation of youngsters was being trained in the craft of printing. The two booklets reveal much about the school’s curriculum and organisation.

St Xavier’s College: ‘the Harrow on the Hooghly’, its buildings remarkably similar to the 1860s buildings of Harrow-on-the-Hill. From the college’s website, Accessed 14 February 2012

It was a big school. In 1886 the enrolment was 741 boys, considerably larger than St. Joseph’s in Hong Kong. However, this figure included the ‘School Department’, largely composed of Indian boys in primary and lower secondary classes. The ‘College Department’ had 206 boys, in four upper secondary years. St. Xavier’s was modelled on the English Public School of the mid-Victorian era. A flattering English visitor termed it ‘the Harrow on the Hooghly’. The school calendar indicated close supervision of its students, its fussiness and attention to detailed and prescriptive rules which governed daily routine, the Reading Room and Billiard Club, the Savings Bank and the Literary Society. Many pages of

609 Wikipedia article, St. Xavier’s College, Kolkata, accessed 30 August 2010.
610 R. Kochhar, Seductive Orientalism: English education and modern science, ‘Social Scientist’, 36:45-63, 2008. However, Fr Neut, a Belgian priest, presumably educated at that great centre of learning, Louvain, was no dry academic, but a distinguished scholar and humanitarian. In the year that J.P. Braga attended his school, Fr Neut spent part of the summer holiday visiting the Dutch Leprosy Hospital in Ceylon. He was impressed with what he saw, and the schoolmaster’s eagle eye is evident in his comment, ‘the neatness and cleanliness of the place was remarkable’.
611 Calendar of St. Xavier’s College, 1887 and St. Xavier’s College, Distribution of Prizes, 13 December 1887, National Library of Australia, J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/13.1/1.
612 D. Berwick, A walk along the Ganges, p. 43.
the calendar were devoted to prescribed texts, which generally dictated the curriculum, the textbook being followed meticulously. Fr Neut informed parents:

unceasing care is taken to form the character of the pupils; to inspire them with a love of Religion and Morality; to accustom them to gentlemanly manners, to habits of cleanliness and order, in short to prepare them for their various duties in afterlife.

The Calendar printed the names of prize winners in each subject and the names of the next eight boys were printed in *accessit* order. Pencilled markings alongside the names of boys in Standard VII indicate that these were José Braga’s class mates.

His name appeared twice in the prize list. He had excelled at St. Joseph’s in Hong Kong, but at St. Xavier’s was ninth in English. Newly arrived, he had not yet achieved his potential, and here he was in stiffer competition with English boys. Not surprisingly, the accomplished young orator from Hong Kong won the prize for Elocution and Delivery. In the contemporary British manner, there was a monthly examination, with the names of the top eight boys printed in rank order. ‘Joe’, as his British contemporaries called him, pencilled in the rankings for the next month’s examination. This was a fiercely competitive school, where expectations were high, both of the boys themselves, and the scholarly Jesuits who taught them. The only indication of co-curricular activities was that there was a school band. Here too, bandsmen would compete for one of two silver medals. The most glittering and presumably the most coveted prize, was a gold medal for English Composition, presented by a Maharajah, who held the exalted decoration of KCSI – the Imperial decoration of Knight Commander of the Order of the Star of India.

There were few Indians in the upper classes, and most of the few had Parsee names. This was the enterprising and ambitious community who had set up prosperous businesses throughout the Far East, including Hong Kong. In José Braga’s day,

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613 The school’s organisation was complex. The ‘School Department’ had four upper classes, grouped as the ‘Middle Department’, divided into Standards V, VI, VII and Preparatory Entrance. Above this was the much smaller ‘College Department’, preparing students for further studies. In each ‘standard’ there was a silver medal for the dux and general proficiency prizes for the next three students. In José’s copy of the prize list, a pencilled number 14 may indicate that this was his overall ranking. In addition, there was a prize for each subject in the Modern curriculum as adapted to Catholic education – Religious Instruction, Latin, Mathematics, English, History, Geography and finally, Elocution and Delivery. *Calendar of St. Xavier’s College*, 1887.

614 *Calendar of St. Xavier’s College*, 1887, p. 9.
Indians had little access to St. Xavier’s. St. Joseph’s had an almost entirely Portuguese enrolment, but the boys at St. Xavier’s were mainly English, with a scatter of Portuguese names. The Calendar for 1887 has the names of all the boys enrolled the previous year. In Standard VI there were 64 boys in 1886; this was the group that Braga joined the following year. Four had Portuguese names, thirteen Indian, one Chinese, while the remaining forty-six had English names. José Braga did well to perform towards the top end of this crème de la crème of colonial youth.

Despite the obvious advantages of St. Xavier’s, José and his family – his grandfather and his mother – were ambitious for the boy. Rather surprisingly, he moved at the beginning of 1888 to another school in Calcutta, Roberts College, which lacked the cachet of St. Xavier’s College, but had its own particular advantage.

Apparently named in honour of the eminent soldier, Lord Roberts of Kandahar, Roberts College boasted several of the appurtenances of a thoroughly modern school – a cadet corps, and an ‘athletics department’, which played other schools in cricket and football. By the 1880s, sport was a regular part of the late Victorian regime of ‘mens sana in corpore sano’, even in a small school, though not yet at St. Xavier’s College. Roberts College was non-sectarian; perhaps not the obvious place for a devout Catholic family to send their youngster. He was one of sixteen boarders, who lived with the Principal’s family, ‘cared for as members of a Christian household’. There were 108 pupils at the school, then in its fourth year of operation.

It was run by one G.S. Gasper, who was quite direct in his methods of compulsion: ‘Every boy over five feet in height is considered a member of our Volunteer Rifle Company’. Gasper’s school was outside the grant-in-aid system that had done much throughout the British Empire to open educational opportunities, but which in his view had lowered standards. ‘Our curriculum of studies will show that the amount of work done in our seven classes is more than we could do in nine if we worked for government money. We are thus able to offer superior work while saving

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615 This was just over a year after the foundation in December 1885 of the Indian National Congress (initially led by an Englishman, A.O. Hume), seeking better opportunities for Indians in their own country. A little later it would spearhead the push for Indian independence.

616 Roberts College, Distribution of prizes ... 15 March 1890, p. 17.

617 Ibid., p. 5.

618 Ibid., p. 17.
two years’ schooling.’ 619 In short, Gasper was a crammer, and aimed to get his boys through the Calcutta University Entrance Examination in the shortest possible time. Gasper’s institution apparently outlasted other small schools in an era when there was no regulation of educational establishments, and anyone could put up his shingle, hoping to attract students by advertising good results. ‘Joe’ Braga’s performance would have given Roberts College a huge boost.

An informal group photograph shows that he was on good terms with the other boys, one of whom wrote a warm letter of congratulations to Joe and ‘Mrs Joe’ when he married seven years later.

Doubtless he exceeded the expectations of his family, the school and perhaps himself. Every school hoping to gain public standing offered a gold medal to its best student in the top class. José Braga won the medal in 1888. The Entrance Examination to Calcutta University was set at a high bar, as was the fee charged: 10 rupees, the same as a month’s fee at Roberts College. 620 The examination was held on 11 February 1889, and Gasper sent up twelve candidates, but only two were

619 Ibid., p. 17. He claimed neither a university degree nor a military commission and gave no references, though he secured a distinguished man to present the school’s prizes. Over time, he developed an international clientele: Lee Toon Tock, and Quah Beng Kee, both from prominent Penang families, attended Roberts College roughly a decade later. (http://www.peranakan.org.sg/Resources/Oct-Dec%202005e.pdf, Accessed 16 October 2009).

620 J.P. Braga kept the receipt. J.P. Braga Papers, MS 4380, MS Acc08/113; Roberts College, Distribution of prizes ... 15 March 1890, p. 17.
successful. J.P. Braga, who had already won the gold medal of Roberts College, was awarded a First Class pass, and won the only scholarship available to a European in the Province of Bengal.\(^{621}\) The news was greeted with satisfaction in a Portuguese-language newspaper in Hong Kong:

> We are delighted with the news that our fellow-countryman Mr. José P. de Noronha Braga was awarded the gold medal, the highest prize of the *University Entrance Class* of Roberts College of Calcutta. The medal was presented to Mr. Braga by Sir Alexander Wilson at the distribution of prizes at the Dalhousie Institute on 5th of March [sic. The date was actually 15 March]. Mr. Braga did his course of studies here at St. Joseph’s College and with some private lessons with Mr. Hart-Milner.\(^{622}\)

José Braga, scion of a hard-working family who had already made good in Hong Kong, now seemed set for a stellar career, and planned to study law in England. It is significant that the newspaper chose to add his matronym Noronha to his name in the old Portuguese manner, no longer used in Hong Kong. This was a family which had given him quite literally a golden opportunity, with whom he had a very strong identity and to whom he was unfailingly loyal. Both identity and loyalty were about to be tested in a very cruel way.

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The success of his grandfather’s business had sent José Braga to school at St. Joseph’s, then to St. Xavier’s and Roberts Colleges. The firm was no longer named Noronha & Sons, as by 1880, Delfino’s sons Henrique and Leonardo had left the colony. In their place were three sons of Vicente Braga, who had departed in 1870 for Japan. His eldest son, Francisco, followed him some years later. The next three sons, João Vicente, Braz Maria and António Manuel may have worked for a time in

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\(^{621}\) *Roberts College, Distribution of prizes ... 15 March 1890*, p. 6; ‘At the University Entrance Examination in 1889, he won the Scholarship awarded to the European section of scholars of the Province of Bengal.’ Fragment of an autobiographical note written ca. 1943 by J.P. Braga. J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/13.1/4. The medal is inscribed, ‘Albert Memorial College, Entrance Class’ (in the possession, 2012, of his granddaughter, Mrs Angela Ablong). Gasper had perhaps purchased the remaining stock of gold medals from another small school that had closed its doors.

\(^{622}\) Press cutting, possibly from *O Extreme Oriente*, 6 April 1889. I am indebted to J. Bosco Correa for his translation from the Portuguese. John L. Hart-Milner was sub-editor of the *Hongkong Telegraph*, a newspaper with which Braga would have close connections in later years. Born in Macau in 1848, he died in Hong Kong on 11 July 1889. (Transcription by Patricia Lim of memorial in Colonial Cemetery, Happy Valley. Gwulo.com).
their grandfather’s business, where their work supported their youngest brother in India, apparently on the threshold of a brilliant career.\textsuperscript{623} Whether they envied his success can never be known, for in a disastrous 18 month period all three died of smallpox. There is no record of the anguished letters that must have passed from Hong Kong to Calcutta as first Braz, then António and finally João died between 15 May 1887 and 29 October 1888.\textsuperscript{624} They were three casualties in a serious epidemic that reached its height in March 1888 when it claimed 100 casualties each week and overwhelmed medical facilities.\textsuperscript{625} Admissions between 1884 and 1888 to the Smallpox Hospital, a hulk inaptly named \textit{Hygeia}, which was moored off-shore, tell part of the story.\textsuperscript{626}

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Another unknown is the way the crisis was discussed in Hong Kong. Delfino could not bring his sons Henrique and Leonardo back to Hong Kong. Henrique had the government printing contract in Singapore, while Leonardo was running Noronha & Sons in Shanghai. He may have considered bringing employees into partnership. That did not happen. After running a demanding business for more than 45 years, he may have become difficult to work with, but it would be rash to make this

\textsuperscript{623} Though Braz Maria was an assistant in the New Oriental Bank at the time of his death. CS/1021/00220639.
\textsuperscript{624} J. Forjaz, \textit{Familias Macaenses}, vol. 3, p. 324.
\textsuperscript{625} \textit{New York Times}, 11 March 1888, quoting an article from the London paper \textit{Figaro}.
\textsuperscript{626} Frederick Stewart, Acting Governor, to Lord Knutsford, 2 September 1889, 27 August 1891, R.L. Jarman, \textit{Hong Kong Annual Administration Reports, 1841-1941}, vol. 2, pp. 37, 100.
assumption. A fairer conclusion is that this was a family business, and Delfino was resolved that it should remain so.627 In the event, there was only one outcome to the family tragedy. Perhaps after exhausting all other possibilities, his mother prevailed on her youngest son, José, to return to assist his grandfather. It seems to have taken a long time before this decision was reached, because he did sit for the university entrance examination, four months after the death of his brother João.

It was a shattering blow for the young man. Still only 17 ½, he was not old enough, and lacked the means, to stand on his own feet and go to England to pursue the legal studies on which he had set his heart. His duty was clear; he must return to his family’s aid. It was a very courageous thing to do. There was no way of knowing whether the epidemic had run its course. If he went back to Hong Kong, was he facing a death sentence? Smallpox, now eradicated from the world in the greatest single triumph of modern medicine, was fatal in about 30% of cases, but it had wiped out three of his brothers. It was endemic in the tropics, and had proved a serious scourge in Hong Kong in the 48 years of British occupation. It was a horrible way to die, and José would have known that. Those who survived were scarred for life with deep disfiguring weals on their faces and bodies. Perhaps this was the best he could hope for.

On 15 March 1889 he received his gold medal at Dalhousie Institute in Calcutta, applauded by the whole school and their guests. Less than two months later, he was back in Hong Kong, working in the printing office of Noronha & Co. as a junior compositor, a ‘printer’s devil’. His disappointment was profound. Delfino Noronha did what he could to help his grandson deal with it. He contacted a Portuguese lawyer of his acquaintance, Valentim Rozario, who wrote to ‘Mr Bragas’ seeking to dissuade him from a legal career, describing the law as ‘nothing else but humbug’.628 The young man, no fool, must have regarded this letter for what it was: ‘nothing else but humbug’. Rozario went on:

If you were to article yourself to a Solicitor practising in this Colony you will have to undergo much drudgery in the Office for 6 long years! and put up with any amount of nonsense; for it is his interest to hinder and retard your progress for fear of competition and cutting him down.

627 He made this plain in his Will, executed in 1897.
José knew that working in the printery could well turn into a lifetime of drudgery, not just six years of it. Curiously, he kept the letter, and it was discovered a century later in the papers of his youngest son, Paul. Perhaps Paul too had hankered after a legal career that did not eventuate.

José Braga did not succumb to a deep depression. The ferocious pace of Noronha’s printing office ensured that; the never-ending deadlines kept him on his toes. Moreover, he may have seen himself as Noronha’s heir apparent. At all events, he threw himself into his work, and into developing a warm relationship with the much older man. He had left Hong Kong in December 1886 as a boy, returning two years later as a young man with poise and with a very substantial accomplishment to his credit. He determined not to allow this unrealised potential to atrophy. The printing press would be the means by which he could make his mark as a publicist and journalist, but a decade later, this proved to be his undoing.

His time in India left José Braga with two important legacies. Firstly, he had rubbed shoulders with English boys, and had proved himself to be their social equal and intellectual superior. Secondly, he learned from this British community how to work with people, and not against them. In his own career as a businessman from 1910 onwards, he was an effective company director and chairman, but never collaborated with other members of the Portuguese community except on the boards of social clubs.

In Calcutta he saw the huge social gulf between the British and the Indians, powerless in their own land. As a schoolboy at a British school, he had for two years adopted the superior social attitudes of the ruling class. Returning to Hong Kong, he was thrown sharply back into the position of social and economic inferiority that the Portuguese were obliged both to occupy and to expect.

José Braga had too much drive to keep his head down for long. An opportunity came in 1891 for him to organise a family celebration that was to have important personal consequences. His youngest uncle Carlos Henrique (Charlie) Noronha, only twelve years older than himself, had met a visiting Australian, Corunna Louisa Pollard, in Calcutta in 1884. Corunna, known to her family as ‘Crun’, was a member of a large family theatrical troupe, the Pollard Liliputians, who had won acclaim in Australia, New Zealand and India.
A BIRTHDAY WISH.

Music by Miss O. POLLE.

And let all theiverse hail
With hearty jubilation.

For this is a day of festivity—
The birthday of our King.

Of days which are altogether
Are all sweet; hope portrays
Of hearts which light as a feather
Can revel in those days.

Of hearts which like the flowers
Shed sun, and form not shade—
Of such through all his bounty
May all thy life be made.

May Peace and Joy in heart's home
With sweet content unite,
For many a blissful year to come,
To make the birthday bright!
between 1881 and 1884. Not herself a performer, but more a wardrobe mistress and dresser, Corunna returned with Charlie to Hong Kong where they married. Another Pollard sister, Eleanor (‘Nellie’), was also married in India that year, to an English engineer, Daniel Chester. A third sister was Olive, a violinist, who as a child prodigy had already been to India. A few years later, possibly in 1888, it appears that Olive again came to Calcutta to visit her sister Nellie Chester. Here she met Joe Braga. Joe, a year younger than Olive, was a fine-looking boy of 17, and a confident member of a group of English lads.

Three years later, in 1891, she went to Hong Kong, probably to visit her sister Corunna Noronha. The visit of this famous young artist, whom José had already met, was an opportunity not to be missed, and he put together a ‘Soirée Musicale’ to celebrate his grandfather’s 67th birthday. A beautifully printed little card also honoured the old printer. This was a large family gathering, in which Olive Pollard was the only outsider, but she was centre stage.

She had written a song, ‘A Birthday Wish’ in honour of Delfino, and played her violin in three of the twelve items. ‘Joe’, as she called José, used his gifts of oratory in the recitation of Edgar Alan Poe’s ‘The Raven’, a darkly mysterious piece of verse. She was as captivated by him as he was by her. Born on 18 January 1870 in Tasmania of English parents, she came from the English culture that Joe had

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629 The variant spelling ‘Liliputians’ rather than ‘Lilliputians’ was intentional.
630 The location of the marriage is given as Calcutta in the birthday book of yet another sister, May Pollard, in the writer’s possession. However, J. Forjaz, *Familias Macaenses*, vol. 2, p. 822, indicated that the marriage took place in Hong Kong. This record is to be preferred, as Forjaz had consulted church records. It seems likely that the family were told that they were married, but that happened some time later.
632 I am indebted to Peter Downes of Wellington, New Zealand, who has carefully traced the movements of members of the Pollard family, corroborating a family oral tradition. Peter Downes’ *The Pollards* is the definitive study of this remarkable family.
633 According to her daughter, Mrs Maude Franks, *South China Morning Post*, 11 April 1962.
634 The others taking part, in order of appearance, were Edith Maria Carvalho (Delfino’s great-niece), Carlos Henrique Noronha (son – Corunna’s husband and thus Olive’s brother-in-law), António Hugo dos Remedios (José’s brother-in-law. His wife, Umbelina ‘Bellie’ dos Remedios, was thus Delfino’s granddaughter), Eugenio José Lopes and Francisco Xavier Lopes (Delfino’s grandsons), Clara Maria Noronha (granddaughter), Edmundo Artur Carvalho (husband of Delfino’s granddaughter) and José Maria ‘Joe’ Noronha (grandson). Besides having married into the Noronha family, the two Carvalhos were the children of Januário Carvalho, Delfino’s old friend and José Braga’s mentor. J. Bosco Correa and Emeritus Professor Henrique A. d’Assumpção AO have kindly identified all those taking part from the names on the programme. The card does not bear the imprint of Noronha & Co., but could not possibly have been printed elsewhere. It is in the possession of the writer.

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imbibed in Calcutta, and after which he still hankered. If he could not become an English-trained lawyer, he could still marry an Englishwoman. Nearly four years later, she returned to Hong Kong to marry him on 5 May 1895.  

Meanwhile, the busy life of the printery went on, with its unremitting schedule of deadlines for the Government Gazette. José Braga and Carlos Noronha seem to have taken particular responsibility for the major jobs that came the way of Noronha & Co. During the 1890s, these were:

J.W. Norton-Kyshe, *The History of the Laws and Courts of Hong Kong*, 2 vols, 1898. These two huge legal tomes were flawlessly produced, and included several high-quality photographic portraits and illustrations.  

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635 The marriage certificate is in the J.P. Braga Papers, MS 4380, MS Acc08/113.
637 This group is extracted from J.P. Braga’s own list of the major productions of Noronha & Co. *The Portuguese in Hongkong and China*, pp. 129-130.
Stewart Lockhart’s book may have been the job that required the greatest care, attention and expertise. The author was the Colonial Secretary and Registrar-General, the most important person in the colony after the Governor. Stewart Lockhart had collected Chinese coins and tokens for many years, and had become an authority on the subject. This book was the first part of what would now be termed a *catalogue raisonné*. It contained many illustrations including full-sized images of early wedge-shaped tokens from pre-Han civilisations. A book like this had to be error-free, both because of its outstanding scholarship, and also because of the author’s prominence in Hong Kong. More than a century later, the catalogue is still regarded as an important reference work. 638

Unusually, the book contains a ‘Printers’ Note’:

_Currency of the Farthest East_ affords an excellent illustration of the art of wood engraving as practised by the Chinese. While photogravure is rapidly replacing this ancient art in Europe, the conservative Chinaman still adheres to the old method of illustrating his book by means of woodcuts.

Owing to the peculiar custom, which is usual among the Chinese, of printing from boards of irregular thicknesses, great difficulty has been experienced in dealing with these blocks on a modern press. Though the result obtained, as shown in the accompanying volume, may not be perfect, it is hoped that the illustrations may prove interesting as examples of wood engraving among the Chinese. 639

In his introduction, Stewart Lockhart went out of his way to acknowledge the work of Mr C. Noronha and Mr J. Braga of Noronha & Co. ‘for the skilful manner in which the plates have been printed’. 640

Commendation like this from the Colonial Secretary was a significant reward. However, old Delfino Noronha was a man who rarely gave praise. His grandson

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638 Shiona M. Airlie, ‘Lockhart, Sir James Haldane Stewart’ in M. Holdsworth and C. Munn (eds), *Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography*, p. 285. This article should be entitled, ‘Stewart Lockhart, Sir James Haldane’. Scottish double-barrelled surnames are not hyphenated, but the author has not noticed this.


640 Ibid., p. viii. When Delfino Noronha died in 1900, Stewart Lockhart attended the funeral (_Hongkong Daily Press_, 8 February 1900). This was a remarkable sign of esteem. For such a senior government officer, a Protestant, to attend the funeral of a member of the Portuguese community, in the Catholic cathedral, was certainly counter-cultural at that time.
treasured a note scribbled on a scrap of paper in printer’s blue pencil. It happened to be written on the younger man’s 26th birthday, but there is no indication of that. The first sentence appears to refer to a job well done. Written in Portuguese, it read:

José

It is very explicit as far as the last condition – it is one more [illegible] of your character which I highly praise.

Your affectionate grandfather

D. Noronha  3/8/97

It was not an easy time to be a foreigner in the British Empire. The last two decades of the nineteenth century were the high point of British imperial expansion in which the map of the world was be-spattered by Imperial red. The Indian Empire, ‘the brightest jewel in the Crown’, was proclaimed in 1876. In Hong Kong, the Kowloon peninsula on the north side of the harbour was added to the Crown Colony in 1860, and in the 1880s, a push began which resulted in the acquisition of the New Territories as a 99 year lease in 1898. The British government effectively did as it pleased in China. So too did the British community, in China and in Hong Kong.

By the 1890s, the racial divide in Hong Kong was particularly marked, and was accentuated in 1894 by what the Governor termed ‘an unexampled calamity’, a

641 J.P. Braga Papers, MS 4380, MS Acc08/113. I am grateful to J. Bosco Correa and Fernando Menezes Ribeiro for their translation of this difficult fragment.

642 Fully discussed in P. Wesley-Smith, Unequal Treaty 1898-1997: China, Great Britain and Hong Kong’s New Territories.

643 In Hong Kong, a spectacular example was the punitive action taken against the walled village of Kam Tin, which stubbornly resisted the British take-over of the New Territories in 1898. The Governor of Hong Kong, Sir Henry Blake, had the iron gates of the village removed, and when he retired, took them with him to his estate in Ireland. His action was widely condemned, but the days of military plunder had not yet ended. However, after his death the gates were returned in 1924, by which time plunder was unacceptable. This incident became a long-lasting part of Hong Kong folklore. P. Wesley-Smith, ‘The Kam Tin gates’, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Hong Kong Branch, 1980, pp. 46-47.
serious outbreak of bubonic plague. Drastic action was required to deal with public health issues that had been neglected for far too long in the rapidly growing city. Troops using aggressive cleansing measures moved through Taipingshan, the location of the largest number of fatalities. It was the worst Chinese slum, and in the next few years, there would be wholesale slum clearance, fiercely resisted by the Chinese population. Antagonism and contempt between the two communities were intense, and took many years to abate. The next year, 1895, the Portuguese community found itself caught in an outburst of withering scorn for non-British people publicly expressed in the newspapers. A few highly publicised cases of the failings of Portuguese clerks led to an outpouring of racism in letters to the editor that would be not only unthinkable but also illegal in most parts of the world a century later. The Siam Free Press, an English-language paper in Bangkok, blandly observed that ‘Hongkong is passing through one of its periodic fits of jingoism which generally takes the shape of a denunciation of all aliens.’

One pointed observation seems to have provoked an outburst by young José Braga, still smarting from what had happened to him six years before. ‘Another Victim’ described the Portuguese as ‘the degenerated descendants of a once mighty race’. Not all the correspondence was anti-Portuguese. One letter, from ‘An Old Resident’, put in plain terms the socio-economic deprivation that the Portuguese suffered in a capitalist system in which there were few constraints limiting the rich and powerful.

If instead of being a poor community the Portuguese were powerful and influential like the Germans, who are absorbing the bulk of trade in the Colony, and who are supplanting the English merchants in every branch of commerce, or wealthy like the Jews, they would not be subjected to so many indignities.

The nineteenth century was a great age for the publication of pamphlets, usually replete with bombast and prolixity. J.P. Braga’s Rights of Aliens in Hongkong is a good example of it. At first, he participated energetically in the newspaper dialogue with a letter to the Hongkong Telegraph:

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646 Hongkong Telegraph, 27 August 1895, quoted in J.P. Braga, The Rights of Aliens in Hongkong, p. 3.
647 Hongkong Telegraph, 14 September 1895, quoted in J.P. Braga, op. cit., p. 54.
At the outset let me state that I am not posing myself as the champion of the community to which I belong, but being a factor of that community, I share in the wrongs so patiently endured by it, and must, of necessity, raise a voice, however feeble, in vindication thereof.\footnote{Letter to the Editor, *Hongkong Telegraph*, 28 August 1895, quoted in J.P. Braga, *The Rights of Aliens in Hongkong*, pp. 22-23.}

He followed this up in December 1895 with a 95 page pamphlet that reprinted much of the correspondence that had erupted in August and September.\footnote{The lengthy discussion is set out in full in *The Rights of Aliens in Hongkong*, pp. 25-40.}

Naturally, the Macau and Hong Kong Portuguese press took a great deal of interest in what was going on in Hong Kong. Braga’s pamphlet reprinted, in Portuguese, 15 pages of the reports of *Echo Macaenses* and *Extremo Oriente*. Some were long-winded, some perspicacious and far-sighted. The *Echo*, in a long article on 11 September, commented on the inferior status of the Hong Kong Portuguese, and offered a way forward:

Three measures as follows suggest a swift way to prepare a better future for the Portuguese of Hong Kong:-

a. Technical education  
b. An association  
c. Emigration

It would eventually be the last of these, emigration, that proved to be the way in which most of their descendants, three generations later, would find a better life.

The *Echo* concluded its lengthy discussion with a comment on the young man of 24 who had taken up the cudgels on behalf of the otherwise silent and submissive Portuguese community. He had pointedly remarked that he did not see himself as the champion of that community. The *Echo*, just as pointedly, did so. The rest of its article was reprinted in the original Portuguese, but Braga translated the last paragraph.

We hope the young writer will continue to defend the just and sacred cause of his compatriots and exert himself for their well-being, by promoting an association, great or small, to watch over the general interests of the Portuguese community at Hongkong, by repelling unjust aggressions, and by discussing measures for securing a better future for the rising generation.\footnote{*Echo Macaenses*, 11 September 1895, reprinted in *The Rights of Aliens in Hongkong*, p. 72.}
It was a challenge that ‘the young writer’ would indeed take up in later years, in action, as well as word.

It is hard to see for whom the pamphlet was written. It would certainly have been ignored by the British community. There were few if any activists in the Portuguese community, almost all of whom had to keep their noses to the grindstone to survive in the Hong Kong mercantile economy. Any suggestion of radicalism would surely threaten their employment, almost all of which was with British companies. Senior members of the community would have been alarmed at this outburst from a young hothead. This was no time to foment trouble in the middle of the serious depression then gripping capitalist economies and stultifying international trade. Hong Kong suffered severely. A petition to the Governor in May 1893 had warned that ‘there has been experienced a condition of local depression previously undreamt of’. The serious epidemic of bubonic plague in 1894 then added to the colony’s woes. There is no doubt that J.P. Braga had his grandfather’s permission, perhaps even his blessing, to go ahead with what others would have seen at best as a very young man’s polemic, but at worst, a reckless and foolish publication. It bears the colophon ‘Printed and published at Noronha & Co.’ José would surely have had to pay for it himself, but the company’s name was there for all to see – if anyone bothered. One who did notice the little book was J.J. Francis, who wrote:

My dear Mr Braga

I congratulate you on the appearance of your little volume. It is, if you will permit me to say so, very well arranged and very effective for the purpose you had in view. I read it through with great pleasure. I am very glad the Telegraph was able to give you such support.

Happy and prosperous new year to you and all yours.

Very truly yours

Jno J. Francis

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651 Odds and Ends, May 1897, p. 66.
This was powerful affirmation from the owner of the *Hongkong Telegraph*. There may have been a few others who bothered, but they were not Portuguese. There was one other community – if that is the term for a small group of people ostracised even more completely than the Portuguese. These were the Eurasians, the product of a union between a European man and a Chinese woman. Marriage between the races was a very rare circumstance, so a Eurasian was more commonly the result of a *mesalliance*. Eurasians were commonly held to have all the vices and none of the virtues of both parents, and in the thinking of the time, that made them tend towards crime and perversion, usually homosexuality. If the Portuguese were down-trodden, Eurasians were pariahs to both the British and Chinese communities.

There was but one outstanding exception, a man so remarkable as to rise far above all prejudices. He came to figure prominently in the affairs of the Hong Kong community generally and in particular in the affairs of the Braga family, the beneficiaries of his far-sighted philanthropy on several occasions. This was Robert Ho Tung, born in 1862, one of several children fathered by an English businessman with Dutch ancestry, Charles Henry Maurice Bosman, who took a Chinese mistress.

Ho Tung – the name by which he became generally known, but there are many variations – joined the comprador’s office of Jardine, Matheson & Co. in 1880 through his father’s business connections with the firm. This was a position usually held by a well-connected Chinese. By the early 1880s he had through sheer ability become Head Comprador. It was a position of unique importance in Hong Kong. In any European set-up, from a domestic ménage to a great trading corporation, there had to be a go-between fluent in both English and Chinese, because few of the British bothered to learn Chinese. In household terms, this was usually the cook who

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652 Undated, but December 1895 or January 1896. J. J. Francis, QC, a barrister, was the owner of the *Hongkong Telegraph*, founded in 1881 by Robert Fraser-Smith, who died in 1895, when Francis purchased the paper. Francis continued its tradition of being an irritant to the government of the day. Braga’s pamphlet was very much in tune with the stance taken by this paper, of which he would become manager seven years later. However, a careful reading of the *Telegraph* for the period indicates that the paper itself made no reference to Braga’s pamphlet. J.P. Braga kept Fraser’s letter among his most precious personal papers. J.P. Braga Papers, MS 4380, MS Acc08/11.

653 According to Sir Reginald Stubbs, the Chinese habitually referred to Eurasians as ‘bastards’ – as did the British. N. Miners, *Hong Kong under imperial rule, 1912-1941*, p. 128.

supervised domestic arrangements and purchased supplies, ensuring a tidy profit for himself in the process. This was accepted practice, regarded by nobody as dishonest or corrupt. It followed that the larger the organisation, the greater was the expectation both of excellent performance and profit to the man holding this position. There was no more powerful or profitable business undertaking in the Far East than Jardine’s, and its Head Comprador had to be a person of immense skill as a manager and negotiator, with superb fluency in written English and Chinese, together with command of several dialects. Such skills were almost unknown at that time, but Ho Tung possessed them.

In less than ten years, he acquired very considerable wealth, retiring from Jardine’s in 1889, and then setting out in business on his own account. He quickly became Hong Kong’s first millionaire, at a time when $1,000 was a small fortune. In a place where money talks, Ho Tung earned admiration, not the contempt and derision usually meted out to a Eurasian. Taller than most Chinese, and with blue eyes, he cut a striking figure dressed in the robes of a mandarin, though he had not been through the exacting process of the Imperial Examinations that continued until 1905. In a sense he possessed an excellence that transcended the wisdom of the Imperial viceroys and the business acumen of the Western merchants. Yet as a youth, he would have experienced in full measure the treatment handed out to Eurasians.

Ho Tung was one of the leaders in a protest by the Chinese community against the Light and Pass Ordinance, which effectively placed a curfew on the Chinese community. Ho Tung kept his finger on the pulse of Hong Kong, and it seems certain that he had read Braga’s pamphlet which also protested against racial discrimination. Others might dismiss it as a youthful and intemperate outburst, but to Ho Tung, it revealed Braga’s considerable skill with words and his preparedness to pursue an issue with determination. These were qualities that Ho Tung valued. Perhaps even more, Braga’s obvious potential appealed to Ho Tung, who over the next sixty years would go to considerable lengths and would donate large sums to give opportunities
for a better life to people who showed promise. Ho Tung already had contact with the Noronhas, as Corunna Noronha, José Braga’s sister-in-law, was his children’s English teacher.655

Braga must have been aware that in writing and publishing *Rights of Aliens* he was like a soapbox orator fulminating to an empty park. His next foray into publishing was directed to what he hoped would be a wider market. There had never been a successful magazine in Hong Kong comparable to numerous British and European magazines catering for an intelligent, well-educated readership, but he might find a clientele for a pastiche of non-political local comment, short stories, historical pieces and an occasional feature article.656 If his pamphlet *Rights of Aliens* had been abrasive and confrontational, his bi-monthly magazine *Odds and Ends*, first published less than a year later in November 1896, sought to be bland and inclusive.

If it were to find a market, that was essential. Perhaps he had been told to soften his public image. This time, J.P. Braga was the publisher, not Noronha & Co., but he gave the well-known Noronha address, 9 Zetland Street. Inaugural issues of nineteenth century magazines usually proclaimed their intentions, and *Odds and Ends* was no exception. Braga referred to several short-lived predecessors, the *China Magazine*, the *China Punch* and the *Magpie*.

For a time they seemed to fulfil the hopes of their promoters ... [but] after a short career all three papers have disappeared from circulation.657

He did not ignore the technical challenge he faced:

The conditions in regard to printing which prevailed in Hongkong twenty years ago are not materially changed today ... progress in Europe and progress in the East in this respect have not been concurrent. [In Europe] graphic art has approached a state of perfection ... [in the Far East] the primitive methods of the inventor Fungtau, who lived in the tenth century, are still employed at the present time.658


656 The first literary magazine in the Far East was the *Canton Miscellany*, an elegantly written and well-produced magazine printed on a press owned by William Jardine. That was more than sixty years earlier, in 1831. Braga could never hope to create a local version of the superb and internationally renowned *Illustrated London News* or *The Graphic*.

657 *Odds and Ends*, no. 1, November 1896.

658 Copies of all of these are rare. Two copies of the *China Magazine* were offered at the International Antiquarian Bookfair, Hong Kong, in November 2009 by John Randall (Books of Asia). Each has a
Five numbers of Odds and Ends were published between November 1896 and August 1897.

This was too self-deprecatory. His first issue contained two well-executed photographs and the second, five. The third issue should have been a winner. It was graced by seven photographs, printed using half-tone technology, then the latest development, and produced as expertly as could be achieved anywhere in 1897. They included five fine studies of the newly completed Gap lighthouse, perched spectacularly on a rocky islet 26 miles south of Hong Kong. It had taken six years to build at the enormous cost of $150,000, was a huge boon to shipping approaching Hong Kong, and a very important step forward.\textsuperscript{659} The fourth issue, in May 1897 posed studio photograph of two Chinese merchants set onto the front cover. J.P. Braga was aiming high to compare his magazine with this fine production.

\textsuperscript{659} G.B. Endacott, op. cit., pp. 162, 163 and 256.
contained a superb photographic study of the Filipino patriot Rizal, but more of this a little later. However, it was all to no avail. The real challenge was not technical, for Noronha had kept abreast of changing technology, and possessed the most modern printing press in the colony. Instead, the real challenge was to find a readership. He sought subscribers and advertisers in each issue, but advertisements appeared only in the first. The little magazine, on which so much care, journalistic skill and printing expertise was lavished, did not take off. The fifth number, August 1897, was the last. In his memoir of the Portuguese in Hong Kong, written more than forty years later, Braga briefly mentioned it, in passing, as ‘a short-lived magazine which I edited and printed in my grandfather’s printery’.

Apart from his forays into publishing, José Braga had been part of a small group of people who had become keenly interested in events on the other side of the South China Sea in the Philippine Islands, under Spanish rule for more than three centuries. An independence movement grew there during the 1880s, led by a Filipino physician, José Rizal. The little group of Hong Kong Portuguese activists gave passionate support to the Filipinos in their struggle for justice, for they too saw themselves as the victims of injustice.

Rizal lived and practised medicine in Hong Kong from November 1891 until March 1892. He lodged with the family of José Maria Basa in the Portuguese district, next door to Lourenço Pereira Marques, a member of a distinguished and once-wealthy Macanese family who had studied medicine in Dublin and there gained British citizenship. Returning to Hong Kong to practise, he found himself consigned to a position he felt was far below his capabilities: medical officer at Victoria Gaol, a dead-end job from which there was no prospect of promotion. Basa and Marques introduced Rizal to some of their friends among the small group of professionals in the Portuguese community. Rizal found himself among a group of like-minded radicals – a discontented group of potential trouble-makers. Among these, according to Austin Coates, were Dr Wençeslão Cesário de Silva, Delfino Noronha and José

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Pedro Braga. Braga confirmed that he did indeed meet Rizal at his grandfather’s home.

At his table I met many interesting figures of the day. Among these was the Filipino patriot, José Rizal, while on his last visit to Hongkong, not long before his arrest and murder by the Spanish in Manila…I still recall the horror and indignation which filled the Portuguese community in Hongkong when the news reached the British colony of the treacherous manner in which the beloved leader of the Filipino people had been done away with.

Rizal returned to Manila in June 1892, was soon arrested, and after a protracted delay, was tried for treason, found guilty and immediately executed by firing squad on 30 December 1896. Though he was not a practising Catholic, Rizal’s last spoken words were ‘Consummatum est’. The Filipino people would treasure them as they did the Saviour’s last triumphal cry. They would treasure, too, his last written words. The night before Rizal died, he wrote a farewell poem, ‘Ultimo Adiós’, to the Filipino people, which was to become a rallying-cry as they honoured their martyred hero. It was smuggled out of his prison cell inside the fuel tank of the spirit lamp by the light of which it had been written. The melodramatic tale continues.

Together with a photograph of Rizal, a copy was sent to Hong Kong, where it came into the possession of J.P. Braga, who was putting together the next number of *Odds and Ends*. Braga, who greatly admired Rizal, resolved to print it, with the photograph. Wanting to make the best possible job of the photograph, he sent it to

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London. It was printed on a superior card and inserted into the issue for May 1897. It was accompanied by Rizal’s poem, printed in Spanish, entitled *Mi Ultimo Pensamiento*, by which title it was known for several years. ⁶⁶⁵

To Braga this may have been a gesture of remembrance, but to others, it might have seemed an act of defiance. It was a time when discretion seemed prudent. The international situation in the Far East was tense throughout the 1890s, as war broke out between China and Japan in 1894, followed by often-competing demands from all the Great Powers for further concessions in China. Following the death of Rizal, protracted unrest in the Philippines led to American intervention there. Filipino nationalists declared independence, and after the Americans took effective control in 1898, there was talk of a Philippine Republic being organised in Hong Kong. The British government warned Sir William Robinson, the Governor, against allowing this. ⁶⁶⁶ Yet here was a publication, emanating from the Government Printer’s office, which seemed to be overtly encouraging these dissidents.

The death of Delfino Noronha at the age of 76 on 6 February 1900 gave José Braga's enemies the opportunity they sought. By the end of the year, he was out of the business and out of Hong Kong. There is no documentary evidence for what happened, but it does not take much imagination to apply to this situation an observation that Braga made on more than one occasion. It weighed heavily on his mind, because he had borne the brunt of it.

> It has regretfully to be admitted that the failure of the Portuguese to combine their material and intellectual strength for the common weal has been due principally to their inherent jealousy of one another’s success ... These traits have been markedly evident all through the history of the Portuguese in Hong Kong. ⁶⁶⁷

Other members of the Noronha family had been concerned about the direction of events for some time. Young José had been acting for years as though he were the heir apparent to the business. Perhaps the last straw was that on 31 December 1898

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he was admitted to partnership in Noronha & Co. Printers & Publishers. His own account of it was that he had become joint manager with his uncle, Leonardo Noronha, but subsequent events indicate that it was not a satisfactory relationship. Braga’s son Jack related his version many years later.

My father, José Pedro Braga, eventually became the manager, greatly to the disgust of his uncles and when old man Noronha died, the uncles decided to sell the business for a sum, something like $HK350,000 in the year 1901, which at that time was a tremendous amount of money for a purchase of that kind.

While the amount mentioned is likely to have been greatly exaggerated by years of disappointed hopes, the memory of tensions between nephew and uncles is undoubtedly accurate. In his will Delfino Noronha made careful provision for family members who seemed to him to need it most. His estate was divided into nine parts, only one of which went to one of his sons, Leonardo. All the rest went to women. However, there were four trustees, including his sons Henrique and Leonardo and his son-in-law, António Basto. The fourth trustee was J.P. Braga. He may have been the apple of his grandfather’s eye at the beginning of the year, but his fall from grace was swift. Faced with the united hostility of the other three, he was no longer able to sustain the prominent position that he had come to enjoy with his grandfather’s goodwill.

José’s uncles, Henrique, Leonardo and Secundino Noronha took charge. The first two at least were experienced printers, and had been part of ‘Noronha & Sons’ when the business was known by that name in the 1860s. By 1900, both Henrique and Leonardo were themselves elderly, having retired from their businesses in Singapore and Shanghai, so the firm was run, first, by Leonardo’s brother-in-law José Maria de Castro Basto, and later by Leonardo’s son, Eduardo Noronha. The firm retained the government contract and remained in family ownership in succeeding generations until World War II, but J.P. Braga was excluded, never to return.

668 Hong Kong Government Gazette, 7 January 1899, CS/1021/00200845.
669 Interview in the South China Morning Post, 16 January 1929.
670 Interview with J.M. Braga, 11 June 1972.
672 One episode in this difficult situation throws light on what was to be an abiding facet of his public career for the rest of his life. His sister-in-law, Corunna Noronha, had separated from her husband Carlos, José’s uncle, who had gone to Shanghai. She and her three children were in difficult circumstances, and José did what he could to secure her portion of the inheritance. Her gratitude was still remembered by her grandchildren a century later. E. Morrison, Looking up, looking down the road, p. 202.
Why did his Noronha uncles and cousins want to be rid of him? Even before Delfino Noronha died, the knives were out for J.P. Braga. He had pushed the limits too far. As others might see it, *The Rights of Aliens in Hongkong* had attacked the British. His enthusiastic support of Rizal ran counter to Hong Kong Government policy. These rash actions seriously compromised the firm’s government contract, which might be revoked. The government contract provided a cash flow that was almost immune from the wild swings of boom and bust in Hong Kong’s economy. Week in and week out the *Gazette* appeared, so say nothing of other government work. Nothing must be allowed to jeopardise this golden tide.

Braga ascribed some actions of others to ‘inherent jealousy’. In this case, ‘malice’ might be a better word. There was the old gossip about his suspect parentage. More recently, his marriage was a source of adverse comment. It was an unsuitable marriage, outside the Portuguese community, to the sister-in-law of Carlos Noronha, whose marriage was seen as a failure. He had his grandfather’s ear and made too much of that connection, to the exclusion of others. Even in the celebration of his grandfather’s 67th birthday, this young man had taken centre stage. There was no senior member of the family whose name appeared on the program to act as chairman for the evening or to deliver a speech, *de rigueur* for formal Portuguese gatherings. Calcutta-educated, he had become too self-important, as they saw it. It seems to have counted for nothing that José had returned to Hong Kong in 1889, obedient to his family’s call in a crisis, or that he had been responsible for several of the firm’s best productions in the ensuing decade. There was no job for him in Hong Kong, and within a few months he had been banished to Macau by his family.

If Macau had so little to offer his grandparents in the 1840s that they left, it had less in 1900. There had been several more waves of émigrés in the intervening half century. The first was in 1849, following the murder of the Governor, João Maria Ferreira do Amaral. On that occasion, the Governor of Hong Kong sent a warship to

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673 This was still to be heard in the 1990s.
ensure Macau’s survival. Macau again seemed in peril in 1864, and there was more British sabre-rattling and more Portuguese emigration. Far worse was the Great Typhoon in September 1874, which devastated Macau, leaving at least 2,000 dead. In the next few months several hundred people fled to Hong Kong from Macau. Its historian sadly commented that ‘the disastrous typhoon consummated the ruin of the Macanese’. A few nostalgic émigrés would sometimes return at weekends. A modern vignette of their impressions gives some understanding of the sleepy backwater to which J.P. Braga came.

In the lobby of the Hing Kee Hotel, the aroma of jasmine tea added pleasantly to the murmur of that Sunday morning. The space was ample and comfortable, devoid of luxury. Around the small rosewood tables where teapots were steaming, portly weekend clients reclined on worn Victorian sofas and armchairs, speaking in English. The majority, who had arrived the night before, came from Hong Kong and Canton to drink and play fan-tan, a Chinese betting game. In their conversation, which was always animated, they invariably contrasted the decline of old Macau, with no port or infrastructure, with the charm and wealth of the young and vibrant Hong Kong.

It seemed an ignominious end to what had once been a very promising career. The parallel with Joseph in the Old Testament is striking. José Braga even bore the name of the patriarch whose brothers sold him into slavery in Egypt. In 1929 he told the Press that ‘his state of health calling for a change of climate, he went to Macao where he taught English in the Commercial Institute for two years.’ Then and now, the phrase ‘state of health’ is often a euphemistic subterfuge for concealing something untoward. More than a century later, an unpalatable truth need no longer be concealed. This young man was seen by his family as an upstart printer’s devil. In plain language, they kicked him out.

678 C.A. Montalto de Jesus, Historic Macao, p. 429. By 1885, even Lourenço Marques, the head of what had once been Macau’s leading family, owners of the palatial mansion at one time occupied by the President of the Select Committee of the East India Company, was forced to sell up. ‘The family was not able to maintain the big house at that time’, commented a collateral descendant (Patrick Rozario, in South China Morning Post, 20 September 2010. According to Rozario, Marques sold the mansion and its large grounds for only 35,000 patacas).
679 Amadeu Gomes de Araújo, chapter ‘Caminhos Cruzados’ (‘Crusaders’ Paths’) in Diálogos em Bronze: memórias de Macau. Translated by Pureza d’Eça and Henrique d’Assumpção.
680 South China Morning Post, 26 January 1929. However, he did tell his son Noel in 1924 that he had to battle with ill-health as a young man.
J.P. Braga was fortunate to have something to turn to in Macau, even if it was a position far below his capacities and his previous attainments. He secured an appointment to teach English at the Instituto Comercial, the Commercial Institute. Conversely, the Institute was lucky to have him. Situated towards the south part of Macau, the Commercial Institute was close to St. Lazarus’ Church. In terms of Braga’s career, nothing could be more appropriate. In 1900, that career seemed finished as far as future prospects were concerned. He was exiled from his birthplace, Hong Kong, rejected by the Noronha family which had nurtured him in childhood and young manhood. Now he was apparently without prospects. Yet in 1929, he was back in Hong Kong, with a large family of his own, a reasonably successful businessman, a board member of two significant public companies, the unquestioned leader of his community, and to crown all, on the cusp of a significant political career as the first Portuguese member of the Hong Kong Legislative Council. His appointment received the plaudits of the entire Press and the Portuguese community. Lazarus indeed!

Little is known of J.P. Braga’s two years in Macau teaching English at the Commercial Institute, established in 1878. Akin to an English Comprehensive School of the same era, it was indirectly the by-product of one of those periodic fits of Portuguese anti-clericalism designed to weaken what was seen as the dead hand of conservative Catholicism. In 1870, priests of the Jesuit order were again expelled, and once again, St Joseph’s College closed its doors, to the consternation of the Macanese community. It wreaked havoc on what little provision for public education existed in Macau. The President of the Leal Senado, Lorenço Marques, told the authorities in Lisbon that the Jesuits ‘are the only persons in Macau who are really qualified. Without them, education will cease’. This appeal to have the expulsion revoked was ignored. Apprehensive lest the youth of the little settlement face an
illiterate future, the local community set up two schools of its own, one being the Commercial Institute.  

All the students were local Macanese boys. None was a native English speaker, though these students possibly had a smattering of English before entering the school. The school’s English programme would have been far below the standard of St. Joseph’s in Hong Kong, let alone St. Xavier’s in Calcutta. It was an age well before teacher training was required, and Braga’s achievements at schools in Hong Kong and India, followed by a decade in Noronha & Co. in Hong Kong would have been known to P. Gomes, the head of the Commercial Institute. His book, *The Rights of Aliens in Hongkong*, had been warmly applauded in Macau, where he was well-regarded. The Commercial Institute’s tuition was in Portuguese and the curriculum utilitarian. It did not provide a full secondary course, though its offering was thorough and the school had an excellent tone and reputation. In English lessons, the students were

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681 There were four Jesuits then on the staff, and without them, as Fr Manuel Teixeira, himself a Jesuit, expressed it: ‘the Seminary fell into decadence’. (L. A Ferreira, *Um Brado pela Verdade, ou a questão dos Professores Jesuitas em Macau*, pp. 13-16; M. Teixeira, *Pedro Nolasco da Silva*, p. 67). With Macau facing a future of illiteracy, a group of concerned citizens headed by Maximiano António dos Remédios met in 1871 to found the *Associação Promotora da Instrução dos Macaenses*, the Association for the Promotion of Macanese Education (Website of the Associação Promotora da Instrução dos Macaenses - http://www.apim.org.mo/en/ Accessed 29 October 2010). Among its initial members was José Joaquim Braga, who subscribed $300 of the $11,000 raised to establish the school (O. Vaz, ‘The Commercial School: a victory for Macau’, *Macau*, No. 96, 1996, p. 136). As a result of the Association’s efforts, two institutions were set up, first the *Instituto Comercial* in 1878, and some years later, in 1894, the *Liceu Nacional de Macau*, preparing students for Coimbra University in Portugal (M. Teixeira, *Liceu nacional Infante D. Henrique jubilee de oiro, 1894-1944; Liceu de Macau*. http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liceu_de_Macau. Accessed 30 October 2010). Of these, the major one came to be the *Liceu*, corresponding to an English Grammar School. The Commercial Institute was set up to prepare boys for the limited commercial opportunities that Macau still offered, or in hope of emigration to Hong Kong or Shanghai. It had taken seven years to achieve this, perhaps because of the colossal set-back occasioned by the devastating Great Typhoon of 1874. It took a determined champion, Pedro Nolasco da Silva, to get the school started, and following his death in 1912, it was named in his honour (M. Teixeira, *Pedro Nolasco da Silva*. See also J. Guedes and J. Silveira Machado, *Duas Instituições Macaenses*).

682 As attested by a former pupil, Filomena Marie Semiramus Jorge dos Santos in *Casa Down Under*, 15, 2, June 2003, pp. 5-6.
following a course in what would now be termed English as a Second Language – utilitarian, basic and almost devoid of literature.

These boys already spoke Portuguese and Cantonese, supplemented by the local Macanese *patuá*. English was in fact their fourth language, and they would have spoken it with a pronounced accent in which the Cantonese glottal stop was prominent, and with little understanding of the idiom and delicate nuances with which the English language is endowed. There was only one class in English, and the school was struggling for enrolments, with only 52 students in its three year course. 683 Little English was needed in this place. The boys needed to know no more English than was needed to secure lowly employment in a bank or to get them by in dealing with what little commerce there was with Hong Kong. 684

Whatever the frustrations of working at a level far below his ability might have been, the position did at least provide steady employment for J.P. Braga, who had a growing family. There were two girls and two boys when he left Hong Kong. They were:

Jean Pauline, born on 23 June 1896, whose second name was also her mother’s second name.

José Maria [Jack], born on 22 May 1897

Maude Caroline, born on 8 December 1898, named after a maternal aunt and her paternal grandmother

Delfino [Chappie], born on 13 February 1900, named in honour of his paternal grandfather, who had died a week earlier.

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684 There was so little of this that from 1846 until 1939 there was no British consulate in Macau (J.M. Braga, ‘British Consulate in Macau’, *Renascimento*, 30 September 1945, p. 3. John Rickett, Esq., was consular agent in Macao, subordinate to the Consul at Canton. There were consuls at all five Treaty Ports, but not at Macau (*AngloChinese Calendar, 1845*, pp. 33-34). By 1846, even this agency appears to have been closed. *Hongkong Almanack, 1846*, p. [6]). The Protestant chapel, last known to be used in 1860 (S. Braga, ‘Macau puts on a show’, *Casa Down Under: Newsletter of the Casa de Macau, Australia*, vol. 22, no. 2, July 2010) was then abandoned, and was eventually occupied by a fireworks factory that enjoyed rent-free premises until Bishop Duppuy, the Anglican Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong began to take an interest in 1921 (J. Crouch-Smith et al., *Macau Protestant Chapel, a short history*, pp. 24, 58; L.T. Ride, *An East India Company Cemetery*, p. 63).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Birth</th>
<th>Death</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23 June 1896</td>
<td>Jean Pauline Braga</td>
<td>23 June 1896 in Hong Kong</td>
<td>01 February 1987 in Hong Kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 May 1897</td>
<td>José Maria [Jack] Braga</td>
<td>22 May 1897 in Hong Kong</td>
<td>27 April 1988 in San Francisco</td>
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<tr>
<td>08 December 1898</td>
<td>Maude Caroline Braga</td>
<td>08 December 1898 in Hong Kong</td>
<td>18 October 1962 in Rock Castle Private Hospital, Harburl, Sydney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 February 1900</td>
<td>Delfino [Chappie] Braga</td>
<td>13 February 1900 in Hong Kong</td>
<td>14 October 1917 in Macau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 September 1902</td>
<td>Clement Albert Braga</td>
<td>23 September 1902 in Macau</td>
<td>07 February 1972 in Vancouver, British Columbia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06 December 1903</td>
<td>Noel Braga</td>
<td>06 December 1985 in Macau</td>
<td>19 December 1979 in Mount Pleasant Hospital, Southall, London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 February 1905</td>
<td>Hugh Braga</td>
<td>15 February 1905 in Macau</td>
<td>02 June 1987 in Gordon, NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 April 1906</td>
<td>James Braga</td>
<td>27 April 1906 in Hong Kong</td>
<td>21 April 1994 in Milwaukie, Portland, Oregon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 August 1907</td>
<td>Antonio Manuel [Tony] Braga</td>
<td>28 August 1907 in Hong Kong</td>
<td>09 May 1994 in Hong Kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 September 1908</td>
<td>John Vincent Braga</td>
<td>25 September 1908 in Hong Kong</td>
<td>29 May 1981 in 10 Suffolk Rd, Edinburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 June 1910</td>
<td>Paul Braga</td>
<td>16 June 1910 in Hong Kong</td>
<td>14 August 1989 in San Francisco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 December 1911</td>
<td>Caroline Mary Braga</td>
<td>19 December 1911 in Hong Kong</td>
<td>21 November 1998 in Queen Mary Hospital, Hong Kong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04 March 1914</td>
<td>Mary Braga</td>
<td>04 March 1914 in Hong Kong</td>
<td>15 July 1965 in St Paul’s Hospital, Hong Kong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
They were growing up in a most unpromising environment. A Hong Kong journalist, Carlos Montalto de Jesus, was at that time writing an improbable book, *Historic Macao*, published in English in Hong Kong in 1902 at a time when few if any English people cared anything about Macau and would be unlikely to buy a book about it. In Macau, people were uninterested in their past, and unreflective about it. The picture that Montalto de Jesus painted of the present and future of Macau was bleak.

The resources and opportunities of the Macaenses, their maritime and commercial activity, their hardihood and prestige, are all a dream of the past. Whilst improvidently increasing and multiplying abroad, they are constantly decreasing in number at Macao, mostly in consequence of the new generation emigrating in search of employment, of bread, which Macao, alas, cannot give to her own hapless sons, destined to vegetate as the proletariat of prosperous foreign communities in the Far East, to eke out a jaded, hopeless
existence, to which is condemned many a gifted, promising youth, thus blighted like the doomed regeneration of Macao.685

For J.P. Braga, the experience can only have been dreary and frustrating, but it was in his nature to give it his best effort. When he left for Hong Kong in August 1902, Gomes wrote a warm letter of congratulations and thanks, concluding, ‘Amigo muito grate’ – ‘Your most grateful friend’.686 J.P. Braga left a good name behind him. An indication of this is that some twenty years later, his son Jack, despite having left Hong Kong in disgrace, was also given employment as a teacher in Macau.

Braga had no intention of dropping out of sight, but his future must have seemed bleak, especially when he had come to distrust what he later called ‘the commercial immorality of the place’.687 A way out of this entrapment came from what may have been a wholly unexpected quarter. This was an approach from Robert Ho Tung, who suggested that J.P. Braga should apply for the position of Manager of the Hongkong Telegraph.688 He wrote: ‘I have succeeded in bringing up your name to the notice of the board without their knowledge that you would be a very suitable man to become the manager of the paper.’689

The Hongkong Telegraph had been published for some twenty years, but had a dubious reputation.690 What was needed was a good manager as well as a good

685 C.A. Montalto de Jesus, Historic Macao, p. 424.
687 J.P. Braga to his son Tony, 13 August 1934. A.M. Braga Papers.
688 A.M. Braga, South China Morning Post, 31 May 1987.
690 It is necessary to explain why Braga’s background and hands-on approach made him Ho Tung’s favoured candidate for a position with considerable difficulty. The Telegraph was one of three English language newspapers then published in Hong Kong. These were the old established China Mail, first published in 1846, the Hongkong Daily Press, first published in 1857 and an afternoon paper, the Hongkong Telegraph, first published in 1881. Another, which appeared in 1903, was the South China Morning Post, the only one of the four to survive into the twenty-first century. The Telegraph was founded and edited by an extraordinary man, Robert Fraser-Smith, who developed a remarkable reputation for creating trouble. He was a member of the group of dissenters with which Rizal would later be associated during his brief sojourn in Hong Kong. He was frequently hauled before the courts for libel and usually convicted. In a place where excessive consumption of alcohol was the norm and was regarded with some tolerance, Fraser-Smith’s heavy drinking drew comment. When found guilty of libel, with the option of a fine or gaol, he always preferred the prison option, because it gave him better publicity and perhaps the opportunity to dry out (R. Hutcheon, SCMP The First Eighty Years, p. 7. Robin Hutcheon observed that Fraser-Smith was given the privilege of living in ‘first-class debtor’s prison conditions’. There was something of a tradition in this. William Tarrant, the editor of the Friend of China, who had a grudge against the governor of the day, was thrown into gaol in 1854. He was housed in the debtors’ wing and given preferential treatment, his dinners being sent to him by the Hong Kong Club, according to John Luff, ‘the Fourth Estate’, South China Morning Post, 28 August 1967, cutting in the Paul Braga Collection. Fraser-Smith ran the Telegraph for fourteen years until his death in 1895. Fraser-Smith’s ‘scurrilous allegations’ throughout this period had given it a bad name but a reputation for cutting-edge journalism and therefore a continuing

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editor, a man with a sound knowledge of the printing industry, a businessman’s grasp of running a profitable enterprise, a profound understanding of the local scene and the ability to maintain its high profile in Hong Kong. This was the best prospect to raise circulation and develop a steady profit. Ho Tung had a man in mind whose work and capacity he clearly knew. Accordingly, he offered the position of manager to Braga.

Ho Tung had thrown a lifeline to J.P. Braga and to his children. He wrote, using the surname ‘Braga’ as a salutation. In the accepted courtesies of that era, lasting until the 1960s, this implied cordiality. ‘Mr Braga’ would be strictly formal and impersonal. These two men were ‘on terms’.

Hong Kong
“Idlewild”
15/5/02
My dear Braga,

At a meeting held yesterday afternoon it was decided to appoint you as the manager of the “Hong Kong Telegraph” on the terms stipulated in your application. Mr Skertchley will send you draft of agreement which is being prepared by Mr Sin Tack Fan ... I am prepared to wait till the rough plan is ready, but I trust you will ... let me have the sketch as soon as possible, as I may be leaving the colony for a trip north at a moment’s notice.

readership R. Hutcheon, op. cit., p. 18). The paper was then acquired by an Irish lawyer, John Joseph Francis, who died in 1901. Francis, sole proprietor from 1895 until 1900, formed the business into a limited liability company. There followed a series of short editorships, those of Chesney Duncan until 1899, E.F. Skertchley until 1902, and then E.A. Snewin until 1906. After Francis’ death, the majority shareholding was acquired by Robert Ho Tung and several of his associates ‘who wanted an outlet for their views’ (R. Hutcheon, op. cit., p. 7). The shares were held in the name of the Chinese Syndicate, precursor of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce (http://hongkongsfirst.blogspot.com. Accessed 8 October 2010). Ho Tung knew that the paper lacked stability and steady direction, but considered that it had potential.

691 Sir Robert Ho Tung to J.M. Braga, 15 February 1944: ‘Your father and I have been lifelong friends and on many important occasions have been working together.’ J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300 /13.1/1.
692 The substance of Ho Tung’s letter was confirmed in notes prepared by A.M. Braga for an interview with Beverley Howells, A.M. Braga file, p. 4. This led to an article, ‘Braga’s wealth of Hong Kong stories’, which was published in the South China Morning Post, 31 May 1987.
693 It is significant that Braga kept the correspondence and the ensuing contract together with a very small collection of important personal papers that he treasured. Among others were his Certificate of British Nationality, his wedding certificate, prize lists from St. Joseph’s, St Xavier’s and Roberts Colleges, a letter from a school chum in India, and little else. When he fled to Macau as a refugee in 1942, these were entrusted for safe-keeping to his daughter, Jean. She did indeed keep them safely for the rest of her life. They were found after her death in a bank safe-deposit box, and are now in the National Library of Australia. J.P. Braga Papers MS Acc08/113.
Yours very truly,

Ho Tung

His appointment was for a five year term on a salary of $350 plus a guaranteed annual bonus of 5% of the company’s profit, or $600, whichever was the greater. The contract provided that ‘it shall be competent for the Company to summarily dismiss the said José Pedro Braga ... in case the said José Pedro Braga shall prove habitually intemperate or dishonest...’

Although he was initially appointed for five years, Braga stayed for eight. He turned around the fortunes and tone of the paper. Hong Kong journalism had for decades had an unsavoury reputation for ‘a hearty appetite for libel, invective, smear and emotional gossip.’ Under his control, with an editor who was responsible to him, he insisted on fair criticism from its editors. By 1908, an exhaustive study of businesses in the Far East could comment that the three Hong Kong papers ‘were now in one accord moulded on high principles and thoroughly living down the evil reputation gained, not undeservingly, in former years.’

In 1906, an experienced editor, A.W. Brebner, was appointed and continued until 1910. With Braga as manager and Brebner as editor, the Telegraph became a model of clear presentation and content that gave reliable news and information, above all on the shipping movements so essential for this major maritime community. The young firebrand of the 1890s had mellowed. The Telegraph continued, as it had done since 1881, to support the Chinese Republican movement. While that might once have been construed as subversive and embarrassing to the government, it was obvious after the Boxer rebellion of 1900 that the Qing dynasty’s days were numbered, and that China needed an effective replacement. A pro-Republican position was no longer deemed radical.

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694 J.P. Braga Papers MS Acc08/113.
695 Ibid. Fraser-Smith’s bibulous indiscretions had left a memory that was not easily erased.
696 R. Hutcheon, op. cit., p. 4.
697 Ibid., p. 7.
698 A. Wright and H.A. Cartwright, Twentieth century impressions of Hongkong, Shanghai and other treaty ports of China, p. 347.
In 1906 Braga was appointed the Hong Kong correspondent for Reuter’s, then the leading international newsagency. It was in one sense a small extra commitment, but in another it was important, because whatever the outside world knew of the colony passed through his hands. He realised that local affairs would have little interest elsewhere, and that disasters would be the best means of catching the world’s attention. Later that year, the most destructive typhoon in the colony’s history struck, with heavy loss of life, including the Anglican bishop, Joseph Charles Hoare, who was on a pastoral visit by boat. Bishops do not often drown, so that story did well.

Many years later, he wrote a report that was picked up by a newspaper in drought-prone Australia. It was the story of another destructive storm that led to heavy loss of life.

DELUGE IN HONGKONG.

A deluge of rain this morning, following the torrential rains of the last few days, caused the collapse of seven houses at Po-hing-fong, near the disinfecting station at Chau-siuki. An ex-member of the Legislative Council was killed. It is feared that his mother, and two sons and their wives, are among the dead. So far seven bodies have been dug out from the debris. The total number of persons living in the collapsed houses is believed to be 200.-Reuter.

Braga could not have known when he wrote this report that one of his sons, Hugh, would receive two medals for gallantry in saving life during this disaster.

He held the Reuter’s appointment for twenty-five years, and on his relinquishing it on 31 August 1931, the Telegraph, with which he had severed his connection twenty years earlier, remarked:

His long residence here, his knowledge of Hongkong affairs, his keen ‘nose for news’, his faculty for sifting reports for their significance and importance, and the fact that his obvious integrity and courtesy gave him entry everywhere – these natural advantages enabled him to cover the Hongkong field accurately and thoroughly.

701 Sydney Morning Herald, 18 July 1925.
702 Hongkong Telegraph, 4 September 1931. J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/14.1/40, fol. 92.
By 1908, J.P. Braga had become a well-recognised figure in the Hong Kong newspaper world, rating his own entry and photograph in Wright’s compendious tome on the ports of the China coast.  

Acceptance in the British community, once totally denied to the Portuguese, gradually commenced, and he became a committee member of the Odd Volumes Society. This was a literary and debating society, started by Sir James Cantlie, an eminent and public-spirited medical practitioner, who was one of the founders of the Hong Kong College of Medicine, forerunner of the University of Hong Kong. Braga had been a member of Club Lusitano since young manhood, and would come to take a leading role in its affairs, but membership of the exclusively British Hong Kong Club was out of the question.

A newspaper executive’s position is always precarious, and ultimately dependent on his compliance with the wishes of the owners. That ownership was itself precarious, for within three years of Braga’s arrival at the Telegraph, Ho Tung had twice made overtures to sell the paper to the morning paper, the South China Morning Post.

703 A. Wright and H.A. Cartwright, Twentieth century impressions of Hongkong, Shanghai and other treaty ports of China, p. 345.
704 South China Morning Post, 16 May 1929.
705 G.B. Endacott, History of Hong Kong, pp. 250, 282.
706 The Bye-laws of the Club Lusitano Ltd, 1904, contains a list of members.
Lacking capital themselves, the directors of the *Post* could not close the deal at a price acceptable to Ho Tung. There was a more direct threat to editorial independence. In 1910, Braga and Brebner were to discover the limits. The previous year, the Portuguese government took up the matter of the boundary between Macau and China, never resolved despite the three and a half centuries of Portuguese presence there and much acrimony in the second half of the nineteenth century. Attempting to resolve the rancorous dispute, the Hong Kong Government brokered a conference between the Portuguese and Chinese governments. José Braga was a member of the Comissão Portuguesa de Delimitação de Macau set up for the purpose. The conference dragged on inconclusively from June to November 1909, the Chinese commissioner, Kao, steadfast in his rejection of Portuguese claims to any form of sovereignty. Brebner also took a partisan stand on the matter in favour of Portugal. Although Braga’s contract had specifically absolved him from any responsibility for the paper’s content, this led to a parting of the ways with the Chinese owners of the *Telegraph*. Gilding the lily, his son Jack observed that his father ‘asked to be excused to retire from the company’. In October 1910, he left the *Telegraph* to commence his own business. His papers contain no record of appreciation from the directors of the Hongkong Telegraph Company, but the staff gave him a silver bowl to mark the occasion.

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710 C.A. Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Macao*, p. 444.
711 J.M. Braga interview, 11 June 1972.
712 The presentation was reported in the *South China Morning Post* 1 November 1910. ‘At the offices of the *Hongkong Telegraph* an interesting ceremony took place, when Mr J.P. Braga, formerly business manager of the paper, was presented with an illuminated address and handsome silver bowl. Mr. Braga, who has been with the *Telegraph* for a number of years, is severing his connection, and his colleagues showed their appreciation in a very tangible manner.’ The *Post*, a keen supporter of Braga, reprinted this item in 1935, under the by-line ‘Twenty-Five Years Ago’. *South China Morning Post* 31 October 1935, J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/14.1/40, fol. 93. A careful search of the original file of the *Hongkong Telegraph* in the Hong Kong Public Record Office revealed no mention of this presentation. As the *Post* put it, the connection had been severed. The illuminated address appears to have been lost. The bowl was latterly in the possession of J.P. Braga’s daughter, Caroline M. Braga. On her death on 21 November 1998, it passed to her niece, Mrs Sheila Potter, daughter of Hugh Braga. It was brought to Australia in February 1999.

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Like many men who have suffered a severe reversal in their fortunes, J.P. Braga set out single-mindedly to prove his detractors wrong. His whole time and attention were given to his career, which for more than eight years was bound up with the Telegraph and its associated job printing. Newspapers have a relentless pace, and daily deadlines cannot be avoided. As the inscription showed, he gained a reputation as a competent manager. Besides this he set out to build a public profile as well as acceptance in the Portuguese community. Increasingly, he achieved both as the years went by, but there was a personal cost. He had grown up in a household without a father, and he seems to have given little attention to the parenting of his own rapidly increasing family.

Montalto de Jesus had rather sourly commented in 1902 that Macanese families were ‘improvidently increasing and multiplying abroad’. J.P. Braga’s family was a prime example. Between 1896 and 1914, thirteen children were born, all of whom survived infancy, and there was also a miscarriage. Large families were the norm in the Portuguese community in Hong Kong, but this family was exceptional. Another exceptional feature in a tight-knit community was that José Braga had married outside it. Olive Braga’s background has been mentioned briefly in an earlier chapter, but her role and that of her sister Corunna, hereafter referred to by the name by which she was known in the family, ‘Crun’, should now be examined at greater length. Modern feminists might see Olive as a helpless victim trapped in circumstances from which there was no escape from constant pregnancy and the poverty that inevitably ensued from there being too many mouths to feed. She could

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713 C.A. Montalto de Jesus, op. cit., p. 424.
714 Caroline Braga interview, 20 October 1996.
not confide in anyone, but towards the end of her life, told two of her granddaughters that her marriage had been nothing but ‘bear, bear, bear’.\textsuperscript{715}

Olive herself had been a member of an exceptionally large Victorian family. She was the thirteenth of the fifteen children of the first marriage of James Joseph Pollard, a piano tuner who emigrated from London to Tasmania in 1854 in search of better opportunities. When his wife Mary Eleanor, née Weippert, died of cancer of the womb, he married her younger sister Corunna Elizabeth, and another three children were born. To support this great brood of whom all but two survived infancy, he formed them into a touring theatrical troupe, the Pollard Liliputians. Their highly successful tours of New Zealand, the eastern Australian colonies and India have also been touched upon. Their success was not only the product of the novelty of this remarkable family, with small children playing adult roles, but also the undoubted fact that several of the children were highly talented musicians and performers. The eight girls of the first family were particularly affected by this very unusual background. Before going on their long tour in 1881, they had a very structured life in which music played a very large part. The younger girls had little schooling, no friends outside the family and no time to themselves. This prefigured in some ways the milieu in which Olive would later bring up her own large family, though all of them, particularly her nine sons, received a sound education.

Once they were on tour there were also the incessant demands of practice, rehearsal and performance and constant moving from one place to another. His children bore their father no bitterness about their treatment, but greatly respected his firmness and strict control.\textsuperscript{716} In fact Pollard was looked upon by his contemporaries as a good father and valued citizen.\textsuperscript{717} Swift’s \textit{Gulliver’s Travels} may have painted an idyllic

\textsuperscript{715} Angela Ablong, daughter of Jack, her eldest son, and Frances Rufener, daughter of Paul, the youngest of her nine sons.

\textsuperscript{716} Interview with his daughter, May Pollard, 24 December 1967, Wahroonga, NSW. May Pollard was then aged 99.

\textsuperscript{717} P. Downes, \textit{The Pollards}, pp. 15, 28. James Pollard died in 1884, but one of his sons set out on a similar tour in 1910 with another troupe called Pollard’s Lilliputian Opera Company, none of the children being family members. By then a demanding regimen like this was seen as child abuse, and led to a scandal in India (P. Downes, \textit{The Pollards}, pp. 196, 208). This time the more usual spelling, ‘Lilliputian’, was adopted. It was widely reported in the Australian press, including the Melbourne \textit{Age}, 22 April 1910, \textit{Argus}, 25, 27 April 1910, the Broken Hill \textit{Barrier Miner}, 27-30 April 1910, the \textit{Adelaide Advertiser}, 25 March 1910, the \textit{Adelaide Register}, 5, 12, 16 April 1910 and the Launceston \textit{ Examiner} 16, 28 April 1910. This unhappy episode has also been traversed in a novel, \textit{India Dark}, by a well-known Australian children’s writer, Kirsty Murray.
picture of Lilliput, but Pollard’s Liliputians were less fortunate. This was no life for children, especially girls, some of whom were growing into young womanhood.\textsuperscript{718} No wonder that two of the older girls, Nellie and Corunna (named after her aunt and step-mother), escaped this demanding regime in India in 1884 to get married. Olive returned to Australia, and may have lived in Brisbane with her brother Harry, occasionally giving public performances as a violinist.\textsuperscript{719} The next ten years were quiet, apart from the celebration in Hong Kong in 1891 of Delfino Noronha’s 67th birthday. Here she once again held centre stage as she had done as a child in the early days of the Pollard Liliputians. Perhaps enticed by this attention, she returned four years later to Hong Kong to marry a glamorous young man she scarcely knew. The Pollards had grown up as nominal Anglicans, but Corunna and Olive were married in a Catholic church, undertaking that their children would be brought up as Catholics. They themselves earnestly embraced the Catholic faith. Olive later remarked: ‘I was considered very devout – but there was no depth in my religion.’\textsuperscript{720}

\textsuperscript{718} Peter Downes has observed: ‘Very true, in hindsight, but not in the context of the time. The theatrical environment (performers \textit{and} audiences) in those years allowed and, indeed, encouraged what we would now call the ‘exploitation’ of children on the professional (and amateur) stage. These troupes were an enormous attraction in all parts of the Western world and would never have been thought of as child labour. The Pollards were probably treated better than many other troupes of children, largely because they were all (or mostly) of the same family and travelled with their step-mother and father. The younger members also had much older brothers and sisters to look after them.’ Email to this writer from Peter Downes, 20 September 2011.

\textsuperscript{719} She played solo violin in Brisbane with the Brisbane Orchestral Society conducted by Henry Pollard twice in September 1884 and later gave solo performances at Rockhampton in 1887 and 1888. In those two years she also appears to have been first violin in one of Brisbane’s theatre orchestras. She was highly praised by reviewers (\textit{Brisbane Courier}, 4, 13 September 1884, 14, 20 October 1887; \textit{Morning Bulletin}, Rockhampton, 21 November 1887, 2 February, 15 June 1888). She may then have gone to Melbourne, joining her sister Nellie Chester, then returning with her to India in 1888. This is uncertain, but is the informed opinion of Peter Downes. However, an obituary in the \textit{South China Morning Post}, 14 February 1952, probably written by her son Tony, claimed that ‘she was engaged to tour Australia and New Zealand with her uncle in a series of concerts’. This may be a garbled recollection of the original Liliputians’ tour.

\textsuperscript{720} Olive Braga to her daughter-in-law Audrey Braga, undated, but marked ‘received 15 June’ - i.e. 1943. Paul Braga Papers.
Olive lived in Hong Kong from 1895 until 1900, then in Macau, returning early in 1906 to Hong Kong, where she lived for most of the rest of her life, apart from a long visit to her sister Nellie in America in 1930-1931, and the war years, 1943 to 1945, again spent in Macau as a refugee. She died on 13 February 1952. A girl who had been a child prodigy, a fine violinist whose performances often drew rapturous applause, now became as shut away as though she had entered a contemplative order of nuns. Instead of celibacy, she had to endure the constant strain of pregnancy and child-bearing for twenty years, followed by more years of the incessant demands of small children and making do with little. The younger boys wore patched hand-me-downs for many years and were constantly hungry. Olive did not learn Portuguese at all, and had only a little Cantonese.

The limitations of her upbringing remained with her, and she never learned to form close relationships outside the family. Lacking Portuguese, she was shut off from contact with the community in which her husband moved with increasing self-assurance. Her sister Crun was in a similar plight, made worse by the fact that her marriage broke down for a lengthy period between 1900 and about 1906 when she and her husband Charlie Noronha resumed married life.721

Lonely and desperate, the two sisters came into contact with missionaries from an American Protestant mission, the Bible Missionary Society, whose home base was at Charlotte, North Carolina. Olive kept a tattered copy of their magazine, *Gleanings from South China*, that told the story of what happened.722 It contains a lengthy account by one of the mission team, a Miss F.P. Winn, of the conversion of both sisters in 1905 and 1906: first Crun, then Olive. Both remained intensely devout Protestants for the rest of their lives.

722 *Gleanings from South China*, vol. 3, no.1, January 1907, pp. 38-42.
This was, of course, one side of the story, and there is another. Olive was intransigently Protestant, José resolutely Catholic and deeply traumatised by what had happened. Their twelfth child, Caroline, had not been born when these events took place, but nearly forty years later, in 1943, after her parents had finally separated, and bitterness had abated during the still more bitter experiences of war, Caroline spoke to her father about those times.

We talked about God, and he regretted so much that certain missionaries came into Mother’s life with unreasonable ideas which had such an influence on Mother that he could not stand them ... He used to resent tactlessness and having things thrust on him, which is only natural.\textsuperscript{723}

The circumstances of Olive’s conversion and her husband’s sense of bitterness and devastation are discussed in detail in Appendix 6.

José knew that his uncle, Charlie Noronha, had separated from Crun and left Hong Kong for Shanghai. He must surely have considered leaving his wife or forcing her to leave him. If he did either, his public image would be ruined, and his business career would be irretrievably damaged. He had a choice between Scylla and Charybdis. The Scylla of divorce in the conservatively Catholic Hong Kong Portuguese community was utterly unthinkable; the Charybdis of putting up with a devoutly Protestant wife was profoundly unpalatable. He chose Charybdis, and the facade of a marriage was maintained by both from then on. However, Olive never attended any occasion when a wife’s support of a prominent public figure might be expected. Her husband kept up appearances, saying when a Divorce Bill came before the Legislative Council that divorce was ‘a luxury for the leisured’.\textsuperscript{724} This was perhaps an indirect reference to the highly publicised divorce of Vandeleur Grayburn, Chief Manager of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corp. Braga added that ‘the best thing about divorce is that it is hard to achieve’.\textsuperscript{725} By 1917 the marriage had effectively ended. Caroline said late in life that when her father came home for dinner, ‘the atmosphere was most unpleasant’.\textsuperscript{726}

\textsuperscript{723} Caroline Braga to James Braga, 21 October 1945. James Braga Papers.
\textsuperscript{724} South China Morning Post, 28 October 1932. J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/14.1/34, fol. 26.
\textsuperscript{725} The Critic, 5 November 1932. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/13.3/4. Grayburn’s divorce was reported on the front page of the Hongkong Telegraph, greatly affronting Grayburn and stirring up trouble for the editor. R. Hutcheon, SCMP The First Eighty Years, p. 79.
\textsuperscript{726} Caroline Braga to this writer, 20 October 1996.
Crun and Olive threw themselves body and soul into supporting their children, and bringing them up ‘in the fear and nurture of the Lord’. 727 Both women became members of the Christian Brethren movement, commonly called ‘Plymouth Brethren’ from their origins in Plymouth in the 1830s. They did not consider themselves a sect or a denomination, but saw themselves simply as followers of the Lord Jesus Christ, obedient to His Word. They rejected all formal ecclesiastical structures, hierarchical systems and liturgical forms, reverting instead to their view of the practice of the Primitive Church in the Book of Acts when disciples met with each other and with the Lord in the breaking of bread. They were incessant and uncritical readers of the Bible, seeking to live in the presence of the Lord and were constant in prayer in the literal way that the apostle Paul had enjoined. 728 Their emphasis on the Scriptures linked many of them with other conservative Protestants, so that in time, many of the Brethren came to have close sympathies with mainstream Evangelical churches, which many of them, or their descendants, joined during the following century. Although they were never a large movement, the Brethren have had an influence on Protestant Christianity far beyond their numbers. 729

The name of the movement gives a clue to the nature of the people who belonged to it. As children of God, they were members of a family. Some religious bodies have more to do with belonging than with believing, but for the Brethren, belief and discipleship were paramount, and went hand in hand together. It followed that people who became alienated from a religious and cultural community such as the Catholic Church might find a spiritual home among the Brethren, whose religious observance was so utterly different from Catholic worship. So it proved for Olive and all but one of her thirteen children. Crun had three children, who also became firm members of the Brethren. 730

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727 As the Anglican Marriage Service expresses it.
728 Romans 12, v. 12.
729 According to the Most Rev. D.W.B. Robinson, Anglican Archbishop of Sydney, 1985-1996. The Brethren steadfastly refused to count heads – or souls – so that their numbers are impossible to determine. The most important single Meeting, Bethesda Chapel in Bristol, was reckoned to have 5,000 adherents at its height in the 1840s. I am grateful to Mr John R. Prince, a leading Brethren elder, for checking this comment on the Christian Brethren.
730 E. Morrison, Looking up, looking down the road, p. 12. They were Delfino, Carlos and Umbelina. All adopted anglicised names: Delf, Charlie and Lena.
After two years in Macau, José returned in August 1902 to Hong Kong, leaving Olive in Macau with her four children. She stayed there for several more years, during which time another three sons were born. It had long been common for Portuguese businessmen to leave their families behind in Macau while they worked in Hong Kong, returning periodically for recreation and procreation. The three were:

Clemente Alberto [Clement], born on 23 September 1902, soon after José’s return to Hong Kong

Noel, born on 6 December 1903. He was given the baptismal name Anna Noel to conform to the Catholic practice of using a saint’s name, but was always known as Noel.731

Hugh, born on 15 February 1905, named for [António] Hugo dos Remédios, the husband of his aunt Umbelina ['Bellie']

Early in 1906 José rented a large house, 37 Robinson Road, in the Mid-Levels of Hong Kong, on the edge of what had become some thirty years earlier the domicile of most of the Portuguese community. Olive would later aver that she had fled Macau to escape earthquakes there.732 The Braga family moved from Macau and lived at Robinson Road for twenty years, before moving to Kowloon on the other side of the harbour in 1926. By October 1910, when José left the Telegraph, there were four more boys, all born in Hong Kong. These were:

James, born on 27 April 1906, soon after his mother’s conversion. She would live to see this son, born at such a critical time in her life, just after her conversion, become a Baptist pastor in the United States.

António Manuel [Tony], born on 28 August 1907, named after his uncle who had died of smallpox in 1888.

731 The priest thought that he was baptising a girl. The baptismal record in the Cathedral register reads, as transcribed and translated by Carl Smith: ‘Bapt. Sé, 22 December 1903, Anna Noel Braga, born 6 December 1903, 17 Calcada St Agostinho, leg. dau. of José Pedro Braga & Olive Pauline Pollard Braga.’ CS/1021/00200843.

732 Letter from Olive Braga to her daughter-in-law Audrey Braga, undated, but marked ‘received 15 June’- i.e. 1943. Paul Braga Papers. It is more likely that José Braga's mother, Carolina, who lived with the family, refused to leave Macau. After her death on 11 January 1906, he was able to move his family to Hong Kong.
João Vicente [John Vincent], born on 25 September 1908, named after his paternal grandfather.

Paul, born on 16 June 1910. This was not a family name; J.P. Braga, now with nine sons, had run out of people he wished to commemorate. It also seems that he decided not to use Paulo, the Portuguese form of the name.

The last two children of this large family were girls. Both were named in honour of their grandmother, Carolina Maria, who had died in 1906. J.P. Braga had hoped for another daughter in order to honour his mother’s memory.

Carolina Maria [Caroline or ‘Carrie’], born on 19 December 1911

and lastly

Maria [Mary], born on 14 March 1914.

A few group snapshots survive of the seven boys born between 1902 and 1910. They were a family within the family and remained close for many years. They were far from being a rough street gang: family pride, firm school discipline and the strong leadership of Chappie, the second son, made them a family group who maintained high standards in all that they did. Above all, the gentle influence of a devoted and godly mother counted for much.

From about 1907, they lived a double religious life, going to Mass on Sunday morning at the nearby Catholic Cathedral, and in the evening to the Gospel Meeting of the Brethren at the Gospel Hall, a little further away on Pedder St. St Joseph’s College had its Religious Instruction, too, and its formal, stately worship. At the Gospel Hall, the Braga family formed a substantial part of the congregation, which varied between twenty and thirty, often augmented by uniformed sailors from the ships of the Royal Navy’s China Station and soldiers from the garrison. Olive received strong support from several stalwarts, notably two English medical missionaries, Dr Harry Lechmere Clift and his wife Winifred, and a Miss Meadows,

733 The Church Notices in the *South China Morning Post*, 7 February 1920 detail the weekly activities of what appears to have been a thriving religious community: ‘Gospel Hall, 10 and 12 Pedder Street – Sunday. Breaking of Bread for Believers only 11 a.m., Gospel Meeting 7 p.m.; Tuesday, Study of Scripture 5.30 p.m.; Thursday, Study of Scripture 8 p.m.; Friday, Ladies’ Bible Class 5.30 p.m.; Saturday, Prayer and Praise Meeting 7-8 p.m.’
the daughter of a missionary in Macau. Over a period of many years, Miss Meadows in particular was a strong influence on the youngsters, passing on tracts and pamphlets that had been written for soldiers. She was a good local example of the wider moral reform movement of the late nineteenth century.

Chappie, the leader of his brothers in most of their activities, including sport, physical fitness and stamp collecting, also led the way in their spiritual development. In September 1917, aged 17, he wrote to his Auntie Crun in Manila expressing his appreciation of her assistance in his spiritual growth. Earlier that year he had drafted a letter to his cousin Lena in Manila:

I have not been able to enjoy a [week-night] meeting at the Gospel Hall as their services coincide with my lessons, but shall be able to go on Sundays. It shall not be long I hope before I shall be able to start and enjoy serving the Lord.

He changed that to:

It shall not be long I hope before I shall be able now to start and enjoy serving the Lord.

This was a period when strong emphasis was laid on youth movements such as the Young Men’s Christian Association and the Mutual Improvement Associations set up by the Presbyterian Church, while the Boy Scout Movement was founded in Britain in 1908. It spread rapidly through the British Empire, arriving in Hong Kong on 11 September 1913 when the 1st Hong Kong Scout Troop of St. Joseph’s College was established by Major F.J. Bowen, an Army officer who was also a keen Catholic layman. In the next few years until it lapsed during the Great War for want of mature leadership when its senior members were absorbed by the Hong Kong Volunteers, the three eldest Braga boys, Jack, Chappie and Clement all joined it.

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735 These included _Miss Robinson’s Magazine_, produced by a remarkable morals campaigner, Sarah Robinson. A copy of this survives, bearing the signature ‘C. Braga’, presumably Clement. Her aim was ‘to improve the health, manners, and morals of British soldiers by removing them from their unseemly haunts and by putting them in touch with Christian influences.’ J.G.S, ‘Robinson, Sarah (1834?-1921)’, in C. Hartley, _A Historical Dictionary of British Women_. The name of Miss Meadows is to be found in documents connected with three of the older boys, Delfino [‘Chappie’], Clement and Noel.
736 Delfino Braga to Corunna Noronha, author’s collection.
737 Delfino Braga to Umbelina [‘Lena’] Noronha, 19 February 1917. The draft survived in the papers of his brother Paul. The reference to lessons suggests that Chappie, by then employed in a bank, had enrolled in an evening accountancy course.
While not specifically Christian it was certainly Christian in tone, and its impact was designed to be one of wholesome living in mind and body. The Catholic Church too had its sodalities, though they tended to be more formal, and led by the clergy.

Besides the Brethren, Olive’s quiet influence was paramount. She kept her troubles private, and her children saw only a loving mother seeking to share with them her strong Christian faith. She would gather them round the piano after school and lead them in singing hymns. They were spellbound by her exquisite violin playing, for she retained a fine instrument made by the great Amati family of Cremona that must have been acquired during the heady early triumphs of the Pollard Liliputians.\footnote{739} They learned to play themselves, starting in infancy on a quarter-sized instrument. Jack, then aged thirteen, produced a hand-written ‘Braga News’ which advertised that ‘lessons in music will be given free of charge by mother to anyone’.\footnote{740} In Catholic homes, the Angelus might be intoned each evening, but in the Braga household, the children sang with their mother the Revival hymn ‘Count your many blessings’, with its chorus at the end of each verse, ‘Count your blessings, name them one by one, and it will surprise you what the Lord has done’. It remained graven on their memory to the end of their days, whether or not they retained her faith.\footnote{741}

The double religious life could not last indefinitely. Periodically, the boys were required to attend Confession, though as childhood advanced into searching

\footnote{739}{‘There was always music in the house. My mother was a highly talented violinist, and my first musical memory is hearing her play Mozart, violin sonata in E minor [K 304]. She played with such warmth of expression that the tones of her instrument have lived with me all down the years from my early childhood.’ Letter from A.M. Braga to Mrs Beverley Howells, 8 April 1987. A.M. Braga file.}
\footnote{740}{\textit{Braga News}, no. 3, 13 August 1910. J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/2.1/3.}
\footnote{741}{Letter from A.M. Braga to Mrs Beverley Howells, 8 April 1987.}
adolescence, they began to question the necessity for auricular confession. At some time about 1917, there was a group reaction – the word ‘revolt’ may not be too strong – and all but Jack, who had already left school, refused to go to Mass any more. There was trouble at home and school, but they did not recant. They remained to varying degrees anti-Catholic from then on, one of the very few Portuguese families in Hong Kong to become Protestant.

There was nothing that J.P. Braga could do about it. Impotence and frustration led to estrangement. It seldom surfaced, but when James wrote to his father in 1929 telling him that he intended to study at Moody Bible Institute at Chicago, his father’s reaction was swift and bitter. He sent the letter, scored across with red pencil, to Jack, the only remaining Catholic. He wrote, furiously:

This is adding greater sorrow to my complete disappointment in James. With every year I find life’s cup of sorrow in the family gets a larger fill.742

His children never discussed religious matters with their father, apart from an attempt made by Noel in 1926 to convert him, though his elder sister Jean counselled him not to open wounds. That finished with both the older and the younger man adopting entrenched positions. J.P. Braga was angry, Noel distraught. He wrote a long account of the confrontation in his diary, concluding:

My disobedience to the voice of the Lord condemned me terribly. If I had only spoken the words clearly and at the right time, what a difference there might have been! As a result of my disobedience great troubles might come and Father may be much more difficult to reach.743

Their conversion meant the severance not only of attendance at Mass each Sunday, but the end of their connection with the Portuguese Catholic community as well. That community regarded Protestants with fear and loathing, in which both odium theologicum and economic thralldom played a part. For almost the whole Braga family to have turned against the Church and thrown in their lot with the Protestants was almost beyond belief. In this close-knit community, there was endless and horrified gossip.

742 J.P. Braga to J.M. Braga, 5 June 1929, J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/2.3/2.
743 Noel Braga Diary, 8 May 1926.
In the end, the only sense members of the Portuguese community could make of it was that the Protestant Bragas (‘PBs’, they were termed) had thrown their lot in with the British in the hope of improving their standing in the community and thus their prospects in life. In short, it was seen as a cynical economic exercise, not a religious conversion. In coming to that conclusion, people may have seen that J.P. Braga’s business career had not prospered as well as he might have wished, and that his two eldest sons, Jack and Chappie, had both become poorly paid bank clerks. Perhaps their younger siblings hoped not to be, as Montalto de Jesus had expressed it, ‘destined to vegetate as the proletariat of [this] prosperous foreign community in the Far East’, though, like their father, they were examples of the ‘gifted, promising youth’ of the Portuguese community. The calamities that befell both Jack and Chappie before 1920 devastated their family and had far-reaching consequences for the seven younger sons that will be discussed in a later chapter.

J.P. Braga had indeed found it difficult to develop a prosperous business after he left the Hongkong Telegraph in October 1910. Not yet forty, he faced an uncertain future for the third time in his life. This time there were significant differences. One was the necessity of securing an income adequate to provide for a family of eleven children, soon to number thirteen. Another, less forbidding difference, was the fact that he was by now a well-known public figure, with a proven record of managerial experience in printing and publishing. That did not translate into a suitable commercial opening, so he determined to set up in business as a printer and as an importer of Chinese smallgoods.

He rented premises in the heart of the city at 16 Des Voeux Road, Central, and published, in the form of a small book, Commercial Products of South China, a catalogue of the products he planned to import. The Industrial Revolution that would transform China in the late twentieth century lay far into the future, and most items in the lengthy list were either the handicrafts of cottage industry, processed food stuffs or animal products. The list was arranged from A to Z rather than in product type, perhaps indicating the vendor’s inexperience in wholesale marketing.

744 Interview, Philomeno [‘Meno’] Baptista, Macau, 24 November 2010. The Catholic community would not have realised it, but the Protestant Bragas also regarded themselves as ‘PBs’ – the usual abbreviation for ‘Plymouth Brethren’.

745 On leaving school, Jack commenced with the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corp. and Chappie with the French bank, Credit Foncier. Chappie’s account book shows that in 1917 he was paid $20 a month by his employer. Paul Braga Papers.
Some examples are:

- Bamboo brushes, blinds and furniture
- Buffalo horns
- Castor Oil
- Fans (Palm Leaf)
- Feathers
- Firecrackers – a big selection of these
- Ginger
- Glue
- Human hair (drawn, unwashed) – supplied in cases of 133 ½ lbs.
- Joss sticks
- Mats and matting
- Peanuts and peanut oil
- Preserved fruit, such as cumquats
- Soy sauce – casks of 667 lb. or 45 gallons
- Tobacco leaf – in bales of 146 ½ lb.

Lastly, rice, in many varieties and qualities, all from Siam.\(^{746}\)

This enterprise resumed a trading connection with Siam that his great-great-grandfather, Simão d’Araújo Rosa Sr, had once had in the mid-eighteenth century. In that long passage of time, there were few differences in this list of commodities. However, in 150 years trade had been transformed, but not for this trader. Most of these local products were low in value by comparison with manufactured products imported from Europe, or, increasingly, from Japan. Yet it was the only way forward for Braga, who obviously lacked the capital and the contacts with British businessmen to set up anything more substantial. Nevertheless, the careful planning and presentation of his catalogue indicates how thoroughly he had planned and set up his business. It never became a large one, and none of his sons became partners in it. His struggle continued to be, as it had always been, a lonely one. On at least one occasion, that struggle took a turn that in later years he would have wished to forget.

In 1943, discussing the rapid growth of the opium trade in the late eighteenth century, J.P. Braga would write, ‘sad to relate, Portuguese merchants at Macao were not above trafficking in the “black mud” of such evil repute’.\(^{747}\) However, in 1917, desperate for income, he approached the Macau government for a share in that

\(^{746}\) Historical and Statistical Abstract of the Colony of Hongkong, 1841-1920, p. 66 noted that in 1919, and presumably in other years, ‘a large business was done in Feathers and Human Hair’. In 1920 the export of 7,051 piculs of human hair was valued at £163,429. At 60 kg per picul, this amounts to more than 4 tonnes of human hair.

traffic. Under an Anglo-Portuguese treaty signed in 1913, the opium trade was allowed to continue both in Hong Kong and Macau for local consumption only. Quantities were controlled, with an annual limit of 260 chests for Macau. Although all the opium was imported from Calcutta, the local sole contractor was referred to as the opium ‘farmer’. This person had a five year contract. In Macau this was held by a company called Tai Seng. When its contract expired in 1917, it appears that 3,500 taels (131 kg) of prepared opium remained unsold, suggesting that the market was dwindling. J.P. Braga headed a syndicate seeking sole rights to sell this remaining opium at auction before a new contract came into effect. It appears that the bid was unsuccessful, though the file was active for six months.

It was inevitable that Braga would seek to take a prominent part in public affairs. The brash gossoon who had rushed into print with Rights of Aliens in 1895 was now more temperate in his views, but he continued to march to the same drumbeat. His son Tony remarked:

In his time J.P.B. probably contributed more letters to newspapers in Hong Kong than anyone else. In them he exposed much that was wrong with the social system in those days, and he constantly stressed the need for a fairer deal for the local born.

Letters to the editor have always been a prominent feature of newspapers in the British tradition, powerfully enhancing the role of the Press as the Fourth Estate. Though no longer a newspaper man, J.P. Braga remained wedded to the world of print. He gradually built up a high profile in Hong Kong at large and in the Portuguese community in particular. He always signed his letters, unlike some who adopted a nom de plume such as the clichéd ‘Pro Bono Publico’, ‘A Briton’, or, with a local flavour, ‘Old Hongkong resident’.

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748 Agreement between the United Kingdom and Portugal for the regulation of the opium monopolies in the colonies of Hong Kong and Macao, Great Britain, Parliament, Command Paper. 7052, 1913.
749 Arquivo Histórico, Macau, File No.MO/AH/AC/SA/01/06290, 21 November 1917-28 May 1918. Pedido de J. P. Braga, de Hong Kong, em nome de um sindicato que pretendia concorrer à arrematação do exclusivo do ópio, para lhe ser concedido um periodo de 10 dias com vista à preparação do ópio antes do início do contrato. Trespasse à Companhia Iau Seng, de 3.500 taéis de ópio cozido pertencentes à companhia concessionária cessante Tai Seng.
750 Notes prepared by A.M. Braga for an interview with Beverley Howells, April 1987, p. 4. A.M. Braga file.
751 It may have been this practice that in 1925 led the Post to crack down on writers who ‘deem it meet to infuse into their criticisms thinly veiled abuse under the cloak of anonymity.’ J. Scott Harston, chairman of the board of the South China Morning Post, to Henry Ching, the editor, as reported by a later editor, Robin Hutcheon, op. cit., p. 63.
The role of the Portuguese community in Hong Kong remained problematical. The early prominence of a few who had held significant Government positions – the d’Almada brothers, Alexandre Grandpré, J.M.A. Silva and J.A. Carvalho – was not repeated in the following generations as the British colonial service became far more highly structured and stratified. It followed that local people were excluded from the upper levels of Government Service, as they were in private enterprise. R.C. Hurley, who had lived in Hong Kong for 44 years, wrote in 1923:

In the early days the number of Portuguese residents in the Colony all holding responsible positions, both in the Government Service and in the principal mercantile hongs, was, in proportion, much greater than it is today.

Those responsible positions were seen as the birth right of men who were educated in the English Public Schools. Boys educated locally would never again receive these appointments. The unwritten policy of exclusion extended, of course, to Chinese, Indians and Eurasians as well as to Portuguese. However, a few wealthy Chinese had by the late nineteenth century achieved a degree of prominence that could not be ignored. The political consequences of this will be discussed in the next chapter. In the meantime, the significant appointment of Justice of the Peace was granted to a few Chinese. It took much longer for the first Portuguese Justice of the Peace to be appointed. This was Eduardo José (‘Edo’) Noronha, son of Leonardo, who had been the proprietor of Noronha & Co. since 1910, and was President of the Club de Recreo, one of the two major Portuguese community associations in Hong Kong. When ‘Edward Joseph Noronha’ – he was thus named in the Government Gazette – was appointed a Justice of the Peace in 1916, a group of twenty-four leading members of the Portuguese community, including J.P. Braga, his cousin, presented him with a silver rose bowl. Braga must have

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752 Januário Carvalho, Chief Clerk of the Colonial Treasury, had retired on a pension of $2,368. Silva received $2,528. The former Chief Justice received $6,000. Pensions of this magnitude paid to Portuguese would be unthinkable by the 1920s. R.L. Jarman, *Hong Kong Annual Administration Reports, 1841-1941*, Annual Report 1893, p. 118.


754 A. Jorge da Silva, *The Portuguese in Hong Kong*, pp. 17, 87, 93. J.P. Braga did not attend the ceremony, but the official photograph, reproduced in this book, shows his eldest son Jack, then aged twenty, in the back row. Noronha’s death in March 1921 was described as a serious loss, not only to the Catholic community, but also to the Colony at large. *The Rock*, vol. 2, no. 7, April 1922, p. 558.
reflected that the appointment could have been his had events not conspired against him in 1900. He did not have long to wait, for in 1919 he too was appointed a JP.  

Other community positions followed in the next few years. The Prince of Wales visited Hong Kong in 1922 during a year-long tour of the Empire; J.P. Braga was a member of the Executive Committee set up to make suitable arrangements. He joined the committee of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals – it was not yet the RSPCA – and earned the comment ‘he has done much valuable work for local causes’.  

He was for many years a very loyal supporter of St Joseph’s College. He was often present on its public occasions. An early student of St Joseph’s and a distinguished alumnus, he put his own nine boys through the school. In 1914 he was ‘the leading spirit in the formation of the first Old Boys’ Association, of which he was the Honorary Secretary’. It was short-lived, but it was revived in 1928, when J.P. Braga, by then eminent in the community, was President. He had earlier been the occasional speaker at the college’s golden jubilee in 1926.  

He remained interested in the running sore that was the dispute between Portugal and China concerning the boundary of Macau. The protracted dispute came to a head with a proposal for port works in Macau alleged by the Canton authorities to encroach on Chinese territory. Once again, the Hong Kong Government brokered...
a Macau Boundary Delineation Conference to deal with the issue. Braga took a leading part in the conference, held at Hong Kong in 1921. It was, he commented later, an ‘ever-recurring problem’. Some years later, in October 1929, he was appointed Comendador da Ordem de Cristo by the Portuguese government in recognition of his role in the conference. If his appointment as a Justice of the Peace gave him greater standing in the Hong Kong community, the Portuguese decoration gave him still more respect in the Portuguese community.

Following the family’s move to Kowloon in 1926, he joined the committee of the Kowloon Residents’ Association, which had been founded in 1919. His letters to the newspapers were full of ideas about the progress of this peninsula on the north side of the harbour, where development had been slow since it was added in 1860 to the Colony of Hong Kong. A long-standing member of Club Lusitano, he was elected President in 1927.

In 1920, F.J. Bowen, who had founded the Boy Scouts in Hong Kong in 1913 and revived it on his return from the Great War, founded a monthly Catholic periodical, The Rock. Braga became its leading contributor. Unusually, he chose to use a nom-de-plume, ‘St Josephian’, for his regular and penetrating observations on the local scene, especially in Kowloon. The issue for April 1922 contained a full-page photograph of Braga, describing him as a member of the editorial staff, adding, a year later:

he has laboured, often in the face of great difficulties, to maintain the high literary and artistic standard set by the founders of the magazine, and he has had no small share in bringing it to its present position as the English Catholic magazine of the Far East.

resumed on the harbour reclamation and was largely completed by 1926 at a cost of more than HKD $6 million (South China Morning Post, 20, 22 March 1926.

763 Letter to J.P. Braga from the Governor of Macau, 26 October 1929. J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/13.1/3.
764 South China Morning Post, 9 January 1920; Historical and statistical abstract of the colony of Hongkong, 1841-1920, p. 65. Its inclusion in this official compendium of significant events suggests that this step was regarded by senior government officials as important.
765 J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/14.1/40 passim.
767 The Rock, 1920-1932. After about 1928 it became the vehicle for the Jesuits in Hong Kong, and Braga, whose public career was increasingly busy, no longer contributed to it.
For J.P. Braga, these years were not all a story of steady advancement, much less a triumphant progress. The official history of the *South China Morning Post* characterised the decade after World War I as ‘the chaotic twenties’. Although it obviously smacks of a journalistic headline, the comment was just. The turmoil that followed the 1911 revolution in China showed no signs of abating, and the repercussions were felt in Hong Kong. What had once been the great Chinese Empire was wracked by civil war throughout the decade and Chinese nationalism began to assert itself. Hong Kong found itself an immediate target of Chinese dissatisfaction with the status quo of subjection to foreigners. However, unrest there could not be dismissed as only the by-product of Chinese troubles. Hong Kong and Shanghai were obvious foci of discontent. The revulsion of Chinese intellectuals at their country’s humiliation by Japan’s twenty-one demands in 1915 and the subsequent indignities inflicted on China at the Versailles Conference in 1919 led directly to the May Fourth Movement, beginning in Peking on that day in 1919. There followed serious trouble in Shanghai, and other cities. The May Fourth Movement was an intellectual turning point in Chinese reactions to the outside world. It was a seminal event that radicalised Chinese intellectual thought. Among the principles of the ‘Call to Youth’ by Chen Duxiu in 1915 were ‘be independent, not servile, be aggressive, not retiring’. He concluded, ‘youth, take up the task!’ a call perhaps consciously reminiscent of the well-known flourishes of his antecedents, Rousseau and Marx.769

There were soon far-reaching consequences that would be calamitous for many people in Hong Kong.

The troubles in China led to a flood of refugees to Hong Kong. Between 1915 and 1925, the population increased from 509,200 to 725,100.770 There was overcrowding


770 As recorded in the *Hong Kong Blue Book*, and maintained in the records of the Hong Kong Bureau of Census and Statistics. It was always recognised that the actual population was likely to be at least 20% higher, with many Chinese escaping official notice.
of squalid tenements and a huge increase in rents. There were food riots and looting in 1919 when there was a critical shortage of rice and thus desperation among the Chinese population. There was little unionism in Hong Kong, but engineers and fitters formed the Chinese Engineers Guild, which went on strike for higher pay in April 1920. With the colony crippled, the union quickly won. This inevitably led to further industrial action, with a Chinese Seamen’s Union being established. It too went on strike in January 1922, the strike soon leading to a general strike and the exodus of much of the Hong Kong Chinese population to Canton, a move backed by the local authorities there. With shipping at a standstill for eight weeks, the shipowners, backed by the Hong Kong Government, were forced to give way. A settlement was negotiated by Sir Robert Ho Tung, respected by both sides and himself a major shipowner, who used his immense prestige and wealth to resolve an apparently intractable situation, but this was a massive defeat for the Hong Kong Government.

Far worse was to come when an unruly demonstration in Canton on 23 June 1925 called for another general strike against British imperialism. It was fired upon by European police from the British concession, Shameen, and there was serious loss of life, with 52 people killed and 117 wounded. This at once precipitated the called-for general strike. The servants in the Braga household and J.P. Braga’s office staff at once departed. Thousands more did the same, believing rumours that the government would poison the water supply. However, after the 1922 experience, contingency plans had been made in Hong Kong to keep essential services going. The Hong Kong Volunteers were called out, troops patrolled the streets to maintain order and 2,000 Europeans joined a labour force to keep essential services going. The British knew that they could rely on ‘the staunch and ever loyal Portuguese’.

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772 N. Miners, op. cit., pp. 11-14. There was loss of life when striking domestic servants making their way on foot towards the border were fired upon. Most of the strikers’ demands were met, with compensation for their lost income during the strike. That additional cost was a particularly bitter pill to swallow for the shipowners, who had to subscribe to a fund to pay it. Ho Tung emerged as the man of the hour and personally guaranteed the fund.
773 R. Chung Lu Cee, op. cit., p. 93.
774 Noel Braga Diary, 23 June 1925.
775 R. Chung Lu Cee, op. cit., p. 85.
776 Ibid., p. 89
777 R. Hutecheon, op. cit. p. 60. After World War II, they were no longer prepared to be taken for granted.
The strike was less effective than the two earlier strikes had been, and by September, most businesses were running again. However, although essential services were maintained, an effective boycott of British goods and shipping, organised by the strike committee in Canton, continued for 15 months. The number of ships entering Hong Kong harbour fell by 60%. The Governor of Hong Kong, Sir Reginald Stubbs, proposed robust military action that would have been tantamount to a third Chinese War, but the Colonial Office rejected any such suggestion. Officials in London correctly judged that Hong Kong could not be starved into submission as Macau had been on many occasions during the previous three centuries. Stubbs’ proposal ‘to appeal to their deepest feelings — that is, by the cat’ did not appeal to the local Chinese population, British public opinion or the Foreign Office, though it was applauded by the local British population.\footnote{R. Chung Lu Cee, op. cit., p. 119.}

Stubbs’ successor, Sir Cecil Clementi, who arrived in October 1925, inherited an unprecedentedly difficult situation. He has been criticised for allowing the ruinous boycott to drag on for another year, but refused to give way to political demands unacceptable to London and to a scale of compensation that he regarded as blackmail. Wisely, he consulted his Executive and Legislative Councils in five joint sessions in the next twelve months of economic calamity and political stalemate.\footnote{N. Miners, op. cit., pp. 54, 293 n 36.}

Eventually, in September 1926, he resorted to a limited form of gunboat diplomacy, traditionally effective on the China coast, by sending marines to Canton and clearing the pickets from the wharves. A gunboat was moored there to keep them away, but this was not the massive use of force and firepower that Stubbs had sought. A subdued strike committee saved face by organising a demonstration on ‘Double Tenth’, 10 October, the fifteenth anniversary of the 1911 Revolution, celebrating their achievement, and vowing to continue the struggle against
imperialism. Nevertheless, the boycott was quietly dropped, and trade between Canton and Hong Kong slowly recovered.780

While one British writer, Miners, has seen this as a result of Clementi’s patient negotiation and firm if limited action, Chung has mounted a more persuasive argument. She has established that the end of the boycott was ordered by Chiang Kai-shek once he gained the ascendancy in Canton.

Chiang was primarily preoccupied with the military expedition against the militarists [in the north]. The settlement of the strike boycott was therefore considered necessary. Chiang did not favour the idea of having to deal with troubles from the British at Hong Kong in the south while campaigning in the north.781

It was for Clementi a victory of sorts. It is hard to see another governor dealing with the situation more effectively, given what Chung has described as the ‘nebulous and ever-changing political situation at Canton’.782 With long experience as a younger man in the colonial service in Hong Kong, Clementi realised that the vehemence of the political storm in Canton had to run its course. Nevertheless, the long boycott was an economic catastrophe.783 The loss of trade has been estimated at up to HK$500,000,000, with an additional $500,000,000 wiped from Hong Kong property values and share prices.784 Recovery would be slow and protracted, and before it did occur, commerce was again hit badly by the Great Depression a few years later.785 In 1935 imports and exports were down to half their 1931 values.786 The deteriorating economy seriously affected the business confidence of the colony.

Many people were ruined, and J.P. Braga was no exception. At the time, he shared something of his troubles with his son Noel, already seen as a promising young executive.

780 The tortuous and ineffectual negotiations with the left-leaning Canton authorities only terminated with the ascendancy of the Kuomintang. R. Chung deals with them in two lengthy chapters, op. cit., pp. 179-304
781 R. Chung Lu Cee, op. cit., p. 306.
782 Ibid., p. 305.
783 Extensive detail is given by R. Chung Lu Cee, op. cit., pp. 128-140.
784 N. Miners, op. cit. p. 19.
785 Hong Kong Annual Report, 1933, p. 15. Imports fell by 19.7% and exports by 14.6% from the previous year’s value.
786 N. Miners, op. cit., p. 23.
I went to Father’s room, after much hesitation, and we talked about his financial difficulties. At times he would stop to say how unfortunate circumstances have been and how cruel the present trouble has been, inasmuch as the money which he had hoped to retire on has been snatched out of his hands, as it were, and he is left with heavy debts to pay without hope of being able to meet his liabilities at present ... He said that everybody who had money lost and those who did not lose were those who did not have the money to lose.\(^{787}\)

Fifteen years later, in a broadcast talk marking the centenary of Hong Kong, J.P. Braga spoke of

The collapse resulting from the strike and boycott on the 22nd June 1925. That was a disastrous year for the Portuguese of Hong Kong. Many savings of a lifetime vanished into thin air on that fateful afternoon in mid-June.\(^{788}\)

Privately, he admitted to his son Jack that he had rashly borrowed on margin to speculate on the stock market, which resulted in his losing all his savings when the market collapsed.

All these disadvantages and avoidable loss should impress on you the folly of over-speculation when you are not in a position to take up your forward commitments. It can be very embarrassing and ruinous.\(^{789}\)

By the early 1920s, before the crash of 1925, J.P. Braga might well have supposed that the worst of his troubles were behind him. He had caught the eye of one of the few successful British businessmen to treat members of the Portuguese community as anything other than underlings beneath their notice. On the Portuguese side what was most resented was ‘the calm British assumption of superiority’.\(^{790}\) In this weltanschauung a minor Portuguese local had no place, but Robert Gordon Shewan was an exception to this arrogant outlook.

Shewan had joined the long-established American firm Russell & Co. in 1881 where another Englishman, Charles Alexander Tomes, was already working. The firm was wound up in 1891 and Shewan & Co. took its place, to become Shewan, Tomes & Co. in 1895. An extremely active – even aggressive – enterprise, it developed wide-ranging business interests in several cities, and as general managers and agents for

\(^{787}\) Noel Braga Diary, 6 May 1926.

\(^{788}\) J.P. Braga, Portuguese pioneering: a hundred years of Hong Kong, p. 12. The date was actually 23 June 1925.

\(^{789}\) J.P. Braga to J.M. Braga, 21 October 1931, J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/2.3/8.

\(^{790}\) D.B. Horn, Great Britain and Europe in the eighteenth century, p. 272.
many others. As it expanded it acquired shipping, insurance and manufacturing agencies, and was associated with the forming of the Green Island Cement Company and the China Light and Power Company, which generated electricity for Kowloon, where the demand for electricity was far smaller than on Hong Kong Island. Electricity supply here since 1890 had been the monopoly of the Hong Kong Electric Company.\textsuperscript{791} The rise of Shewan, Tomes & Co. was spectacular, as by the early twentieth century it had become one of the major firms in the Far East.\textsuperscript{792}

Shortly after World War I, Shewan invited J.P. Braga to join the board of China Light, as it was usually known, and also employed one of his sons, the promising Noel Braga, who became its company secretary while still in his early twenties.\textsuperscript{793} It was the beginning of a fulfilling career for both. Noel gave his father unswerving support and loyalty despite the religious gulf that divided them, while J.P. Braga’s political career in the ensuing decade would hardly have been possible had he not held some reasonably significant position in business. However, despite his prominent position, he never recovered financially from the major setback of the 1925-1926 strike and boycott. The two aspects of his public life, commercial and political, are both dealt with in the next chapter.

A necessary first step towards higher office for anyone in public life in Hong Kong was committee work in some position open to public scrutiny. Lawyers could be, and were, assessed on their performance in court.\textsuperscript{794} Prominent businessmen such as the Chief Manager of the Hongkong Bank and the General Manager of Jardine’s were automatically appointed to the Council, in much the same way that the heads of major companies were elected to the Shanghai Municipal Council.\textsuperscript{795}

Significant in the public eye was the oddly-named Sanitary Board. It was set up in 1883 following a damning report prepared by Osbert Chadwick on the appalling sanitary conditions in the colony. Initially comprising four officials, four appointed

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\textsuperscript{791} Initially Shewan, Tomes & Co dealt with the commodities that Russell & Co had exported from Canton through Hong Kong for half a century – raw silk, silk piece goods, tea, matting, fire-crackers, rattan, and others; and imported cottons, woollens, hardware, glassware, flour, hemp, raw sugar, and wine and spirits. D. Waters, ‘Hong Kong's Hongs with Long Histories and British Connections’, \textit{Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch}, vol. 30, 1990, p. 249.

\textsuperscript{792} S. Bard, \textit{Foreign Traders in Hong Kong}, p. 77.

\textsuperscript{793} N. Cameron, \textit{Power}, p. 111.

\textsuperscript{794} N. Miners, op. cit., pp. 130-131.

\textsuperscript{795} \textit{South China Morning Post}, 13 February 1920.
unofficial members were added in 1886, and the next year, provision was made for a further two unofficial members to be elected by ratepayers who were also qualified to be jurors. Its public importance was emphasised by the panic which accompanied the serious outbreak in 1894 of bubonic plague. However, during the next twenty years, the board remained quiescent until the next serious epidemic, an outbreak of typhoid in 1926 which affected more Europeans than hitherto. 796 This led to press criticism of the inadequate way it had carried out its functions. 797 This, broadly speaking, encompassed many of the public health responsibilities of a British local government body, but was extended to include the special requirements of an Asian city with significant public health problems. 798 Because of the epidemic, the Sanitary Board became a body of importance, and its membership was coveted as never before. It was an advisory, not an executive body. However, its significance lay in the fact that it was the only element of elected self-government in the colony, although the electorate was tiny. 799 It was a tremendous boost to Braga’s public standing when in 1926 he was appointed a temporary member of the Sanitary Board in the place of a government unofficial appointee, Dr W.V.M. Koch, who was on a year’s ‘home leave’. 800

When William Pitt the elder triumphantly concluded the Seven Years’ War in 1763, he was feted in towns and cities throughout Britain. ‘It rained silver platters for several weeks’, was one witty comment. In its own small way Hong Kong rained compliments on J.P. Braga. The Hongkong Sunday Herald led the way.

796 N. Miners, op. cit., p. 147.
797 E.g. South China Morning Post, 22 February 1927.
798 As outlined in the annual reports of the Sanitary Department, these were Scavenging (i.e. garbage collection) and Nightsoil Removal, House Cleansing, Disinfection of infected clothing, control of Cemeteries, supervision of Markets and Slaughter Houses, control of Public Bath Houses and latrines, Offensive Trades (of which pig-roasting was the major one, totalling 37 of the 127 premises under control). Ambulances were also provided by the Sanitary Dept., and at the two Disinfecting Stations a Dead Box was provided. This was an attempt to deal with a terrible social evil that reflected the extent of destitution and starvation among refugees fleeing the constant warfare in inter-bellum China. In each year during this period more than 1,000 corpses were collected from the streets in a regular morning pick-up. Report of the Sanitary Department for the Year 1929, pp. 4-9; Report of the Sanitary Department for the Year 1931, pp. 1-5.
799 N. Miners, op. cit., p. 134. In 1920 the number of jurors was 1,500, of whom only 61 had Chinese names. As all jurors were required to have a working knowledge of English, 98% of the population were immediately excluded. The census of 1921 gave a total population of 625,155. The electorate for the Sanitary Board was thus 0.24% of the population, surely one of the smallest electorates ever, and this for an advisory body. The 61 Chinese electors were 1 in 10,000, or 0.009% of the total population. No further comment is necessary.
800 South China Morning Post, 22 December 1926, J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/14.1/40, fol. 4.
Congratulations will be showered on Mr J.P. Braga on his appointment as a member of the Sanitary Board during the absence of Dr Koch – congratulations that will by no means be confined to the Portuguese community of which Mr Braga is one of the most respected members. [The Government] has shown that it appreciates public-spiritedness on the part of any resident irrespective of nationality. It has shown that it recognises the claims of the large Portuguese community to a voice and share in our civic administration. 801

The China Mail pointed out:

The appointment is without precedent in the history of the Colony, as this is the first occasion on which a member of the Portuguese community has been appointed to the Sanitary Board. It is very fitting that the honour should fall to Mr Braga, whose position in the Portuguese community is acknowledged, and whose public spirited work for the Colony on many occasions has won him the respect and goodwill of the entire British community. The Government is to be commended on its choice, and Mr Braga is to be congratulated on a notable distinction. 802

“E’ com imenso júbilo” A Patria welcomes J.P. Braga’s appointment

The local Portuguese-language monthly, *A Patria*, outlined Braga’s work for the Portuguese community and for the interests of Macau in some detail in a leading article, adding percipiently:

We must emphasise that membership of the Sanitary Board is sought after by the British themselves, for it is seen as a stepping stone to a seat on the Legislative Council. The modesty of the nominee would not have permitted him to apply for membership himself. It has been this great modesty which has now brought his name even more to the fore. 803

The Portuguese language is rich in embellishment and flattery, and *A Patria* laid it on thickly, extolling this ‘gentleman, in every sense of the word ... well known for his fine character and cultured background ... his exceptional intelligence and savoir faire’, concluding:

the day will not be too far away when the Portuguese Government honours a man of his intelligence, clear perception and brilliant literacy, with the *Ordem de S. Tiago*, the Order of St James, in recognition of services rendered to Portugal and Macau. 804

At first glance all this fuss about a temporary position on a second-rate board in a remote colony seems inordinate. However, two things must be borne in mind. The first, stressed continuously in this thesis, is that the Portuguese had been beneath everyone’s notice until this point – indeed, beneath their contempt. In securing this appointment, Braga had broken through a significant glass ceiling entirely through his own conspicuous merits. The second is that this small step in constitutional development, for that is what it was, was achieved without any sort of radical agitation. 805

803 *A Patria*, [undated, but probably November 1926]. J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/14.1/40, fol. 2. Translation from Portuguese by Dienecke Carruthers.
804 Braga did indeed receive state recognition from Portugal three years later, in October 1929, though as *Comendador de Ordem do Cristo*, a lower order than the highly esteemed *Ordem de S. Tiago*.
805 This was steadily increasing in India, where major concessions were gradually being wrung by force from a reluctant British government (Initially the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909, and most recently the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms in 1919. The next few years would see major concessions following the Round Table Conferences of 1931, 1932 and 1935, culminating in the India Act of 1935, intended to grant dominion status to India). In other parts of the Empire, there had been throughout the nineteenth century a steady move towards representative government in colonies with white majority population, but similar moves in other colonies had hardly begun.
Braga used the time well, initially doing all he could to stir the Sanitary Board and its chairman, the Head of the Sanitary Department, into vigorous action in regard to the prevention of typhoid, a water-borne disease. At his first meeting, a philippic against the Board’s lack of action in dealing with insanitary conditions conducive to typhoid at a Chinese village, Kaulungtong, close to an area then being developed as Kowloon Tong, a European ‘garden suburb’, attracted detailed press attention.\textsuperscript{806} He then turned his attention to unhygienic conditions in the Central Market, where, among other insanitary practices, meat was prepared on wooden surfaces that could not be cleaned properly. His speech on this occasion was reported \textit{in extenso} in the press.\textsuperscript{807} A testy reply from the Board’s chairman was also fully reported, but other members backed Braga, and things did change. In the next twelve months he kept up the pressure.

As a result, he was elected unopposed in 1927 to one of the two elected positions when it fell vacant. He was nominated by the General Manager of the \textit{South China Morning Post}, Benjamin Wylie, who saw in Braga a capable man very active in public affairs.\textsuperscript{808} A man who had lost three brothers in a smallpox epidemic was the ideal person to tackle public health issues with passion. Other members of the Sanitary Board urged caution in interfering with traditional Chinese customs.\textsuperscript{809} They lived on the Hong Kong side, well away from the outbreak of typhoid at Kowloon Tong, which was at the northern extremity of Kowloon. Even in dealing with the important Central Market on the Hong Kong side, the acting chairman, N.L. Smith, seemed unaware of unsanitary conditions there. Braga had begun a practice of irritating complacent officials that he would continue for the next ten years.

\textsuperscript{806} \textit{South China Morning Post}, 22 February 1927. The spacious new development, directed at attracting British business people away from what is known as the ‘Hong Kong side’ to the ‘Kowloon side’ temptingly named the streets after some of the more appealing English ‘home counties’, such as Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, Devon, Somerset and Cornwall. A touch of British triumphalism was added in the name of the newly built approach road, Waterloo Road. The developer’s map of the project is in the J.M. Braga Special Map Collection, National Library of Australia, Map 53/14, New Kowloon.


\textsuperscript{808} \textit{South China Morning Post}, 30 November 1927. His other nominator was C.M. Manners, OBE. Wylie had been with the \textit{Post} since 1909, and was familiar with Braga’s work at the \textit{Telegraph} and his growing prominence during the next 16 years. R. Hutcheon, \textit{SCMP, the first eighty years}, pp. 30, 31. Major C.M. Manners was Chairman of the Star Ferry Company, President of the Hong Kong Automobile Association and a Council member of the Boy Scouts Association, Hong Kong Branch (websites of the three bodies accessed 17 May 2012). These were two good men to have as backers.

\textsuperscript{809} \textit{South China Morning Post}, 22 February 1927.
It was a quarter of a century since he had returned to Hong Kong as Manager of the *Hongkong Telegraph*. In that time, J.P. Braga, J.P., had become the most prominent member of the Portuguese community, E.J. Noronha, the first Portuguese Justice of the Peace, having died in 1921. He had survived serious personal and financial crises, and was at the threshold of a more significant role in business and public affairs that would draw upon all the experience he had gained. His attainments were entirely his own. There was no precedent in Hong Kong for a member of the Portuguese community, little regarded by others, to take so prominent a part in public life and to devote so much of his time to honorary positions. In creating this degree of public esteem, he did not stand on the shoulders of others, though in later years, other members of the Portuguese community would benefit from his achievements.
Chapter 9

‘Son of Hong Kong’ – J.P. Braga 1929-1941

Forty years after he had won a gold medal in India as a very promising boy, J.P. Braga again won unprecedented distinction in becoming the first member of the Portuguese community to be appointed to membership of the Hong Kong Legislative Council. Others would follow in later years, largely due to his initial achievement. After many years of difficulty, he at last gained in these years a degree of prominence in business, becoming an effective chairman of two thriving public companies. He saw several of his sons established in business, with three of them, Noel, Hugh and John, becoming successful executives of these two companies. A fourth son, Tony, was his indispensable right-hand man in his own office. He had acquired his own home in mainland Kowloon after many years of renting in an area of Hong Kong Island that was becoming overcrowded and less attractive, and this gave him a solid reason to work hard for the development of this hitherto neglected part of the colony.

These were busy and fulfilling years, despite several serious bouts of illness and the constant battle to gain equality in a British colony that maintained an unswerving belief in the superiority of all things British – commercial practice, legal procedures, efficient administration and its self-assured domination of Hong Kong society. For Braga to have carved out what amounted to a personal niche in this rigidly hierarchical and exclusive system of control was no mean achievement, especially at a time of on-going economic crisis and a deteriorating international situation from 1931 onwards.

Both personally and in his community, Braga’s most significant achievement was his appointment in January 1929 as a member of the Hong Kong Legislative Council. It was, observed Carlos da Roza, another leading member of the Portuguese community, ‘a position much desired and eagerly sought after by all residents of
Hong Kong’. He might have added that no-one really expected that such a thing would ever occur, as in Shanghai, the only other foreign settlement on the China coast to have its own administrative structure; no Portuguese ever became a member of the Shanghai Municipal Council. Indeed Shanghai was the model for British administration in China in the 1920s, as three-quarters of British economic interests in China were concentrated there, compared with less than 10 per cent in Hong Kong.

It is necessary to trace the history of community participation in the Hong Kong Legislative Council in order to explain the significance of da Roza’s remark. The normal practice in nineteenth century British colonies was to establish an Executive and a Legislative Council as something of a brake on the governor’s autocratic power. In the case of Hong Kong, both were kept deliberately small when they were set up in 1843, in recognition of the difficult circumstances facing the new colony. Both had three members, all of whom were senior officers of the government. Following representations from the Hong Kong business community which were duly approved by the Colonial Office, two unofficial members of the Legislative Council were added in 1850. They were appointed by the governor, but on the nomination of the unofficial Justices of the Peace.

Over the next half century, as the colony grew in importance and diversity, the Legislative Council grew with it, but the model of government by elected representatives, a central doctrine to Victorian liberals, was never applied to Hong Kong, where the English minority was tiny and transitory. Therefore all members of both councils were appointed, and official members, subject to the governor’s direction, were always in a majority. When the Council was enlarged by the

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813 Ibid., pp. 43, 83. When news of the change reached Hong Kong, the fifteen justices, highly delighted, went to the exclusive Hong Kong Club to elect their two representatives, one of whom, predictably, was David Jardine, the taipan of Jardine, Matheson & Co. (*South China Morning Post*, 13 January 1919). That set the pattern for exclusivity from then on.
appointment of further unofficial members, an equal number of official members were added at the same time. 814

A proposal for the Legislative Council to have an elected majority emerged when a Constitutional Reform Association was established on 3 May 1917. 815 J.P. Braga, no stranger to reform agitation, joined its committee. 816 It revived proposals made a generation earlier by a British elite, but its timing was poor. World War I was hardly a suitable time for a remote colony to be seeking constitutional change. It received short shrift from the governor, Sir Henry May, and from the Colonial Office in London. Immediately after the war, with a new governor, Sir Reginald Stubbs, in office, two unofficial members, Henry Pollock and Percival Holyoak, revived the Association, initially attracting strong support.

A well-attended public meeting was held on 9 January 1919. As a committee member, J.P. Braga was one of the dignitaries on the platform. 817 The proposed changes were greeted enthusiastically. These were:

That as regards all the unofficial members of the Legislative Council (other than the two Chinese nominated members) the principle of election instead of nomination shall be applied.

That the number of unofficial members shall be increased from 6 to 9 and that the number of official members shall remain as at present, namely 8.

That of the seven elected unofficial members (all of whom shall be British subjects) two shall be elected by the Hongkong General Chamber of Commerce; one by the Justices of the Peace; three (two of whom shall be of British race and one of Portuguese race) by British subjects who are jurymen ... and the one by the Chinese

814 Thus by 1894, the Council had been enlarged to thirteen: six unofficial and seven official members. This step resulted from a petition from European residents seeking an elected European majority. This was no expression of high-minded liberal principle; the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London saw it for what it was, a grab for power by a tiny plutocracy of about 800 British businessmen who sought to rule, in their own interests, over a Chinese population of a quarter of a million (N. Miners, Hong Kong under imperial rule, 1912-1941, pp. 126-127). Instead, the number of unofficial members was increased by one, it being made clear that the additional member was to be Chinese. To detail the constitutional development of the Hong Kong Legislative Council lies outside the scope of this thesis. However, it is necessary to indicate what occurred in the context of the role carved out by J.P. Braga and his successors. It is therefore dealt with in the form of an appendix. See Appendix 8.

815 Historical and statistical abstract of the colony of Hongkong, 1841-1920, p. 60.

816 South China Morning Post, 24 January 1929, J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/40, fol. 5.

817 The meeting filled the Royal Theatre, then the largest venue in Hong Kong. South China Morning Post, 10 January 1919.
General Chamber of Commerce, or some other body representative of the Chinese community.\textsuperscript{818}

These motions were duly carried, with an amendment: the reduction of the representation of the Chamber of Commerce from two to one. Two members of the Portuguese community spoke, J.L. Alves and Leo d’Almada.\textsuperscript{819} The chairman, Holyoak, acidly reprimanded Alves for his sharp comments on the Chamber of Commerce and the Portuguese (meaning d’Almada) for their audacity in seeking what would amount to a reserved seat elected by universal male suffrage of that community. The \textit{Post} took up both comments in the headline of its detailed report of the meeting: ‘Constitutional Reform. Amended Resolution Carried – Portuguese “Audacity” – Government by Peakites.’\textsuperscript{820}

This initiative received no more attention from the government than earlier attempts at ‘Peakite’ control of Hong Kong, twice rejected by the Colonial Office. However, this time there was an important difference. Although labelled as ‘audacity’, the inclusion of a Portuguese member was a significant departure from earlier proposals.

If such a step were to be taken, it must be presumed that a nominee was in mind. The presence of J.P. Braga on the platform suggests that he was the man the Constitutional Reform Association would put forward. Wisely, he did not speak at the meeting, unwilling to be associated with the bitter and abrasive comments of the elderly Alves or the impractical suggestion of the youthful d’Almada. Braga knew that he too had been brash and outspoken in his younger days, and had suffered for it.

For his part, Sir Reginald Stubbs felt that he could ignore these people, though he was not averse to the principle of election. He told the Colonial Office:

\textsuperscript{818} \textit{South China Morning Post}, 10 January 1919.
\textsuperscript{819} J.L. Alves scathingly denounced the influence of the elite ‘Peakites’, numbering some 200 people, who he claimed would in this proposal control three of the nine elected seats on an elected Legislative Council, as most of the JPs and members of the Chamber of Commerce lived on the Peak (The press report does not indicate which member of the Alves family spoke; several were active in public life. It is likely to have been José Luiz de Selasia Alves, who had been Chief Clerk of the Harbour Office, described at his death in 1927 as the ‘Grand Old Man of the Portuguese community’ in an obituary by ‘an old friend’, probably J.P. Braga. \textit{Hongkong Telegraph}, 11 July 1927. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/41, fol. 14). The other Portuguese speaker, Leo d’Almada, grandson of the distinguished civil servant of earlier times, and an up-and-coming young lawyer, argued that all Portuguese residents, not only British subjects, should be able to vote for a Portuguese representative on the Legislative Council, but this did not win much support,
\textsuperscript{820} \textit{South China Morning Post}, 10 January 1919. The \textit{Post} was no lover of Hong Kong’s Peak-dwelling elite, which generally favoured the old-established rival paper, the \textit{Hongkong Daily Press}. R. Hutcheon, \textit{SCMP, the first eighty years}, p. 55.
The general indifference of the community to all matters of public life was almost unbelievable. The Constitutional Reform Association was a farcical body of a few dozen persons which owed its origin to the personal pique of certain persons against the previous governor.821

Although the Colonial Office saw that this was too dismissive, there the matter rested, and the serious anti-British strikes and boycott of the next few years put an end to any suggestion that the governor’s authority, crucial in those troubled times, should be diminished. Still more was this the case when the international situation deteriorated throughout the 1930s, especially in the Far East.

Instead the impetus for change came from an unlikely quarter. Henry Pollock, one of the prime movers for the ‘Peakite’ reform in 1919, put down a question for the governor at the March 1928 meeting of the Legislative Council asking whether a representative of Kowloon could be added to the Council.822 Sir Cecil Clementi, who had replaced Stubbs in 1925, and was strongly opposed to the previous proposal for constitutional change, gave this idea his support, informing the Secretary of State that ‘I find myself in sympathy with the object of the present proposal’.823 He noted that the population of Kowloon had increased from 80,000 in 1918 to 250,000 in 1928, more than a quarter of the population of the colony. He went beyond Pollock’s suggestion to propose that the Legislative Council should be enlarged by two further unofficial members, meaning that two further additional official members would also be appointed. One unofficial would represent Kowloon, and the other would be a third Chinese representative. The Colonial Office raised no objection to the proposal, one official minuting, ‘The European desire for constitutional reform has been more or less killed by the realisation that any changes would have to be made in a Sinophile direction’.824 The Colonial Office did not specify the race of the two new members nor the method by which they were to be chosen, that being left to Clementi’s discretion. A man of action, Clementi was determined that things must change, both in terms of constitutional development and in the growth of the colony, especially in the hitherto neglected Kowloon and the New Territories. Despite the

821 N. Miners, op. cit., p. 135. The targets of this remark were plainly Pollock and Holyoak, neither of whom had enjoyed good relations with Sir Henry May.
822 Clementi to L.S. Amery Colonial Secretary, 25 April 1928, CO 129/511/29.
823 Ibid., CO 129/511/28.
824 Ibid., 25 April 1928, CO 129/511/5, and Minute dated 8 October 1928 in CO 129/509/14, p. 18.
troubled times he faced for a year after he assumed office, Clementi has been described by Nigel Cameron, author of several Hong Kong histories, as ‘one of the finest governors the Colony ever had’.  

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There had already been a public call for J.P. Braga to be appointed to the Legislative Council. The editor of a new and short-lived paper, the Hong Kong Observer, editorialised ‘Mr Braga for the Council’. After drawing attention at some length to his outspoken and effective role in the Sanitary Board, the writer went on, with a certain degree of journalistic bombast, to ask,

Why should Mr. Braga’s ability and initiative be limited to the narrow confines of the Sanitary Board? Why should his undoubted talents for focusing attention on vital problems and for acting as spokesman of the whole community, irrespective of race or sect, not be extended to the Legislative Council? The Government may be a benevolent autocracy, and, per se, incapable of truly

825 N. Cameron, Power, p. 103.
interpreting the wishes of the community who pay for the time they do not call, but that of itself is no reason why an improvement should not be effected in the personnel of the Legislative Council.\textsuperscript{826}

The manner of authorisation of this step was the issue of Royal Instructions to the Governor, for reform in colonial Hong Kong came from the top down. The Instructions were duly amended.\textsuperscript{827} They were promulgated in Hong Kong on 14 January 1929 and immediately acted upon by Clementi.\textsuperscript{828}

Clementi’s selections were well accepted by the whole English-language press in Hong Kong. After discussing the merits of the two new official members, the Harbour Master and the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services, the \textit{Hongkong Telegraph} observed that

\begin{quote}
The factors that have operated in the selection of the two new Councillors are obvious. First and foremost, Kowloon representation was desired and it is most gratifying to find that both seats have been allocated to residents of the peninsula. The selection of Mr Braga has fulfilled a double purpose. Not only does it give Kowloon its own non-Chinese member, but the appointment may also be regarded as a recognition of the point that the Portuguese community is entitled to some representation. No happier choice could have been made than that of Mr. Braga, who, born in the Colony, has given years of unstinted service to the public and whose active participation in public life in recent times has shown him to be admirably qualified for the honour now accorded him.\textsuperscript{829}
\end{quote}

Dr Tso Seen-wan (1865–1953), the new Chinese member, also a Kowloon resident, with a conspicuous record of service in the Chinese community, was similarly applauded by the \textit{Telegraph}. Dr Tso, a lawyer, had rendered valuable service in the strike of 1925.

‘Kowloon comes of age’, the \textit{Hongkong Daily Press} told its readers, many of whom would have preferred the ‘Peakite’ proposal of 1919 and reflected on the deep-seated prejudice that beset Hong Kong society. This ‘establishment’ paper pointedly refrained from commenting on the merits of either of the new unofficial appointees.

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\textsuperscript{826} \textit{Hong Kong Observer}, vol. 1, no. 7, 3 March 1928. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/41, fol. 34. It is possible that this strongly worded argument led to Pollock’s raising the matter a few days later at the next meeting of the Legislative Council.\textsuperscript{827} \textit{CO 129/511/8-10}.\textsuperscript{828} \textit{Hong Kong Government Gazette}, 18 January 1929.\textsuperscript{829} \textit{Hongkong Telegraph}, 15 January 1929. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/40, fol. 1. 277
\end{flushright}
Thirty years ago, and possibly at a much later date, there were many people in Hong Kong who regarded the little settlement on the opposite side of the harbour rather as a joke, – and a poor one at that.

Those days, said the Daily Press, had gone.

It is particularly fitting that Mr. Braga should have been selected to represent Kowloon on the Legislative Council. It was the Portuguese who first went over in considerable numbers to Kowloon from Hong Kong to take up residence there and many of the very picturesque villas and attractive gardens still to be seen on that side of the harbour were built and laid out by Portuguese who migrated from Hong Kong ... thus the appointment of a Portuguese resident to represent the interests of Kowloon in the Legislative Council is most appropriate, and a delicate and well-deserved compliment to that section of the community. Both Mr Braga and Dr Tso are residents of Kowloon and with their appearance at the meeting of the Legislative Council Kowloon may consider itself as having fully come of age.

The South China Morning Post had developed a much stronger position during the 1920s, having capably weathered the strikes of 1922 and 1925. It printed a concise but informative biographical sketch of the new unofficial appointees, clearly the product of skilled interviewing, concluding with a favourable comment on each. The Post's editor, the very capable Henry Ching, a Eurasian of Australian birth, could not resist a swipe at the Daily Press.

Happily His Excellency's choice has fallen upon men, who by general consent must be called both capable and eligible. Cavil can only come from malcontents.

It was left to J. Álvares, a member of the Hong Kong Portuguese community, to crow delightedly in a cartoon published in the fourth local paper, the China Mail.

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831 R. Hutcheon, op. cit., p. 53.
833 China Mail, 22 January 1929. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/40, fol. 5. The artist is tentatively identified as José Augusto Álvares, #336662, (1905-1990). Álvares was an Assistant Overseer at China Light.
The impression given by the cartoon that Braga had something to do with the Kowloon-Canton Railway was misleading. All the artist was trying to convey was that the clock tower, already a famous landmark, was Kowloon’s major symbol of progress, for Kowloon had indeed come of age. The Hong Kong Observer apparently did not last long enough to add its comment. However, the previous June, it had added a perceptive judgment to its earlier advocacy of Braga’s elevation to the Legislative Council. The reason why Braga was not already a member of the Legislative Council, suggested the Observer, was that ‘officialdom simply cannot bear a man with the ferreting instinct. He would be a thorn in their very tender sides.’ So it proved.

Sir Cecil Clementi would have been well aware of the ferreting instincts of his new councillor, who had attracted much public attention during his membership of the Sanitary Board. At the first meeting of the enlarged Council on 24 May, Clementi welcomed all four new members, correctly lauding the Harbour Master and the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services, and going on to say:

In the Honourable Mr. Braga I welcome the first representative of the Portuguese community to sit in this Council. (Applause.) We all of us appreciate the value of the Portuguese community here resident, and it is a pleasure to us that Mr. Braga, who in a very literal sense is a son of Hongkong, should inaugurate the representation of that community in the Legislative Council.

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Both the Portuguese community and the Kowloon community welcomed Braga’s appointment. Each held a special celebration, and the Portuguese community in particular marked the occasion with a significant presentation. E.J. Noronha’s appointment as a Justice of the Peace had been recognised with the presentation of a silver rose bowl. So too was J.P. Braga’s appointment to the Legislative Council.  

The inscription reads:

PRESENTED TO
THE HON. MR. J.P. BRAGA, J.P.
BY THE
PORTUGUESE COMMUNITY
IN COMMEMORATION OF HIS APPOINTMENT AS A
MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL
HONGKONG 24TH JANUARY 1929

It was a great leap forward, not only for the man himself, but for the whole community, and deserved to be celebrated. There were lengthy speeches, fully reported in the press. Eulogistic addresses were made by the presidents of Club Lusitano, Club Recreio and the Associação Portuguesa de Soccoros (Portuguese Mutual Aid Society) in his honour. Congratulatory messages were received from the Governor of Macau, the President of the Leal Senado and several Portuguese community bodies. Having been ignored by the British for such a long period of time, the Portuguese community greeted the elevation of one of its leading members to the Legislative Council with immense satisfaction.

Twelve years later, on 20 January 1941, Braga quoted Clementi’s gracious welcome in one of a series of broadcast talks marking Hong Kong’s centenary, later published as a booklet by Club Lusitano. That welcome had been the pinnacle of his own

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836 On accepting the presentation, Braga told the bowl’s donors, ‘I thank you from the bottom of my heart for this valuable piece of silver which I shall be proud to keep as a testimonial of your friendship and goodwill. I hope to hand it down to my children and by them to my children’s children.’ South China Morning Post, 25 January 1929. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/40, fol. 8. This has indeed transpired. The bowl passed on J.P. Braga’s death to his son Anthony M. Braga, who regarded it as his most precious possession. On his death on 9 May 1994, it passed to his sister, Caroline M. Braga, who in turn presented it to her nephew, Stuart Braga, son of Hugh Braga, of Sydney. It was brought to Australia in September 1994.


838 Portuguese Pioneering: a Hundred Years of Hong Kong
career, and also one of the major events in the life of the Portuguese community in the 100 years of Hong Kong’s history as a British colony.

The Legislative Council had for some time had members who saw themselves as representing sectional interests, if not constituencies. This applied in particular to the nominee of the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce, and to a lesser extent, to the two, now three, Chinese members. Nevertheless, Braga’s appointment introduced into the affairs of the Legislative Council a greater degree of particularism than there had previously been. Braga and Tso not only knew that they had been appointed to represent double constituencies – Kowloon and their respective ethnic groups – but they were told by the Governor that this was the case. Both were public-spirited men who worked for the benefit of the whole community, but there were occasions on which Braga in particular spoke only for his own sectional interest. In his defence, it must be pointed out that both of these ‘constituencies’ had previously been ignored. The press at once noted that ‘there was a decided “kick” in some of his comments’. There was no period of quiet apprenticeship as he learned the ropes in his new role, for Braga had acquired over many years of active public life a considerable insight.

into the workings of the various government departments. As a young man in the government printer’s office, he had learned much about the Council’s procedures. It was novel for a new member to take such an active part in the Council’s debates, but this man was no tyro.

Two of J.P. Braga’s sons later reflected on their father’s role in the Legislative Council. Both had seen it at close quarters. The first was Jack, who drafted an obituary shortly after his father’s death in February 1944. More than forty years later, Tony wrote a lengthy essay on several generations of the Braga family for a journalist preparing an article for the *South China Morning Post*. Jack had to be very careful what he said in wartime Macau, and wrote chiefly about his father’s role there, but little about his public life in Hong Kong. The Legislative Council in which his father had played such a major role had been swept away by the occupying Japanese.

So nobly did he fulfill his duties that he opened the way to future Portuguese representation as he did in the other official posts which he occupied ... his part in many public questions proved that he was always on the side of the poor and helpless.

Tony, writing so much later, could be more reflective. He wrote:

He was the first representative of the Portuguese community and one of two of the first members representing Kowloon to occupy a place on the Council. He served as a member of the Legislature for two full terms, and certainly he was one of the most vigorous and stimulating representatives of the people in all the years of the Council.

Both comments were just, if uncritical. The elder Braga undoubtedly saw himself as the people’s tribune, in much the same way as did John Bright, the English radical leader of early Victorian England. Like Bright, Braga was convinced that social injustice must be vigorously opposed; like Bright, he made enemies as he challenged complacency. Unlike Bright, he did not see himself as an unofficial Leader of the Opposition. Hong Kong’s stage of constitutional development provided for discussion and dissent, but not for an organised and sustained attempt to provide an

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841 J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/7.2/17 – Braga, José Pedro.
842 A popular appellation reflected in several biographies, e.g. J.P. Hutchinson, *John Bright, “The tribune of the people”*, London, 1879.
alternative to the colonial system so powerfully entrenched. Therefore Braga, like
the other unofficials, voted to support the Government on most issues. They seldom
voted as a bloc against the Government. An exception was the budget for 1930,
which provided an appropriation for road works in Kowloon that the other
unofficials thought unnecessary. All but Braga voted against it. This was the only
occasion in Braga’s eight years membership that his name was mentioned in a
despatch to the Secretary of State. ‘On a division being called, the vote was passed
by the official majority, Mr Braga alone of the unofficials voting with the
Government.’

Braga could occasionally tilt at windmills. As a leading Catholic layman, he spoke at
length against a Divorce Bill. The Council patiently heard him out, but his was the
sole vote against the bill. On another occasion, he spoke strongly against the use of
prisoners in Stanley Gaol to print government work, arguing that this was an
intrusion into private enterprise. Again, his was the only dissenting voice and vote.

At a time of declining commerce and falling revenue, it was seen by all other
members as a sensible economy. Braga never hesitated to be the sole voice
advocating or opposing something about which he felt strongly.

If his searching questions could make it difficult for government officials, they could
also get their own back. He resented, as did all local people, the practice of
employing English senior public servants when local people could do the job every
bit as well. In the budget debate in 1931, he argued against an increase in the budget
to pay sterling salaries at a time when money was scarce, only to find that this
increase was in fact a provision for the pensions of two senior officers who had
retired in England. His sparring with the Colonial Secretary and Colonial Treasurer
on this occasion had an unpleasant tone. Their retorts were scathing and

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843 Clementi to Passfield, 26 September 1929, CO 129/519/31. Obviously regarding this as most
 unusual, Clementi enclosed with his despatch copies of the South China Morning Post of 24
 September 1929 which reported J.P. Braga’s dissent from the position taken by the other unofficials.
 Stubbs sometimes used his despatches to criticise councillors, but succeeding governors, Clementi,
 Peel and Caldecott, did not.


846 In the middle of the Depression he attacked ‘the bears of Ice House Street’, stockbrokers on Hong
 Kong’s Wall Street who he considered were manipulating the market in two Kowloon companies. He
did not name them, but they were obviously the two major companies of which he was a board
member (Hongkong Telegraph, 6, 8 October 1932. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/34, fol. 24, 25).
exasperated. This man was a Portuguese, a member of a community whose members were expected to be submissive and amenable; they had no experience of a Portuguese who did not behave as they thought he should. A later observer of the Hong Kong scene remarked that ‘the Portuguese were habitually slighted.’

The press, even the *Daily Press*, appreciated his probing, especially in financial matters. It deplored what it described as ‘under the punkah politics’, in which difficulties were resolved in the punkah-cooled offices of senior colonial officials rather than in the open forum of the Legislative Council. ‘The Council Chamber is the proper place for Unofficial Members to express their doubts about any Government proposal, and the Council Chamber is the place where Government should answer any criticisms of its plans for spending public money.’

Unlike some other members of the Legislative Council, Braga’s role went well beyond mute attendance at its meetings. One of his early concerns was the serious decline in commerce, hit by the Great Depression before it had recovered from the 1925-1926 strike and boycott. Braga suggested that Hong Kong stage a British Empire Trade Fair, and agreed to run it. The result was that two fairs were held, in 1932 and 1933, both opened on 24 May, Empire Day. These fairs were not directly associated with his position on the Legislative Council, but arose from it.

Braga was chairman of the committee for the first, and vice-chairman for the second, which was far bigger. In effect, he ran both. The fairs, held when the Depression was at its worst, were a valiant effort to turn the tide. In terms of the volume and value of trade, they did not achieve their objective, commerce remaining depressed for some years to come. In terms of an expression of optimism for future recovery, they were brilliantly successful. It took much effort to drum up support at a time of prevailing gloom, and G.R. Sewell, the local representative of the

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847 *South China Morning Post*, 4 September 1931. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/34, fol. 100-101. They had been disadvantaged by the steep decline of the Hong Kong dollar relative to sterling, caused by the slump in the colony’s trade. In Braga’s defence, it must be pointed out that the estimates presented to the Finance Committee did not make this plain.


849 *Hongkong Daily Press*, 4 October 1930, J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/40, fol. 67. Air-conditioning was not installed in government offices until the 1960s. Not even electric fans were common in the early 1930s. The ‘punkah’ allusion of the *Daily Press* is an interesting glance though an Eastern prism at Cavour’s famous adage, ‘Better the worst of Chambers than the best of antechambers’ (W.R. Thayer, *The Life and Times of Cavour*, p. 504).

850 Hong Kong lacked anything approaching an exhibition hall or convention centre, so the fairs were held in the capacious lobby of the recently completed Peninsula Hotel, the only space large enough.
Federation of British Industries was brutally frank in a broadcast address just before the 1933 Fair, reported in the next day’s paper.

I would be ungrateful if I did not conclude with a word of thanks to the Hon. Mr. J.P. Braga for the magnificent work he has done in connexion with this Fair. Despite criticism, some thoughtless, some destructive, and some, unfortunately, rather cruel, he has not faltered in his determination to make the Fair an unqualified success.\(^\text{851}\)

The undercurrents can only be guessed at, but Braga’s public life had often been marked by a dogged determination to silence his critics. So it was on this occasion. The \textit{Post}, not a gossip sheet, seldom gave its readers a cameo of public figures, but the forthcoming Fair, a big event for Hong Kong, prompted the paper to make an exception. Shortly before the opening of the Fair, it invited readers to become acquainted with Braga:

Meet one of the busiest men in Hongkong – the Hon. Mr. J.P. Braga, Kowloon’s Legislative Councillor, managing director of the Hongkong Engineering and Construction Company, but most of all, Vice-President of the British Empire Fair.

I dropped in to see Mr. Braga the other day and found a queue of young men outside his office waiting for an interview. When I eventually reached him, his private telephone was ringing and at almost minute intervals it kept ringing throughout our conversation. Surrounding his table was file upon file dealing with the Fair. His son Tony was in and out of his father’s office, scribbling down a few notes, dashing away to type out an important letter, and coming back for the signature. Plans were lying here and there, yet there was no confusion. Mr. J.P. Braga seemed to know where everything was and in a second was able to put his hand on whatever he wanted. He had all the appearance of a London City editor, with an edition running late.

“Don’t know how I manage to get my own work done”, he remarked, but those associated with Mr. Braga know how he does it – by working 16 hours a day and more.\(^\text{852}\)

\(^{851}\) G. R. Sewell, broadcast address on ZBW, Hong Kong, 22 May 1933, reported in the next day’s \textit{South China Morning Post}. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/34, fol. 45.

\(^{852}\) \textit{South China Morning Post}, 19 May 1933. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/34, fol. 46. A splendidly bound album of photographs of the opening of the Fair and of its exhibits survived the Japanese Occupation and is in the collection of the Hong Kong Heritage Project, an archive set up by Sir Michael Kadoorie to record his family’s long involvement in the territory. It appears to be one of three such albums prepared for presentation to significant people. Braga mentioned having presented such an album to the Hon. Sir William Shenton, Honorary Secretary of the Fair. Another went to N.L. Smith, the Colonial Secretary. It is probable that another was presented to Sir Elly Kadoorie, the owner of the Peninsula Hotel.
The paper was more than cordial in its editorial the day after the opening.

The purpose behind the British Empire Fair is to advertise the Empire and to make use of British Hongkong as an appropriate shop window ... principally worthy of commendation is the Hon. Mr. J.P. Braga, whose indefatigable work in arranging for the exhibits has been crowned with triumphant success.\textsuperscript{853}

Coming soon after his re-appointment to a second four-year term on the Legislative Council, the Fair was one of Braga’s major successes, but the eight years of his membership were also marked by set-backs. An obvious one was the decision (not his) taken in 1934 not to hold further fairs because no further business had been generated. Supported by the \textit{Post}, he argued unsuccessfully for such fairs to be held regularly in order to show-case Hong Kong, if not to advertise local products, then mainly agricultural.\textsuperscript{854}

Braga felt that Hong Kong’s administrators were often lacking in vision. He did not forget that his grandfather had pioneered farming in Kowloon in the late nineteenth century, and looking further back, he knew how Macau had so often been starved into submission. Accordingly, he wanted to make Hong Kong self-reliant in some foods, at least in vegetables, poultry and pork. Rice would always have to be imported. During the 1920s, the New Territories were still undeveloped, though the Kowloon-Canton Railway was in operation and a motor road had been put through to link its main towns with Kowloon. Tony, his father’s right-hand man, wrote much later:

I well remember him saying to Sir Elly Kadoorie back in the 1920s after they had both come back from a motor drive round the New Territories: ‘There are almost unlimited possibilities for the New Territories in the future!’\textsuperscript{855}

\textsuperscript{853} \textit{South China Morning Post}, leader, 25 May 1933. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/34, fol. 46.
\textsuperscript{854} Ibid., 25, 26 April 1934. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/34, fol. 69, 70.
\textsuperscript{855} A.M. Braga to Beverley Howells, \textit{South China Morning Post} reporter, 8 April 1987. A.M. Braga file. He published a pamphlet, \textit{The beauties of Kowloon and the New Territories}, seeking to attract the interest of people on the Hong Kong side to whom it would never have occurred to cross the harbour. It may have been written with Sir Elly Kadoorie in mind.
Over the next few years they kept an eye on those possibilities. J.P. Braga told Jack in 1935:

Hughie and I are going out with the old man [Sir Elly Kadoorie] to tiffin [lunch], and after that we are going to do a tour of Kowloon and the New Territories.  

Braga and Sir Robert Ho Tung encouraged the foundation of a New Territories Agricultural Association and in 1934 Braga opened their inaugural Annual Show, with 3,472 entries and over 300 exhibitors. He remarked that ‘the day will come when the inhabitants of Hong Kong will look upon the farmers of the New Territories as a very important asset of the Colony.’

Braga’s growing prominence, first as a member of the Sanitary Board, and then of the Legislative Council undoubtedly enhanced his business career. His connection with R.G. Shewan has already been mentioned. A still more eminent businessman was Sir Paul Chater.

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856 J.P. Braga to J.M. Braga, 7 November 1935, J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/2.3/7.
858 Chater had been chiefly responsible for a major praya reclamation in the Central District commencing in 1890 and finally finished more than a decade later, which greatly benefitted the colony, thus earning him a knighthood in 1902. He then looked to developments on the Kowloon side, beginning with the Hongkong and Kowloon Wharf and Godown Company. A major wharf and godown [warehouse] complex was built close to the terminus of the Kowloon-Canton Railway, which opened in 1910 (*Historical and statistical abstract of the colony of Hongkong, 1841-1920*, p. 42). Chater’s decision to build a larger wharf, 655 ft. (200 metres) in length, was a step very much in tune with Braga’s thinking. It was completed in 1916 (*Historical and statistical abstract of the colony of Hongkong, 1841-1920*, p. 59).
Chater already had an interest in the Hong Kong Electric Company, which only supplied the island. No-one bothered with the then miniscule market of Kowloon until Shewan set up China Light and Power Company in 1901, managed by his firm, Shewan, Tomes & Co. It had a Consultative Committee, on which both Shewan and Chater sat. This was re-organised in 1928 with its own board of directors, which J.P. Braga was invited to join. Tony Braga, who had seen them working together, reflected that ‘Shewan was impressed by J.P. Braga’s ability and integrity. They were
both men of vision, who were highly optimistic about future developments in the Colony generally and especially in the New Territories.\textsuperscript{859}

Chater and Shewan needed local people of ability to take on management positions in the various companies in which they were interested or had formed. Shewan had also singled out Noel Braga as a promising young man. So too had Sir Paul Chater, the most respected businessman in Hong Kong. When Shewan appointed Noel, then aged only 21, as Company Secretary in May 1925, Chater gave him friendly support. Noel recorded Chater’s death the next year at the age of 80 with genuine sorrow and esteem.\textsuperscript{860}

For his part, J.P. Braga paid Chater a unique tribute. He gathered all the obituaries in the Hong Kong and Shanghai papers and printed them in a memorial volume. Its length, 132 pages, is an indication of the impact made by this remarkable man, whose far-sighted business decisions and benefactions had touched most parts of the life of Hong Kong.\textsuperscript{861}

By the mid-1920s, Shewan had gathered a capable team of directors, and under sound management, the company began to show a profit as domestic use of electricity increased rapidly in the years following World War I, although the 1925 strike and boycott demonstrated how vulnerable it was. All but one were local people. The exception was Harry Compton (he pronounced it ‘Cumpton’, in the old

\textsuperscript{859} Notes prepared by A.M. Braga for an interview with Beverley Howells, April 1987, p. 5, A.M. Braga file.

\textsuperscript{860} Noel Braga, Diary, 27 May 1926: ‘Sir Paul Chater was the greatest man in Hongkong, was in many ways the “father” of the Colony and the grand old man of Hongkong. He did more for Hongkong than any other man and was probably the oldest British resident at the time of his death. The story of his life is so bound up with the history of Hongkong that it can almost be said he laid the foundation of Hongkong’s greatness. He was one of the most civil and courteous men I have ever known, and I feel very sorry at his death,’ His comment that Chater was the oldest British resident is a reflection of the fact that almost all British businessmen and civil servants retired to the ‘Home Country’, often at the age of 55, and seldom later than 60. An Armenian by birth, Chater could never have returned to his homeland after the massacres during and after World War I.

\textsuperscript{861} Sir Paul Chater: the grand old man of Hongkong, his career his amazing success and his death, Hong Kong, J.P. Braga, 1926. Despite its length of over 100 pages, this is not a biography, but a collection of obituaries from all the English newspapers in Hong Kong and Shanghai. There appears to be no comparable tribute paid to any other person in the history of Hong Kong. Some sixty years later, Nigel Cameron assessed Chater’s role in generous terms, linking him with Shewan. ‘Without the energetic and far-sighted mind of Paul Chater both in Hong Kong Island and in Kowloon, Hong Kong as we know it today would probably have a quite different look, and would not have developed so astonishingly in the fields of shipping and industry as it did during their lifetime and afterward’. N. Cameron, Power, p. 23.
English manner), whose long connection lasted from 1919 to 1947, including two terms as Chairman in 1933 and 1937.\footnote{Others included another leader of the Portuguese community, the prominent accountant and businessman, Carlos da Roza, like Braga, a President of Club Lusitano, and like Braga, educated abroad (\textit{South China Morning Post}, 15 August 1936, J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/33, fol. 30). He joined the Consultative Committee in 1922, continued when the business was reorganised in 1928, was Chairman in 1932, and remained on the board until his death in 1936.}

Another member was the prominent Eurasian lawyer Man Kam Lo, whose connections with Braga went back to 1919, and whose political career earned him a knighthood in 1948 as Sir Man Kam Lo. Sir Robert Ho Tung retained his seat on the board from 1926 to 1933.\footnote{N. Cameron, \textit{Power}, p. 267.} Towards the end of the 1920s, at a time of rapidly growing demand for electricity, Sir Elly Kadoorie, a leading Jewish financier in Shanghai, became interested in what had been until then quite a small firm, and joined the board in 1928.

Tony Braga, whose understanding of his father’s affairs in relation to the Kadoorie family was unparalleled, explained the connection in a nutshell.

The Kadoorie family’s fortune had been invested largely in public companies in Shanghai, and Sir Elly and his sons decided to transfer a considerable part of their capital to Hong Kong. The firm had retained a small holding of stock in the China Light & Power Company from its inception, and Sir Elly Kadoorie, after discussions with J.P. Braga, who was most enthusiastic about the possibilities for expansion of Kowloon and the New Territories, invested more and more money in China Light until the Kadoorie family became the largest shareholders in this company.\footnote{Notes prepared by A.M. Braga for an interview with Beverley Howells, April 1987, p. 5, A.M. Braga file.}

J.P. Braga was an original board member in 1928.\footnote{The appointment was noted by his son Noel in his diary on 1 May 1928.} He was appointed chairman in 1934 and again in 1938. Sir Elly Kadoorie appears to have rotated this position among the board members rather than leave it in the hands of one man who might then become too independent. Braga’s interest in the company was obviously not technical, but arose from his conviction that, as he expressed it, the possibilities of the New Territories were almost limitless. Sir Elly Kadoorie and J.P. Braga worked together amicably in the next decade, with Kadoorie keeping a very firm grip on the
fortunes of the company. His son Lawrence, a young man in his twenties, joined the board in 1930, to enable the older man, who lived at Marble Hall, a magnificent mansion in Shanghai, to keep a close watch on the company. Sir Elly was most hospitable to any of Braga’s children if they happened to be passing through Shanghai. ‘We were met and entertained by the Kadoories with true Jewish hospitality’, reported Mary to her brother Paul in 1939.\(^\text{866}\)

Braga wrote a detailed report to Kadoorie at least twice weekly on a specially printed letterhead.\(^\text{867}\) Particularly in 1938, after Braga’s term of office on the Legislative Council had concluded, he gave this position his major attention, giving Kadoorie not only detailed information on the progress of China Light’s big new power station being built at Hok Un, but comments on affairs in Hong Kong and the looming threat of war as Canton fell to the Japanese and Hong Kong filled with destitute refugees. Braga relayed some tragic stories to Kadoorie, adding, ‘Why cannot people realise that war is such a horrible, detestable, inhuman thing?’\(^\text{868}\) He knew that Kadoorie had an eye for titbits of news. An interesting example is his acidulous comment on the knighthood awarded ‘after many years of disappointed hopes’ to Sir Robert Kotewall, who held one of the Chinese seats on the Legislative Council.\(^\text{869}\) Braga and Kadoorie developed a most cordial relationship, but it was not one of equals. Braga knew that Kadoorie’s controlling interest was exactly that, in matters large and small.\(^\text{870}\) Staff morale was important, because what mattered at that juncture to both

\(^{866}\) Mary Braga to Paul Braga, 27 July 1939. Paul Braga Papers. Others included Hugh and Nora on their honeymoon in 1935 and Audrey Braga in 1940.

\(^{867}\) J.P. Braga’s regular reports to Sir Elly Kadoorie for 1938, his second term as chairman, and for 1940, are held by the Hong Kong Heritage Project. Few of the firm’s records survived the Japanese Occupation apart from the Minute Books, complete from the company’s foundation.

\(^{868}\) J.P. Braga to Sir Elly Kadoorie, 17 October 1938. Hong Kong Heritage Project, A02/15.

\(^{869}\) J.P. Braga to Sir Elly Kadoorie, 10 June 1938, Hong Kong Heritage Project, A02/15.

\(^{870}\) A prime example was the board’s decision in September 1938 not to appoint F.C. Clemo, the Power Station Superintendent, as Acting Deputy Manager in the absence of that officer. Braga initially had the board’s support to make the appointment, but Lawrence Kadoorie, always opposed to the move, turned the opinion of three other board members. Braga stuck to his guns and gave instructions that Clemo was to attend board meetings, as the Deputy Manager normally did. In this he acted without board approval, but explained his decision in detail to the elder Kadoorie. ‘It is bad policy to give any offence to the man’, he wrote. ‘I want to see justice done to Clemo’, he told Kadoorie, adding bluntly that ‘there is too much of this sharp division among the staff, which does not contribute to harmonious and efficient working in a big organisation such as ours’ (J.P. Braga to Sir Elly Kadoorie, 16 September 1938, Hong Kong Heritage Project, A02/15). Evidently, Sir Elly gave J.P. Braga the backing he sought.
men was the rapid completion of the company’s new power station at Hok Un, commenced in 1937, and opened to much éclat on 26 February 1940.  

The following year, both men were caught up in the catastrophe of war. They died within six days of each other, Kadoorie in Shanghai on 8 February 1944, Braga in

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Macau on 14 February. They were missed as the firm began to recover when the war ended. ‘Two of the oldest and wisest heads in the company’s affairs were missing from the first meeting after the trauma of the occupation.’

Braga’s other major business activity in the 1930s was in another of the concerns in which the inter-locking interests of Shewan, Ho Tung and later Kadoorie were evident. This was the Hongkong Engineering and Construction Company. Ho Tung had watched Braga since the 1890s, and had seen his growth in stature and capacity over several decades. Braga’s appointment to the Sanitary Board and to the Board of China Light placed him in a far better position for a senior post in the local business scene – in Kowloon, but not the great British-controlled firms whose palatial head offices lined the praya on the Hong Kong side. That waterfront had been created by Sir Paul Chater between 1900 and 1903. The Hongkong Engineering and Construction Company, set up in 1922, was one of Ho Tung’s interests. Like most businesses, especially in the construction industry, it was badly affected by the 1925 strike, and was slow to recover. Once again, Tony Braga, intimately involved in the conduct of his father’s business affairs, assessed his family’s role:

At that time, J.P. Braga and his son Hugh conceived a scheme for the Hong Kong Engineering and Construction Company to transform a huge barren tract of land in Kowloon into a model housing estate. The site consisted to a large extent of two high hills with a deep valley in between, situated between the Diocesan Boys’ School and the Kowloon Hospital. The project, as designed by Hugh Braga, provided for the levelling of the two hills and filling up of the valley, and the building of a modern residential suburb of detached and semi-detached houses with gardens, and with wide approach roads from Argyle Street and Prince Edward Road.

As Sir Robert Ho Tung had previously expressed a desire to dispose of his shareholding in the Hong Kong Engineering and Construction Company, J.P. Braga persuaded Sir Elly Kadoorie to provide financial backing for the proposed new housing development. The area to be developed, comprising 1,333,000 ft.², was sold by the Government at public auction on 16 January 1931 [an error; the date was 16 November 1931], the successful bidders, Hong Kong Engineering and Construction Company, paying $326,000 for the land, which worked out at 24.5 cents a square foot.

872 Ibid., p. 150.
In due time, the project was successfully completed, and the Government rewarded the principal movers in the development of Kowloon’s prime residential area by naming the two main roads running through the estate as Kadoorie Avenue and Braga Circuit.

J.P. Braga became Chairman and Managing Director in February 1930, retaining this position until the Japanese Occupation. The purchase of what at once became its major project took place on 16 November 1931. What was termed the ‘Garden Suburb’ was described by the Post as ‘one of the biggest property undertakings in the history of the colony’.

Notes prepared by A.M. Braga for an interview with Beverley Howells, April 1987, pp. 6-7, A.M. Braga file. Tony’s reference to Ho Tung’s role was cautious. J.P. Braga himself told a board meeting in June 1941 that he had been put in by Ho Tung and told that he had six months to turn the company’s fortunes around or it would be wound up. He added that he was given the small salary of $250 per month. Minutes, Hongkong Engineering and Construction Co., 17 June 1941. The minutes of this meeting make it clear that the ‘Garden Estate’ scheme was proposed by Hugh Braga.

Minutes, Hongkong Engineering and Construction Co., 3 February 1930.


Other areas nearby had been opened up with a view to the expansion of European residential areas: Homantin soon after World War I, with its obvious street names, Liberty Ave, Peace Ave and Victory Ave. Kowloon Tong had followed in the mid-1920s, but its developers got into difficulties and approached J.P. Braga to use his good offices to seek relief from Government for their financial problems (South China Morning Post, 15 July 1929. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/40, fol. 34-38).
Much later, his son Hugh described the reason for its neglect until the 1930s and the company’s successful approach to this large project.

One reason for the hesitancy on the part of investors in the site was the existence of a hill of solid granite 50 ft. high, 200 ft. long and occupying ¼ of the width of Argyle St. One of the conditions of sale was that this hill had to be removed by the purchaser at his own cost. [We] let the hill of 30,000 tons as a quarry and turned a major liability into a profit. The stone for all the retaining walls and for concrete for the earlier residences came from this quarry.  

The purchase and development of this 30 acre (12 hectares) site and its steady progress attracted much press attention in Hong Kong, still essentially a small town caught up in its own affairs. There was a long period of site development of the roads and 100 building sites, and the first four houses were not built until 1936. In the meantime, income from the quarry kept the company solvent, with a small profit of $5,178.57 in 1935. However, no dividends were paid, and the directors agreed to forego half their directors’ fees. By 1937, things were no better, with a still smaller profit of $2,510.93. It meant that J.P. Braga, on a small emolument as chairman, was still unable to recover from the financial disaster of 1925-26. In a candid moment, he told Kadoorie, reporting a confidential conversation with a key consultant, Erik Faber, ‘I have no money and never pretended to be with any. But one thing I quite assured him I had and that was a good name’. His membership of the boards of China Light and the Construction Co, as it was usually called, gave him status, as did the widespread recognition of his significant community service.

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877 e.g. South China Sunday Star, 7 January 1932, South China Morning Post, 21, 22, 23 January, 30 April, 11 August 1932, 4 May 1933, Hongkong Telegraph, 30 January 1932, J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/34, fol. 1-9, 23, 42; R. Hutcheon, op. cit., p. 82.
878 As reported to the Company’s 1936 Annual General Meeting, South China Morning Post, 18 April 1936. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/34, fol. 96 and 97.
879 South China Morning Post, 14 April 1938. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/34. Loose cutting at end of album.
880 He pointed out in 1941 that his predecessor as Chairman had received a fee of $1,500 per annum. His fee was half that, $750, and no increase had been made in the eleven years since his appointment in 1930. Minutes, Hongkong Engineering and Construction Co. 17 June 1941. This was in addition to his salary as Managing Director of $250 per month.
881 J.P. Braga, letter to Sir Elly Kadoorie, 4 April 1938. Hong Kong Heritage Project, A02/15.
Would this recognition be made formal? J.P. Braga’s work for the British Empire Trade Fairs in 1932 and 1933 both merited and received recognition. In the King’s Birthday honours in June 1935, he was appointed an Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE). J.P. Braga was the first member of the Hong Kong Portuguese community to receive the OBE, but other unofficial members of the Legislative Council had received higher decorations for less distinguished service. It rankled with his family. Tony wrote a note to Jack, using the family’s nickname ‘the General’ for their father, who was away in Shanghai.

Am just going to send this telegram to Father. “Warmest congratulations. Greatly disappointed meagre recognition. Family.” It’s disgraceful. After all these years of service the General is given just a paltry O.B.E. It looks like a “cumshaw” from the departing Peel the snob.

However, ‘the General’ responded pacifically.

Probably my services to Hong Kong are over-rated by the family and my more intimate friends, whereas Hong Kong officialdom might think that an OBE is quite adequate for what I have done. However, the mere fact that recognition has been made is gratifying enough when the achievement of my self-imposed task to raise the prestige

882 Hong Kong Government Gazette, 3 June 1935.
883 A.M. Braga to J.M. Braga, 6 June 1935, J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/2.3/4. Sir William Peel concluded his term of office as governor in December 1935. A cumshaw was a pittance given to a beggar in the street.
of our community in the Colony is the best form of reward I could hope for. 884

'Dinner given in honour of The Hon. Mr. J.P. Braga, O.B.E. at Club Lusitano by Members of the Portuguese Community, Hong Kong, 22nd July 1935'

A superbly illustrated menu card, thought to have been executed by Marciano Baptista.

J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/13.3

His compatriots recognised that no other member of the Portuguese community had received comparable recognition, whatever the comparisons. The community rose to the occasion, as it had done six years earlier, and tendered him a dinner at Club Lusitano, attended, wrote the Post, by most of the Portuguese community. 885 The superbly illustrated menu card was among the few personal papers of J.P. Braga to survive the war. 886 He had just returned from Shanghai, where he was delighted to find that, on the strength of his OBE, he was made a Visitor of the Shanghai Club, the counter-part of the Hong Kong Club, from which, as a Portuguese, he was debarred. 887


J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/13.3. Although unsigned, it is likely to have been executed by the skilled graphic artist, Marciano ‘Naneli’ Baptista, who later produced similar work in the POW camp at Shamshui-po and after the war. ‘Naneli’ Baptista was the grandson of the earlier Marciano, Chinnery’s pupil.

The invitation from the Shanghai Club, dated 11 June 1935, was held (2012) by Braga’s granddaughter, Mrs Angela Ablong. His passport, in the writer’s possession, indicates that he was away from Hong Kong from 12 to 22 July 1935.
Braga might have expected the higher award of Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE) when he retired from the Council fifteen months later, in January 1937, but he got nothing. It was a bitter pill, and he could not swallow it. Four years afterwards, making a broadcast to mark the centenary of Hong Kong in January 1941, he remarked that ‘before the retirement of the first Portuguese member from the Legislative Council in 1937, at the conclusion of his second term of office, the honour of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire was conferred on him.’ He did not admit that the award was made two years before his retirement, nor had he mistaken the date. He could not bear to admit in public that he had been passed over for a reward that most others received.

The Press was more generous than the Government. Henry Ching’s editorial style in the Post is unmistakable. Hinting at the lack of recognition, he described both Tso and Braga as ‘two tried and proven public servants ... Both have deserved well of the public and cannot be allowed to withdraw from the Council without adequate expression of the public’s thanks.’ Henry Ching deftly assessed each man. ‘Tso’s ‘unobtrusive demeanour conceals a surprisingly virile personality ... and a conservative sagacity that have made him a valued adviser to Government’, but he found it hard to say anything specific. Indeed, members of the Chinese community saw him as subservient to the government.

A correspondent to Ching’s paper was still more direct. M.K. Lo was appointed to the Council in 1936 while Tso still held his seat. ‘Before Mr. Lo’s appointment, the Chinese community had very feeble “champions” on the Council’, wrote ‘Non-Chinese’. Braga could not be described in words like this! Ching knew his man.

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888 As pointed out by Robin Hutcheon, a later editor. SCMP, the first eighty years. p. 74.
890 South China Morning Post, 29 August 1936, J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/33, fol. 29.
His public service [has been] based on long residence, familiarity with workaday problems and an indefatigable enthusiasm for development. Probably more than any other member of the Council he is in contact with the Colony’s industries and with those therein engaged. His utterances are marked by concern for Hongkong as Hongkong – a territory with its own economic and social problems, the permanent home of thousands whose domestic interests are so easily overlooked in the consideration of matters of high finance and politics. A man of high moral courage, Mr. Braga’s complete retirement from public life would be an irreparable loss to the community.

The *Hongkong Telegraph* added:

Always a strong advocate of the development of the mainland, he has never wavered in his faith in the future of the Colony. When he has differed from the Government on matters of policy, he has been fearless and outspoken, but his criticisms have always been constructive in character. Perhaps more than any other member of the Council, Mr. Braga had come to be regarded as the champion of the people. Regret at his decision to retire is universal.

They were generous and gracious comments, warmly appreciated by Braga, who told Jack:

I called on both Wylie and Ching in person the other day to thank them for their magnificent leader. It was all very gratifying to hear from both of them that I fully deserved all that they said ... Both of them were extremely nice, and I fully appreciated the genuineness of their congratulations.

Sir Andrew Caldecott had succeeded Sir William Peel as Governor in December 1935. He was gracious in his public tribute, while refraining from comment on anything that had transpired in his predecessors’ terms of office. Instead, he looked forward.

Happily in the case of Mr. Braga and Dr. Tso their public service is in no wise terminated by the expiry of their appointments on the Legislature, and I was very glad to see this point emphasised in a
recent newspaper appreciation of what they have done for Hong Kong. Indeed Mr Braga is already busy with the organisation of our local Coronation festivities and Dr Tso will shortly sail for England to represent us at the Abbey ceremony.

Looking back over the past 29 years I can remember several cases in which public-spirited gentlemen accomplished even more valuable work for the community and exerted an even greater influence on public opinion after their retirement from the Legislature than they did during membership of it. The truth is that the successful Legislative Councillor is never really *functus officio* because he has become the proved friend and trusted confidant of the Administration and the people.

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894 *Hong Kong Hansard*, 3 February 1937, also reported in *South China Morning Post*, 4 February 1937. However, his appreciation of the retiring Colonial Treasurer, E.H. Taylor, four months later,
Braga’s role in public life did indeed continue, but in a much reduced form. He was patron of the Portuguese Company of the Hong Kong Volunteer Defence Corps, and in 1935 had given a gold medal and two silver medals to be presented at the Company’s Annual Dinner for the members who enlisted the greatest number of recruits for the Portuguese Company.\(^{895}\) That support continued, besides which three of his sons were members of the Volunteers: Hugh, Tony and Paul.

However, he was aging rapidly, and the intense pressure of running both a business and a public career told on him. The ill-health of earlier years returned. A photograph taken in January 1929 when he took his place on the Legislative Council shows a man of 58 in his prime.\(^{896}\) Later photographs tell a different story. A group photograph of prominent people taken about January 1937 shows a sick man of 65 seated heavily in his chair. He was no stranger to worry and ill-health. In 1926 Noel recorded that his father ‘spoke of the hard times he had as a young man, without money and severely handicapped by ill-health’.\(^{897}\) Lung trouble laid him low that year for some time, and he went to Shanghai to recuperate, staying with his sister Bellie, who met all expenses, as he had lost so much money in the strike. He was hospitalised for several weeks in 1934 with gall bladder trouble, then a particularly painful and debilitating illness, and when he recovered, wrote that ‘Dr Sousa, who had been in attendance, thought at one time that I might not be able to pull through’.\(^{898}\) He suffered from chronic high blood pressure, at that time largely immedicable. That led to a mild stroke in January 1938, and he was hospitalised for a month in the newly completed Queen Mary Hospital, but recovered well.

\(^{895}\) South China Morning Post, 11 September 1935, J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/34, fol. 92, 93.  
\(^{896}\) China Mail, 19 January 1929, J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/40, fol. 5. This photograph appears earlier in this chapter.  
\(^{897}\) Noel Braga Diary, 8 May 1926.  
\(^{898}\) Hongkong Daily Press, 27 October 1934, J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/34, fol. 77; J.P. Braga to A.M. Braga, 13 August 1934. It took him several months to recover. Hugh wrote to Jack on 14 November 1934 that ‘Father is picking up very nicely’. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/2.3/7.
He told Sir Elly Kadoorie later that year that ‘I cannot expect my health to be restored to what it had been. There is one fortunate circumstance, however, that I am able to perform my duties as usual.’ Five years later, in 1943, he recognised that it had affected his ability to write.

As J.P. Braga was such a prominent public figure, his progress received press attention. He was able to continue his chairmanships of both China Light and the Construction Co., then approaching the completion of its long period of development of the ‘Garden Suburb’. It had been expected to take five years, and by October 1936 several houses were ready for occupation. At his suggestion, the board of the Construction Co. resolved to ask Sir Elly Kadoorie for his consent in requesting the Government to name the road running through the Estate after him. Kadoorie replied, accepting, ‘on condition that the name of the Managing Director was associated with the other’. Braga too accepted, commenting to the board that ‘he hoped the Directors would understand that he was not seeking publicity’. The names Kadoorie Avenue and Braga Circuit were gazetted in November 1936. In the fullness of time, the street names would become the most visible monument for both men in this uniquely attractive residential locality, still in the early twenty-first century a source of satisfaction to the company that provided the financial support for its development.

899 Braga to Kadoorie, 10 August 1938. Hong Kong Heritage Project, J.P. Braga A02/15.
900 Draft Chapter 21 of his The Portuguese in Hongkong and China, J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/13.3.
902 Minutes, Hongkong Engineering and Construction Company, 6 October 1936.
903 Hong Kong Government Gazette, 6 November 1936.
904 ‘It is such a unique environment in HK that we should probably do something to remind people about its heritage, and we are considering various potential avenues, such as a simple website.’
A less visible but far more important legacy was the succession of other prominent members of the Portuguese community to positions of responsibility in Hong Kong’s public life. There was a regular place on the Legislative Council for a Portuguese member for the next two generations. J.P. Braga had demonstrated that a Portuguese councillor could not be ignored, and his successor followed his lead. This was the young scion of Hong Kong’s premier Portuguese family, Leonardo d’Almada Jr, grandson of the man whose connection with the origins of Hong Kong had received such acclaim, Leonardo d’Almada e Castro. J.P. Braga would love to have had a career liked Leo’s. After a successful career at St Joseph’s College, he went to England, studied law at Exeter College, Oxford, and returned to Hong Kong where he enjoyed a brilliant legal and political career that effectively began with his appointment to the Legislative Council in 1937 at the age of 32. Like Braga, he became known for his activism.

He in turn was succeeded by another St Joseph’s boy, Alberto Rodrigues. On leaving St Joseph’s in 1927, he studied medicine at Hong Kong University. A distinguished career of service to the community and the university led to his appointment to the Legislative Council in 1953. In 1971 he became the first Portuguese in Hong Kong to receive a knighthood, taking the title Sir Albert. He was followed by Sir Roger Lobo in 1985. By that time, attitudes of racial inequality had passed. So too had the numerical strength of the Portuguese community, the numbers of which were fast dwindling following serious troubles in the mid-1960s. Forty years earlier, in 1925-26, Portuguese trapped in Hong Kong had no way out. In 1942 they fled en masse to nearby Macau. In the 1960s and 1970s, most departed for the USA and other Pacific Rim countries.

Nicholas Colfer, Director, Sir Elly Kadoorie & Sons Ltd, to this writer, 6 June 2011. The website was developed some months later. http://www.thekadoorieestate.com/, accessed 20 May 2012.
905 Hong Kong Government Gazette, 22 January 1937; N. Miners, Hong Kong under imperial rule, 1912-1941, p. 142.
908 This exodus is discussed in Chapter 13.
Hong Kong celebrated its centenary as a British colony in 1941 with a good deal of display. Several postage stamps were issued, and a series of talks were broadcast on the radio station, ZBW, between 18 and 21 January 1941. Wisely, the planner of these talks did not put together a triumphalist array of British achievements, and there was no mention of the Opium War that led to the presence of the British in the first place. Instead there were cameos of Hong Kong’s commercial, sporting and cultural life. These were augmented by the reminiscences of the two grand old men of the Chinese community, Sir Shouson Chow and Sir Robert Ho Tung. Two talks on non-British communities were also included: the Portuguese and the Indians. Braga was the obvious choice for the first of these. In discussing the role of the Portuguese community at large, he did not attempt to overstate their significance, merely saying that ‘in business the Portuguese obtain positions and remain in employment by virtue of attentive devotion to duty’.

909 J.P. Braga, ‘Portuguese pioneering: a hundred years of Hong Kong’, in Hong Kong Centenary Commemorative Talks, p. 31. It was not the time to brandish big issues, and Braga rose to the occasion well in a reflective address that acknowledged what had been achieved. He did not try to set an agenda for what still had to be done. He gave no names, but any Portuguese listeners would have had no trouble identifying the leading families he mentioned. They were those covered in earlier chapters of this thesis: d’Almada e Castro, Noronha, Remedios, Rosario, Marques, Soares and Baptista as well as his own. In the current generation of leaders, he referred, still anonymously, to Dr Graça Ozorio, Henrique Botelho and Marciano (‘Naneli’) Baptista. Not surprisingly, this man whose
Portuguese community. They were not the downtrodden proletariat that Montalto de Jesus had lugubriously depicted, but had developed, for the most part, into what might be thought of in the social composition of a European city as a lower middle class, respectable and industrious. Besides, there was a group of aspirational achievers, who had made a real difference to the whole community. Of these, José Pedro Braga undoubtedly stood head and shoulders above others.

The gradual closing of his public life from 1937 on gave him a greater degree of family life than he had ever known. Passing years brought a partial healing of the breach in family relations caused by the religious split some twenty years earlier. The contributions made by four of Braga’s sons were solid. Noel’s was to the stable management of China Light as Company Secretary. Hugh, General Works Manager of the Construction Co., was described by his father as ‘a key employee of the Company who had played the game by the Company’. 910 Tony became Property Superintendent in the Construction Co. in August 1937. 911 After many years as a clerk, John became Assistant Secretary of China Light in 1939. 912 Jack married in Macau in 1924, and by 1935 had seven children. The eldest, Carolina, named for José Braga’s mother, was born on her grandfather’s 55th birthday, 3 August 1926. These two circumstances created a special relationship.

Of seven sons still in Hong Kong, six married between 1934 and 1940, and by the end of 1941, there were seven more grandchildren. Eventually there would be eighteen. Three of his sons who married in Hong Kong chose St Andrew’s Anglican Church, close to the family home at Knutsford Terrace, for their weddings. José Braga did not attend any of them. He told Noel firmly in 1926 that he would always remain a Catholic. This meant that to enter a Protestant church was a mortal sin, though a layman of such prominence could easily have obtained an episcopal dispensation had he so wished. 913

education had been so vital to his success, made special mention of the opportunities afforded by Catholic schools and latterly by Hong Kong University.

911 Minutes, Hongkong Engineering and Construction Co., 26 August 1937. By then, his father’s term of office as a member of the Legislative Council had concluded and his affairs were much quieter.
912 Hong Kong Jurors Lists, 1939-1940.
913 Filomeno (‘Meno’) Baptista interview, 24 November 2010.
Olive would not attend any of the weddings either, but for a very different reason. She had invested so much into the upbringing of her thirteen children that she simply could not let them go. All her adult sons except Jack lived in the large family home until their marriages, only Tony remaining a bachelor. Only one of her four daughters married: Maude, the second. As they grew into adult years during the 1920s and 1930s, her children became very caring of their mother, knowing very well how hard life had been for her. She had become care-worn and chronically ill, and underwent several operations in the 1930s. 914 Not surprisingly, she became a hypochondriac, prone to over-dosing herself with all sorts of medicines. All her food had to be puréed. Later, Paul wrote to his brother James of his concern ‘that she was doing herself more harm [than good] with all the poisons she has been taking for years’. 915 By the end of the 1930s, she had become increasingly dependent on her youngest

914 These were mentioned in various letters, but never specified. Gynaecological problems were unmentionable in that era. It seems that the surgery was only partially successful. As a result she had difficulty walking. This is apparent in movie film taken by Hugh in 1938.

daughter Mary, then in her twenties, whose life was gradually stifled by a clinging, demanding, prematurely aged mother, not yet 70 years of age, but incapable of independent action.

Christmas brought all the younger Bragas together in the early years of their married life, and there were large gatherings at the family home at Knutsford Terrace, followed by an obligatory group photograph on the tennis court. In the centre was ‘Joe as Father Xmas’. He enjoyed his role as a grandfather in a way that he had never done as a father.

Each year from 1936 to 1940 brought at least one more infant to the gathering, though on Christmas Day 1940, James had gone to America with his new wife Anne, and Hugh’s family was no longer there, having been evacuated to Australia in July that year. ‘It was hard to part from these dear little ones. I felt very bad when the time came to say “Good-bye”. This separation is hard to endure’, J.P. told Kadoorie.

In 1941 there was no happy gathering at Knutsford Terrace. Kowloon had fallen to the Japanese on 11 December, and there were two days of anarchy before the victorious Japanese began to restore order. It was a time of terror with looters armed with knives, meat cleavers and daggers breaking into many houses. Isaac Newton, a doctor at nearby Kowloon Hospital could hear the roar of looting in Nathan Road, nearly a kilometre away. ‘It was a very nasty sound’, he wrote. Most of the Braga family gathered in 26 Kadoorie Ave, close to Paul’s home on nearby Braga Circuit. Occupied by the Argentine Consul, Senôr R.M. Lavalle, it had a very heavy teak door, and was therefore selected as a fortress. Another battle took place there. Tony wrote:

> The police abandoned [Kowloon] … without any warning to the people. A reign of terror followed throughout the afternoon, that night and the following day, thousands of Chinese roamed the streets in bands, armed with choppers, bamboo poles and some with revolvers … up at the site [the Kadoorie Avenue estate] all the tenants left behind congregated in one house for safety and we fought off the looters.  

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916 As Olive described him on the back of the 1937 photo, sent to her sister May Pollard in Australia, with the added note, ‘7 sons, 4 daughters & 5 “in laws & 3 babies ‘. May Pollard Papers, MLMSS 2205, State Library of NSW.
917 J.P. Braga to Sir Elly Kadoorie, 6 July 1940. Hong Kong Heritage Project, A02/15.
918 Dr Isaac Newton, diary, in A. Birch & M. Cole, Captive Christmas, p. 29.
Paul added that ‘it was due mainly to the cool-headedness of the Argentine Consul and Tony that we did not lose’.\footnote{Paul Braga to James Braga. The following summary and account are taken from a long letter sent by Paul to James on 22 October 1943 following his escape to Free China. James Braga Papers.} In these two days, the men present repelled two determined attacks from a shouting, menacing mob of between forty and fifty looters.
The house was immediately above the headquarters of China Light, a public stairway joining the two levels. Noel, who spoke Japanese, ventured out on the second day and made contact with some Japanese soldiers, suggesting that this building would suit them. So it proved, and with the Japanese military close by they knew they were safe from looters for the present.

The women took refuge in their faith. 19 December was Caroline’s 30th birthday, and her mother gave her a small book of devotional verse, *It matters to Him about You*. On the fly-leave she wrote, ‘Fear not, be of good courage, neither be dismayed. The Lord Thy God is with thee wheresoever thou goest. 19th Dec: ’41. Memorable days. The besieging of Hongkong’. Mary added, ‘The Battle of Hong Kong. With the earnest hope that these calamities may soon be over’.

These days of defeat and fear left José Braga, in Paul Braga’s words:

> a broken man both physically and mentally ... We all admired him for his wonderful patience and the way he “took it” without any complaints. He often and often spoke of his devotion to each of us and repented at his aloofness in past years.

Yet he rallied for Christmas Day. Paul told the story of an unforgettable Christmas Day:

> He got Audrey [Paul’s wife, all the servants having fled] to cook a special ‘Xmas tiffin for the whole family, what was to be our last real feed. After being starved for the past fortnight we all agreed that it tasted better than any meal before. Two of our chickens were killed and tinned food (corn etc.) made up for the rest. Then there was a real ‘Xmas pudding which was made from ingredients Aud bought a few weeks previous. There was even a box of crackers!! And the room was decorated with ‘Xmas banners saved from previous years ... It was the first time we had showed real indifference to the blazing of artillery fire from Jap guns in the several vacant lots of the site – some of them so close to our house that the plates jumped on our tables from the concussion in the air. Nor did we leave our seats during the return shelling from British forts in Hongkong which brought direct hits on some of the Jap guns. (Most of these shells missed their targets, one hit Hughie’s house and wrecked it completely). It was the happiest and yet the gloomiest tiffin we ever had. During the fire and cross-fire we all

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921 Found in Caroline’s effects after her death in 1998 and now in this writer’s possession. The Scriptural quotation is Joshua 1:9.

922 Paul Braga to James Braga, 22 October 1943. James Braga Papers.
sat still, but you could never imagine more laughter and talk from a ‘Xmas party when the guns were silent. At the end of the meal, Father gave a speech in which he told us how he really loved his family always, and wanted us all to stick together through the trouble, and to have more patience with each other. When he spoke of Maude and the children [Maude was not there, her whereabouts uncertain. The children, four of them, were there in the house, facing a perilous future], he broke down in tears and it was some time before he was able to resume.

As darkness fell on that strangest of Christmas Days, the sound of gunfire on Hong Kong Island ceased and there was silence. ‘We knew what that meant’, said Noel’s wife Marjory fifty years later. ‘Hong Kong had surrendered’.  

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923 Marjory Braga interview, 22 May 1991.
Chapter 10

‘The honourable tribe’

The Braga family in Hong Kong, 1906-1925

Growing up at Robinson Road

When José Braga brought his family back to Hong Kong from Macau in 1906, they lived at 37 Robinson Road, a rented property on what was already known as the Mid-Levels of Hong Kong Island, about 500 feet above sea level. This district was described at the time as ‘one of the loveliest spots on the island ... with a full view of all boats and islands’. It was ‘a particularly attractive residential area at that time’. No. 37 was a large and comfortable two-storey house built on a new extension to the road.

In later years, the family looked back on their childhood with affection. It is human nature to try to ignore the hard times, but those memories were just below the surface. While their father had his good position at the Telegraph, the family lived in modest comfort, but once he was on his own, life was much harder. It was essential to bring the children back to Hong Kong. He knew from first-hand experience that schools in Macau could not provide them with the education they would need to succeed in a world dominated by the British Empire. At that stage, in 1906, there were seven to feed and educate. By 1910 when

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924 Jewish Chronicle, 6 June 1902, cited by K. McDougall and B. Pettman, The Ohel Leah Synagogue Hong Kong, p. 19.
925 K. McDougall and B. Pettman, The Ohel Leah Synagogue Hong Kong, p. 19. The synagogue was located at 70 Robinson Road, not far from where the Braga family lived at No. 37.
he left the Telegraph there were four more boys, and by 1914, there were another two girls.

The struggle and poverty that flowed from this situation have already been referred to. In his eightieth year, Tony would recall that his mother had done all the cooking.  

She would have been the only European woman in Hong Kong to do so. Servants were cheap in those days, and even poorly paid Portuguese clerks could afford two or three: a wash amah, a cook and perhaps a ‘makee-learn’, a young girl learning her skills the hard way in a foreign household. The Braga household made do with a single wash amah, but sometimes there was no money even for that one. Olive had then to do everything herself. ‘She coped very well with all problems; I revere her memory’, added Tony. Not far away lived R.M. Kotewall, who would later sit with J.P. Braga on the Legislative Council. Kotewall was a prominent lawyer, which was what Braga would like to have been, and had a household of 26 servants. Rich and successful, Sir Robert Kotewall became in 1938 the second Eurasian to be knighted.

Looking back in 1926 on these hard years, the father of this large family was justifiably proud that he had managed to put them all through school and get them started in life. This meant that all nine boys went to St Joseph’s, with its known excellence, and the two younger girls to St Stephen’s Girls’ College, though in the straitened times after the 1925-26 strike and boycott, Jean paid the fees for her

928 Notes prepared by A.M. Braga for an interview with Beverley Howells of the South China Morning Post, 8 April 1987. A.M. Braga file.
929 P. Gillingham, At the Peak, p. 23.
931 Noel Braga Diary, 8 May 1926.
younger sisters, Caroline and Mary, fifteen and eighteen years her junior. St Joseph’s was largely staffed by unsalaried Religious, but Jean’s commitment to her sisters was enormous. Her income from piano teaching cannot have been large, but she also contributed to the weekly family budget, and for a year paid the university fees for her brother Hugh when he forfeited his scholarship, perhaps because the Physics taught at St Joseph’s had not been of a sufficient standard. Each of the children who had the opportunity to stay at school did well. In one year, 1918, three of the boys won prizes at St Joseph’s: Noel, Hugh and Tony.932 John and Paul were later prize-winners.933 School sport was unknown in their father’s day, but several of the boys were fine sportsmen, especially Jack, Chappie, Hugh and Paul, each a champion athlete.

932 South China Morning Post, 31 January 1919.
933 South China Morning Post, 17 March 1927.
The two older girls, Jean and Maude, found themselves of necessity caring for their mob of young brothers. An early family photograph taken in Hong Kong about 1908 shows the two girls’ head and shoulders above the crowd of small fry, with a demeanour of gentle authority.\(^\text{934}\) Significantly, Tony, a small baby, is on Jean’s lap, James on Maude’s. Jean in particular was the one to whom her mother looked in the many years of exhausting and unremitting care for small children, though she inherited both her mother’s musicality and her ability to pass it on. Jean also inherited her father’s intellect, and was dux of her school. Like her father, she hoped to study abroad, but this did not eventuate.\(^\text{935}\) She was brought up in the environment of her mother’s conspicuous musical talent, becoming a capable violinist and pianist. She was vivacious and charming and was sought after as a music teacher. She became an accomplished horsewoman before the motor age, when access to the family home at Robinson Road was difficult. She was a woman of promise. Three of the Braga sisters became music teachers, Caroline and Mary following in Jean’s footsteps, but Maude worked for the Standard-Vacuum Oil Co. as a secretary.

Less prominent in the Braga ménage was the second daughter Maude. Born in December 1898, and more than two years younger than Jean, she necessarily took a lesser role in household management than Jean came to take, or was obliged to take through sheer necessity. Maude was seven when the family returned to Hong Kong and grew up to become an energetic, friendly, vivacious person who despite difficult circumstances retained an infectious enthusiasm for whatever life had to offer. She learned the piano from her older sister and had a lovely singing voice, trained by her mother.\(^\text{936}\)

\(^\text{934}\) Her younger siblings’ memories of Jean’s household management were not always happy ones, though in later life they could laugh about it. Jean enthusiastically embraced supposed ‘health’ diets, the most extreme being a lecture by a visiting nutritionist/faith healer who convinced Jean that one chicken liver was equivalent in nutritional value to a whole chicken. For a time, her younger brothers, ravenously hungry, were given half a chicken liver each for dinner, and sent to school next day with a slice of bread and dripping for lunch. Another memory is of being shut in a dark room, the ‘rat room’, for misbehaviour, but it was a memory shared without bitterness (By Tony Braga with this writer, July 1991). The picture is one of excessive expectation of a young woman who had little time to live her own life. Yet Jean retained her love of and commitment to music, especially the violin. Olive later wrote, in a letter to her youngest son Paul in 1943, of Jean’s ‘extraordinary love for teaching and her wonderful aptitude in fashioning clothes.’ (Olive Braga to her daughter-in-law Audrey Braga, undated, but marked ‘received 15 June’- i.e. 1943. Paul Braga Papers). All the younger boys wore hand-me-downs for many years, and it was Jean who ensured that they were not ill-fitting.

\(^\text{935}\) An undocumented tradition is that she was to have been awarded a scholarship for this purpose, but it went to a student with better connections.

\(^\text{936}\) According to undocumented family tradition, she became the first woman in Hong Kong to hold a motor cycle rider’s licence, an interesting reflection on changing technology.
Like Jean, Maude was a competent horsewoman and later visited Shanghai to compete at a gymkhana there. She had the reputation of being good at everything that she undertook. She was even-tempered, charitable in disposition, and, like Jean, warmly supportive of her mother’s conversion soon after the family’s return to Hong Kong. Her personality was well caught in her brother John’s phrase ‘Maude, good soul that she is.’

Jack remembered her as ‘always so kind and considerate, so loving and gracious, that she endeared very many to her’.

It fell to Jean to take an important supporting role in a family tragedy that brought out the best in this fine young woman. Jean was only twenty-one years of age when her brother Delfino, always called ‘Chappie’, four years younger than herself, died a terrible death in 1917. It left a deep scar on the family.

Chappie, or ‘Delf’ (as he signed himself), was born in 1900, and was clearly the leader in his family, though his brother Jack was nearly three years older than himself. He had seven younger brothers, all born in the next ten years. When Chappie was about fourteen, he got all who could write to sign up as ‘partners’ in a recreational club in which each brother had to improve his fitness, his progress to be measured. He led them in party games, describing one in a letter to his cousin Lena in Manila. It is easy to imagine the uproarious fun they enjoyed together.

We had a very nice party at home on Saturday in spite of the bad weather. We all had tea first of all upstairs and then we went downstairs for the games and songs. One of them was the old song of the Ten little nigger boys. We all stood in a row and as there were only 9 boys Maud took part also & Mother played the piano. Maud got shocked & went away leaving nine, so the others followed until we came to the last which was Hugh and he got married to Caroline.

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938 On hearing of her death in 1962, Jack to Noel, 4 January 1963. J.M. Braga MS 4300/2.3/12.
939 Delfino Braga to Lena Noronha, undated, but 1917. Pencilled draft, Paul Braga Papers.
Chappie, a year younger than Maude, pulled his weight too, more than willing to do the dirty jobs. After he died, his mother wrote to her sister Crun,

I can see him now making a joke of emptying the chambers and the buckets of sloppy slushy house refuse in the rain when we had no servants – I wanted to do it myself and would say I am afraid of his clothes, then he would pull up his trousers and put on my old skirt and blouse and make such a lot of fun and frolic, dancing up and downstairs and the children gleefully rushing after – the whole crowd.940

He and Jack used to go rowing or swimming at 5.30 each morning to keep fit. He wrote well, was a good organiser and meticulous in detail. His calligraphy was splendid, and he took great satisfaction in executing beautiful capital letters. He took himself very seriously, as high-minded teenagers tend to do, but he also had a great sense of fun. What is known of his short life comes from a collection of papers which appear to have been kept as precious relics by his mother when he died of septicaemia, at the threshold of promising manhood. They reveal a remarkable young man, with a maturity and self-confidence well in advance of his years. They also reveal a strong spiritual dimension that was warmly responsive to his mother’s patient and loving up-bringing.941

940 Olive Braga to her sister, Corunna Noronha, October 1917. Typed copy in A.M. Braga Papers.
941 They were kept by Jean, in whose bank security box they were found on her death in 1987. They are now held by this writer. A few other mementos were kept by his youngest brother Paul, who was only seven when Chappie died. Paul Braga Papers. His stamp collection went to his brother Hugh.
In 1913 he became an enthusiastic Boy Scout when the movement reached Hong Kong. He was Patrol Leader of the 1st Hong Kong Troop of Boy Scouts, affiliated with St Joseph’s College, and willingly assumed responsibilities as secretary of the Football Club associated with it. He drew up rules for two sporting clubs: a Young Men’s Mutual Improvement Association and a United Club of Hong Kong, and typed out a lengthy speech to be delivered at the inaugural meeting of the latter. These rules emulated, possibly consciously, his father’s competence and experience in public affairs. In August 1916, he joined the Victoria Recreation Club. This was a largely Portuguese club, despite the British name.

He left St Joseph’s College that year and was employed as a clerk by the French bank, Crédit Foncier. He became keen on stamp collecting, and during 1917 wrote to several stamp dealers in the U.S.A., in addition to local contacts. He was extraordinarily well-organised, and kept a detailed cashbook of his income and expenditure. The last entry was 10 cents spent on a rickshaw ride on 12 September 1917. A little more than a month later he was dead.942

The most significant indication of the values of this fine young man with so many interests and talents is contained in an exchange of letters between Chappie and his ‘Auntie Crun’ in Manila, between 26 June and 24 September 1917.943 Corunna pressed her nephew: ‘Dear Chappy, Have you become a Christian and accepted Christ as your personal Saviour? Write and tell me, dear, for I pray for you and Jack every morning, also your Father.’ He replied: ‘I always thought you knew that I was a Christian, though not a very good one. The Scout movement has helped me, and so have the lessons on Sunday given by Miss Meadows. I have been several times with mother and received from her a page of the Grace Gospel Tidings which you have been good enough to send me ... As Mother told me, you said that “it pays to be a Christian” and really it does’. He concluded, ‘Your Christian nephew, Delf.’ Corunna replied on 24 September, only three weeks before her nephew died. ‘It is,
dear, such a joy to think of you belonging to Him. Let each of His children shine and walk worthy of His love, for it means much to be a Christian, but it is worth all to have the joy of knowing you are His, and should death call you away, you go home to Him.’ Chappie, like most of his brothers, had devoutly embraced his mother’s Protestant faith.

Chappie’s illness and death are recorded in a harrowing letter written by his mother to Crun. He was taken seriously ill on 7 October 1917 with what was eventually diagnosed as an abscess on the liver following a bout of dysentery, and the doctors in Hong Kong were unable to do anything for him. After some days of indecision and ineffectual treatment, his desperate mother took him to Macau, then a ferry trip lasting several hours; Portuguese doctors had a better reputation than the local people, for many British doctors were away at the war. Olive was prepared to go to any length to save her son’s life. The journey only added to Chappie’s intense suffering in his last few days, but he held fast to his new-found faith, refusing to accept the Catholic last rites, until his mother persuaded him for his father’s sake. When Chappie died on 14 October in S. Rafael Hospital at the end of a ghastly week, ‘Joe broke down like a little child in sorrow’, wrote Olive. She could not find words to express her own grief, but added, ‘Jean came with love to my rescue. She with such brightness and glowing love came like an angel’.

Chappie was buried in San Miguel Cemetery in Macau. In 1924, his brother Noel went there. ‘I visited Chappie’s grave, spending some minutes in quiet meditation around it. He is, I trust, asleep in Jesus’, he wrote in his diary.944 Forty years after Chappie’s death, his brother Clement wrote to Jack on 14 October 1957. He always remembered the anniversary of the day when ‘poor dear Chappie passed away. What a blow it was and such a sad loss to all of us. Would that fine Chappie had lived and raised a family like others of us’.945 There was the enduring sadness of having lost, not only a brother, but a young man of great promise.

Jack too had been ill and was hospitalised in a Catholic hospital. Apparently, he had initially joined the whole family in leaving the Catholic Church, but now returned to the faith of his fathers. Olive told Crun that ‘Jack had changed and gone over to his

944 Noel Braga Diary, 4 December 1924.
945 Clement Braga to Jack Braga, 14 October 1957, J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/2.3/11.
father’s side through the influence of the sisters while he had been in the hospital – even going to communion.” 946 Sadly, in this family crisis, sides were taken, and made obvious. It seems that Jack and his father attended the Requiem Mass in the small chapel at San Miguel Cemetery, but Olive, rejecting both sacrament and sacerdotalism, did not, immediately returning to Hong Kong. ‘I intended returning by boat over to Hongkong as Jack and Joe was [sic] to attend funeral here in Macao’. Her absence could only have made the breach much worse. Chappie’s younger brothers, at home in Hong Kong, knew which side they were on. Olive told Crun that ‘when we reached home, the boys were boisterous ... I called them and they said, “Mother, how can we be sad? Chappie is in Heaven.” ’

The sudden death of a promising young man who had been in excellent health was a disaster that seemed almost unimaginable, but exactly two years later, another disaster overwhelmed the Braga family. At the time it must have seemed even worse in some ways, because it had on-going repercussions that were bound to affect others.

Jack was the eldest son and had shown early aptitude as a fine athlete and scholar at St Joseph’s College. Childhood photographs show a sturdy boy, growing into a tall, self-confident youth, the sort of young man who would be a splendid role model for his eight younger brothers. He joined the Boy Scout movement as a member of St Joseph’s Troop when it commenced in Hong Kong in 1913. He did well, and won the approval of the English scoutmaster, Major F.J. Bowen, who returned to England after war broke out in 1914. The troop was thus bereft of leadership, and in 1915, Jack took on the role of scoutmaster. 947

On leaving school in 1913, Jack trod the familiar path to the doors of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corp., and about two years later joined the staff of the colony’s biggest insurance company, the Union Insurance Society of Canton Limited. Like all British businesses it was feeling the impact of the long drawn-out war as many of its young English staff returned to the Home Country to enlist. 579 out of a total European male population of 2,157 in Hong Kong volunteered for

946 The Brethren do not have sacraments. Attendance at Mass and receiving Communion can only mean that Jack had been to Confession and made his peace with the Catholic Church.

947 It was too much to ask of a boy of eighteen, and the troop did not survive the war, being re-established shortly afterwards when Bowen, now lieutenant-colonel, returned. The certificate of appointment, dated 7 April 1915, is the oldest document in Jack’s personal papers. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/2.1.
military service overseas.\footnote{N. Miners, \textit{Hong Kong under imperial rule, 1912-1941}, p. 7.} A higher proportion of juniors in the financial sector seems to have enlisted.\footnote{The figures for the Union Insurance Society of Canton are unknown, but 45 of the 75 Eastern staff juniors in the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corp. enlisted at the outbreak of war, and at least 169 enlisted in the British forces during the war. F.H.H. King, \textit{The Hongkong Bank in the period of imperialism and war, 1895-1918}, p. 590.} This gave local boys opportunities they would never otherwise have had. Jack was one of two staff receiving cash sometimes amounting to $1 million a week. His knowledge of banking procedures was useful in the different environment of an insurance company. A surviving fragment of his diary for 1916 is written in tiny careful handwriting, a reflection of his meticulous and painstaking work in the cash books of his employer.\footnote{J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/1.} He began on the small salary of $100 a month and within three years progressed to $140, well below what a young Englishman would have earned. The firm’s manager, Mr. Hay, came to place trust and confidence in this young man and marked him down for a senior position in the near future.

Jack is likely to have read his father’s pamphlet, \textit{The Rights of Aliens in Hongkong}, written in 1895, in which J.P. Braga discussed the odium that attached to the whole Portuguese community arising from a well-publicised case in which a Portuguese clerk had defrauded his employers. He could never have imagined that his own eldest son would confirm these hostile and negative impressions. There was a later suggestion that Jack had fallen into bad company and was led by others into criminal activity, but the evidence does not support this. He was on a far lower salary than his responsibilities would suggest. As his employers did not reward him in a way that he felt was due to him, and in the absence of effective supervision, Jack took matters into his own hands.

Starting in June 1919, he began to misappropriate increasingly large sums of money, apparently to invest in some risky venture the details of which are unknown. Like so many embezzlers before and since, Jack hoped to make a fortune and replace the money before anyone found out. Like so many embezzlers before and since, he lost everything. At the beginning of October he fled, panic-stricken, to Canton. From here he wrote to his employer confessing what he had done and then voluntarily returned to face the consequences rather than await extradition. It soon emerged that
the extent of the defalcation was $65,000, a huge sum at that time. This amounted to a lifetime’s salary at Jack’s current rate of pay. In the fortnight before the case came before a magistrate’s court on 18 October, he came to the office each day, doing his best to help sort out the mess. Curiously, the magistrate, Norman Smith, who became Colonial Secretary, and both counsel, W.E.L. Shenton and Man Kam Lo, would sit on the Legislative Council with J.P. Braga in later years. As a result of Jack’s co-operation, both the prosecution and defence sought leniency and when Jack pleaded guilty he was fined $250. It was a remarkably light sentence.\footnote{951}

However that was on a Saturday morning, and by the time Smith sat again on Monday, he had changed his mind. It is likely that senior figures in the business community had told him over the weekend that the defendant must go to jail as an example to all the other young Portuguese clerks. Jack was then sentenced to six months’ hard labour, the maximum penalty for the offence. There were at the time only six Europeans in gaol in Hong Kong.\footnote{952}

The defence counsel correctly spelt out the effect of this devastating calamity on ‘the old man’ – he was then aged 48!

Mr. Lo: I think perhaps this is one of the saddest cases that one could really conceive. As my friend [the prosecuting counsel, Shenton] has told you the defendant is a member of a family which is one of the most respected of the Portuguese community, and his father is a man of sterling worth and integrity, and I think it was a revelation to him to have discovered what his son had done. The suffering and pain it has caused to the old man and the family can be imagined.\footnote{953}

J.P. Braga was already seen as one of the leaders of the Portuguese community in Hong Kong. He had recently been appointed an unofficial Justice of the Peace, one of only four Portuguese members of the Commission of the Peace. It was a rare and significant honour at that time. This serious blot on his family’s name might spell the end of his public career. He was proud of what his family had achieved and had high standards that his sons were expected to live up to. If any of them had been punished at school, there was a double dose. They were also beaten at home with a leather strap for having disgraced the family name. Now this!

\footnote{951} The court case was briefly reported in the *Hongkong Telegraph*, 21 October 1919 and more fully in the *South China Morning Post*, 22 October 1919.
\footnote{952} *Hongkong Blue Book*, 1920, p. 338. The magistrate’s change of mind is further discussed in Appendix 12.
\footnote{953} *South China Morning Post*, 22 October 1919.
It spelt the end of Jack’s career in Hong Kong. He was unemployable there from then on. Worse, what might happen to his younger brothers? Following Chappie’s death there were seven, their ages ranging from seventeen (Clement) to nine (Paul). Were their prospects irretrievably ruined as well? All of them would leave school in the next decade and would seek employment. It seems that none of them ever worked in the financial sector at a time when that was the obvious career path for most Portuguese youths. One can only speculate, but there are three possible reasons for this. The most obvious is that the whole family’s reputation was irreparably ruined to the extent that no Braga boy would ever be welcome in a bank or insurance company. The second is that all the brothers chose to look elsewhere, ashamed at what had happened, and knowing that advancement beyond the lowest clerical level was likely to be denied them. Even if they did secure employment in the financial sector, they would be rigorously supervised. The third scenario is what did occur. The increasingly diverse economy in the 1920s provided opportunities that had not existed ten years earlier, in sunrise industries such as oil, motor vehicles and electricity generation, and in the engineering profession. All seven gained employment in these areas, except Tony, who worked in his father’s office for more than ten years.

For Jack himself there would be no such opportunities. Twenty years earlier, his father had been banished to Macau by his uncles, and was employed to teach English
at the Commercial Institute. Jack appears to have lived at the family home until he left for Macau on 5 September 1924.\footnote{Noel Braga Diary, 5 September 1924.} He was appointed to the staff of St Joseph’s College, Macau, where his great-grandfather had been a student under the great sinologue Fr Gonçalves a century earlier.\footnote{The average attendance between 1910 and 1928 was about 275 students, with 19 teachers on the staff. J.M. Braga, *Picturesque Macao*, p. 24. The same figures are given in M. Hugo-Brunt, ‘Architectural survey of the Jesuit Seminary and church of St Joseph’s, Macao’, J.M. Braga collection, National Library of Australia, MS 4381, p. 11. Hugo-Brunt presented his MS to Braga, from whom this information obviously came.}

Jack fell on his feet, and was better off financially than most of his brothers, earning $250 a month plus meals worth $25 a month.\footnote{Noel Braga diary. 5 December 1924.} It seems possible that he owed this appointment to Sir Robert Ho Tung in a curious echo of Ho Tung’s role in his father’s appointment to the *Hongkong Telegraph* in 1902.\footnote{According to Dr Barney Koo, ‘Researching José Maria Braga’, a paper presented to the Ricci Institute, Macau, 2004. It has not yet been published.} On that occasion Ho Tung rescued J.P. Braga from Macau. In 1924, he rescued J.M. Braga by sending him to Macau. As a teacher of English Jack shone, and quickly gained the confidence and respect of his pupils.\footnote{Attested by a respectfully worded postcard from a pupil at Christmas, 1925. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/2.1.}

Jack’s experience is uncannily reminiscent of Evelyn Waugh’s first novel, *Decline and Fall*, published in 1928, but set at much the same time as Jack’s exile to Macau, with the main character, Paul Pennyfeather – the term ‘hero’ scarcely applies – teaching at a fifth-rate school after being sent down from Oxford. Just as Waugh’s ‘Paul Pennyfeather’ succeeded in trying circumstances, so did Jack Braga. As he left for Macau, he was told maliciously that it was ‘a small, dirty place, filled with nasty people’.

\footnote{J.M. Braga, Address to the Union Middle School, 31 October 1940 on ‘Early Portuguese contacts with the Chinese’. He continued, ‘My informants were wrong and I am glad to tell you so, for I have found that there is much about Macao and the Portuguese to admire and praise.’ J.M. Braga, MS 4300/5.2. On the other hand, a few years previously, Jack’s brother Tony, in hospital in Macau for an extended period, wrote to another brother, John, ‘You can’t [think] Hong Kong is rotten if you see Macau.’ Tony to John, 6 September [1919]. Tony Braga Papers.}

Jack did not need to be told that Macau was backward. He had his own boyhood memories of Macau, having lived there between the ages of three and nine. Some fifty years later, he wrote that

> At the beginning of the 20th century, Hongkong was flourishing and progressing by leaps and bounds, but Macau stagnated – it lacked life and vitality and preserved an air of decayed splendour. The streets were
lighted at night by dim kerosene lights that provided a faint glimmer, and after sunset the community retired into their houses.\footnote{Article by Jack Braga on the origins of the Macao Electric Lighting Company Ltd, n.d.[1950s], Macau Special File, J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/7.3/4.}

From the first, Jack determined to redeem himself by throwing himself wholeheartedly into his work and the life of the community. On 30 December 1924, he married Augusta da Luz, a member of a well-regarded Macanese family. Seven children were born to them in the next ten years. Passing years would bring acceptance and finally, during World War II, a major role of leadership in his family that in the dreadful days of October 1919 could never have been imagined.

His family did not treat Jack as a pariah. No family members were present at his wedding in Macau, but that evening he and his bride ‘were given a hearty reception’ when they came over to Hong Kong.\footnote{Noel Braga Diary, 30 December 1924.} He would often return to Hong Kong for a family occasion and his brothers would often visit him in Macau, where he and
Augusta were unfailingly hospitable. Moreover, a strong bond of affection developed between Jack and his father, for Jack had taken his father’s side when Chappie died. Alone of the thirteen children, he remained steadfast to the Catholic faith of his upbringing. Jack’s disgrace intensified the gulf between the rest of the Braga family, not only firmly Protestant, but vehemently anti-Catholic as well, and the two remaining Catholic members, Jack and his father. It was a gulf that was never spoken of or written about in their letters, but it remained a deep and permanent division.

J.P. Braga had been banished to Macau for only two years, but Jack knew that his exile was permanent. He did not abandon his habits of industry and scholarship nor the hope for a better future that had led his forebears to Hong Kong two generations years earlier. For him, that better future had to be in Macau. There seemed good reason to think that Macau could yet recover. A large reclamation scheme, the construction of an outer harbour and the dredging of a deep-water channel was commenced in the early 1920s, despite strong opposition from the authorities in Canton. Jack wrote a series of articles about this big project. He enthusiastically collected the maps and publicity material associated with it. This seems to have

962 Noel Braga Diary, e.g. 31 October, 18 November 1924.
963 Noel Braga Diary, 4 May 1926.
964 The articles were published in the *South China Morning Post* in late March 1926.
965 There are seven maps in the series issued by Macau Harbour Authority, ca. 1922, to promote the new Outer Harbour works. All are in the Braga Special Map Collection in the National Library of Australia. They are variously titled in Portuguese and English. Their titles and catalogue number are:
1. Planta de Macau e territorios visinhos com a indicação do projecto de obras na peninsula e Ilha da Taipa nla.map-brsc66
2. Plan[a] of Macao nla.map-brsc64
3. Plano geral das obras do porto artificial de Macau nla.map-brsc71-3
been the beginning of a passion for collecting that soon became an obsession. He gradually built a fine collection of books, manuscripts, pictures and maps that would eventually make his name famous and bring him state honours from Portugal.

As well as collecting he began to write about Macau and its history. His first publication was a guidebook, *Picturesque Macao*, ‘with, if I may modestly say so, interesting historical references’.  

He then collaborated with C.A. Montalto de Jesus in the publication of the second edition of his *Historic Macao*. In 1936 he met Charles Boxer, then a captain in the British Army who was posted to Hong Kong as an Intelligence Officer. Boxer’s long and distinguished record of publications on the history of the Portuguese and Dutch colonial empires had already begun. A casual acquaintance rapidly warmed into a close friendship. During World War II, when Boxer was imprisoned in Argyle Street officers’ POW Camp in Kowloon, Braga saw through the press in Macau Boxer’s important bilingual book *Macau na época da restauração* (*Macau three hundred years ago*), Imprensa Nacional, Macau, 1942. In 1953 Boxer dedicated *South China in the sixteenth century*, a significant volume in the Hakluyt Society’s series of voyages, ‘to Jack Braga as a small acknowledgement of many kindnesses’.  

Jack’s disgrace was never discussed in his family. Instead, Jack was always spoken of in high terms. Noel visited Macau for a weekend in October 1925, and wrote that ‘Jack and Augusta were very kind to me’. Later Noel commented that his cousin from Manila, Charlie Noronha, visiting Hong Kong and Macau in October 1926,

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5. Sketch of Macao nla.map-brsc53-7  
6. The Portuguese Port of Macao : the new gateway to South China nla.map-brsc71-1  
7. Portion of Kwangtung province, South China, showing Macau, Hong Kong, Canton and the estuaries of the Chu-Kiang and Si-Kiang Rivers nla.map-brsc71-2.  
There are 82 maps in the Braga Special Map Collection. They are identified by the letters ‘brsc’, followed by a number. All have been digitised and are available on-line.  
966 Like all publications, it was subject to censorship, a policy which prevailed in Macau for many more years. A proof copy was lodged with the appropriate authorities, publication being authorised on 5 November 1926. Arquivo Histórico de Macau, MO/AH/AC/SA/01/10949-A1091; P-10880.  
967 This proved to be calamitous, the bulk of the edition being seized by the authorities and publicly burned. This is discussed in Appendix 4.  
968 J.M. Braga’s personal papers contain typescript copies of numerous letters to Boxer, in which the formal address ‘Captain Boxer’ soon gave way to ‘Dear Boxer’ and then ‘My Dear Charles’. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/3.1.  
969 Hakluyt Society Second series No. CVI.  
970 Noel Braga Diary, 12 October 1925
‘was charmed with Jack and delighted with quaint Macao’. Some sixty years later, writing an article on the story of the Braga family for the South China Morning Post, all his brother Tony would say is that, ‘being bored after working for a few years in an office in Hong Kong, Jack moved over to the land of his forefathers, where he established an excellent reputation as a teacher of English language and literature’. However, people in the wider Portuguese community in Hong Kong were deeply affected, their probity now suspect. They had long prided themselves on a deserved reputation as ‘a peaceable and law-abiding people’. The memory of Jack Braga’s fall from grace lingered in that community for the best part of a century.

The next brother was Clement, then aged seventeen. In the long run, he was more deeply affected than the rest, but this did not emerge for more than a decade. He left school at thirteen to work in his father’s struggling printing business; ‘the primary purpose was to help the family’. By 1924, he was an assistant in Holyoak, Massey & Co. a trading firm. Percy Holyoak, a leading member of the business community, represented the General Chamber of Commerce as an unofficial member of the Legislative Council from 1911 to 1926. A position in his office might have been a significant opportunity, but in the five years he was there, Clement gained no promotion. It was too close to the notorious court case.

Noel, a year younger, was also thrown into the battle in the family’s struggle to make its way, and for some years handed his father 90% or more of his monthly pay. Noel Braga Diary, October 1926.
The article was published in the South China Morning Post, 31 May 1987, but the comment on Jack in Tony’s typescript (page 7) was omitted from the final article. Notes prepared by A.M. Braga for an interview with Beverley Howells of the South China Morning Post, 8 April 1987. A.M. Braga file.
Questions were asked in Macau in 2010 at the 4th Encontro das Comunidades Macaenses sob os auspícios da Região Administrativa Especial de Macau.
Essay on Clement Braga by his daughter Lynne, 1996.
N. Miners, Hong Kong under imperial rule, 1912-1941, p. 60.
Percy Holyoak was one of the prime movers in the Constitutional Reform Association of which J.P. Braga had been a strong supporter. Clement was with the firm from about 1924 to 1929, by which time it had become Reiss, Massey & Co. (Jurors’ Lists, 1924-1929, in Hong Kong Sessional Papers). Later moving to China Light, he fell out badly with his supervisor, the Chief Accountant, Mr W.J. Brown, and marched out. He then worked again in his father’s office for a time.
Noel Braga Diary, 1924-1926. e.g. ‘30th August 1924. Received pay $250. Retained $15, handed balance to Father.’

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was a fine student at St Joseph’s. Like his father, he was awarded the Belilios Scholarship in his final year.  

He completed his Matriculation in July 1918 and in the next four years completed courses at the Hong Kong Technical Institute, earning distinctions all the way through. Noel’s first job was in the family printing business, which may suggest that nothing else was open to him. However, the closed shop that was Hong Kong’s business community was beginning to change as American and Canadian firms gained a stronger position after World War I. In 1923 he was employed part-time by the Canadian Pacific Steamship Co. as a stenographer. Here he came under the notice of Harry Tayler [sic], described by Noel as ‘one of the ablest men in Shewan, Tomes & Co., being a favourite of Mr

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979 *South China Morning Post*, 31 January 1919.
980 His shorthand achieved a speed of 70 words a minute, and he taught himself to become a proficient typist. Copies of certificates made available by his son, Maurice.
981 Jurors’ List, 1924, in *Hong Kong Sessional Papers.*
Shewan’s’. Noel added ‘it was through him that I got into the firm’. Impressed by Noel’s outstanding qualities, Robert Shewan had his eye on J.P. Braga, and perhaps his sons too.

By 1924, Noel was working in the office of Shewan, Tomes & Co. By 1925 he was seen as a very promising young employee. His remarkable progress in China Light has already been referred to. He had a phenomenal memory and excellent clerical skills that proved to be a springboard for the management position he held at the early age of 21, that of Company Secretary. He grew with the job, at a time when the company was expanding rapidly.

As young men Clement and Noel were very close. Making do with very little money did not trouble them in the least way, and they lived simply. Most of their spare time centred on the Gospel Hall and its activities. There was a group of young people their own age, and they enjoyed each other’s company, both in the Meetings and on social outings. There were usually about 25 people present, but on one occasion, Noel was glad to find 49 there.

‘Large party of Gospel Hall-ites spent an enjoyable afternoon on the beach at Cheung Chau, inc. Clement, self, Tony, John and Paul’, wrote Noel in June 1924. Later that year he gave his first address at the Gospel Meeting: ‘What think ye of Christ?’, the meeting being opened by Clement.

In January 1926, the new aircraft carrier H.M.S. Hermes visited Hong Kong. One of the pilots, Lieut. Richardson, met the two brothers at the Gospel Hall and invited them to see the ship. Security was not a concern in those days, and they went everywhere, spending an hour in ‘the huge hangar, where we inspected several aeroplanes and seaplanes including his own plane, No.V6, in which we saw the three seats, one for himself, one for the wireless operator, and one for the observer’.

They had reached the ship, anchored in the middle of the harbour, by sampan (careful of every cent he spent, Noel noted that it cost him 30 cents), but returned to shore far more grandly in the ship’s pinnace. Their younger brother Paul photographed the two

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982 Noel Braga Diary, 29 December 1925.
983 Noel Braga Diary, May 1924; CS/1021/00200901, from South China Morning Post, 22 December 1979.
984 Noel Braga Diary, 6 April 1925.
985 Phone call with Marjory Braga, Noel’s wife, 15 December 2001.
excited young men on the pier of the Naval Dockyard. Next day, Noel noted that ‘Clement gave a splendid address at the Gospel Hall’. They were both still enraptured by the experiences of the previous day.

However, they were to drift far apart in the next ten years, Noel remaining loyal to family and faith, while Clement rejected both. In those years, a far closer relationship developed between Noel and his next brother, Hugh. Again the gap between them was only fifteen months, the same as the gap between Clement and Noel. They were remarkably similar in appearance, to the extent that people occasionally mistook them. All the Braga boys were achievers, and their careers as young men were marked by a desire for excellence, but none more than Hugh’s. He entered St Joseph’s in 1916, and as a schoolboy worked solidly and enthusiastically at all that he did. In 1920, still an era when Britannia ruled the waves, he entered a competition promoted by the Hong Kong Branch of the Navy League for the best essay on ‘Nelson and his Day’. The fifteen-year-old Hugh won the award with an essay beautifully handwritten in a script calligraphic in quality. It served to reinforce strongly his already well-developed sense of public duty and national loyalty. He represented the school in inter-school athletics, and was the school sprint champion.

986 Noel Braga Diary, 10 January 1926.
987 This information is compiled principally from a folder prepared by Hugh after drastically culling all his papers in the late 1970s, leaving only a small file of papers he thought his descendants might wish to retain. Hereafter cited as Hugh Braga file.
988 The essay was still extant in the 1950s, but is now lost, though the prize, a volume of English verse remains in the writer’s possession.
He repeated this success at Hong Kong University, and was also the sprint champion of the colony of Hong Kong, winning a large collection of silver cups. At University he was an outstanding footballer, being awarded a University Blue. Like his elder brothers Chappie, Clement and Noel, he consciously resolved, in the words of St Paul, to run the race that was set before him, in both literal and figurative terms. Hugh and several of his brothers, including Noel, were prefects in their final year at St Joseph’s.

His last two years at school were supported by the award of the Lugard Scholarship, set up in 1910 by Sir Hormusjee Mody, the benefactor of Hong Kong University, clearly with a view to encouraging the winner to proceed to the university, the foundation stone of which he was about to set. 989 His success at school drew his thinking towards a university course in Engineering.

It must at first have seemed an impossible dream. His father was deeply impressed by the way the Engineering Faculty had been set up and equipped. He wrote a lengthy article praising it in the Catholic magazine The Rock,990 but was not in a position to support one boy at university when there were another five after him.

What made it possible was the establishment in 1915 of the Associação Portuguesa de Socorros Mutuos, the Portuguese Mutual Aid Association.991 In 1920, Ignez Soares, the wife of Adão Soares, a wealthy bullion broker, endowed the Ignez Soares

989 It gave Hugh the prestige of being the Lugard Scholar, and it undoubtedly raised his sights. His brief final school report (printed, incidentally, by J.P. Braga), noted his excellent character on leaving the school on 21 December 1921, and added, ‘He has always shown himself devoted to the College. We wish him success in his future career’. He retained a high regard and affection for the good-natured Irish Brothers who largely staffed St. Joseph’s.

990 The Rock, vol. 1 no. 1, October 1920, pp. 33-36.

991 A.M. Jorge da Silva, The Portuguese Community in Hong Kong, a Pictorial History, p. 9.
Scholarship Fund to enable the Socorros to carry out one aspect of its stated aims: to provide access to tertiary education. 992 Hugh was very conscious that he had been awarded the only scholarship then available at Hong Kong University. 993 His father also went out of his way to mention it at the St Joseph’s College Jubilee celebrations in 1926. 994

*B. Harrison, The University of Hong Kong, the first 50 years, 1911-1961, p. 118.

Construction was delayed and the building was not completed until 1925.

Photographer, Herman Wong

The other benefactor who made possible what was to become Hugh’s very fruitful career was Sir Robert Ho Tung, yet again with an eye to a specific need. The

992 *The Rock*, vol. 1 no. 4, January 1921, pp. 176-177. *The Rock* applauded this important breakthrough, noting that the scholarship was worth $600 per annum. [This] ‘should go a long way towards the fees and maintenance of a student at our local university... a University degree now is placed within the reach of the Portuguese of moderate means. We heartily congratulate Mrs Soares for the magnificent gift which will meet a great need of the Portuguese communities of Hongkong and Macao.’ 995 Hugh Braga file.

994 J.P. Braga, address at St Joseph’s College Jubilee, 17 May 1926. J.M. Braga Papers MS4300/13.1. Hugh graduated in December 1928, not long before his father was appointed to the Legislative Council. C.A. da Roza, President of the Socorros Mutuos, in his speech of congratulations to J.P. Braga, also extended his good wishes to Hugh Braga: ‘Our esteemed guest is a member of the Socorros Mutuos, and I feel happy to say that his son, Hugh, has also been connected with us as a joint holder of the scholarship designated the “Ignez Soares Scholarship” of which my Society are the Trustees. The young gentleman graduated in December last with Honours in the Faculty of Engineering of the Hong Kong University, and this opportunity is taken to offer him our congratulations’. *South China Morning Post*, 15 January 1929, J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14/1/40, fol. 7.
university was planned to commence with two faculties: Medicine and Engineering. Funds did not stretch to the provision of an adequate engineering workshop, and this, together with the endowment of a Chair of Surgery, was donated by Ho Tung in 1919. After a lengthy delay, the workshop was opened in 1925 at the cost of $100,000. Hugh entered the university in 1922 and was thus one of the beneficiaries of this fine facility.

Even with a good scholarship, he needed family support, but his father was in no position to give it. J.P. Braga required all the help he could get to keep his business going, and he himself had been forced to forgo the opportunity of a legal career that might have made him a wealthy man. Nevertheless, even if he could not afford to assist Hugh, he did not stand in his way.

Instead assistance was provided for several years by four of his siblings. At the suggestion of James, younger than Hugh, he, Jean, Clement and Noel contributed $1 a month to his support, though Noel’s contribution eventually increased, first to $3, then to $4. Although they were contributing massively to the expenses of the home, they also assisted Hugh during these lean University years. Without their sustained generosity he could not have completed his course. It was a generosity that twenty years later he would set himself to repay when most members of the Braga family were in desperate straits after World War II. Strangely, when discussion took place in January 1925 about which of Noel’s brothers should take his place when he received a promotion, J.P. Braga wanted Hugh to be recommended. He said that ‘Hugh had chosen the worst profession, the architect’s’.

Knowing the antipathy of the British business community towards the establishment of the university only a few years before, and its practice of bringing young professionals from ‘Home’, he feared lest Hugh find himself unable to gain employment in his profession, and as he put it, ‘come crawling to me for a job’. Yet within ten years he found that Hugh was indispensable to him, first as Engineer,

995 B. Harrison, *University of Hong Kong, the first 50 years*, p. 117.
996 *Hong Kong University Engineering Journal*, vol. 6, no. 1, September 1934, p. 113.
997 University of Hong Kong Register of Graduates. Hugh Braga matriculated in December 1921. The degree of Bachelor of Science in Engineering was conferred in January 1929.
998 Verbal information from James Braga to his niece, Sheila Potter, July 1989; Noel Braga Diary, 1927-1928.
999 Noel Braga Diary, 5 January 1925.
1000 Recollection of his daughter, Sheila Potter, 24 August 2011.
then as General Works Manager of Hongkong Engineering & Construction Co., which embarked on the largest development then taking place in Hong Kong.

Hugh joined the Boy Scouts while at school, and in 1924 became Scoutmaster of the 1st Hongkong (St Joseph’s College) Scout Troop at the age of nineteen, with his younger brothers Tony and Paul in the troop. Like Chappie, he had a natural ability to command. Looking beyond his own troop, he organised and trained a troop in a Japanese school in Hong Kong, receiving the ‘Thanks Badge’ from the Boy Scouts of Japan. He later summarised his role in the Scouts laconically. ‘Involved in all

1001 He laid down the law to his troop in the matter of badge-hunting, telling them bluntly that their Scoutmaster ‘disapproves very strongly of badge-hunting’ adding that ‘the boys themselves would rather show that they have earned the badges by what they can do, and not by decorating themselves as is the custom of some scouts’. Silver Wolf, the official organ of the Boy Scouts Association, Hongkong, vol. 4, no. 5, December 1924, p. 172.
activities of the 1st Hong Kong Troop of Boy Scouts and attended all emergencies in the city.  

The Boy Scouts’ motto ‘Be Prepared’ was put to the test the next year when a huge storm in the early hours of 17 July 1925 led to what became known as the Po Hing Fong disaster, the Reuter’s report of which, written by his father, has already been mentioned. At least 150 lives were lost; at least one was saved – by Hugh. As he told the story to his grandson, David Hugh Braga, in 1976, he and Tony put on their scout uniforms and went out into the darkness to see what they could do to help.

At the scene of the disaster, not far from where they lived, they found that a retaining wall had given way, leading to the collapse of a whole terrace of houses, trapping all the residents. Unlike bigger men who were there, he was small enough to crawl beneath some collapsed beams and pull out a young girl. Although he was the fastest runner, Hugh was the shortest of his brothers.

Hugh was awarded the Bronze Cross of the St John Ambulance Brigade ‘for service in the cause of humanity’ and the Silver Star of the Boy Scouts for ‘Gallantry in Saving Life with considerable risk’. Both awards were presented by the Governor, Sir Cecil Clementi, at separate ceremonies the next year. His father was naturally delighted, and made mention of the recognition given to his son in his address a few days later at the golden jubilee celebrations of St Joseph’s.

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1002 Hugh Braga file.
1003 He gave the medals to David, named in his honour, on this occasion.
1004 In 1958, an old Hong Kong resident who had arrived in 1925 was prompted by the report of a similar recent rescue to write to the Post about his experience in the earlier calamity when his car disappeared into a deep hole on a washed out road at nearby Pokfulam. Apparently an eye-witness at Po Hing Fong, he described the scene: ‘In that vicinity seventeen houses collapsed at Belchers Gardens and in keeping with the heroes of last week, Hugh Braga won the coveted Scouts Bronze Cross for crawling into the slithering chaos and rescuing victims of the collapse.’ (Belchers Gardens were later renamed Blake Gardens. The correspondent used the nom de plume “Seeing red and wearing green and certainly not yellow”. Tony Braga sent the clipping to his brother Hugh in Australia. It is undated, but the reverse side indicates the year 1958. Hugh Braga file).
1005 The Scout decoration was described in a special article in The Times History of the War, vol. 17, 1918, p. 156. It is rarely awarded.
1006 Noel Braga Diary, 24 March 1926: ‘Hughie received at the hands of the Governor life-saving medal awarded by St John’s Ambulance Association for saving the life of a Chinese girl at the Po Hing Fong disaster in July 1925.’ 12 May 1926: ‘At a Boy Scout display on the Volunteer Parade Ground in which about 300 scouts and wolf cubs took part, Hughie received the silver cross at the hands of the Governor (Sir Cecil Clementi) for gallantry in rescuing a Chinese girl at the Po Hing Fong disaster in July 1925.’ Neither ceremony was reported in the South China Morning Post.
At university, Hugh was resident in Morrison Hall. He was a keen member of the very active Hong Kong University Engineering Society, of which he immediately became Vice-President, later editing the society's journal.  

James, the sixth son, born on 27 April 1906 was fourteen months younger than Hugh. He, Noel and Hugh were close in years and in their Christian faith. All would ‘hold fast the faith’ throughout their lives, but only James eventually carried it into ordained ministry. On leaving school, James worked for Shewan, Tomes, where members of the Braga family were always welcome, before moving in November 1926 to work in Canton for the Standard-Vacuum Oil Co. of New York. Transferred to Foochow, he remained there for some years. It says much for his strength of character that the values he learned at his mother’s knee remained with him throughout a long period of isolation in his young manhood.

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1008 *Hong Kong University Engineering Journal*, vol. 1, no. 1, April 1929, p. 53; vol. 3, no. 1, September 1931, p. 1. He formed strong attachments to the staff, especially Professor C.A. Middleton Smith and Professor F.R. Redmond, an expert in reinforced concrete. This would become Hugh’s professional specialty for several decades. The confidence was mutual, and Hugh was appointed a Demonstrator in his last two years. He was among the 34 to have graduated with Second Class Honours among the 188 engineering graduates from 1916 to 1934, another 19 having received First Class Honours. Six of the graduates were Portuguese, almost all the others being Chinese (*Hong Kong University Engineering Journal*, vol. 6, no. 1, September 1934, pp. 131-135.) Tertiary education was a rarity in the Portuguese community until after World War II.

1009 Noel Braga Diary, 18 November 1926.

1010 Noel Braga Diary, 20 December 1926, 5 October 1928.
There would be five more children. On schedule, another son, Anthony Manuel, was born the following year on 28 August 1907, another, John Vincent, on 25 September 1908, to be followed by Paul on 16 June 1910. Finally, there were two daughters, Caroline Mary and Mary, born on 19 December 1911 and 14 March 1914. By then, their mother was 44, and her child-bearing years were over. All these five would become keen on the fine arts, especially music, though Paul’s aesthetic interests eventually grew broader, encompassing Chinese arts.

Anthony –Tony – grew up as one of a crowd of brothers who during their boyhood formed something of a family within the family, and throughout boyhood and youth were inseparable companions, building life-long values of hard work, loyalty to each other and commitment to the causes they espoused, though, over time, these became more diverse. In Tony’s early years, the family was not well off, and the Braga boys were often hungry. The experience left him with a sympathy for the disadvantaged that never left him.

When the Boy Scout movement came to Hong Kong, several of the younger boys joined it as they reached the minimum age, following the lead of their elder brothers Jack, Chappie, Clement and Hugh. Tony considered it a great honour to be a member of the 1st Hong Kong (St Joseph’s College) Troop of which his brother Hugh was Scoutmaster. He threw himself enthusiastically into the movement and soon became
Patrol Leader. Like the others, he was for some years an active member of the group
his brother Noel called ‘the Gospel Hall-ites’. ¹⁰¹¹

The general strike and financial crisis of 1925 occurred in his last year at school, and
he was obliged to leave before taking the Matriculation Examination. All the
Chinese office staff departed, so Tony became his father’s private secretary and
factotum for more than a decade. He later wrote of his toil during these years as

¹⁰¹¹ Tony sustained a serious accident at the age of twelve, falling off a banister. Hong Kong doctors
proposed to amputate his right hand, but he was taken to Macau, where Portuguese army doctors were
able to save the hand. He was in hospital for a year but was left with a permanent disability, and the
injured arm continued to trouble him for years. The long period of absence from school created in him
a love of literature, and enhanced the love of music that his mother inculcated in all her children,
though he was now unable to play an instrument. Back in Hong Kong, he heard the famous guitarist
Andrés Segovia play at the City Hall on Queen’s Road, Central. Decades afterwards, he recalled the
experience: ‘Never before had I heard a classical guitarist, and I was under his spell. Then a tram
came clanging by and spoiled it all. I resolved then that one day we would have a proper concert hall
in Hong Kong’ (Sunday Morning Post, 31 May 1987). In later years he would work actively to
achieve this goal.
‘sheer drudgery’. Nevertheless, Tony was his father’s loyal supporter throughout this time, which was J.P. Braga’s decade of political prominence. He fully shared the older man’s criticism of what a later generation of critics was to term ‘the unacceptable face of capitalism’.

John was the second last of the crowd of eight boys. The older members of this group naturally tended to dominate the younger ones. They were a boisterous lot, sometimes too much for their mother. She took special care of the younger ones, who tended to be left out, and, apart from Paul, were not as sports-minded. John responded to his mother’s care perhaps more than any of his brothers and became a keen violinist. He too entered the employment of China Light and Power Company, at the time managed by Shewan, Tomes & Co. His musician’s neatness and thoroughness were an asset in a business environment.

The last of the nine brothers was Paul. At 14 he became a keen member of the 1st Hong Kong (St Joseph’s College) Scout Troop. A group photo shows him standing sturdily, chest expanded, beside his brothers Hugh and Tony, respectively Scoutmaster and Patrol Leader. At school he excelled as an athlete, and physical fitness remained a lifelong interest. Paul reached adult years after the rest of his brothers, and by the time he left school in 1927, the family had moved to Kowloon, with nine of his brothers and sisters still living at home. From early years he was a skilled photographer, and this remained an enduring hobby. Keen on fresh opportunities, he became interested in cars, beginning what was to become a long career in the motor industry.

Caroline Braga (generally known in the family as ‘Carrie’) was the twelfth child and would eventually be the last survivor. She was principally educated at home by her

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1012 In 1932 he wrote to Jack ‘Am spending my first long interrupted holiday of four days since leaving school’, i.e. nearly seven years. Tony Braga to Jack Braga, 5 February 1932. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/2.3/1.
1013 Olive still played her Amati violin, though mostly for the family. John more than any of the other boys shared his mother’s love of the instrument, and over many years, played, often with his younger sisters Caroline and Mary, in concerts and musicales in Hong Kong. Several programmes list their names (Papers of Caroline Braga, 1921-1996, National Library of Australia, MS Acc05/35, hereafter cited as the Caroline Braga Papers). He also wrote well, and attracted the notice of his teachers at St Joseph’s, despite the fact that he disliked the school. An essay written by John was published in The Rock, vol. 4, no. 6, March 1924, pp. 463-464.
1014 He enjoyed school, retaining for the rest of his life a newspaper account of his last prize-giving at St Joseph’s (South China Morning Post, 27 March 1927, Paul Braga Papers. He won a prize for Biblical Knowledge).
elder sister Jean, though she attended St Stephen’s Girls’ College for a few months until ill health forced her to leave. As a younger member of a large family, she was brought up within a community of energetic and creative people. The principal influence on her life, as for all her brothers and sisters, was her mother. Olive Braga had been noted for her perfect pitch and remarkable capacity to pick up a piece of music at a single hearing. Caroline picked up much of this precision.\footnote{She began to learn the piano from Jean at the age of five. Later, she was a pupil of an accomplished local teacher, the self-styled ‘Professor’ Emil Danenberg, and first performed in public at one of his recitals at the age of nine. (Programme in the Caroline Braga Papers). Emílio Francisco Xavier Danenberg (1878-1928) was a member of the Macanese community, and was descended from a German who had married into it in the eighteenth century.}

By the age of ten, she was assisting Jean with the teaching of piano. This became her life-long vocation and passion; by the time of her death in 1998, she had been teaching for nearly seventy-seven years. The Chinese community contained many who wanted their children to acquire the ‘polite accomplishments’ of cultivated Westerners. Most of her pupils were the children of Chinese business and professional families keen to learn the piano from a gentle yet demanding teacher.

Mary, the last of what her brother Tony was fond of calling ‘the honourable tribe’, was, like her sister Caroline, principally educated at home by her elder sister Jean, though Jean paid for her to attend St Stephen’s Girls’ College for her final three years. She seemed swamped by the dynamism and focussed endeavour that characterised many of her siblings. At the age of twelve she was seriously ill and ‘some home folks entertained little hope of her recovery’.\footnote{Noel Braga Diary, 25 November 1926. Like Caroline, Mary naturally picked up the ability to play the piano. While Caroline made a successful life-long career as a well-qualified piano teacher, Mary did not develop the same degree of professionalism and competence as her older sister, though she}
from then on. Mary’s upbringing closely followed that of her sister Caroline, slightly more than two years her elder. Her role as her mother’s principal carer during the 1930s has been noted. It was an important role, indeed an essential one in the circumstances. Mary’s lot, like so many women of that and earlier eras, was to become from her late teens the dutiful, submissive and devoted youngest daughter of an aging, ailing, demanding mother who had become entirely caught up with herself.

In 1925, the first quarter of the twentieth century came to an end. The Great War had barely touched the ‘honourable tribe’, and the Locarno Pact signed that year promised a peaceful future, although in Hong Kong the serious General Strike and boycott remained unresolved. At the beginning of 1926, when their father decided to move to Kowloon, his children were ambivalent about the plan. Nevertheless, family bonds remained strong, and on 31 January 1926 they all joined in to set up house on the other side of Hong Kong harbour. The Bragas looked to a future challenging and bright with opportunity. None could possibly foresee that in the second quarter of the twentieth century another war and its aftermath would bring greater challenges than any that this family or its forebears had ever faced.

was painstaking and earnest in all that she endeavoured, and was good with small children as a piano teacher. A few surviving letters show that she was intelligent, observant, and a good letter-writer.  

Noel Braga Diary, 12 January 1926.
Chapter 11

Divergent paths

The Braga family in Kowloon, 1926-1941

1. ‘Pure air, fresh breezes and quietness’: Knutsford Terrace, Kowloon

At the beginning of 1926, J.P. Braga took what might seem a surprising step during the worst slump Hong Kong had known. He purchased four houses, Nos 9-12, in a recently built block of three-storey terrace houses on Knutsford Terrace, just off Nathan Road, Tsimshatsui, Kowloon, and within a ten minute walk of the Star Ferry. Shortly after the Great War, there had been a property boom, during which a large housing scheme was mooted for Kowloon. It was short-lived, the bubble being pricked by the strikes of 1922 and 1925. Values crashed, and although Braga was left in a precarious position, he seized the opportunity to purchase his own property in order, as he expressed it, to make long-term provision for his family. It was a decision that not only reflected his enterprising spirit, but also his desire to get away from a deteriorating area, for Robinson Road, once a pleasant location, had become a crowded ghetto of clerks towards the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum of the Portuguese community. Given their large families, housing became, he pointed out, ‘a problem more acutely felt perhaps by the Portuguese than any other community’.

He could not have done it on his own, but knew that he could rely on the support of his sons, whose major contribution has already been noted in the case of Noel.

\[\text{\footnotesize 1018 J.P. Braga, MS of The Portuguese in Hongkong and China, unpublished chapter xix. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/13.3/4.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize 1019 Noel Braga Diary, 5 May 1926.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize 1020 The Rock, vol. 1, no. 4, January 1921, p. 177. Observing in December 1920 that during the previous three months more than twenty houses in Kowloon had been purchased by members of the Portuguese community, J.P. Braga wrote that ‘there are at least a hundred more Portuguese families who are anxious to own their own houses, but who have no substantial security to offer’. The Rock, vol. 1, no. 3, December 1920, p. 136.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize 1021 While this was spelt out in Noel’s diary, the support of others can be presumed. In the case of Tony, the support took the form of working in his father’s office for minimal reward.}\]
On 31 January 1926, the family moved to Nos. 11 and 12, while Nos. 9 and 10 were rented as investment properties. Noel described the house in some detail, knowing that it would be the family compound for the foreseeable future.

The “bachelors’ mess” (consisting of two rooms on the top floor of No. 11), the beautiful wall decorations (in the way of

1022 J.P. Braga to Tony Braga, 13 August 1934, Tony Braga Papers; Paul Braga to James Braga, 22 October 1943. Paul Braga Papers.
1023 Several of the large British firms maintained a ‘bachelors’ mess’ on the Peak, where the bosses – and their wives – could keep a watchful eye on the behaviour of the young men they employed. In earlier times, it was permissible to keep a Chinese mistress, but with many more English women about, morals and protocols had tightened. By the 1920s, a young man who crossed the harbour to live in Kowloon with his ‘piece’ risked instant dismissal. This was a society in which Lady Clementi,
paintings and electric lamps, etc.) in the drawing room and dining room, the Studio (for Jean’s pupils) and Study (for the boys) in No. 11, special rooms each for Mother and Father, and the lawn, are the outstanding features of the new house.\textsuperscript{1024}

The contrast with noisy, overcrowded Robinson Road was most marked. Noel wrote the next day:

After our first night in Knutsford Terrace we are still finding things somewhat strange, but like the place for the pure air, fresh breezes and quietness of the surroundings.\textsuperscript{1025}

Gradually, the young men ventured forth into a wider world. Already Hugh had travelled to Canada with the Canadian Pacific ship \textit{Empress of Australia} during the university vacation in the summer of 1924 as a steward.\textsuperscript{1026} Noel commented, perhaps enviously, that he was the first of the family to go to America. ‘Father was thunderstruck, and let Hugh go without a word of disapproval’. On his return six weeks later, ‘Hugh looks quite stout and extremely well’ noted Noel.\textsuperscript{1027}

The following year, Clement, Noel, Hugh and James all had the opportunity to travel to Vancouver when several passenger ships were stranded in Hong Kong after their crews deserted to join the General Strike.\textsuperscript{1028}

Thereafter, the demands of their employment and the exigencies of the Great Depression clipped their wings. Furthermore, their careers, linked with the somewhat limited opportunities available to them in the 1920s, took divergent paths, though they continued to live in the family home for several more years.

\textsuperscript{1024} Noel Braga Diary, 31 January 1926.
\textsuperscript{1025} Noel Braga Diary, 1 February 1926.
\textsuperscript{1026} He wrote a series of articles about his time in Canada in the \textit{Silver Wolf}, vol. 4, nos. 4 and 5, November and December 1924.
\textsuperscript{1027} Noel Braga Diary, 12 June and 6 August 1924.
\textsuperscript{1028} Noel Braga Diary, July to October 1925.
Noel continued to do well with China Light. He was treated with consideration when he suffered a nervous breakdown in 1932, and spent several months in Japan recuperating.\(^{1029}\) While there, he gained a workable knowledge of Japanese, which proved an inestimable boon when the family were in dire straits following the fall of Kowloon in December 1941. Noel then went to Britain, where he met Marjory Morris, who he would later marry, returning to Hong Kong and his position at China Light in August 1933.

When he married in 1934, he was placed on an expatriate basis, a privilege that says much about the high regard in which both Noel and his father were held. It also says much about the firm for which he worked. He would not have been so well treated in the big British concerns. J.P. Braga told Noel’s mother-in-law:

> It is not given to everybody to be granted Home Leave on full pay and passages provided by the firm to and from England both for husband and wife. I consider Noel a lucky lad that he is in a position of enjoying this privilege.\(^{1030}\)

The 1930s were years of growth in the electricity business, and both Noel and John did well in this successful company. In 1938, after many years in a clerical position, John became the Assistant Company Secretary, in charge of the shares office.

While Noel became an executive of ability and probity, James left the business world. In 1929, he felt called to the ministry, and studied in America at Moody Bible Institute and then at the Northern Baptist Theological Seminary in Chicago, where he graduated as Bachelor of Theology.\(^{1031}\) Returning to Hong Kong, he was again employed by Standard-Vacuum Oil.\(^{1032}\) He went back to America in 1940, becoming the first of the brothers to leave the Far East for good, a break that all seven of his married siblings would eventually make.

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\(^{1029}\) Noel to Jack, 17 May 1933. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/2.3/5. In 1951, while visiting Japan, his brother Jack was interested to meet a Professor Inatsuga, who asked after Noel (J.M. Braga to Clement Braga, undated, J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/2.3/10).

\(^{1030}\) J.P. Braga to Mrs Ethel Morris, 5 February 1935. Copy from Maurice Braga, Noel’s son, August 2008.

\(^{1031}\) Coming back to Hong Kong as a missionary, he received assistance from the Scripture Gift Mission in London for the distribution of 250,000 Bible tracts. (Obituary in the *Sunday Oregonian*, 24 April 1994).

\(^{1032}\) Jurors’ Lists, 1938-1939, in the *Hong Kong Sessional Papers*. 346
In 1928 Paul was the last brother to enter the work force. The motor age had arrived and Paul soon had a motor-bike. He found an opening in the motor industry, first in selling second-hand cars, trading as Paul Braga Motor Sales.\textsuperscript{1033} In April 1936 he joined Gilman Motors, soon becoming Manager of the Motor Department.\textsuperscript{1034} He stayed with the firm until the fall of Hong Kong in December 1941.

Not until the mid-1930s did the household at Knutsford Terrace change, and then it changed rapidly. Most weddings were at St Andrew’s Church of England, Kowloon, for there could be no thought of the nearby Rosary Church. Maude married an Englishman, Eric Franks, in August 1934. Three months later, in England, Noel married an Englishwoman, Marjory Morris. In 1935, Hugh married an English missionary, Nora Bromley, a member of an Anglican mission, the Bible

\textsuperscript{1033} Letterhead of a note from Paul to his brother Jack, ca. June 1935, J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/2.3/6.

\textsuperscript{1034} Reference for a former employee written during 1942, Paul Braga Papers. With a pleasant and outgoing personality, Paul did well and developed good business contacts. He gained a lasting reputation for reliability and probity. He stayed with the firm until the fall of Hong Kong in December 1941. Following his escape from Macau during the war, and seeking assistance in securing a military commission (which did not eventuate), he wrote: ‘I was never afraid to tackle a job … I quickly got down to knowing a new subject by applying myself hard at it … I have always come through successfully with anything I started’ (Paul Braga to Hugh Braga, 1 November 1943, Paul Braga Papers).
Churchmen’s Missionary Society.\textsuperscript{1035} Paul married a local girl, Audrey Winsel, in 1937. In 1938, Clement eventually married Muriel Williamson, who he had first met in Vancouver in 1925. James was married in February 1940 to a fellow student from Moody Bible Institute, Anne Johnson, who had come out as a missionary with the South China Boat Mission.\textsuperscript{1036}

Lastly, John was married in August 1940 to a Scottish medical student, Louise (known as ‘Louie’) Ashton. In the seven years from August 1934 to August 1940, there were seven weddings, so that only four remained of the eleven who had moved to Knutsford Terrace in 1926: Jean, Tony, Caroline and Mary.

Over the years, Caroline steadily gained the recognised qualifications in the teaching of music through Trinity College of Music, London, and became well-established as a piano teacher.\textsuperscript{1037}

During 1940, Jean and Caroline both found men to whom they became deeply attracted: Jean to Theo Ingram\textsuperscript{1038} and Caroline to Norman Mackenzie, a South African academic who came to Hong Kong University that year as a lecturer in English.\textsuperscript{1039} Jean’s attachment was viewed by her family with dismay. Ingram had a wife and children who had been evacuated to Australia, and the attention he paid to Jean was never more than a casual dalliance. Neither romance led to marriage, both

\textsuperscript{1035} W.S. Hooton and J.S. Wright, \textit{The first twenty-five years of the Bible Churchmen’s Missionary Society}, pp. 119, 226. Founded in 1921, the B.C.M.S. was a conservative evangelical off-shoot of the long-established Church Missionary Society.

\textsuperscript{1036} This was a small group of very self-sacrificing people who lived in the midst of Chinese boat people in crowded typhoon shelters. For a few months, James joined Anne’s work with the Boat Mission among people who lived in junks moored in the typhoon shelter at Cheung Chau, one of the out-lying islands.

\textsuperscript{1037} In the 1930s, Trinity College was the only well-recognised examining body in music whose qualifications were available in Hong Kong. She first obtained the Local Exhibition Certificate in 1930 at the age of 19, proceeding to the Licentiate (LTCL) and finally in 1935 to Fellowship (FTCL). This was a remarkable achievement of single-mindedness, determination and perseverance. She sent for the syllabus, and learned all that was necessary and practised to the necessary standard. She was at the time the only Fellow of Trinity College in Hong Kong. The College went to the trouble of sending out an examiner to examine the sole candidate there; it was something for the College, as well as a real achievement for Caroline (Information from Caroline Braga, 24 October 1996.

\textsuperscript{1038} Theodore Ralph Ingram, Private 1747. Identified in the lists of Volunteers in the Hong Kong War Diary. www.hongkongwardiary.com. This is a website conducted by Tony Banham, who has also written several books about Hong Kong in World War II. Banham has become the leading authority on the subject.

men, members of the Hong Kong Volunteers, being imprisoned during the war. Ingram was sent to the notorious Sendai #2 Camp in Japan. Mackenzie was in Shamshuiipo Prisoners of War Camp. He was thought to be the only member of his artillery battery to survive the short, sharp battle for Hong Kong. Both women went through a very hard time emotionally, and for both, the experience left deep scars on their personalities. However, the war would have infinitely more drastic consequences for tens of millions of others. In Macau, Jack had found a wife in the community of his Macanese forefathers, but in Hong Kong, all his siblings found their spouses outside that community. They had effectively cut their ties with it many years earlier, only to rediscover them all of a sudden at the end of 1941.

The enthusiastic support given by the Braga family to the Gospel Hall diminished following their move to Kowloon, although Noel continued to attend the Gospel Hall on the Hong Kong side. Instead, most of them began to attend and then to throw their weight behind the Emmanuel Church and its associated Fraternity Book Room. This was a small independent evangelical medical mission and church run by two British missionaries, Dr Harry Lechmere Clift and his wife Winifred on Nathan Road not far from Knutsford Terrace. The Braga family imbibed from these respected mentors a keen interest in missions. The Clifts were no narrow sectaries, Mrs Clift producing an intelligent and observant book on Chinese life in Hong Kong. The Clifts, like Miss Meadows at the Gospel Hall, were outstanding role models for the Braga family, no longer impressionable adolescents, but as young

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1042 The Clifts had originally come to China in 1909 to set up the Emmanuel Medical Mission in Nanning, in Kwangsi Province, entirely at their own expense. In 1924 they handed it over to the Bible Churchmen’s Missionary Society, which they joined, serving at nearby Liu-chow (Pinyin Liuzhou), then coming to Hong Kong in 1930 after six years spent in courageous and dedicated service in a part of China wrecked by civil war and brigandage (W.S. Hooton and J.S. Wright, The first twenty-five years of the Bible Churchmen’s Missionary Society, pp. 30, 33-35, 79, 82-83, 227). Noel Braga kept with his diary an account of the perils endured by missionaries in Liu-chow at this period. (South China Alliance Tidings, vol. 18, no. 6, Wuchow, 1924). The Clifts were not mentioned in this account, but it graphically described an attack by brigands on a band of missionaries in the district where they served. (Noel Braga Papers). They retained strong links with the Bible Churchmen’s Missionary Society, and remained steadfastly at their post for several decades. Dr Clift died in Hong Kong in 1949. Mrs Clift finally retired to England after sixty years’ missionary service in China and Hong Kong. (Undated press cutting, ca. 1969, South China Morning Post, Scrapbook 1921-1987, Caroline Braga Papers).
1043 W. Lechmere Clift, Looking on in Hong Kong. Several other books by Mrs Clift are in the catalogue of the British Library, but have not been seen by this writer.
adults adherents to a cause in which they firmly believed. As time passed, not all retained the Protestant faith they had so enthusiastically embraced more than a decade earlier. Caroline played the piano for services here from the beginning in the early 1930s until 1997, not long before her death, apart from the war years and brief sojourns abroad. Hugh became a strong financial supporter. Jean, Paul, John and Mary were also members of Emmanuel Church, as was their mother.

Tony, on the other hand, kept his distance. He was his father’s loyal supporter throughout this period. Tony also acquired a distaste for what he saw as the ruthless commercialism of the taipans with whom he dealt on a daily basis. He developed a fascination for the Soviet regime in Russia, seeing in communism an effective riposte to the exploitation of the working classes that he saw all around him. Ideologically, this drew him away from the evangelical Christianity of his mother’s upbringing, but not from a reverence for her finer qualities.

While five of his brothers married between 1934 and 1940, Tony remained single, preferring, as he put it rather sourly in later years, to be ‘happily unmarried rather than unhappily married like several of my brothers’, and pointing out that his parents had been ‘hopelessly incompatible’.

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1044 Her service was recognised in 1994 by the presentation of a symbolic tray bearing the inscription, ‘An honour to Senior Member of the Emmanuel English congregation’.
1045 This is best seen in a letter from Tony to his brother John, 29 April 1946. James Braga Papers.
1046 In later years, although an agnostic, he would often refer to a hymn which she had taught her children: ‘Count your blessings’.
1047 Tony Braga to Craig Ellyson, Waterloo, Iowa, 24 October 1988. Tony Braga Papers. Dr Craig D. Ellyson had been a friend in pre-war Hong Kong. Tony asked James to send Ellyson a copy of his letter of 27 June 1942, giving the first news of the Braga family since the fall of Hong Kong seven months earlier.
In August 1937, after a decade as his father’s private secretary he was appointed Property Superintendent of the Hongkong Engineering and Construction Company through the advocacy of his brother Hugh, retaining this position until the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941.  

While Tony remained stable in his journey away from faith, Clement did not. Once the scion of the Gospel Hall, he turned decisively and bitterly against it and all that it stood for. When Chappie died, Clement slipped into a leadership role that the younger boys had come to expect. For some years, he did indeed fill this role, but gradually his brothers, maturing into manhood, grew out of their need for it. Moreover, several of them, especially Noel, Hugh, and later, Paul, appeared to be doing better in life than Clement, whose career did not prosper as those of his younger siblings did.  

Moreover his health was not robust. In 1927, his father told Jack: ‘Clement has gone to hospital again with influenza. He is not a strong boy.’  

Over time, Clement gradually slipped in his family’s estimation. This led to a loss of confidence, a loss of heart and a loss of faith. In 1935 things came to a head. Worried letters to Jack from Hong Kong told the story of a troubled, alienated man, in debt to his brothers and to Indian money-lenders, and surrounded by reproachful, judgmental faces, voices and attitudes.  

Writing in May, Tony did not mince matters. ‘Maud heard from a friend that he gets drunk quite often and the other night at the Hong Kong Hotel while under the influence he was babbling out all sorts of things about the family in a loud voice for all to hear. Unless he pulls himself together and leaves the bottle alone I’m very much afraid he’ll sink deeper and deeper.’  

In July James wrote that ‘Clement has hardly been home for many days ... we can’t do anything for him, as he seems to be very antagonistic towards all the family’. He was ‘positively aggressive’ to his father, who added, ‘I can’t make head or tail of his behaviour beyond concluding that he is not in his normal senses ... He is so pig-headed as to rush headlong into

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1048 Minutes, Hongkong Engineering and Construction Co., 26 August 1937.  
1049 Noel’s diary, remarkably detailed in some respects, says little about his brothers’ jobs. He commented on 26 January 1926 that Clement’s salary had been increased from $150 to $200 a month, a very good income in that time of crisis. His name appeared in the Jurors’ Lists until 1930, still as an ‘assistant’ in the same firm.  
1051 A.M. Braga to J.M. Braga, 22 May 1935. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/2.3/7.  
ruin, absolutely regardless of the consequences.\textsuperscript{1054} By then, any religious affiliation or belief had definitely ceased, to the consternation and grief of his Christian brothers and sisters.

Grasping at straws, Clement had a notion of setting up a fortnightly magazine that he hoped would be a big financial success.\textsuperscript{1055} Nothing came of it, but this precipitated a resolution of the crisis. The Macau solution seemed once more to be a good option. At Jack’s suggestion, Clement was persuaded in September 1935 to go to Macau, where Jack took him in and found coaching work for him. Well-established in Macau since 1924 and with a reputation as a fine teacher of English at St Joseph’s College, Jack secured a position for Clement teaching English at the Liceu.\textsuperscript{1056} Jack and Augusta took Clement under their wing in this critical period. As a result, Clement and Jack had a close friendship for more than thirty years.\textsuperscript{1057} Jack and Augusta provided solid and continuing care and support in this crisis in a way that no other family members could have done. Once he settled into the steady daily routine of school teaching, the constant regimen of lesson preparation and essay marking, and above all marriage in 1938 settled him down. Seven years later, in 1942, they would again support their family in the far graver crisis of the Japanese Occupation of Hong Kong.

After graduation in 1929, Hugh worked for two years as a civil engineer in the Public Works Department, observing later that ‘in those days engineers were

\textsuperscript{1056} J.M. Braga to J.P. Braga, 7 September 1936, J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/2.3/8. Gustavo Uriel da Roza, in later life a distinguished Canadian architect and Officer of the Order of Canada, was one of Clement’s pupils and spoke highly of him to this writer in Macau in 2004.
\textsuperscript{1057} Another factor in Clement’s life assisted him to find his feet again. He had not lost contact with Muriel Williamson, who at 17 had been captivated in Vancouver by the 23-year-old Clement in 1925. ‘Sept. 25: Meet Miss Meadows and Braga boys at Mrs. Reid’s. Clement easily leads. We all thought so,’ she wrote in her diary (Held by his daughter Lynne Braga. The other ‘Braga boys’ were Hugh and James. Noel Braga Diary, 3 October 1925). In 1929 he returned to Vancouver, and became engaged to Muriel, but they could not afford to marry. Muriel was then dogged by health problems for some years, while Clement was penniless and in debt. In October 1935 Jack suggested that family members in Hong Kong pay Muriel’s fare to Macau so that she and Clement could marry, offering to pay more than anyone else, despite the fact that he had a large family to provide for (J.M. Braga to A.M. Braga, 11 October 1935, J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/2.3/3. Jack proposed that he would pay $150, Maude $125, Hugh $125 and Tony $100). After all he had done for Clement, Noel was not asked to contribute. Hugh, earning better than most, offered to pay Maude’s share, for she did not earn well, and Clement had contributed to his upkeep at university. However, this plan was not implemented. More than two years later, it seems that Jack paid for Clement to go to Vancouver where he married Muriel in July 1938, then returning to Macau (Clement to ‘home folks’, 29 July 1938, J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/2.3/2).
expected to serve a two-year apprenticeship after graduation’. The salary of $150 a month was hardly an enticement to spend several years as a university student.\textsuperscript{1058} In these two years he acquired what a senior official there described as ‘an enviable reputation’.\textsuperscript{1059}

Hugh’s father had recently been appointed chairman of the Hongkong Engineering and Construction Co. J.P. Braga faced an almost impossible challenge in turning around its fortunes. In 1931 Hugh had an idea that saved the company from ruin, together with his father’s career and reputation. As recorded by the company secretary, ‘he suggested looking around for a large enough and suitably located piece of ground for an Estate development.’\textsuperscript{1060} To support the idea, he prepared a detailed lay-out plan and cost estimates for a dauntingly difficult site in Homantin, Kowloon Inland Lot 2657, having also conducted a detailed survey of the site.\textsuperscript{1061} Hugh expected no recompense, but when the scheme went ahead, he was rewarded by a delighted board of directors with a substantial ex gratia payment of $2,500.\textsuperscript{1062} With characteristic generosity, he at once put $2,000 into shares in the Macau Waterworks Co., managed by his brother Jack, and in dire need of funds.\textsuperscript{1063} He knew that it was a risky proposition; within three years, the company had collapsed and was refinanced by outside sources. Hugh received only $432 when the original company was wound up in 1935.\textsuperscript{1064}

In 1931 he was appointed Engineer by the Hongkong Engineering and Construction Co. at the beginning of what was called the ‘Garden Suburb’ project.\textsuperscript{1065} Its development for the next decade was entirely in his hands. By 1935 he had proved his capacity, and was appointed General Works Manager of the company.

\textsuperscript{1058} Hong Kong University Engineering Journal, vol. 5, no. 1, December 1933, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{1059} This was later mentioned, in another context, by his father J.P. Braga to Sir Elly Kadoorie, 10 August 1938. Hong Kong Heritage Project, J.P. Braga A02/15.
\textsuperscript{1060} Hugh’s words, as reported by the company secretary, B. Alves, at a meeting of the board of the Hongkong Engineering and Construction Co., 17 June 1941.
\textsuperscript{1061} The University Engineering Society followed the careers of recent graduates, and noted in 1931 that ‘we hear he is very busy’ (Hong Kong University Engineering Journal, vol. 3, no. 1, September 1931, p. 62).
\textsuperscript{1062} Minutes, Hongkong Engineering and Construction Co., 20 November 1931.
\textsuperscript{1063} Tony to Jack, 20 November 1931. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/2.3/1.
\textsuperscript{1064} Jack to Hugh, 27 September 1935. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/2.3/4.
\textsuperscript{1065} On the motion of Lawrence Kadoorie, a board member. Minutes, Hongkong Engineering and Construction Co. 30 September 1931.
responsible for 1,200 employees.\footnote{South China Morning Post, 25 April 1935: ‘The Board has appointed Mr Hugh Braga, the Company’s Engineer, its General Works Manager as from 2 January 1935’. Also Hugh Braga file.} His intensely hard work was appreciated by Sir Elly Kadoorie, known as a businessman with high expectations.

Years later, following a report that Hugh had worked right through the night, Kadoorie counselled J.P. Braga not to kill Hugh with overwork, though Kadoorie himself was sometimes the real cause. Tony told Jack in 1935 that ‘Kadoorie keeps him hopping around day and night’.\footnote{Sir Elly Kadoorie to J.P. Braga, 26 May 1938, Hong Kong Heritage Project, J.P. Braga A02/15; Tony Braga to Jack Braga, 18 July 1935, J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/2.3.} For his part, J.P. Braga told Kadoorie that ‘Hugh has been unsparing in his efforts to succeed for the Company’.\footnote{Braga to Kadoorie, 19 July 1938, Hong Kong Heritage Project, J.P. Braga A02/15. In addition to his busy professional life, he was pleased to be invited to join the Rotary Club of Hong Kong representing the civil engineering profession (Hugh Braga file). It was to prove a life-line in 1941 in Australia, when a prominent Sydney Rotarian employed Hugh, who had recently arrived from Hong Kong.}

2. War clouds – ‘no-one took the slightest notice’

The Scriptural phrase ‘marrying and giving in marriage’ applied powerfully to this family. It implies a pre-occupation with daily work and the tasks of child-rearing, home-building and mortgage repayment. It also implies a lack of awareness of problems beyond these all-absorbing commitments. This was to be expected, as Hong Kong gradually worked its way out of the Great Depression and prosperity began to return. Naturally, they were aware of the deteriorating political situation in the Far East from 1931 onwards, but it seemed remote. Caroline and Mary went on holiday to the USA in 1939, calling at Yokohama en route. Four years before, Hugh and Nora had enjoyed their honeymoon in Japan, but the rise of Japanese militarism
was changing the atmosphere. Mary wrote: ‘Japan. Unpleasant memories ... treated
discourteously. Ship left in black-out air-raid practice ... All passengers relieved to
get away.’

In Hong Kong there was greater interest in the Hong Kong Volunteer Defence
Corps, commonly known as the Hong Kong Volunteers. It waxed and waned over
the years depending on the international situation. A Portuguese Company was
raised in 1931, and by 1940 there were two strong Portuguese Companies. Hugh,
Tony and Paul joined the Volunteers, but, having turned their backs on the
Portuguese community, they eschewed these companies. Their postings were
appropriate to their skills and experience. Hugh, with his two years’ experience
working as an engineer with the Public Works Department, was placed in charge of
demolitions in the New Territories, it being recognised that a withdrawal to a
defence line well back from the border would be necessary. He had designed
some of the bridges that would have to be blown up. Tony, gentle and caring, was a
stretcher bearer in the Field Ambulance, while Paul, with his experience in the
motor industry, was an officer in the Auxiliary Transport Service. In the event,
none of the three would see active service.

The savage Japanese attack on Shanghai and the massacre in Nanking in 1937
horrified the world, but it was noted that the Shanghai International Settlement and
French Concession were not touched. In Hong Kong a tide of refugees began to
arrive. It became a flood the following October when Canton was occupied by the
Japanese. When war did break out in 1939, it was on the other side of the world.
Hong Kong busied itself with raising funds for a bomber for the Royal Air Force.
With a larger military presence in the colony, the Clifts opened a Games Room, Library and Tea Room for Servicemen at Emmanuel Church, which was close to Whitfield Barracks, the main military barracks in Kowloon. Prudently, consideration was given by the British War Cabinet to the evacuation to Australia of British civilians from Hong Kong in the event of an emergency in the Far East.1077 These plans were put into effect on 29 June 1940, with the rapid deterioration of the international situation following the fall of France. At first, it appeared that all non-essential British civilians were to be evacuated to Australia, and J.P. Braga thought that he too would have to go to Australia. He did not want to go. ‘I will stay with Hong Kong through thick and thin’, he told Kadoorie.1078 That plan soon changed, and only women and children went. If they stayed, they would be a large and unwelcome burden on the defenders should the Japanese attack. Seven days’ notice were given and each evacuee was allowed very little luggage.1079 3,474 women and children, including this writer, were sent in three voyages to Manila, a brief stop-
over before shipping to Australia could be arranged.\textsuperscript{1080} There was immediate and sustained criticism of the evacuation. Some hundreds of British ‘bachelor husbands’ strongly condemned what they saw as a precipitate and unnecessary move. On the other hand, Portuguese and Eurasian holders of British passports were excluded. Leo d’Almada, Braga’s successor as the Portuguese member of the Legislative Council, warned that the government had ‘placed an appreciable strain on the loyalty of a large section of the community’.\textsuperscript{1081}

The only Braga women eligible for evacuation were Noel’s wife Marjory and Hugh’s wife Nora, each with two children.\textsuperscript{1082} They spent four weeks in Manila, where the evacuees were given free US Army accommodation, but they could stay in a hotel if their husbands paid for it. Noel and Hugh did this, so the two Braga sisters-in-law and their children had better accommodation, but it lacked the security of an army barrack. Finding life very difficult without their domestic servants, many women begged to be allowed to return to Hong Kong. Marjory lost all her money in a burglary and besought Noel to approach the authorities in Hong Kong to allow her back. He succeeded. Security in Manila seemed even worse than in the precarious Hong Kong situation. Nora wanted to return to Hong Kong too, but Hugh would not hear of it.\textsuperscript{1083} His father told Kadoorie that ‘Hugh thinks his children will be safer in Australia’.\textsuperscript{1084}

The Spanish Civil War had alerted people to the horrors of air attack on civilian populations, so Hugh had an air raid shelter, a substantial tunnel, built into a hill in the Kadoorie Avenue estate. Eight feet high, seven feet wide and forty-five feet long [2.4m x 2.1m x 13.7m], it was big enough to hold 150 people, all of the nearby residents. It was inspected in September 1940 by the Governor, Sir Geoffrey

\textsuperscript{1080} Bernice Archer, \textit{The Internment of Western civilians under the Japanese, 1941-1945}, p. 39. The evacuation is the subject of a PhD thesis to be submitted to the Australian Defence Force Academy by Tony Banham. Banham confirms this figure: ‘What really amazes me here is Bernice's number, 3474. I just checked my spreadsheet of all known evacuees, put together very laboriously from uncountable sources over three years, and I have 3476! I wonder where she found her number. It’s so close that she could well be more accurate than me.’ Email from Tony Banham, 27 September 2012.

\textsuperscript{1081} \textit{Legislative Council Proceedings}, 1940 Session, pp. 100-104. Also L.A. de Sá, op. cit., pp. 86-88 (Portuguese edition, pp. 115-118); P. Snow, \textit{The fall of Hong Kong}, pp. 43-44. Regarding the Macanese as Eurasians, the Australian Government made it clear that the White Australia Policy would be rigorously applied.

\textsuperscript{1082} They left on 5 July on board the Empress of Japan. Email from Tony Banham, 27 September 2012.

\textsuperscript{1083} Interview with Nora Braga, September 1987.

\textsuperscript{1084} J.P. Braga to Sir Elly Kadoorie, 1 August 1940, Hong Kong Heritage Project, J.P. Braga A02-15. 357
Northcote, who remarked that ‘this is the first tunnel shelter of the kind in the Colony’.\textsuperscript{1085} The next year, his brothers would be glad of it.\textsuperscript{1086} Hugh, Jack and James seemed to be the only members of the Braga family convinced that the unthinkable was soon to occur. Hugh had worked for the Construction Co. for nine years with little time off apart from his honeymoon, and his brothers realised that working for the Kadoories was no easy task.\textsuperscript{1087} His request for leave to accompany his wife Nora to England in 1938 was declined, not by his father, but by Lawrence Kadoorie, son of Sir Elly, who regarded his continued presence as essential while China Light’s big new power station at Hok Un was under construction.\textsuperscript{1088} It was completed in 1940 to everyone’s great satisfaction.\textsuperscript{1089}

During 1941, the international situation continued to deteriorate, even before the German invasion of Russia on 22 June, though very few in Hong Kong seemed to see this. Whereas other people were trying to bring their families back to Hong Kong, Hugh applied for leave to visit his family in Australia. At first this was arranged amicably, with Hugh being granted six months’ leave and First Class travel both ways.\textsuperscript{1090} However, Lawrence Kadoorie again insisted that he remain in Hong Kong to oversee a difficult technical contract being undertaken for the installation of a new turbine at Hok Un.\textsuperscript{1091} It is clear that the company had come to rely too much on one man’s expertise and was not looking after its senior staff. With war in the Pacific becoming more likely, and with his family in distant Australia, Hugh’s reaction was to resign with immediate effect.\textsuperscript{1092}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[1085] J.P. Braga to Sir Elly Kadoorie, 6 September 1940, Hong Kong Heritage Project, J.P. Braga A02-15.
\item[1086] ‘The tunnel shelter Hughie built was an ideal place of refuge.’ Tony Braga to James Braga, 27 June 1942. James Braga Papers.
\item[1088] J.P. Braga to Sir Elly Kadoorie, 19 September 1938, Hong Kong Heritage Project, J.P. Braga A02-15.
\item[1089] N. Cameron, \textit{Power}, pp. 131-134; J.P. Braga to Sir Cecil Clementi, 15 September 1940, Hong Kong Heritage Project, J.P. Braga A02-15.
\item[1090] Minutes, Hongkong Engineering and Construction Co., 17 April 1941.
\item[1091] Lawrence Kadoorie was quite prepared to slight J.P. Braga. A movie film was taken by Hugh Braga showing members of the Board of China Light inspecting work on the waterfront at Hok Un in January 1938 following typhoon damage. Kadoorie stepped first into the work area, then turned and snapped his fingers for Braga, Chairman of the Board, to follow. The film and a DVD made from it are in the possession of Hong Kong Heritage Project.
\item[1092] Minutes, Hongkong Engineering and Construction Co., 17 June 1941. At a lengthy and tense board meeting, Lawrence insisted that a weekly meeting be held to supervise the company’s operations. With J.P. Braga strongly opposed to such a move, Lawrence secured board authorisation to proceed with the proposal, he chairing the weekly meeting. Such a step indicates clearly that the board had little confidence in the new Works Manager, A.V. Skvorzov. Conversely, they had relied far too much on the competence of Hugh Braga. 46 years later, when Hugh died, Lawrence, then Lord
\end{footnotes}
For decades, J.P. Braga’s thinking had been dominated by business considerations. His family scarcely seemed to matter, though as the previous chapter indicates, events would soon shock him into a very different perspective. On 18 June he wrote to Jack in Macau:

There was a Board meeting of the Construction Co. yesterday to consider Hugh’s resignation from his position of General Works Manager of the Construction Co. The resignation was accepted. I cannot imagine what induced Hugh to resign. I have not the faintest idea of his motive; he has not told me a word. He is leaving for Australia tomorrow and will join Norah [sic] and his children in Sydney.1093

Later, in 1943, J.P. Braga would go out of his way to mention Hugh’s role in the large project for which he had been largely responsible.1094 James had already gone to America, where he was ordained as a Baptist minister on 18 December 1940, subsequently serving as pastor in churches in Chicago, Sacramento (California), and Los Angeles.

Three days after Hugh left Hong Kong, Germany invaded Russia. It was then obviously impossible for the Soviet Union to menace Japan, giving Japan a far greater opportunity to implement its much-vaunted Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, but in Hong Kong, few seemed to notice this dramatic shift in the balance of power and the much greater risk of a Japanese attack.

The arrival of two Canadian infantry battalions in September 1941 was a substantial gesture of British commitment to the defence of Hong Kong, though Churchill had in January that year accurately predicted that there was ‘not the slightest chance’ of holding it.1095 Noel and Marjory befriended a young English soldier, Joe Howell, who came to meetings of the Brethren at the Gospel Hall. As was their wont, they extended warm hospitality to him on many occasions, and invited him to Christmas

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1093 J.P. Braga to Jack Braga, 18 June 1941. In the possession of Angela Ablong, Jack’s daughter. This was less than candid. Hugh had spelt out his reasons very clearly the previous day at the meeting of the board of the Construction Co.
Dinner. Tragically, he was killed that very day in the last fierce fighting on Stanley Peninsula, where a few weeks later British civilians would be interned.

British arrogance towards all Asian peoples remained undiminished, it being held locally that the Japanese would never dare to attack Hong Kong. If they did, so the governor assured the Chief Manager of the Hongkong Bank, ‘the Navy will be up from Singapore, and everything will be hunkey-dorey’. 

‘You often even heard in those few days prior to the out-break people “wishing” the Japs to start – “all they needed was a good lesson and a taste of what they had been giving to China” ’ wrote Paul. Jack, more sanguine, made a special trip to Hong Kong to ask his family to go to Macau, but ‘no-one took the slightest notice’, Paul admitted later.

Strained relations between the United States and Japan were already almost at breaking point when the Canadians arrived, but this was also ignored. Tony later wrote to James that on the first day of the attack ‘I couldn’t forgive myself for not having taken heed of your repeated warnings & sent Mother & the girls to Australia’. The incoming Governor, Sir Mark Young, left his wife and daughter behind in England when he took up his post in September, and explained the reason in a radio broadcast. The luckiest man in Hong Kong that year was the departing Colonial Secretary, Norman Smith, who left on Sunday 7 December, the day before the Japanese attack; a less fortunate man was Franklin Gimson, who arrived that day to succeed him and was interned. The fate of many more was much worse.

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1096 Email from Janet Howell, Joe’s daughter-in-law, 4 March 2011. Joe had heard of the birth of his son, John, only a few days before the outbreak of the Pacific War. Marjory wrote to her mother on 26 June 1942 of Joe’s death. ‘We loved him dearly as a brother in the Lord, and shall and do miss him dreadfully.’ James Braga Papers.

1097 About a week before ‘the balloon went up’, Sir Vandeleur Grayburn told a senior member of his staff in the Hongkong Bank, T.J.J. Fenwick, ‘Fenwick, not to worry, I’ve just come down from Government House. The Governor and the General assure me that there is nothing to bother about. If anything happens, the Navy will be up from Singapore, and everything will be hunkey-dorey.’ F.H.H. King, The History of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, Volume III, The Hongkong Bank between the wars and the bank interned, 1919-1945: Return from Grandeur, p. 571.

1098 Paul Braga to James Braga, 22 October 1943. Paul kept a copy of the issue for 28 November 1936 of the English illustrated magazine The Sphere. It is an ‘Orient Number’, with articles on the public administration of ‘Britain’s Colonial Dependencies in the Far East’. The issue was dominated by a full-page coloured equestrian portrait of King Edward VIII, resplendent in the uniform of Colonel-in-Chief of the Household Guards. The article on each colony was accompanied by photographs of the Great and Powerful. Three weeks later, the king had fallen. In little more than another five years, so too had the territories celebrated in this triumphalist magazine, together with those whose images adorned its pages. Paul Braga papers.


1101 P. Gillingham, At the Peak, p. 174.
According to the authoritative list compiled for later editions of Colonel Evan Stewart’s *Hong Kong Volunteers in battle*, based on the post-war report of Major-General C.M. Maltby, General Officer Commanding British Troops in China, 2,114 Allied army and 59 naval personnel were killed or listed as missing, and 2,359 were wounded in the eighteen day battle for Hong Kong. Another 2,340 died in POW and internment camps. Far greater numbers of Chinese residents would be brutally killed or would die of starvation in the terrible years that followed.

Kowloon was abandoned by British forces and by the Hong Kong Police on 11 December, the fourth day of the conflict. The reality of defeat was a far cry from the

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1102 E. G. Stewart, *Hong Kong Volunteers in battle*, p. 64. However, T. Banham, *We shall suffer there*, p. 245, considered that 1,550 Allied soldiers were killed or listed as missing. This appears to exclude casualty figures for Indian Other Ranks, totalling 687. Major-General C.M. Maltby reported interim casualty figures totalling 2,093 killed and missing and 2,300 wounded. Major-General C.M. Maltby, ‘Operations in Hong Kong from 8th to 25th December 1941’, Supplement to the *London Gazette*, 29 January 1948, p. 725.

1103 T. Banham, *We shall suffer there*, p. 245.

1104 Paul Braga told of hundreds dying daily in the early months of 1942. Paul Braga to James Braga, 22 October 1943. On 12 December 1943, the Japanese English-language newspaper, the *Hongkong News* scolded the population for callously leaving dead bodies in the streets. One account circulating at the end of the war told of at least 50,000 executions, increased three-fold by rumour. T. Banham, *We shall suffer there*, p. 214.
propaganda. The previous day, 10 December, *The Times* had reported that attacking enemy parties were brought to an abrupt halt, while two days after the fall of Hong Kong on Christmas Day, the *Illustrated London News* carried a full-page relief map of ‘the Fortress of Hong Kong’. Both Tony and Paul told how they escaped the fate of many other members of the Hong Kong Volunteers. The story of Tony’s narrow escape from death begins with an account written by his brother Paul in 1943.

Tony returned from his regular annual Volunteer Camp on the eve [of the attack, Sunday 7 December]. That night at dinner at my place we heard on the radio that his unit was to mobilize next morning at 5.00 and in his usual optimistic spirit [he] left the house [before daylight] without saying good-bye to anyone.

Tony had written to James a year earlier. Writing during the war, with danger ever-present, he did not then tell his brother that his first reaction when he saw the bombs falling on Kai Tak was one of utter horror. He expected that few members of his family would survive the Japanese attack, fearing that they would suffer the same fate as the people of Nanking, where half the population was said to have been killed. In 1942 he kept that thought to himself, for that dreadful outcome was still a real possibility. He told James:

> When the bombs began to fall about 8 on Monday a.m., Dec. 8, we were all at home with the exception of this chap on the way to Red Cross post on the Island ... the whole defence scheme was an utter failure, due principally to incompetence and corruption in high places. I had hardly any food the four days I was out at my post, and only one set of splints and a few bandages in the whole place. We kept asking for more but couldn’t get them. On the fourth day [Thursday 11 December] my turn came for one day’s leave. Was just about to say good-bye to all the home folks up at the tunnel [Hugh’s air raid shelter] when Reggie came rushing in to say our troops were being driven down Nathan Road. I was thus cut off and stayed with the family, most fortunately, as most of the fellows in our sector were wiped out.'

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1108 Tony Braga to James Braga, 27 June 1942. James Braga Papers. Reggie is thought to be Reginaldo Emanuel dos Remédios (#592, Macanese Families website). Tony’s sector was at Stanley Gap, on the south side of the Island, the scene of heavy fighting on Christmas Day 1941. Tony revealed this, perhaps unintentionally, in an interview on 8 April with Beverley Howells of the *Morning South China Post* for an article published on 31 May 1987. Most of those who served there were indeed killed. Lieutenant-Colonel E.G. Stewart succinctly summarised the fighting there: ‘It was a fight to the finish; no quarter was given and the battle-crazed Japanese “fleshed their steel” on every
Paul added, ‘it was then out of the question for him to return and we quickly and quietly changed him into one of my suits’. His own account was briefer.

I was an officer in the Auxiliary Transport Service and received instructions at six o’clock on the morning of the out-break to set up the station in the fastest time ... Aud. [his wife Audrey] appeared shortly and I had to leave them to report for duty, - saying good-bye was certainly the hardest experience of my life up till then.\textsuperscript{1109}

He and another officer soon had the station going, but Paul later explained:

Almost from the outset it became evident that the A.T.S. was unable to give the required support to the fighting forces, owing to the strong “Fifth Columnist” activities from our own men.\textsuperscript{1110}

It was an early example of the desertion and acts of minor sabotage that would hamper the defence of Hong Kong in the next fortnight.\textsuperscript{1111} With the collapse of the British position in Kowloon on 11 December, Paul too was cut off. ‘Everything was over in Kowloon before we knew where we were’, he wrote.\textsuperscript{1112} His unit stranded, its personnel melted into the civilian population. In May 1970 he told Wendy Barnes, a radio journalist, that he too changed into civilian clothes. ‘What happened to your uniform?’ he was asked. ‘I buried it’, he replied.\textsuperscript{1113} He buried his British identity along with it. Some time later, a Japanese officer appeared at Paul’s house, 4 Braga Circuit. He had a little written English, and wrote neatly on the back cover of a copy of the August 1941 issue of Good Housekeeping a demand that Paul hand over his house: ‘Japan great soldier come here tomorrow morning sleeping this house from there ago house.’ This message appears to mean: ‘The soldiers of Great Japan will come here tomorrow morning and will be sleeping in this house. [You
will] go from the house.’ Paul wrote in reply. ‘This one Portuguese house’.\footnote{He kept the page as a relic of this critical moment. Paul Braga papers.} This ploy was initially successful, but he came to realise that they all had to get out.

The Braga family, economic refugees from impoverished Macau soon after 1841, had in the following century become British to the bootstraps. When Kowloon was hastily abandoned by the British Army they suddenly discovered that they were still Portuguese after all. Now they really were refugees, and in a desperate plight.
Chapter 12
‘This terrible nightmare’
The Japanese Occupation, 1941-1945

Thank God for protecting you all and for bringing us through this terrible nightmare\textsuperscript{1115}

1. ‘We could not tell what was next to happen to us’

In 1900, one Joseph was forced into exile by his jealous relatives. Between 1942 and 1945, his son, another Joseph, again like the Biblical patriarch, saved almost his entire family from starvation in a time of great tribulation. Without José Maria (Jack) Braga, it is doubtful that they would have survived the war. Jack’s role in the Braga family was crucial in the hard years of the Japanese Occupation of Hong Kong. Soon after the war ended, his sister Caroline would write, ‘if ever there was one who deserves highest honours it is Jack’.\textsuperscript{1116}

Roosevelt’s ‘day that will live in infamy’ was Sunday 7 December. For Hong Kong, on the other side of the International Date Line, that day was Monday 8 December. It is outside the scope of this thesis to discuss the Japanese invasion and subsequent occupation, which have produced an extensive literature.\textsuperscript{1117} A few personal accounts of escape were published during the war or soon afterwards.\textsuperscript{1118} A little later came the official accounts of the Governor and the GOC.\textsuperscript{1119} There has been a

\textsuperscript{1115} Maude Franks to Olive Braga, 31 August 1945, James Braga Papers.
\textsuperscript{1116} Caroline Braga to James Braga, 21 October 1945, James Braga Papers.
\textsuperscript{1117} T. Banham, \textit{We shall suffer there}. pp. 327-328, gives a comprehensive list of 42 books published up to 2005. Henry Ching’s column, ‘A Bird’s Eye View’, in the \textit{South China Morning Post} observed on 8 September 1945 that ‘to judge from the number of people who are going to write ‘em, books on Hong Kong will be two a penny’. In the event, very few did. Those consulted are mentioned in the following five footnotes.
\textsuperscript{1119} Sir Mark Young, ‘Events in Hong Kong on 25th December 1941’, Special Supplement to the \textit{Hong Kong Government Gazette}, 2 July 1948; Major-General C.M. Maltby, ‘Operations in Hong Kong from 8 to 25 December 1941’, Supplement to \textit{London Gazette}, 27 January 1948.
steady flow of memoirs since then.\textsuperscript{1120} There followed several histories of the battle itself.\textsuperscript{1121} Over the years, other general accounts followed.\textsuperscript{1122} In recent years, active interest has been taken in the experience of Hong Kong in the war years.\textsuperscript{1123} Contribution to the Portuguese story has been slight until recently.\textsuperscript{1124} All accounts convey the terror and the confusion of the battle and the early days of surrender.

During the fighting there were occasional glimpses of the old life that was about to be snuffed out. Let two of them suffice. As the battle drew closer to the Central District, many people hid in basements from the shelling and air raids as the Japanese tightened their grip. Sheltering in the basement of the Chartered Bank were the families of the Bank’s ten English and twenty Portuguese staff. One of the firm’s executives, G.A. Leiper, came down. To his astonishment, the Portuguese children were singing Christmas carols. It was Christmas Eve, and this was the only tiny oasis of peace on what was anything but a silent night. Leiper found it most touching. ‘During the past fortnight I had witnessed many tragic sights, but nothing which I had seen or heard exceeded in sheer poignancy the sound of these childish voices.’\textsuperscript{1125}


\textsuperscript{1125} G.A. Leiper, \textit{A Yen for my thoughts}, p. 88. The Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China was one of the three note-issuing banks in Hong Kong, the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation being the largest.
The Union Jack came down at 3.25 p.m. at Government House next day and the white flag of surrender was raised over Hong Kong.\(^{1126}\) It was the only time that a British Crown Colony had been surrendered by a civil governor to one of His Majesty’s enemies. That evening, a large crowd of British women and children were gathered in the basement of Lane Crawford’s, Hong Kong’s major department store, when the General Manager came down to announce the surrender. There were screams of dismay and horror, for these women knew what had happened in Nanking. He invited people to help themselves to whatever they wanted. ‘It all belongs to the Japanese now’, he said. They ignored all the expensive luxuries, and selected only a few essentials.\(^{1127}\)

Within a few days, the British civilian population was rounded up and for the next three weeks crammed into filthy brothels and hotels in the Wanchai and Sheung Wan districts, for which they were presented with a bill for $9,000.\(^{1128}\) They were eventually taken to Stanley on the southern side of the Island. Here, more than 2,500 people were crowded into the premises of a boys’ school designed to accommodate 500. They included Maude and her husband Eric, who had been employed as a warder in the gaol next to the school.\(^{1129}\) During the next few days prisoners of war were taken from Hong Kong Island and marched off to camps in Kowloon. Paul Braga, his uniform safely buried, was bewildered to see them smiling and whistling as they went.\(^{1130}\) He wrote that a rumour had got about that Churchill had promised the recapture of Hong Kong within three months.\(^{1131}\)

\(^{1126}\) G.E. Baxter, *Personal experiences during the siege of Hong Kong*, pp. 15-16. No photographs are known of what must have been a dreadful sight.

\(^{1127}\) Interview with Gloria da Sousa, Macau, April 1999. Mass rape is well-known to be a means of terrorising a civilian population; it has been reckoned that 10,000 women, including many British women, were raped in Hong Kong during and after the fighting. Li Shu-fan, *Hong Kong Surgeon*, p. 111, cited by P. Snow, *The fall of Hong Kong*, p. 81.

\(^{1128}\) M.F. Key, *Hong Kong before, during and after the Pacific War, being chiefly an account of the Stanley Internment Camp*, p. 4. Key, a leading figure in the business community, was Secretary of the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce.

\(^{1129}\) Eric had briefly been in the Volunteers, as the European prison staff at Stanley gaol had been incorporated into the HKVDC and formed up to fight in military uniform. When Hong Kong surrendered, they changed back into prison officers’ uniform and so were interned at Stanley Camp rather than becoming POWs at Shamshuipo (G. Wright-Nooth, *op. cit.*, p. 62). Eric’s membership of the Volunteers, though brief, placed him in greater peril when the Japanese rounded up internees accused of illegal activities. (Maude Franks, his wife, to James Braga, 12 February 1946. James Braga Papers).

\(^{1130}\) Paul Braga to James Braga, 22 October 1943. Paul Braga papers.

\(^{1131}\) The basis of this was not a rumoured broadcast by Churchill, but an over-optimistic communication from General Maltby, the commander of British forces. His report in 1948 included the following: ‘Admiral Chan reported that General Yu Han Mou had wirelessed that 60,000 troops were at Sham Chun on the frontier and were about to attack. The following message was issued to all
That was the first of many myths – Australians would call them ‘furphies’ – that either sustained or disheartened people as the Occupation dragged on for year after year. ‘How long dead?’ began Henry Ching’s editorial in the *South China Morning Post* on 1 September 1945, the first regular issue after liberation. The answer was not three months, but three years, eight months and six days. It is rightly celebrated in newspaper history as one of the finest editorials ever written. It was certainly the most heart-felt.1132 Many would indeed die inside and outside camps and for the whole population those years would be a grim struggle for survival as the incoming Japanese administration was unable to maintain any essential service except, mercifully, the water supply. On the Island that too was cut off in the last days of the fighting, but in Kowloon it had been cut off since 11 December. Paul wrote:

> We had no water for the fifteen days that the island was under siege (there was a single bathtub full only from which each person was allowed a mug-full daily), and the food question was getting desperate with our canned supplies running short, there was a

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1132 It was reprinted in the *Post* on 3 April 1968, on the occasion of his death, and again reprinted in the paper’s 80th anniversary history. R. Hutcheon, *SCMP, the first eighty years*, p. 99.
feeling of gloom and hopelessness ... our feelings sunk lower with the days – none of us ventured to leave the house and we could not tell what was next to happen to us. Then, about the third or second-last day of the year, three Portuguese lads came up from Frank Soares’ house (he was acting Portuguese Consul and turned his house into the Consulate). They had Portuguese flags tied around their arms and little flags on the lapels of their coats – they were 100% Third Nationals. They told us they were able to creep about like this by slipping down side-roads and avoiding the Japs as much as possible, and when accosted, pointed to the flag of a neutral country – their fatherland, this gave us courage to go out so the girls got out some green, red and yellow bits of cloth and sewed most excellent Portuguese flags. (We had become “Our People” indeed!).1133

It must have been the first time that any of the Bragas other than the patriarch, J.P. Braga, had thought in terms of the Portuguese phrase Nossa Gente, ‘Our People’, indicating a proud cultural and patriotic identity with the great discoverers, conquerors and empire-builders four centuries earlier. The Macanese people had often known tribulation; they were to know it again in full measure. Many others shared the Bragas’ apprehension. Two were Francis Ozorio and his brother Charles, boys of eleven and eight, who cowered at the roadside as the Japanese troops marched past. ‘We were bloody terrified.’ Their heads bowed low, they were amazed to see that these soldiers who had defeated the British Army were shod with cheap shoes with canvas uppers.1134 Their lack of good equipment had not stood in the way of a victory that brought Hong Kong to its knees.

Francisco (‘Frank’) Soares had already grasped the situation firmly, and realised that the broadest possible definition would have to be given to Nossa Gente. In practical terms, this meant the granting of Portuguese citizenship to hundreds of people who had hitherto claimed to be British. This would enable them to obtain Third National [i.e. neutral countries] passes from the Japanese authorities.1135 This later created much criticism, it being said that he granted papers to people whose only claim to have anything Portuguese in them lay in that they had eaten Portuguese sardines, [and who] clamoured for Portuguese Identity Cards. Others of Portuguese descent, and who

1133 Paul Braga to James Braga, 22 October 1943. Paul Braga papers.
1134 Francis Ozorio, to this writer, October 2001. Francisco Ozorio, #30290 and Charles Ozorio, #30312.
1135 Very few of these have survived. One belonged to Jean Braga, who remained in Hong Kong throughout the war. It is in the writer’s possession. It can be imagined with what glee all the others were torn to pieces at the end of the war.
had previously been at pains to conceal their origin, now openly wore arm-bands bearing the Portuguese colours. All of them sought refuge in Macao.  

Without doubt this action saved lives; Soares was Hong Kong’s Schindler. He issued some 600 certificates of Portuguese nationality. The grateful recipients included seventeen members of the Braga family. His grandson, Bosco Correa, explained what occurred.

When the Japanese attacked Hong Kong on 8 December 1941 my grandfather, then 74 years of age, was the Acting Consul for Portugal. He decided to move the Consulate from the Bank of East Asia Building in Des Voeux Road, Central, to his home in Homantin. When Kowloon was abandoned a few days later by the British forces who fell back to Hong Kong Island, looters took over Kowloon and he opened his home and gave refuge to some 400 refugees, mainly Portuguese residents from Homantin and Kowloon Tong.

The logistics to shelter and feed so many people when all utilities such as water, power, gas and telephone were cut off due to the hostilities were immense. Just imagine cooking for so many people and arranging their washing and sanitary needs. Not only was he able to organise all this; he also got all the able-bodied Portuguese residents together and set up street guards to fight off marauding looters, some of whom had to be shot and killed.

The Portuguese community was in some ways even worse off than the British, who were at least given scanty rations by their captors. Portuguese civilians were not. Those paid weekly would have received their last pay on Saturday 6 December; those paid monthly, at the end of November. Poorly paid clerks living a hand-to-mouth existence were in dire straits, and there was real distress, though not on the scale of the afflicted Chinese working class. Within six months, according to Tony, ‘about half the population have returned to the country. Poor Chinese are dying of

1136 L. d’Almada e Castro, ‘Some notes on the Portuguese in Hong Kong’, Address at Club Lusitano, Hong Kong (Instituto Portugues de Hong Kong, Boletim, no. 2, September 1949, p. 274). D’Almada had no reason to criticise Soares. He was a member of the Hong Kong Legislative Council and a solicitor of the Supreme Court of Hong Kong. In both capacities he had sworn an oath of loyalty to His Majesty the King. He studied law in Britain, travelling on a British passport. He was one of the Portuguese majority to flee to Macau, travelling with Portuguese papers issued by Soares.


1138 The seventeen were J.P. Braga, his wife Olive, Jean, Noel, his wife Marjory and their two children, John, his wife Louie and their baby daughter, Paul, his wife Audrey and their two children, Tony, Caroline and Mary. All of them eventually went to Macau except Jean.

1139 B. Correa’s reminiscences, quoted by A.M. Jorge da Silva, The Portuguese community in Hong Kong, a pictorial history, vol. 1, p. 32.
starvation by the hundreds every day’. Following the systematic plunder of Hong Kong’s godowns, with supplies sent to Japan by the shipload, there was soon little food left. James Braga obtained a letter from William Vallesuk, Chief Radio Engineer of China Electric Co. Ltd, describing the harrowing situation.

Never, as long as I live, will I forget the scenes of horror, of inhuman suffering, that I have witnessed. People dying by hundreds in the streets; mothers – themselves on the doorsteps of death – wailing over corpses of their infants; the picture of a child of six beheaded in the middle of the street – bullets are too precious to waste – for snatching a handful of rice from a military canteen; women and old men slowly tortured – until they begged for death – for forgetting to bow to a sentry. To a man accustomed to a normal, routine mode of living, these things will sound incredible, unbelievable – yet they happened, and what’s more, I’ve seen them happen with my own eyes.

The Macau government quickly came to appreciate the grave situation of ‘nossa gente’ in Hong Kong. A trickle of refugees began as early as 10 December, the third day of fighting. After the surrender it became a flood. Within six weeks of the surrender, arrangements were made for a ship-load of refugees to go to Macau in M.V. Shirogame Maru. These were people without work or resources. The banks were closed in any case for all except an occasional day when the occupying authority permitted it. They arrived in Macau on 8 February 1942 destitute and starving. There was another shipload of 616 on 20 April and a steady flow for the next three years. It has been estimated that more than 90% of the Portuguese population of Hong Kong eventually sought refuge in Macau. Roy Xavier has estimated that up to 30,000 Macanese refugees fled to Macau. However, this

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1141 James Braga Papers. Written in the Embassy of the USSR, Chungking, 9 September 1943.
1142 In the motor trawler Perda. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/7.4/4.
1143 A figure given by Jack Braga in a chronology of events from 1941 to 1945. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/7.4/4. This figure appears to have been written at the time. R. Pinto, writing in 1996, claimed that 1,203 Portuguese refugees had fled Hong Kong in August 1941, followed by 950 people on 6 January 1942 and another 450 the next day. R. Pinto, ‘War in peace’, Macau, No. 96, p. 90.
1144 By Bosco Correa, one of those who stayed. Interview, 21 June 2010.
1145 R. E. Xavier, ‘World War 11 as a “Defining moment” ’, pp. 6 and 8, an article on his website, http://www.fareastcurrents.com, accessed 26 August 2012. Xavier sought to support his figure thus: ‘A more precise number is not available due to the lack of definitive census data during the war years. The number of Portuguese/Macanese refugees may be extrapolated from several sources, including F. Welsh’s estimates in, A Borrowed place: the history of Hong Kong, p. 437, “The Population of Hong Kong”, p. 2, 1974, University of Hong Kong, and "AR 1939", p. M18, a report on Hong Kong's medical and sanitary conditions written in 1939. My estimate includes Macanese from Hong Kong, Canton, Shanghai, Manila, and Timor. The total number of refugees in Macau is estimated by Joachim Groder, a researcher at the University of Salzburg, Austria, at about 1 million, as noted in Melina Dawn Cannon's Master’s Thesis, ‘Experience, Memory, and the Construction of the Past:
figure seems grossly exaggerated, the Portuguese population of Hong Kong being ca. 10,000 in 1940. The only people who stayed were trying to protect their property.

In Hong Kong, the dwindling Portuguese community established a Portuguese Residents’ Association. Bosco Correa, among the few who lived in Hong Kong throughout the Japanese Occupation, described its role:

Its purpose was to assist in the distribution of bread, rice and sugar supplied by the Japanese to the Portuguese community. The Association had various zonal centres: three in Kowloon and one on Hong Kong Island. Its committee was made up of the leaders of the various local Portuguese clubs and associations ... We of course had to pay for all our rations! These PRA centres lasted for about a year or so. With the vast evacuation of the Portuguese community to Macau the Japanese ceased their rations to us and instead issued us with ration cards for us to line up for hours at a public distribution centre in the northern end of Cumberland Road in Kowloon Tong for rice rations only.

In June 1942, Noel’s wife Marjory confirmed this, writing that ‘we are allowed a ration of bread daily from the Portuguese centre, but we expect this to cease at any moment’.

The Braga family took stock of the situation. Jack sent clandestine messages from Macau via a Japanese vessel begging them to come across, but they demurred, gradually going back home instead. Paul’s house, close to the Argentine Consul’s ‘fortress’, had escaped looting, and he returned, with his father. Initially, J.P. Braga thought he could do something to assist in helping the employees of the companies of which he had been a director, but reluctantly came to realise that he had no influence whatever in what the Japanese called ‘the New Hong Kong’. When electricity was restored – it would eventually cease altogether – he spent hours glued to the radio. Paul tuned it to San Francisco, ‘as the announcers were so full of...”

Remembering Macau 1941-1945, August 2001, University of British Columbia. No refugee statistics for the period 1941 to 1945 were kept by the Macau government’. Xavier was a Visiting Scholar for 2012-2013 in the Institute for the Study of Societal Issues, University of California, Berkeley.

1146 See Appendix 2.


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enthusiasm that you thought the war almost over.'1150 His father became seriously ill after the fall of Singapore on 15 February, but recovered, particularly after Doolittle’s air raid on Tokyo on 18 April 1942. No-one would admit that this was a mere gesture, and that major bombing would not begin for another year. He remained in Hong Kong with Paul until Jack’s entreaties became irresistible some months later.

Olive had refused to go to the air raid tunnel during the fighting, perilously remaining on the upper floor of Paul’s house, even though Hugh’s house, only seven doors away, was badly damaged by British shelling. Family members took turns to stay with her, at the risk of their lives. At the end of the war, Olive remembered it all in vivid detail.

I stayed in Paul’s house, with Rollo, Paul’s dog, shivering under my knees while the shells exploded close to us. Then the looters came in a mob. They smashed the windows of the front door, but God gave me a great deliverance, for the British forts began shelling again and drove them away.1151

Once the fighting ended, she just as stubbornly insisted on returning to her home at Knutsford Terrace. It so happened that one of the tenants of No. 10 Knutsford Terrace before the war had been a friendly Japanese officer. Only Japanese officers now had cars, and he took Olive, Caroline and Mary home by car. She and her husband would never live under the same roof again. The separation, effectively begun at least 25 years earlier when Chappie died, at last became actual. Tony, Noel and Marjory returned on foot. Jean had remained at Knutsford Terrace during the frenzy of looting, with Theo Ingram. Tony – unable to mention Ingram by name – reported:

At home [Knutsford Terrace], Jean with that big fellow, the dogs and the neighbours, chased off the looters and we lost nothing to speak of. After Hong Kong surrendered he gave himself up and was interned.1152

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1150 This was a world-wide phenomenon. Ed Murrow, the American broadcaster, said of Britain in 1940 that ‘there never was so much radio listening’. People would stop and listen to every news broadcast.

1151 Olive Braga to Hugh Braga, 10 September 1945. James Braga Papers. Some time later, as order was restored, gangs of looters were strung up to chain link fences on Kadoorie Avenue, beaten and left to die. T. Banham, op. cit., p. 39.

This card was written on 22 June 1943. It did not pass through the post office in Macau until 4 May the next year.

Olive’s version of it was that Ingram was hiding in the basement.\textsuperscript{1153} For a time, a semblance of normality returned to this quiet back street, though no-one had any work or income. Economic activity had all but ceased and with the exception of

\textsuperscript{1153} Olive Braga to James Braga, undated, but late 1942.
limited retail trading, remained in a state of collapse throughout the Occupation. Unable to face the reality of defeat, the Bragas of Knutsford Terrace clung to what they knew – home, furniture, music and each other’s emotional support. Tony, absurdly optimistic, also clung to the notion of an early British return, telling everyone that the war would end any day now. As they sold possessions on the limited black market to stay alive, and as the price of what little food there was soared, their standard of living and therefore their health deteriorated sharply. Tony wrote that they had only one servant and therefore all had to do some housework, a novel experience for all of them except Marjory.1154 The ‘PBs’ were naturally averse to going to Catholic Macau. It was a last resort, and Marjory, for one, was determined to put off the evil day for as long as possible. She told her mother that ‘we have been allowed to draw most of our money from the bank and this has kept us going ... after that we shall be cast on the Lord and it may necessitate us going to Macao, but we wait on Him for guidance in this matter. We live on rice and vegetables, as meat is prohibitive.’1155

Maude and her husband Eric Franks had no decisions to make as to where they would live. Early arrivals at Stanley Camp, they were allocated to kitchen duties, retaining this role for the duration of the war.1156 Like all internees, they suffered from lack of food, lack of news and lack of privacy, the three things that above all other forms of deprivation people found hard to endure. There was always the fear of atrocity. The execution at Stanley on 29 October 1943 of thirty-two internees for listening to a clandestine radio was the worst instance of their captors’ harshness and
cruelty.\textsuperscript{1157} Eric was lucky to escape with his life. Maude kept the story to herself until they were back in Britain.

Although hungry most of the time, we were unmolested, and we had a room (although terribly small) to ourselves. On occasions when others in the camp were punished, and we might have been, we were left alone. On one occasion when the Japs were looking for arms which the men had hidden when they first arrived in the camp, we felt sure that Eric would be called, because he had buried a number of rifles and ammunition. I called on Miss Wilson [a missionary friend] and together we prayed and Eric’s name was not even mentioned, and yet another man who knew what Eric had done because he had been with him at the time, was taken up by the Japs and executed.\textsuperscript{1158}

Maude was able on one occasion early in their captivity to smuggle out a small pencilled note to her family, perhaps between June 1942 and mid-1943. The bearer ran a grave risk of discovery. Amazingly, while visiting Stanley in January 1946 with her brother Hugh, Caroline met this brave person. She was a Chinese guard, and she had indeed been caught with some-one else’s note, and had been tortured by her Japanese superiors.\textsuperscript{1159} Maude wrote:

Dearest home folk –

Thank you very much for parcel & letter from Marj [Marjory]. Have replied officially but only limited to 50 words which explains brevity. Do not know the conditions outside, but would it be better for you to go to Macao? Perhaps mother’s condition prevents move. If you do go please let us know. The money we sent came from Socony [the Standard Vacuum Oil Co, installation at Laichikok] before the Americans left for America and I felt that your need was greater than ours. We are fairly well fed. Eric’s bread is really 1\textsuperscript{st} class – he intends to go in for a bakery when we get out of here.

Glad to know you are all alright, but I guess it is difficult to get proper food. This is hurried so please excuse scribble.

Much dear love to each one. We pray that you will be kept safe and well.

\textsuperscript{1157} T. Banham, \textit{We shall suffer there}, pp. 126, 136-138. Charles Boxer narrowly escaped their fate. After the war he could not bear to hear the sound of a radio. D. Alden, J.S. Cummins and M. Cooper, \textit{Charles R. Boxer: an uncommon life: soldier, historian, teacher, collector, traveller}, p. 226.\textsuperscript{1158} Maude Franks to James Braga, 12 February 1946, written at Camberwell, London. James Braga Papers. It has proved difficult to verify this account. T. Banham, \textit{We shall suffer there}, provides lists of deaths at Stanley: 1942, p. 105; 1943, p. 151; 1944, pp. 184-185; 1945, pp. 240-241. The unnamed witness to Eric’s action could be one of several named in these lists. It is unlikely that Maude was referring to the executions on 29 October 1943.\textsuperscript{1159} Caroline Braga to James Braga, 7 January 1946. James Braga Papers.
In the next few years, Maude was able to write occasional cards, clearly printed so that Japanese censors could read them. There were occasional bright spots in the tension and deprivation of Hong Kong. John wrote to his mother-in-law in Edinburgh:

Somehow, from the most unexpected sources, help would come when we most needed it, often in the very nick of time ... Some of the Jap soldiers were most kind and I hope it will be possible for me to repay them some day. I think of Naoji Mori, just a common soldier, who came almost daily for some weeks with food, especially for Rosemary; he it was who several times drove away very evil men.\footnote{John Braga to Mrs Ashton, Edinburgh [Louie’s mother], 23 February 1943. James Braga Papers.}

Gradually, they gave way to the inevitable. The first to go to Macau was John’s wife Louie with her baby Rosemary. A highly intelligent medical student, she knew better than anyone else the corrosive effects of slow starvation, especially on infants. She was on the Portuguese refugee ship on 20 April. Her husband John stayed a little longer. J.P. Braga still hoped to make a contribution to what the Japanese called ‘the new Hongkong’.\footnote{A term frequently used in the Hongkong News, the English-language newspaper published by the Japanese authorities between early 1942 and August 1945.} Tony told Francisco Monteiro, a friend who besought the Braga family to come to Macau:

Father considers that he should remain here as long as possible, because as a director of several companies in Hong Kong in which large numbers of Portuguese were employed, he may be of some service to the authorities and possibly to members of the Portuguese community if questions should arise having to do with the companies with which he was connected which would require his personal attendance.\footnote{Tony Braga to F.X. Monteiro. 16 February 1942. J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/8.1/12.}

It took several more months before J.P. Braga could accept that all that he had sought to achieve in Hong Kong had been destroyed. In March he was still grasping at straws. He told Monteiro:

\footnote{Maude Franks to Braga family, n.d. Few notes can have been smuggled out of Stanley; still fewer can have survived to the present day. James Braga Papers. Americans were repatriated in a prisoner exchange in June 1942. G.E. Baxter, Personal Experiences during the siege of Hong Kong, pp.42-48.}
Our resources are running low and the future is rather worrying … let us trust in a kind Providence to see us through the present difficult times.\textsuperscript{1164}

He did not leave until 1 June, travelling on Portuguese National Pass No. 3639 to Macau where he lived with Jack at 6 Rua de S. António.\textsuperscript{1165} He was accompanied by John. Paul, Audrey and their two children followed a few weeks later. Noel’s knowledge of Japanese was a great asset to him, as he was able to go to places where none of the others dared. He made five trips to Macau during 1942 before eventually taking his family across at the end of January 1943.\textsuperscript{1166}

Thus in the first year after the Japanese Occupation began, all the married men left Hong Kong and went to Macau. It seems astonishing that it took so long for this to happen, but their mind-set of negativity towards Macau cannot be overlooked. For Macau to be seen as a haven, as a destination of choice, was a completely new idea, and one that they could grasp only with difficulty. Still more was this true of Olive’s thinking, even after five of her married sons were established there and pleading with her to come over. Her years of loneliness and misery in Macau from 1900 to 1906 were still a heavy memory.

2. ‘Please remember the family in your prayers in these dark days’

It is a truism that war brings out the best and the worst in people. This was indeed the case in the Braga family. The grave crisis brought out the best in Jack and Augusta who shouldered a great burden as by slow degrees, all the Hong Kong Bragas except Jean arrived, destitute, on their doorstep. They were kind, hospitable and caring. It brought out the best in Marjory and Noel as well. Augusta was a very devout Catholic, Marjory an equally devout Protestant. While far apart in religious adherence, they were closely united in Christian attitudes. Both were self-sacrificing and always looking for ways of serving others.

\textsuperscript{1164} J.P. Braga to F.X. Monteiro. 10 March 1942. J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/13.1/12.
\textsuperscript{1165} J.P. Braga to Tony Braga, 26 September 1942. Paul Braga Papers. An earlier letter indicated a different Pass Number: 7611. Presumably a new pass was required to permit travel. J.P. Braga to F.X. Monteiro, 10 April 1942. J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/8.1/12.
\textsuperscript{1166} Notes by Paul Braga, 22 October 1943. Paul Braga Papers. On one of these Noel was able to take his piano, without which his mother refused to go. It had a secret drawer, and in this he hid the share register of China Light, rightly considering it the most essential of the company’s records. Marjory Braga interview, May 1996. The piano remained in her possession in London until shortly before her death in 2005.
Noel and Marjory lived up to the reputation they had earned in many years of Christian discipleship at the Gospel Hall. Paul wrote of them appreciatively. During the fighting, Noel, ‘as might be expected, was the “willing horse” during and after war [8-25 December] and was general peace-maker. Marji came through in a marvellous way – shouldered most of the heavy kitchen work’. Noel’s efforts in 1943 to get his mother and three sisters still in Hong Kong to join them in Macau met with frustration. Paul, who saw what was happening, wrote of Noel’s attempt with a mixture of admiration and concern.

Much against Marji’s wishes and pleadings [Noel] made final trip to Hong Kong to fetch Mother and Mary who were to have been ready to leave. They were not, so he had to wait around for weeks during which time he got dysentery, then developed into colitis – very nearly died. Marji was frantic as British Consul was at the time warning refugees to get their relatives to come without delay – emphasised was of vital importance. Cables and letters were sent and at last she decided on something on these lines “Marji seriously ill further delay may be too late”. Noel had to be carried onto the ship, and at the wharf in Macao we understood why he couldn’t get away. Was down to 96 lbs [i.e. 43.5 kg. He had been 135 lbs or 61 kg] and looked not much better than the Chinese destitute dying in the streets of Hong Kong and Macao. Marji agreed with us all that had he stayed on in Hong Kong we would never have seen him again. He said the food the family was eating would not have been good enough for our dogs before the war and it surprised him that they were so anxious to hold onto their belongings in Hong Kong at the expense of their lives – especially when they knew living conditions in Macao were as near normal as could be expected. ... He was in a very serious condition – required a transfusion, and the doctor did not know how to treat him.1167

Olive, Jean, Tony, Caroline and Mary remained at Knutsford Terrace. All Olive would say is that ‘everyone’s nerves are in a tangle and the strain, hardship and fear has aged all, and all are like shadows. My eyes and ears are failing’.1168 Stupefaction had set in. Paul had strong words in assessing the role played by Tony, when instead of being decisive and dynamic he was inert and supine.

From being the most optimistic person, [Tony] became the greatest pessimist after surrender. When he regained his optimism after news of Midway and Solomon battles, he allowed optimism to develop

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1167 A note hastily scribbled by Paul on 22 October 1943 about Noel and Marjory included in a letter he was typing for James. He had to stop typing as the plane was about to leave Chungking. James Braga Papers.
1168 Olive Braga to James Braga, late 1942, James Braga Papers
into a violent form of stubbornness. He of all persons should have left Hong Kong because of his service in the Volunteers (several volunteers were discovered by Japs and were punished before being interned). He has a fixed idea that he should “see the war through” in Hong Kong and that those who stay on will have “preference” with all the best jobs in the “Post-War” re-building plans. Makes any number of sacrifices – if anything he gave way to the girls and Mother too much for their own good – he knew all along it was best for them in Macao and it was in his power to make them go. This has affected everyone in a very marked way, and if he could only have been persuaded to visit Macao he would have changed his view. Regarded Jack’s and British Consul’s warnings as “alarms” – such a great pity. 1169

It is at once evident where some of the problems lay in a fraught situation. Tony, a keen reader of Dickens, emulated one of his favourite characters, Mr Micawber, well-meaning, but forever waiting for something to turn up. 1170 Olive was self-centred, dominating, manipulative, relentlessly obstinate and caught up in a mystical dream world that she took to be the Will of God. Jean and Caroline were determined to stay if there was any chance that they could take food parcels to their sweethearts Theo and Norman. Mary always did as she was told. Tony told Monteiro:

As regards Mother, we feel that it would be dangerous for her to make the trip during the cold weather because when she is out of doors she feels the slightest wind during the cooler months very keenly. If it should become advisable for her to go in the summer, Mary will accompany her. Mary is very devoted to Mother, who relies greatly on her. 1171

Meanwhile, in Macau. Audrey’s flamboyance got the better of her, and she enraged those she had to deal with on a daily basis. 1172 As in Stanley Camp, the overcrowding, the lack of privacy and the uncertainty of the situation tended to blow things out of proportion, and a small irritation could become a major quarrel because

1169 Notes by Paul Braga, 22 October 1943. Paul Braga Papers. In the second of these notes, about Tony, written in evident haste, Paul omitted most prepositions, which have been supplied here.
1170 He gave Noel a copy of David Copperfield for Christmas 1924. Noel Braga Diary, 23 December 1924. To the present writer he wrote on 20 March 1991, ‘I have been renewing one of the chief pleasures of my boyhood years by reading again all the works of Charles Dickens’.
1172 John Braga to Olive Braga, 2 November 1942. In making copies in 1946 to send around the family, James wisely softened the most searing comments. He wrote ‘Audrey [Paul’s wife] has a genius for making enemies for herself’, but in the original letter Audrey was described in far more scathing terms. ‘Audrey is clever; and so is the devil – both have a genius for making enemies of themselves. While I think of her as a living Jezebel, she has already infuriated Clement into calling her something not very different’.

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there was no getting away from each other. All were hungry. The few letters that reached relatives in the USA or Britain never mentioned this. It would distress them needlessly, and they were powerless to help. Marjory was, as ever, a calming influence. Well might Paul conclude his letter to Hugh in Australia, ‘please remember the family in your prayers in these dark days’. Eventually, Caroline did go to Macau in May 1943, perhaps seeing what a physical wreck Noel had become, and no longer able to send anything to Norman. Olive at last went to Macau in August 1943. Mary dutifully followed. They lived at 7 Rua Tanque dos Mainatos with Noel, who had made so many perilous journeys the year before, taking her books, papers and an array of medicines in preparation for the long-delayed event. When she arrived she was able to play the piano Noel had earlier brought over. Shutting out the harsh reality of Hong Kong under enemy occupation, Olive had retreated into a strange little world of her own, her children subservient to her every whim. Caroline told her brother James:

All the tonics and medicines you stocked up before you left Hong Kong [for the USA in 1940] were passed by the Japanese when we came over and have been made use of. In bringing them over we had no trouble at all with the searchers. I think the Japanese were very fed up in examining so many odds and ends wrapped up in such a curious way with odd names that Mother gave them, which they could not understand: for instance, Mother gave salt the name of Muppin; brandy she poured into a dark-brown bottle which used to hold hydrogen peroxide and many other jokes she played on the old Jap.

Caroline had her own way of coping with ‘the old Jap’. All people had to bow low to every Japanese soldier, but Caroline told this writer that she would do no such thing. However, she felt the need, whenever she saw one, to stoop to adjust a safety pin on her dress.

Tony remained for another year, endlessly procrastinating and falling ill with one malnutrition-related problem after another. Jean wrote that ‘it has been ... most

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1173 T. Banham, We shall suffer there, p. 21; C. Chu, ‘Stanley Internment Camp, in C. Chu (ed.), Foreign Communities in Hong Kong, 1840s-1950s, p. 142. After the war, John told one of Jean’s pupils that he had been so hungry he used to play the violin in the street to get money (‘Post-war I met up with one of the brothers - John, a talented violinist. He told us that when in Macao during the war, he was so hungry he used to play the violin in the street to get money.’ Barbara Anslow, entry in the website ‘hongkongwardiary’, 4 December 2010).
1174 Paul Braga to Hugh Braga, 1 November 1943. Paul Braga Papers.
Jean Braga's
Third National Pass,
issued by the
Japanese authorities.

Stuart Braga collection

Jean was pleased to be alone, free at last of her mother’s constant presence and insistent demands. Her mother wrote to say that it broke her up to think of Jean

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1177 A series of postcards, 6 January, 7 March and 7 April 1944. A letter from Tony Braga to the Macau Tribune, 23 August 1944, mentioned that he had been in Macau for two months. James Braga Papers.
living on in the big family home. Jean replied with a blast. ‘Why should you worry on my account, when I do not?’ The obvious reason for staying in Hong Kong was that ‘I can’t bear to see these houses ruthlessly looted.’ However, there was far more to it than that. She had discovered independence.

About “peace” – this is attained when one can go ahead doing one’s best without hindrances. Up till now, I have enjoyed a quiet and peace that electricity & water & other comforts cannot give. Here I rise with the dawn, finish my housework before 10 am, & can go about my business without upsetting the habits & time tables of others & their feelings too. This year my health has never been so good, because thinking and acting for myself have made me strong. Food has never tasted so good, because my appetite has never been so keen. Work has never been so pleasant, because there has never been anyone to find fault. Sleep has never been so sound, because I have never been so tired. Real friends have never been so loyal, because they have been tried and not found wanting. Pleasures like playing on the grand piano & gardening have never been so enjoyable, because I can now spare the time for them. My music upsets no-one’s nerves and even singing (or is it screeching?) is music to me & who else cares? 1178

It was the clearest of statements that Jean was determined never again to be under her mother’s powerful thumb. In fact she too knew real hardship right through the war, holding the fort at Knutsford Terrace. She had a few pupils still, but survived thanks to a huge mulberry tree that stood in the grounds. She discovered that the Japanese had a liking for mulberries, and sold the fruit to them. 1179 The proceeds of that and of keeping rabbits kept her going – just.

Jean’s youngest brother Paul also determined to follow an independent path. Like Jean, he did not see a future in Macau, though for entirely different reasons. Once in Macau in mid-1942, Paul had his own house, close to Jack and almost a mile from Clement, John and Noel. Unlike his brothers, who had always been employees, he was a businessman, and began to look for opportunities, even in these difficult circumstances. However, he soon saw that this was impossible, and also realised how precarious Macau was. His letters reveal his concern that strained relations between Japan and Portugal over Timor might lead to the occupation of Macau as well as Hong Kong, a disaster from which there could be no escape for the Braga family or anyone else. ‘It is almost certain they will starve’, he told Hugh. 1180

1180 Paul Braga to Hugh Braga, 1 November 1943. Paul Braga Papers.
Moreover, Audrey was pregnant with their third child, due in December 1943. He had no option but to escape.

He made his plans carefully, but was delayed for several weeks, as ‘the Japanese have stopped issuing passes for Europeans’ and ‘it being impossible for the time being to get anybody willing to risk taking us through’. On 4 July 1943 the family arrived in Kweilin. Methodical in everything he did, Paul planned the journey, drawing a sketch map of the journey in which they would travel along an indirect route, moving partly through occupied territory, using whatever mode of

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1182 Paul Braga to J.P. Reeves, British Consul in Macau, 6 July 1943. Paul Braga Papers.
transport they could, even a sedan chair for the first six days.\textsuperscript{1183} He wrote to his father that ‘the Chinese authorities placed [a] military escort of 7 soldiers at our disposal upon setting foot in Free China so were we absolutely safe from robbers.’\textsuperscript{1184} He hoped to develop business contacts in Kweilin, but living there proved difficult and precarious. He became Manager of the Red Cross Club until Kweilin was evacuated, as Japanese forces approached.\textsuperscript{1185} During the months they were in Kweilin their second son, Joseph Peter, was born on 27 December 1943. Kweilin, threatened by the advancing Japanese Army, was a difficult and uncertain place for a European fugitive.

At the end of the war, he told Jack that ‘the months that followed were days of anxiousness and worry ... there were many many times when we regretted with all our hearts that that we ever left Macao ... Father’s reputation and standing was the thing that pulled me through some very anxious moments and never did I lose sight of this.’\textsuperscript{1186} By October 1944 Paul and his family were in Chungking, where Paul, always personable and with a gift for relating well to people, found a temporary position. By then it was clear that the war was drawing to a conclusion, and Paul considered that the opportunities for business in China after the war were almost limitless, based on trade with America.

After a long delay, Paul and his family were able to fly out of China, over the ‘Hump’ to Calcutta. The west coast of the USA was the place to be, and Paul’s contacts enabled him to get there by January 1945, via Sydney, where he had a long conversation with Hugh about the state of affairs in Macau. Paul hoped to be an agent for an American interested in trading opportunities in the Far East after the war. However this did not eventuate. He paid a visit to James in Chicago as soon as he was able. James had hoped to give Paul financial assistance, but in the event, Paul gave money to James. Since his ordination in 1940, James had pastored Grace Gospel Church, a small congregation unable to pay a living stipend. He did not abandon it, for James had no desire to lay up treasure on earth and he had no children to provide for.

\textsuperscript{1183} Paul Braga Papers.
\textsuperscript{1184} Paul Braga to J.P. Braga, 1 August 1943. J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/8.1/12/
\textsuperscript{1185} Paul Braga to Jack Braga, 21 November 1945. Copy in James Braga Papers.
\textsuperscript{1186} Paul Braga to Jack Braga, 21 November 1945. J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/2.3/9.
Paul spent the last months of the war in San Francisco, where, as an outsider, he was not able to develop the openings he hoped for. Eventually, he and his family returned to Hong Kong, living in Kowloon Tong, a good residential area in North Kowloon. In writing to his brothers, James and Hugh, on either side of the Pacific after he reached Chungking, Paul did not try to hide or to exaggerate the situation in Macau.

The present population is between 350 and 400 thousand of which 95% is Chinese, the majority refugees from Hong Kong. At the time of our escape into China, literally thousands were lying around the sidewalks everywhere, dying of starvation. The authorities were picking up 60 to 80 dead daily, and the figure was expected to rise to at least 200 before the end of summer ... with the cost of food from 20 to 60 times their pre-war rate, their funds cannot be expected to go very far. The effect this malnutrition [has] on people in Occupied parts is indescribable. With the exception of those who work with or for the Nips, practically everyone has a colourless, parchment-like skin. Each has that drawn expression of constant strain and worry, and hardly without exception, they are very considerably underweight.1187

1187 Paul Braga to Hugh Braga, 1 November 1943. Paul Braga Papers.
Paul told Hugh that he would suggest to Jack that he should ‘wire you for money. I’m sure that will be alright with you’. That had already occurred more than a year before. In June 1942, Tony told James that Hugh has ‘cabled Jack very kindly offering to help the family financially’.\(^\text{1188}\) Hugh asked about his neighbours as well as the family: ‘Any news family also Bradbury Sidney Fowler do you need financial assistance love Braga’. Jack replied, ‘All Bragas safe Mauderic interned others coming Macao soon stop Fowler Bradbury both philosophically enduring internment stop financially all still able manage thanks love’.\(^\text{1189}\)

It appears that despite Jack’s response, Hugh did transmit upwards of $2,000 to Macau in 1942 and 1943. Jack kept an account of how the money was spent between March 1942 and January 1944, ‘Father’s up-keep’ being the major item.\(^\text{1190}\)

\begin{center}
Hugh’s A/c
\end{center}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
Hugh & \$ 591.10 \\
12/1/42 & \\
21/4/43 & \$1,515.48 \\
& \$2,106.58 \\

Rent of Ground Floor (March) & \$70 \\
Mother (through Noel) & \$200 \\
Rent of Ground Floor (April) & \$70 \\
Butter for family & \$78 \\
Father’s up-keep (June-December, 1942) & \$700 \\
Rent of Ground Floor (May) & \$70 \\
Rice, etc., supplied to Audrey & \$23 \\
Rent of Ground Floor (June) & \$70 \\
Advance to Marjory (Noel’s illness) & \$100 \\
Rent of Ground Floor (July) & \$70 \\
Audrey’s house rent (1 month) old house & \$50 \\
August 1943 new house & \$78 \\
Rent of Ground Floor (August) & \$70 \\
Clement for Audrey’s watchmen and furniture man & \$22 \\
For Mary’s expenses (Oct-Dec) & \$300 \\
21/1/44 & Mother’s teeth \$114 \\
& \$2,112 \\
\end{tabular}

\(^{1188}\) Tony Braga to James Braga, 7 June 1942, James Braga Papers.

\(^{1189}\) J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/8.1/12. Hugh’s telegram was received on 30 April 1942. Bertram Bradbury was Hugh’s next-door neighbour. He was another in whom war and internment appear to have brought out his worst characteristics. George Wright-Nooth described him as ‘perhaps the most despised of the internees’ (op. cit., p. 141)

\(^{1190}\) Undated note, J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/8.1/12. Jack ensured that his father had two eggs per day at a time when most people never had such a luxury.
It was one of a great many things Jack had to attend to. In a letter that Paul gave by hand to a traveller to America, for personal delivery to James, he revealed more of Jack’s role than he should have done.

[Jack] looked worried out of his wits for more reasons than one. Has been No. 3 on the Jap black-list of Macao people because of stories to Reuters’s and A.P. [Associated Press] of conditions in Canton under Jap occupation and photos to Illustrated London News of C.N.A.C. [China National Airways Corporation] plane shot and later machine-gunned at spot about 10 miles from Macao. Besides has been of tremendous help to British Consul concerning information from Hong Kong but with the latter has been so extraordinarily careful that Japs can’t place a finger on him. For this reason you must not mention to a soul anything about him as you will be surprised at the amount of information they seem to be able to get from other countries. I am told that they somehow manage to get newspapers from the U.S. and England, and anything of what I’ve mentioned getting to Macao is bound to cost him his life to say nothing of the lives of others including our family. I’ve urged him
time and again to escape to Free China especially before I came away as he was threatened, and was forced to keep his movements solely between house and office. The Governor secretly gave him a special heavy type revolver ... News came up last week that the Governor was assassinated by Japs and the situation was tenser than ever before.  

45 years later, Tony could look back on these years with appreciation.

Known to but a few trusted individuals was Jack Braga’s work for the Allied cause during the Pacific War. In Macau he was the liaison officer between several secret service groups including the Chinese Government service and the British Army Aid Group. He organised the clandestine courier system which carried vital messages between Hong Kong, Macau, Chungking and Allied radio stations behind the Japanese lines in China.

Jack had indeed become a close collaborator with John Reeves, the British Consul, who wrote a warm letter of thanks after the war, and in an accompanying reference indicated that on at least one occasion his life had been in danger. Jack’s own reflection confirms this.

Yet we survived the War, and for that we praise God, and thank Him for protecting not only us but all the others who would certainly have suffered had the Japs realized what we were really doing in Macao ... I confess, now, how full of fear my heart was on many a day.

Jack’s role in the Special Operations Executive was more extensive than his family realised. Jack hinted at that role three years later in a letter to Sir Robert Ho

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1191 Paul Braga to James Braga, 22 October 1943, James Braga Papers. In copying this letter for other family members, James omitted this paragraph. The report of the governor’s assassination was false. This was a time of much rumour-mongering. However, the Japanese consul was assassinated in January 1945. This led to a great deal of tension and the fear of massive reprisals or a Japanese occupation, but neither took place.

1192 Notes prepared by A.M. Braga for an interview with Beverley Howells of the South China Morning Post, 8 April 1987. A.M. Braga file.


1195 It was researched at the British National Archives, then the Public Record Office, by Dr Barney Koo in the course of preparing a paper, ‘Researching Jack Braga’, delivered at the Ricci Institute in Macau in 2004. Dr Koo told his audience: ‘Some time in 1942 Jack Braga was recruited as an agent for British Intelligence becoming part of the complex web of the Special Operations Executive in the Far East. Established by the Ministry of Home Security in London, the SOEs gathered intelligence on activities behind enemy lines. Their senior operatives consisted mainly of ‘third nationals’ – citizens of neutral countries – who were able to traverse through the various war zones. According to British
Tung, who had seen at first hand what Jack had done. He commented that Reeves’ reference ‘should prove that I did more than my share’. 1196

Jack’s role in wartime Macau was much greater than any of them realised. A water supply sufficient for the needs of half a million people was largely the result of his perseverance in the previous decade. Jack Braga’s role in this vitally important public utility was never acknowledged. He remained General Manager of Watco throughout the war and until 1946, when he moved to Hong Kong. 1197

Public Record Office records, the two senior officers responsible for the Hong Kong and Macau area were F. A. Olsen (Danish) and a Mr Terestchenko (Russian). In 1942, Olsen came to Macau and recruited three key agents: Mr Fletcher, the Manager of the Macau Water Works, Mrs Joy Wilson, the Danish wife of Geoffrey Wilson, Superintendent of Hong Kong Police who was interned in Stanley, and Mr Fay, a Frenchmen and a commissioner of the Chinese Maritime Customs. Together with the British Consul, John Pownall Reeves, they formed the upper stratum of the intelligence network for Hong Kong and Macau. Each was given a codebook for encrypting and deciphering the wireless communication with the Allied headquarters in Chungking. They were responsible to recruit their own sub-agents for the tasks at hand. It was not entirely clear whether Jack Braga was recruited by Fletcher with whom he worked at the Water Works or by John Reeves due to their friendship. But Braga was an ideal candidate due to his linguistic ability, local knowledge and extensive contacts. Moreover, he had already been drawn into the game of military intelligence by Charles Boxer, an Intelligence Officer in the British Army with the rank of Major. Boxer’s biographer has suggested that Braga was the conduit for the exchange of military intelligence between Boxer and the Governor of Macau before Boxer was captured and interned in Hong Kong. Braga had a key role in the successful rescue of three American airmen whose plane had been shot down at sea in January 1945 by the Japanese, George C. Clarke, Don E. Mize and Charles Myers. They were brought to Macau by a fisherman, who then sought out the British consul. Braga gave the hazardous mission of picking them up to one of his agents, Miguel A. F. M. (‘Mickey’) de Sousa who was summoned at 0230 hours by the consul, John Reeves, Jack Braga and the Macau Police Commissioner. Braga warned de Sousa that the mission could be a trap set by the Japanese to implicate the British Consulate in anti-Japanese activities … After the Americans were delivered to the British Consulate, Braga arranged for their escape into Chinese-controlled territory. Braga’s role [in the rescue] has not been publicly acknowledged.’ B.H.M. Koo, ‘Researching Jack Braga’, pp. 14-15.

1197 Since 1929 he had been the driving force behind a proposal to supply town water to Macau, which had a completely inadequate water supply, with a very small catchment area, Guia Hill. Macau therefore relied on water brought in by lighter from China. The Macau Water Works Company (usually known as Watco) was floated in 1930. Jack was effectively the company’s founder and became its General Manager. The plan was to build a retaining wall enclosing a bay on the relatively undeveloped north-eastern coastline of Macau, which would then be used as water storage. A filtration plant was to be provided. Raising capital during the depression proved excruciatingly difficult. By 1934, the company was in a desperate financial predicament. It was without funds and salaries were unpaid. Money was owed to the Hongkong Engineering and Construction Co. (of which the Managing Director was J.P. Braga, Jack’s father) among other large debts. The Macau Government was not involved in the project, being itself in a difficult financial situation. The company went into liquidation, but after much effort and worry, was recapitalised, and the project was brought to completion in 1936, largely due to Jack’s sustained commitment. His father observed that ‘at every turn he has met with obstructions ... all due to the commercial immorality of the place in which he has to work’. The population of Macau was then fewer than 200,000. In 1938, a flood of refugees fled to Macau when Canton fell to the Japanese. A few years later, the population, swollen by refugees, reached 500,000 after the fall of Hong Kong in 1941. Without an adequate water supply, Macau could not have coped with this emergency, and most refugees would have had to be turned away, leading to thousands more deaths. Jack Braga kept extensive records of the firm’s struggles throughout the 1930s, contained in thirty folders of the J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/4.2.
There was some cultural activity in wartime Macau, despite the poverty and degradation of those times. There were several thousand English-speaking refugees, and, despite gnawing hunger and boredom, they and the Portuguese community put on concerts and plays, held debates and play-readings, and did what they could to keep the life of the mind going. In the long term, the most important cultural product of wartime Macau was the semi-completed book written by J.P. Braga at his son Jack’s behest, and published with the title *The Portuguese in Hongkong and China* in a very small edition after the older man died on 12 February 1944.

It bore no publisher’s imprint, and the scarcity of paper was such that it did not even have a title page. It was printed on ‘cho chi’, rough paper.1198 J.M. Braga’s massive collection of papers does not, surprisingly, contain any details of its publication.

Writing the book absorbed the old man and gave him a goal that would otherwise not have existed. Not all shared his enthusiasm; John was corralled to type part of the manuscript. His reaction was wholly negative. It is evident that the pages handed to him were the early chapters, a lengthy background to what was intended to be the main subject. He wrote to his mother, still in Hong Kong,

> I forgot to mention Father. He is looking old – worrying too much about you all in Hong Kong, but he is very busy writing a whole lot of stuff about the people of Macao – a history of their doings since 1560. Don’t mention this to him, because there is a great deal about Morrison and what he did 120 years ago, but in all his writing he tries to do nothing but boost up the Holy Roman Catholic Church. He had me typing the rot when I was at Jack’s place, and then I soon found the more I did the more he had for me to do – typing pages and pages of utter nonsense.1199

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1198 The book is discussed extensively in Appendix 5.
The water supply was sufficient in this critical situation, but the food supply was desperate, and, as in Hong Kong, many destitute Chinese starved, as government services did not stretch to their relief. Every public building was crowded with Portuguese refugees from Hong Kong.¹²⁰⁰ One refugee wrote that ‘dependants of each Hong Kong Portuguese in prisoner of war camps received 30 patacas a month from the British Consulate in Macau and rations from the Macau Government like oil, rice and bread. That did not buy very much as food was scarce and expensive.’¹²⁰¹ This matched the Macau government’s subsidy to other Portuguese refugees, but was much lower than the $120 subsidy paid to British subjects.¹²⁰² Jack Braga appealed desperately to the Watco Board for a small salary increase for his staff, paid less than any of the refugees, but this appears to have been unavailing.¹²⁰³

3. ‘That great old Hong Kong citizen’

The Macanese people, though sympathetic with their plight, had misgivings about the flood of refugees. There had been a long-standing tension between the Hong Kong Portuguese and the Macanese, who had a crude term, ‘ton ton’, for those who had turned their backs on Macau.¹²⁰⁴ Many of the expatriates had, until 1941, done better in life than those who stayed behind, but the situation was now reversed. In the course of only one or two generations, a gulf had developed, and most of the Hong Kong people had become more anglicised than they realised. The Braga family, with an Australian mother, and having become Protestant, were far more anglicised than the rest. Many from Hong Kong spoke no Portuguese and though many Macau

¹²⁰⁰ These were principally the Bela Vista Hotel, Teatro Dom Pedro V, Grêmio Militar, Armacão, Bairro Tamagnini Barbosa, the Canidromo [the greyhound race track] and Ilha Verde.
¹²⁰² Jack Braga to Watco Board, 1 July 1944, J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/8.1/11. Single people received $120, married couples $100 each, and children $50 each.
¹²⁰³ Dog shit. L.A. de Sá, The Boys from Macau, English translation, p. 5, n. 4. The phrase is not to be found in the Portuguese original of the book.
residents spoke some English, the gap was always there. While accepting that the refugees had to leave Hong Kong in the dire circumstances of defeat, the local people were in no mood to compromise their standards. One small example is telling.

A dress code was posted at the entrance of the places of worship and directed at the more relaxed attitudes of refugees from Hong Kong. The edict required that shorter skirts and sleeveless dresses worn in Hong Kong were forbidden and ladies were required to cover their heads with veils during church services. These poor souls who fled with what they had, in reality, just did not have the funds to purchase clothing to conform to local customs and many resented being told how to dress and what to do. Though many Macau families befriended those from Hong Kong, their underlying differences were very apparent.

For the Braga family, life in Macau settled into a routine of daily survival, but there was the constant concern, not only for food, but for the future. Still far-sighted, and keen to do something for the community, J.P. Braga visited the Colégio de S. Luiz to give lectures on careers, and planned to go again in mid-February. He became keenly interested in setting up a Macau Technical School as a necessary step towards post-war reconstruction. He chaired a committee working towards this objective; Jack was secretary. On 27 January 1944, three weeks before his death, he headed a delegation to the governor to press for its establishment. Governor Teixeira gave his patronage to the proposed school, but needless to say, there was no money available.

After his father died, Jack redoubled his efforts and worked energetically towards opening the school in borrowed premises in 1945. Issues of staffing, curriculum, funding and government support were all carefully addressed. The college commenced in January 1945, with Jack and several of his brothers doing their bit.

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1205 Jack Braga’s family spoke little English until Tony arrived from Hong Kong in June 1944 and set about teaching them English for the sake of their future (Attested by Maria Braga in a tribute to Tony after his death in 1994).
1207 Fr H. O’Brien, SJ, to J.M. Braga, 14 January 1944. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/7.4/1. The letter has been incorrectly placed, and instead of being in the correspondence series is located in a chronology of events at the date 1646, nearly three centuries away from the date it was written.
1208 J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/4.3.
However, the conclusion of the war in August 1945 brought the project to an end with the return of refugees to Hong Kong.

J.P. Braga lived with Jack, Augusta and their seven children. Close by were Paul, Audrey and their two. Consequently, he saw more of his grandchildren than ever before. After Paul left for Kweilin, he missed them. Writing to Paul just before Christmas 1943, he concluded with an affectionate greeting that only two years earlier would not have crossed his mind. ‘We are all very well here, but miss you and the children intensely. Tell Bunny [Paul’s daughter Frances, aged seven] “Grandpa loves her very much” ’. He would have been delighted to read a letter written a few weeks later by Paul on 2 February 1944. ‘The most important [news] is the arrival of Joseph Peter Braga 2nd, on the 27th Dec., weight 8 lb. and very Braga. We expected him on the 24th but unlike his Granpa and like his Papa he had to be late.’ However, with mails severely disrupted, he may not have heard of the birth of his fourteenth grandchild.

José Pedro Braga, or, to borrow Paul’s whimsical phrase, Joseph Peter Braga 1st, died of a heart attack on 12 February 1944 and was buried in S. Miguel Cemetery. Sir Robert Ho Tung, who had also come to Macau following the fall of Hong Kong, wrote to Jack. ‘Your father and I have been lifelong friends and on many important occasions have been working together’. Harry Compton, for many years a

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1211 Sir Robert Ho Tung to Jack Braga, 15 February 1944. J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/13/1.
director of China Light, was interned at Stanley, and sent Noel a POW card: ‘I shall miss my old friend’.  

A public subscription paid for a bronze bust over his grave by the Italian sculptor Oseo Acconci. It was, said, Marjory, considered to be a very good likeness. Later, his grave was moved to Chappie’s grave, father and son being buried together. A lengthy obituary was published in the Portuguese-language paper *A Voz de Macau*, stressing his sustained work for the Portuguese community of Hong Kong. He stood far above the tensions generated by wartime, and was held in deep respect by the Macanese as well as by the Hong Kong Portuguese. Naturally, the Japanese paper, the English-language *Hongkong News*, ignored his demise. It was left to Henry Ching to write in gracious terms in an editorial in the *South China Morning Post* a few weeks after it resumed publication at the end of the war. Ching caught Braga in a few well-chosen words: ‘that great old Hong Kong citizen ... [who] fought strenuously for justice for the “local lads” ’.

The end of the war! How they had all longed for it. It is not the purpose of this thesis to give details that are readily available elsewhere. In the last months of the war, the Portuguese-language paper *Renascimento* had begun to publish an English edition, which steadily traced events as they unfolded in Europe and the Pacific – D Day in June 1944 and the unconditional surrender of Germany in May 1945, the costly American attacks on Saipan, Iwojima and Okinawa and the massive bombing raids on Japan itself. At Stanley Camp in Hong Kong, the American raids had an unfortunate consequence when a bomb accidentally dropped on the camp killed fourteen internees in January 1945. All the internees knew that the end of the war was drawing much closer, though no details were known other than the little revealed by the *Hongkong News*, which admitted the death of Hitler and just five

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1213 Interview with Marjory Braga, 22 May 1991.
1214 *A Voz de Macau*, 15 February 1944.
1215 *South China Morning Post*, 14 November 1945. In sending a cutting to Paul, Tony added, ‘You will be proud of this fine tribute to Father’s memory written by Henry Ching’. Ching’s editorial elicited a letter from a correspondent who identified himself as ‘an old friend and admirer of the late Mr J.P. Braga’ giving further details of his career, stressing that ‘he was ever ready to help those in distress ... No “under-dog” ever went to him in vain’. *South China Morning Post*, 20 November 1945. The style and content of the letter suggest that it was penned by his son Tony.
1216 Many of the books referred to at the beginning of this chapter deal also with the end of the war and the relief of Hong Kong. Also, R.S. Clark, *An end to tears* and S. Braga ‘We have come here as conquerors. You will do as we say’, *NLA News*, September 2005.
1217 T. Banham, *We shall suffer there*, pp. 189-190.
days before the surrender announced that Japan was the only trustworthy nation left in the world.¹²¹⁸

In Macau, far better informed about the progress of the war, anticipation grew. The end of Nazi Germany was marked by a Thanksgiving Service for Victory in Europe on 13 May in the Morrison Chapel.¹²¹⁹ The sudden capitulation of Japan amazed everyone. A Thanksgiving Mass was celebrated in the cathedral. There was again a well-attended Thanksgiving Service for World Peace on 19 August at the Morrison Chapel.

¹²¹⁸ Hongkong News, 3 May 1945, 10 August 1945.
¹²¹⁹ A copy of the Order of Service is in the J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/8.1/15.
Almost at once, people began besieging the British consulate, wanting to get back to Hong Kong, but they did not realise how badly Hong Kong had suffered, with few buildings left unlooted. Anything that could burn had been used as fuel. The loss of J.P. Braga’s fine library has been noted. A far more grievous loss was the disappearance of most of the magnificent Chater collection of paintings and drawings and all of the 985 ceramics. Even the roof of the Loke Yew Hall at Hong Kong University had been torn down and burned in the power station to keep the trams going a little longer.

Hongkong News, 13 April 1945.
By that time, the hills had been stripped bare of all vegetation and all timber had been stripped from looted houses. The only ‘firewood’ remaining was the roof of the Loke Yew Hall, the Great Hall of Hong Kong University.

At Stanley, there would be a longer wait than in Macau. The fortnight following news of the surrender of Japan and the arrival of a strong British fleet commanded by Rear Admiral Cecil Harcourt was even harder to bear than the long incarceration. Had the news of victory all been a dream? Relief finally arrived on 30 August. The sight of the largest fleet of ships of the Royal Navy ever to enter Hong Kong

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1220 Copies of the Order of Service are in J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/8.1/15 and Caroline Braga Papers, MS Acc05/35.
1221 It is known in detail from the superb catalogue compiled in 1924 two years before the death of Sir Paul Chater. J. Orange, The Chater Collection, pictures relating to China, Hong Kong, Macao, 1655-1860; with historical and descriptive letterpress. The 94 pictures to have been recovered between 1945 and 2006 were commemorated in an exhibition in 2007 at the Hong Kong Museum of Art. The Chater collection comprised 430 pictures on the early history of Macau and Hong Kong. Another part of the Chater legacy to the Hong Kong Government was a collection of 985 ceramics from the Ming and Qing dynasties. All of these were lost, according to an essay in the exhibition catalogue, The Chater Legacy: a selection of the Chater collection, pp. 26-28.
1222 Sir Franklin Gimson, ‘Internment of European civilians at Stanley during the Japanese Occupation of Hong Kong, 1941-1945’, p. 11.
1223 Powerfully verbalised by Henry Ching in the editorial already mentioned. South China Morning Post, 1 September 1945.
harbour, 19 ships in all, was a thrilling sight graven on the memory of all who saw it.\textsuperscript{1224}

\begin{center}
\textit{Left: British fleet at anchor, stem to stern, Hong Kong harbour, September 1945.}
\textit{H. Empson, Mapping Hong Kong, p. 219. Plate 6-4. RAF photograph.}
\textit{Right: HMS Swiftsure entering Lyemun Pass, 30 August 1945. Stuart Braga collection}
\end{center}

Admiral Harcourt’s flagship was the aptly named HMS \textit{Swiftsure}. On landing, the admiral went straight to the POW camp at Shamshuipo in Kowloon, and then to Stanley. The next day Maude shared her excitement with her family in Macau. She described the dropping by parachute of fifteen large boxes of medical supplies the day before. ‘People were shouting and waving hankies and sheets and jumping for joy.’ She went on:

\begin{quote}
Yesterday was the crowning day of all ... at about 5 o’clock the Admiral arrived in the camp, and told us that they had come from Australia especially for us: they had steamed all the way at 25 knots an hour. The Japanese had packed up before they expected and so they had to rush post haste here to release us. The Americans had planned to bombard Hong Kong on the 21\textsuperscript{st}. Had they done so we would all have been massacred by the Japs – they intended to machine-gun all internees and prisoners-of-war. What a miraculous escape ... 9 flags – British, American, Belgium, China, French,
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{1224} \textit{South China Morning Post}, 1 September 1945. Witnesses included Osler Thomas and Bosco Correa, both of whom shared the thrill with this writer. Interviews with Dr Osler Thomas, 25 November 2008, and Bosco Correa, 27 June 2010. There was a battleship, two aircraft carriers, two cruisers, a hospital ship and several destroyers and corvettes from the Royal Australian Navy (detailed in the \textit{South China Morning Post}, 4 September 1945). Admiral Harcourt sent the Australian corvettes in first as minesweepers, lest the Japanese stage a final act of defiance by mining one of his capital ships. The Record of Proceedings of HMAS \textit{Mildura} commented ‘Much pleasure and satisfaction was obvious that the Ship had the privilege of being the first R.A.N. ship to enter Hongkong, also having led the way over the reputed minefields, which fortunately did not exist.’ Australian War Memorial, AWM78/221/1.
Australian, Greek, Dutch and Polish flags were then hoisted amid tremendous cheering. The English national anthem and the hymn “Oh God our help in ages past” were sung and the Admiral departed.

Thank God for protecting you all, and for bringing us all through this terrible nightmare. We do hope we may see you all soon. God bless and keep you and all our loved ones. Much love from Maude and Eric.  

But for Macau and but for Jack Braga, it would have been a different story for the Braga family. Leo d’Almada, who came there from Hong Kong in April 1942, called Macau ‘the miracle of the time’. Later, borrowing Churchill’s phrase, Austin Coates referred to the war years as Macau’s finest hour. Both comments were just. Governor Gabriel Teixeira did not need to go out of his way to provide a safe haven for so many refugees. In making them publicly welcome, and in making available every possible public building for their accommodation, he established the merciful policy that his administration then pursued until the end of the war. Teixeira could easily have taken the view that Macau had already done enough, and that public services were stretched to breaking point as it was. He could have concluded that the Japanese had created this problem by occupying Hong Kong, planning for it to become the regional centre of their grand design, the ‘Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere’. Let them show what they could do, and harness the capabilities of the people they had inherited.

Perhaps the strongest reason not to accept Portuguese refugees from Hong Kong was that they or their forebears had turned their backs on Macau. If Macau meant so little to them then, why should Macau lift a finger for them now? If any of these considerations crossed Teixeira’s mind, he quickly dismissed them. The disaster in Hong Kong had precipitated a massive humanitarian crisis. In the three and a half years of the Japanese Occupation, thousands of people fled to Macau, most of them

1225 Maude Franks to Olive Braga, 31 August 1945. James Braga papers. Harcourt naturally did not mention that the fleet had been delayed in Subic Bay for a fortnight while negotiations took place between Britain and China over the future of Hong Kong. There was certainly foreboding lest the Japanese massacre their prisoners, but no evidence emerged subsequently to indicate that this was the intention of Japanese authorities in Hong Kong or elsewhere. The admiral’s comment that the ship steamed at full speed from Sydney was confirmed by a crew member. Interview with Norman Barker, 31 July 2011. In 1945 Barker was a Radar Engineer in HMS Swiftsure. The ship’s radar scanner jammed, and Barker was sent aloft to fix it. As the ship entered Lyemun Pass, Barker found himself staring at Japanese guns aimed straight at the flagship.


1227 A. Coates, A Macao Narrative, p. 103.
taking with them little more than what they could carry. Austin Coates, a writer with a close knowledge of and interest in Macau, wrote of this period in generous terms.

The whole of the gambling taxes – $2,000,000 – were made over by the government to the assistance of refugees. Indeed Macao’s entire conduct during the period from Christmas 1941 to August 1945, when Hongkong was under Japanese occupation, was a gesture of unselfish friendship, made in Portugal’s traditional style, regardless of dangers which others less magnanimous might have thought it more prudent to avoid.

The patient endurance of the Macanese during these fateful years, and the sagacity and foresight of their Governor can hardly be overestimated ... no one who experienced Macao’s hospitality during these years would ever forget it. The entire episode ranks as one of the city’s finest moments.\footnote{1228}

It was also Jack Braga’s finest hour. His work for his family and for British Intelligence has been briefly instanced. So too has his vital work in ensuring the provision of a water supply, but for which Teixeira’s policy would have had to be quite different and much harsher. He continued to be Manager of Watco during the war years, and as food costs soared, was obliged, from his own limited means, to assist Chinese members of his staff paid a pittance. His desperate plea for increased remuneration was not acceded to by the board of Watco.

Although his buying of books stopped, he continued to produce a constant stream of articles for the English and Portuguese press. Moreover, Jack carefully collected printed ephemera reflecting the cultural life of Macau during the war. Both the Portuguese and English speaking communities made a determined effort to maintain a cultural life despite the privations they were enduring.

\footnote{1228} Ibid., pp. 103-104.
His file of this material is a unique record of this remarkable endeavour.¹²²⁹

Between June 1941 and December 1942, he prepared and delivered a weekly fifteen-minute address for the Macao Radio Club, there being no government radio station. In 1944 he prepared his father’s book for publication. Later, in January 1945, with rumours circulating about the possible massacre of all internees and POWs by the departing Japanese, he joined a committee planning to take over Hong Kong in the event of such a catastrophe.¹²³⁰ All this would have been a considerable achievement for a fit, well-fed and healthy man, but Jack and his family were almost on starvation rations. Well might Caroline write, ‘if ever there was one who deserves highest honours it is Jack’.

He saved just one indulgence for the end of the war. At Stanley Internment Camp, people cheered wildly and jumped for joy. As news broke at Shamshuipo POW Camp of the Japanese surrender, ‘the joy of the men knew no bounds. There were

¹²²⁹ J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/8.1/15.
¹²³⁰ Ibid. A system of boards was carefully drawn up composed entirely of Hong Kong Portuguese and Chinese people, on the assumption that no British personnel from the POW and internment camps in Hong Kong would be available.
scenes of near hysteria.’\textsuperscript{1231} They put on a dance on 19 August, just five days after
the surrender. José Álvares, who had drawn an energetic cartoon of J.P. Braga in
1929, celebrated the event with a triumphant drawing.\textsuperscript{1232} However, Jack Braga
waited until his friend Charles Boxer was freed from the Argyle Street Officers’
POW Camp and came over to Macau. Together, they enjoyed what Boxer said was
‘the last bottle of \textit{ginginha} (cherry brandy) in the colony’.\textsuperscript{1233}

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\textsuperscript{1231} L. Ribeiro, ‘Personal account of war experiences’, p. 22.
\textsuperscript{1232} A.M. Jorge da Silva, \textit{The Portuguese community in Hong Kong, a pictorial history}, p. 183.
\end{flushright}
Chapter 13

A community apart:

the Portuguese in twentieth century Hong Kong

Part 1 – Recovery: return to Hong Kong, 1945

In the 1840s, Hong Kong was seen as a place of golden opportunity by many Macanese people. A century later, their descendants, refugees in Macau from the worst catastrophe ever to befall Hong Kong in its often interrupted history of growth and prosperity, flocked back to Hong Kong to rebuild their lives. Yet within less than a generation, most had left Hong Kong again, regarding the British presence as too fragile to endure, and fearing another dreadful experience of prolonged hardship at best, death at worst.

Following severe disturbances in the 1960s in both Macau and Hong Kong, most of the Portuguese population of Hong Kong got out as quickly as they could. It was clear to them that Chinese militants wanted them to go, along with the British, and most were only too glad to oblige. Some remained; paradoxically, those who did so rode the crest of an unparalleled wave of prosperity in the next thirty years until the handover of Hong Kong to the People’s Republic of China. Most members of the Braga family were among those who left; three remained and benefited from the great boom of the 1970s and beyond: Tony, Paul and Caroline.

Olive Braga returned to Hong Kong and saw her days out there, cared for by Tony, Caroline and Mary. All of her seven married sons, six with children, looked elsewhere to raise their families as citizens of the USA, Britain, Canada and Australia. Mary died of breast cancer on 15 July 1965. Tony, a bachelor all his days, remained in Hong Kong until his death in 1994. He was survived by his sister Caroline, the last of her generation, who outlived by a year the British colony of Hong Kong, handed back to China on 30 June 1997. She died aged 86 on 21 November 1998, a year before Macau too reverted to Chinese sovereignty on 20 December 1999, the first and the last European colony in the Far East.

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The fortunes of the Braga family closely mirrored the fortunes of Hong Kong and its Portuguese community during this half century. They returned to Hong Kong as soon as Hong Kong was able to receive them. A general sketch of how they fared is appropriate at this point. Later parts of this chapter will discuss more broadly what became known to those involved as the Diaspora of the Hong Kong Portuguese community.

All of the British and most of the Portuguese refugees returned to Hong Kong as soon as Hong Kong was in a fit state to have them. Jack wrote in March 1946 that ‘things get quieter and quieter in Macao, with so many less people living here’. Most of the Bragas forgot all about being Portuguese. They were certainly included in Leo d’Almada’s acid comment that ‘those pseudo-Portuguese have successfully eliminated all traces of the sardine from their system’.

Three of the married Bragas, Maude, Noel and John, went on rehabilitation furlough to Britain. Maude came back with her husband Eric, who was unsettled thereafter. Noel did not return until 1952, while John came back and continued with China Light for twenty years. Like many others, their lives were never the same again, and the drive they possessed as young men in the 1930s deserted them as middle-aged men in the later 1940s. They had been through too much. In February 1946, Jack wrote that ‘all the old energy seems to have gone. It is so difficult to get round to things’. Clement moved to Canada in 1946, and for him too, life was unrewarding. The historian of China Light, where Noel and John worked, observed that ‘in many a case lives that had seemed assured before were now irretrievably blighted by illness and the effects of deprivation’. The naval officers who arrived on 30 August saw at once the effects of internment on the personnel of the provisional government that Gimson had set up a fortnight earlier. ‘They were not capable of great mental effort, had no power of decision, short memories and made

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1235 L. d’Almada e Castro, ‘Some notes on the Portuguese in Hong Kong’, Address at Club Lusitano, Hong Kong. Instituto Portugues de Hong Kong, Boletim no. 2, September 1949, p. 275.
1236 Noel did not want to go, but Lawrence Kadoorie, seeing the condition of this wraith-like figure, insisted. Noel admitted once he reached England that he was ‘weakening, sickening’, with a bout of malaria. Noel Braga to Jack Braga, 3 December 1945; Noel Braga to Charlie da Silva, 27 December 1945. J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/8.1/12.
1238 N. Cameron, Power, p. 152. T. Banham has also pointed out, referring to POWs, ‘a large percentage would never be whole again. Those men who survived never truly threw off the effects of battle and incarceration’. We shall suffer there, pp. 243-244.
frequent minor mistakes in conversation'. 1239 It would take them some time, as one internee, M.F. Key, put it, to get the barbed wire out of their system. 1240 Many never did.

On the other hand, Jack, with a significant and continuing record of achievement, moved to Hong Kong, where he won esteem and respect for his writing and bibliographical work. He sold his fine library to the National Library of Australia in 1966, deeply apprehensive that if the Red Guards over-ran Hong Kong, it would suffer the same fate as those of Sir Paul Chater and his father. After spending two years in the USA, he moved for four years to Australia, greatly enjoying the Library and the recognition he received there. Jean, who had never ceased teaching music in Hong Kong, continued to do so, living on her own.

Hugh returned with the military administration in November 1945, eventually setting up his own construction business in which he used the experience he had gained during the development of the major ‘garden suburb’ of the 1930s. James remained in the USA, exercising a faithful ministry in several churches and later in a theological college. Paul, who saw at once the debilitating effects of wartime Macau

1240 M.F. Key, Hong Kong before, during and after the Pacific War, being chiefly an account of the Stanley Internment Camp, p. 8.
on other members of his family and quickly left, resumed his pre-war career in the motor industry with conspicuous success. Caroline developed a significant career as teacher and pianist. Mary, much the youngest, and also the most vulnerable, whose gentle care of her aged mother won her the esteem of her family, needed care herself after Olive’s death in 1952.

The Braga family went through testing times when China’s participation in the Korean War between 1950 and 1953 closed Hong Kong’s trade with China even more completely than the boycott of 1925-26 had done. As a result, Hugh again left for Australia with his family in 1951, Maude and Eric Franks having already gone there in 1950. Noel, who held two positions in the Far East, finally went back to England in 1961 after less than ten years. Paul remained in Hong Kong until his retirement in 1970, when he moved to San Francisco. By then, ten of the twelve siblings who used to attend the large family gatherings at Knutsford Terrace in the 1930s were still living, but only three remained in Hong Kong. The Knutsford Terrace houses were long gone, having been sold in 1946 to pay off the mortgage, overdue payments and accumulated interest, no payments having been made during the war years. Tony, appointed by his siblings as sole executor of his father’s intestate estate, hoped that he would be fortunate to sell them for enough to pay off this debt and then leave something over towards wiping off his father’s bank overdraft.1241 J.P. Braga’s imaginative plan to leave the houses as a legacy to his family was wrecked by the war.

The tight-knit family group had grown up together and shared a great deal of private information.1242 It gradually drew apart, a process begun by marriage and career opportunities and greatly hastened by the war. Afterwards, each of six family groups (Jack, Clement, Noel, Hugh, John and Paul) went their own way in a greatly changed

1241 Tony Braga to John Braga, 29 April 1946. James Braga Papers. They were sold for $192,000, then a very good sum for properties in poor condition. Nos. 9 and 10 were half-owned by the Estate of J.P. Braga, Li Pu Chee being the other half-owner. The mortgage was $49,000. The size of other debts is unknown. Tony Braga Papers. As a comparison, Sir Robert Ho Tung proposed to sell his two houses on the Peak, Nos. 25 and 26, ‘Bishop’s Lodge’, for $2.75 a square foot. With an area of 27,744 square feet, this sale would have returned $76,296 to Hong Kong’s shrewdest capitalist. He authorised Jack Braga to handle the sale on his behalf, presumably for discretion. Sir Robert Ho Tung to J.M. Braga, 6 July 1948. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/4.7/1.

1242 Noel Braga’s diary, written when he was aged between 22 and 26, shows that not only did they live close together, but also that they kept very little from each other, including salary, intimate personal details and affaires de coeur. The “bachelors’ mess” held a two hour meeting in 1926 at which sex was discussed, between eight and fourteen years before they married. ‘The conference broke up with a very fine feeling.’ Noel Braga Diary, 13 December 1926.
world. ‘It looks as though the family is being spread abroad: however, we may all meet again some day’, wrote Maude. This was not to be, yet in the crisis of war and the great challenges they faced in its immediate aftermath, they stuck together in a remarkably selfless way. Remarkable also is the fact that all eight marriages lasted the distance. The Braga family were caring and loyal to each other and to their spouses, while the six who had children were determined to give them educational opportunities that either had not existed or had been hard to come by in early twentieth century Hong Kong. It was a long-lived family. Mary died at 51; all others except Maude and Clement reached the age of seventy. Three died in their seventies: Noel (76), John (72) and Paul (79), four in their eighties: Hugh (82), James (87), Tony (86) and Caroline (86), while the two eldest, Jean and Jack, both reached 90. Seven were still living in December 1984 when Zhao Ziyang and Margaret Thatcher signed the Sino-British Joint Declaration under which Hong Kong would return to China in 1997; only Caroline, still teaching music in Hong Kong, would see the accord implemented. In the 156 years between the beginning and the end of Hong Kong as a British colony, five generations of this family of high achievers lived under that jurisdiction. Yet in the vicissitudes of upheaval caused mainly by war or threat of war, only one individual, Jean Braga, the eldest of the thirteen siblings, remained there throughout life, apart from brief overseas visits. Others, and members of succeeding generations, became part of the Macanese Diaspora.

1244 That saga began with the immediate task of getting on their feet again after the Japanese Occupation. It continued almost until the end of the twentieth century. While that extended period of more than fifty years lies beyond the time frame of this thesis, it is covered in Appendix 15, which serves to complete the story of that generation of the Braga family.
Part 2 – the Portuguese community: bowing to the Bank

That Diaspora was unimaginable until the catastrophe of the Japanese Occupation. Speaking less than a year beforehand, on 20 January 1941 in a series of broadcast talks to commemorate the centenary of the British occupation of Hong Kong, J.P. Braga described the Portuguese as ‘a community apart’. Some of the people of whom he spoke were fifth generation Hong Kong residents. Most, if not all of the Hong Kong Portuguese spoke English, and for many it was their first language, the language spoken at home, school and work. By birth, those born in Hong Kong were British subjects and most saw themselves as such. They had made vast strides in terms of prosperity since leaving Macao as economic refugees at various stages during the nineteenth century.

Yet in terms of cultural identity, members of the Portuguese community kept very much to themselves. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Portuguese settlement at Mato Moiro remained largely as it had been since the 1870s, when rising rents had driven them from the harbour side to what eventually became the Mid-Levels. They continued to live within the sound of the Cathedral bells, the smaller church of St Joseph’s at Garden Road being largely for Catholic members of the naval and military forces. The Cathedral, and for the better-off members of the community, Club Lusitano, were the centres of community life. Mato Moiro gradually became overcrowded, and by the early twentieth century there was a definite need to look elsewhere.

In the 1870s, the move had been to go up the hill to Robinson Road, where one travelled by sedan chair. It was not an option to go higher. Firstly, the topography was impossible, the north face of Victoria Peak becoming almost precipitous above Kennedy Road. More importantly, social pressures militated against such a move. A few intrepid souls had built mountain lodges on the heights of the Peak in the 1870s, E.R. Belilios reaching his by camel, but the eagerly awaited Peak Tramway, which took three years to build, made the Peak far more accessible when it opened in

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1245 The Census Report for 1921 indicated that the Portuguese population of Hong Kong was 2,609 and that throughout the Far East, including Macau, Singapore and the Treaty Ports they totalled about 15,000. ‘They form a separate community everywhere’, added the Census Report (_Sessional Papers_, 1921, p. 158.)
The governor, Sir William Des Voeux, described it as ‘a tramway from the town to Victoria Gap ... worked on a plan similar, I understand, to that of the railway on Mount Vesuvius’. This changed the situation dramatically, and over 200 houses were built there in the following two years. Power and wealth ensured that only the taipans would be able to build in this exalted location, cooler and far more pleasant in summer than the sweltering city beneath.

To ensure that this exclusivity remained, the Peak District Reservation Ordinance was passed by the Legislative Council in 1904, reinforced by the Peak District (Residence) Ordinance in 1918, which required that all applications to live there should be approved by Government.

In 1922, a Peak Residents’ Association was formed lest the Governor waver, but there was no chance of that. For any Chinese to be permitted to reside on the Peak, a special resolution of the Executive Council was required. In the 23 years between 1918 and the outbreak of hostilities in 1941, only one Chinese was so permitted: Madame Chiang Kai-shek. Not even eminent Chinese such as Sir Kai Ho Kai, Sir Shoushon Chow, or the Jewish potentate Sir Elly Kadoorie were allowed to live there. That prince of compradors, the Eurasian Sir Robert Ho Tung, was able to buy two cottages there in 1906 by exploiting a loophole in the Ordinance which barred non-Europeans from renting property on the Peak, but was silent about purchase of property. However, Ho Tung preferred to live in ‘Idlewild’, a mansion in the Mid-Levels. His children lived on the Peak, at ‘Bishop’s Lodge’ Nos. 25 and 26 The Peak, and were told by European children that they should not be there. Sir Paul Chater, an Armenian Christian, was also excluded. Having arrived in Hong Kong in 1864, he lived in what was originally the salubrious Caine Road, well above the city.

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1248 Des Voeux added that ‘every brick, stone, timber, and other article used in the construction, as well as the furniture on completion, requires to be carried on Coolies’ shoulders for distances varying from one to two miles to a height of 1,100 to 1,600 feet ... there are at the present time being carried thus to “the Peak” from 2,800 to 3,000 loads per diem of bricks and other materials’. The use of the Peak Tram was forbidden for such purposes and for deliveries to the Peak mansions after completion, all requirements being carried by toiling coolies. Des Voeux to Knutsford, 31 October 1889, R.L. Jarman, Hong Kong Annual Administration Reports, 1841-1941, vol. 2, p. 62.
1249 P. Snow, The Fall of Hong Kong, p. 3.
1250 Ibid., p. 11.
1251 Memoirs of his daughter, Jean Gittins, Eastern Windows, Western Skies, pp. 9, 15.
from 1869 until the area became crowded with tenements, so in 1901, Chater built an ostentatious mansion, ‘Marble Hall’, on Conduit Road, as high as he could go in the Mid-Levels.  

His mansion was grander by far than anything on the Peak, or Government House itself for that matter.  

Residence on the Peak, in short, was more exclusive than a knighthood.  

The Peakites quite literally looked down on everyone else.  

What hope did the Portuguese have in a community like this, in which snobbery, social class, better economic opportunity and even altitude, all

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1253 In 1935, and again after World War II, it became the official residence of the Naval Officer Commanding China Station, always an officer of flag rank. It was badly damaged by fire in 1946 and then demolished. *Royal Asiatic Society, Hong Kong Branch Journal*, Vol. 18, 1980, pp. 202-204.

1254 As late as the 1980s, this exclusion still rankled with the Kadoorie family, the head of which was then Lawrence, the elder son of Sir Elly Kadoorie. Sir Lawrence, knighted in 1974, was created Lord Kadoorie in 1981. He still did not live on the Peak. While he lived on Kadoorie Avenue in the socially inferior Kowloon, he also built in 1938 another mansion, Boulder Lodge, at Castle Peak, the most salubrious location in the New Territories, remote from the caste-ridden geographic divisions of Hong Kong and Kowloon. Kadoorie finally had his revenge on the Peakites. On his elevation to the peerage, he took the title Lord Kadoorie of Kowloon and the City of Westminster.

1255 Acidly pointed out by the Kowloon Residents’ Association, which told senior officials that their ‘knowledge of local conditions [in Kowloon] was gleaned from a panoramic view of the peninsula from an elevation of 1,200 feet’. P. Snow, op. cit., p. 352 n 8, quoting H.J. Lethbridge, ‘Hong Kong under the Japanese Occupation’, p. 80.
combined to affirm and preserve the superiority of the British and the inferiority of all others? With the exception of a tiny wealthy elite who were accorded a special status (but not Peak residence), the Chinese were a vast proletariat who were effectively outcasts in their own country, not unlike the Untouchables in India. The Marxist term, ‘wage slaves’, could well be held to apply to them.\footnote{1256}

Despite the yawning gulf of inequality, British education slowly made a difference to local communities.\footnote{1257} From the 1870s English-language schools catered for and helped to create and enhance an aspirational middle class. The Anglican Church set up the Diocesan Boys’ School and the Diocesan Girls’ School principally to create similar opportunities for Eurasian children.\footnote{1258} The offspring of the transient British and European communities were invariably sent to their home countries for schooling. There was no local school for British children until the Central British School, later renamed King George V School, was opened in 1894. Strangely, this resulted from a benefaction by Robert Ho Tung, ever far-sighted, who saw in this step the possibility, not only of keeping families together, but of making an impact on the rigid segregation of British children and local people.

Thus constraints surrounding the Portuguese community were not essentially of their own making, but were largely the product of a British Imperial system that had no place for them except as clerical workers who were reliable, efficient, subservient and far cheaper than comparable people who, but for them, would have to be brought out from England. The fact that members of the ‘Home’ staff were executives who received high salaries and lived on the Peak served powerfully to reinforce and entrench the system of exclusivity.

In the first part of the twentieth century, Hong Kong was not a city with an urban sprawl, except for the ribbon development along the whole length of the north shore of Hong Kong Island. Transport here from 1904 was provided by an electric

\footnote{1256} However, as David Faure has pointed out, members of the Chinese elite, created by the colonial system and from whom were appointed members of the Legislative Council, or who sought to come under notice for such appointments, were not necessarily the wealthiest. D. Faure, \textit{Colonialism and the Hong Kong mentality}, p. 15.

\footnote{1257} The Anglican Church’s St Paul’s College and the government’s Queen’s College (named Victoria College until 1894), set up by genuinely liberal benefactors, were entirely Chinese, while St Joseph’s College was originally almost entirely Portuguese. A. Sweeting, \textit{Education in Hong Kong Pre-1841 to 1941}, pp. 146, 175, 203, 215, 244.

\footnote{1258} Fung, Yee Wang & Chan-Yeung, Moira Mo Wah, \textit{To serve and to lead: a history of the Diocesan Boys’ School Hong Kong}, p. 35.
tramway, extending the entire length of the elongated city from Kennedy Town in the West to Shaukiwan in the East. Although this extended for thirteen kilometres, there was effectively no place into which the Portuguese community could expand. The racial divide which sent the English to the Peak pushed the expanding Chinese population east and west of Central. A proposal to build a Portuguese settlement at the eastern end of Wongneichong Valley, made in 1912, came to nothing. It was to have been called Cidade de Camoens, after the great sixteenth century Portuguese poet, who was reputed to have visited Macau. While this area, close to sea level, was served by a tramway extension, it was hot and airless in summer, the valley remote from any sea breeze. The British officials who proposed this unattractive location where land was cheap would never have countenanced such an environment for themselves and their families. Some years later, in 1933, the Portuguese-Eurasian community at Melaka (formerly Malacca), which had been in steady socio-economic decline since the Dutch defeated the Portuguese in 1641, was rehoused in a similarly unattractive area, in government-owned communal housing of small huts with thatched roofs. They became a closed community of fishermen, occupying a social role similar to the ethnically and socially segregated Chinese fishing community in Hong Kong.

In that the Cidade de Camoens did not eventuate, the Hong Kong Portuguese community narrowly escaped a similar fate. Instead, they began to move to the Kowloon side, as it is termed. Low-cost transport was essential, and this was provided by the Star Ferry, cheap, fast and reliable, between Central and Tsimshatsui on the southern point of the Kowloon Peninsula. Between 1918 and 1928 the

1259 Historical and Statistical Abstract of the Colony of Hongkong, 1841-1920, p. 35.
1260 It was discussed extensively by J.P. Braga in an unpublished chapter, Chapter 19, ‘Portuguese housing schemes’, of his Portuguese in Hongkong and China. He quoted from a Prospectus issued by N.J. Ede, Chief Manager of the Union Insurance Society of Canton, p. 4: ‘the site has a commanding view of the Happy Valley race course and overlooks from some distance the Jewish, Zoroastrian, Public, Catholic and Mohammedan cemeteries’. It was planned to be a Portuguese enclave (p. 7 – ‘no house can be leased to persons of other than Portuguese extraction.’). J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/13.3/3. Also Ede’s pamphlet, Proposed Portuguese Housing Scheme. Printed by J.P. Braga, Hongkong, 1912, 4to, 13 pp., with a map.
1262 Observing this Malaccan community in 1971, K.E. Chan concluded: ‘the identification of community with place also helps to segregate the Settlement from the rest of society. This segregation is more than just isolation in the physical sense; it has behavioural implications for the individuals and families concerned, who often feel outcast and socially alien to other better-off Eurasians, as well as from Melakan society at large’ (Chan Kok Eng, ‘The Eurasians of Melaka’ in K.S. Sandhu, P. Wheatley (eds.), Melaka. The transformation of a Malay capital, c. 1400-1980, vol. 2, p. 267).
population of Kowloon grew from 80,000 to 250,000.\textsuperscript{1263} By the 1931 census, two-thirds of the Portuguese population had moved to Kowloon.\textsuperscript{1264} As roads were developed in the northern part of the Kowloon peninsula after World War I, a second Portuguese enclave at Homantin was developed as a ‘garden city’ by Frank Soares.

Map 24 –Four Portuguese residential enclaves

These were settled in Kowloon between the 1920s and 1950s, above left, replacing the late nineteenth century enclave known as Mato Moiro on the Hong Kong side. The first, in the early 1920s, was in Tsimshatsui, shown in detail, above right. The second was at Homuntin, at the end of the 1920s. A third enclave developed in the 1930s and after World War II, around St Teresa’s Church at the corner of Prince Edward Road and Waterloo Road, Kowloon Tong. Lastly, the construction of the Bank Flats in the 1950s at the far north of Kowloon Tong led to a large concentration there of the Portuguese employees of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation.

From António M. Jorge da Silva, The Portuguese Community in Hong Kong

\textsuperscript{1263} N. Miners, Hong Kong under Imperial rule, p. 141.
\textsuperscript{1264} Report on the census of 1931. Hong Kong Sessional Papers, 1931, p. 112.
Land was still cheap in what was seen as a distant suburb, and houses had enough ground for the Portuguese families who resided there to grow their own vegetables and raise their own poultry. Soares Avenue, Emma Avenue and Julia Avenue were named after Frank, his wife and his daughter.\textsuperscript{1265} The remote location was served by motor buses, another innovation of the 1920s. Just as the Mato Moiro community had clustered around the Cathedral, so the Tsimshatsui community grew up close to Rosary Church, built on Chatham Road in 1905, and the adjacent St Mary’s School.\textsuperscript{1266} With the continuing development of Kowloon, another Portuguese community grew up close to St Teresa’s Church, built in 1928 in Kowloon Tong at the corner of Prince Edward Road and Waterloo Road.

![St Teresa’s Church, built in 1928 in Kowloon Tong, its steeple a prominent landmark at the corner of Prince Edward Road and Waterloo Road. Looking west along Prince Edward Road towards Mongkok.](image)

Unidentified press cutting, possibly from China Mail, in J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/14.1/33, folio 149.

Close by was Hong Kong’s second major Catholic boys’ school, La Salle College, built in the prevailing architectural idiom of a granite-faced central pile surmounted by a dome. St Teresa’s and La Salle became the foci of a growing Portuguese community.\textsuperscript{1267} Another focus in Kowloon was Club Recreio. Although it was principally set up as a recreational facility it naturally served also as a social club, and was seen by Club Lusitano as a competitor. As the Portuguese population of

\textsuperscript{1265} A.M. Jorge da Silva, \textit{The Portuguese community in Hong Kong, a pictorial history}, vol. 1, pp. 20-21.


Mato Moiro declined, so did the membership of Club Lusitano. The two clubs therefore tended to have an inharmonious relationship.\textsuperscript{1268}

The banks were for the best part of a century the powerhouse of the colony of Hong Kong, and with it, of the Portuguese community there. There were three banks authorised to issue currency notes: the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, the Mercantile Bank and the Chartered Bank, the Hongkong Bank being the largest. It was by far the biggest financial institution in Hong Kong and by 1935, with the completion of Hong Kong’s first skyscraper (as it was then described), its physical presence was equally dominant. It was the first air-conditioned building in Hong Kong. Its fourteen storey bulk towered above the gracious Edwardian buildings of the early twentieth century. Its entrance was guarded by two snarling bronze lions, the paws of which were soon polished bright and smooth by Chinese customers touching them for good luck. A similar pair stood at the entrance of the bank’s Shanghai office on the Bund.

The bank’s hundreds of employees closely reflected the social and economic stratification of Hong Kong. The European staff, engaged on sterling contracts, occupied all managerial positions. The Chief Manager was the leader of Hong Kong's business community. A succession of eminent bankers occupied this important position, beginning with Sir Thomas Jackson, baronet, who retired in 1902 after 32 years in charge of the bank.\textsuperscript{1269} His statue, larger than life size, was the only one in Statue Square other than royalty, for in Hong Kong, Sir Thomas Jackson was royalty. For another half-century, most of his successors were also knighted. If the huge bronze effigy of Sir Thomas Jackson personified the solidity of the British presence in Hong Kong, the fate of another Chief Manager, Sir Vandeleur Grayburn, would symbolise its ultimate fragility. Sir Vandeleur, at whose urging the grand

\textsuperscript{1268} L.A. de Sá, \textit{Boys from Macau}, pp. 85-93; English translation, p. 51; [Re invitations to dinner at Club Lusitano for Governor of Macau] ‘Our fellows are a curious lot. As usual the fighting comes from people best able to afford spending but who will not stir a finger to take part in any communal affairs in ordinary everyday life. Well, they have been served a lesson this time’. [They were not invited to the dinner]. J.P. Braga, then President of Club Lusitano was invited to all community functions marking this visit except the reception held by Club Recreio. J.P. Braga to J.M. Braga 24 September 1927, J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/2,3/3.

\textsuperscript{1269} The plinth bears a plaque reading ‘In honour of Sir Thomas Jackson, Bart. (1841-1915) and in grateful recognition of his eminent services to the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation whose destiny he guided as Chief Manager from 1870 to 1902’. It is the only statue remaining in Statue Square.
Head Office was built, starved to death in Stanley Prison during the Japanese Occupation.\textsuperscript{1270}

The segregation of the Bank’s workforce was complete, rigid and hierarchical. The cashiers were Chinese, through whose nimble fingers, skilled with the abacus, flowed the millions of dollars of cash transactions. No less skilled were the Portuguese clerks, whose recording of transactions was accurate, precise, and always

\textit{The staff of the Hongkong Bank, on the occasion of the opening of the new building, 10 October 1935. Seated in the centre is the Chief Manager, Vandeleur Grayburn. On his left is the Portuguese Chief Clerk, F.X. (Chiquito) Soares. At the right end of the row of senior staff is the Chinese comprador.}

\textit{J.M. Braga Pictures Collection, National Library of Australia.}

The Portuguese and Chinese were then sent back to work while another photograph was taken of the 32 ‘Eastern staff’, i.e. the British staff. This was published, captioned with their names, in the Bank’s official history (F.H.H. King, Hongkong Bank between the wars and the bank interned, 1919-1945, illustration 12 between pp. 186 and 187).

\textsuperscript{1270} He died of ‘malnutrition and medical neglect’ on 21 August 1943. F.H.H. King, \textit{The Hongkong Bank between the wars and the bank interned, 1919-1945}, p. 623. During its construction and well after its opening in 1935, the building was enviously termed ‘Grayburn’s folly’ by his enemies – all the other taipans.
presented in excellent calligraphy. The (Chinese) Comprador and the (Portuguese) Chief Clerk were important personages in their respective spheres of operation, but until the 1960s, had no signing rights, reserved for the British managers.  

A photograph of the whole staff, proudly assembled outside the new building clearly indicated how important the Portuguese clerks were to the Bank’s operations. It could not operate without them; equally, they could not have survived without the bank. Another photograph from the same period shows seventy gathered for the annual dinner of the Portuguese staff.

![Annual dinner of the Portuguese staff of the Hongkong Bank, ca. 1940](image)

*J.M. Braga Pictures collection, National Library of Australia*

By the 1930s, sporting teams had become well established in the Portuguese community, and these were reflected in the sporting activities of the bank clerks. Hockey and soccer became the games of choice, and there were plenty of candidates for the teams set up within the Bank. Its new building was divided by a splendid entrance hall, so a North vs. South competition was held. The clerks on the north

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1272 It is interesting to see that the Portuguese Chief Clerk and the Chinese Chief Cashier were both seated among the small managerial group in the front. Behind, standing in serried ranks were the British staff, behind them a much larger number of Portuguese clerks, and behind them again, the Chinese cashiers. The total staff in the photograph exceeded two hundred. After World War II it grew still larger. By late 1961, the number of Portuguese employees of the bank reached 520: 470 men and 50 women, according to a Portuguese community source, *Lusitano Newsletter*, October 1961.
side of the vestibule played the clerks on the south side, a spectacular example of the insularity into which this community had slipped.

Jim Silva, a bank officer of that era reflected in 1999:

We were comfortable with a lot that placed us on an economic level much lower than that of the European colonials, but also at the same time we were economically better off than the Chinese. There was never much in the way of dissent or rebellion against a system that was overtly racist, not to say inherently unfair and unjust.\(^{1273}\)

On the contrary, until World War II, this was seen to be part of the natural order, instantly rent asunder by the Japanese Occupation. Not all could let go. Philippe Yvanovich, a young member of the Bank staff, wrote of his boss, who like himself was a POW at Shamshuipo Camp, and would go down to the parade ground each evening and bow to the Bank, clearly visible across the harbour.\(^{1274}\)

Already deeply institutionalised, the Portuguese employees of the Hongkong Bank became even more so after World War II. A senior officer of the 1960s, John Allen, Head of the Securities Dept from 1963 to 1966, and Acting Chief Accountant in 1966, has given a useful account of the role of the bank’s Portuguese employees just before they began to leave. Nothing had changed since the 1930s.

There were between 40 and 50 in the Securities Dept, all but two of whom were Portuguese. This department was part of the Chief Accounts Dept, where there were hundreds of Portuguese. The Portuguese were in charge of the various sections of this department. Indeed all the clerical and supervisory staff were Portuguese. I relied heavily on Mr Hyndman, who was Chief Supervisor of Inward Bills. All the cashiers were Chinese, but the Comprador, who was in charge of cash, was more important than the Chief Cashier.\(^{1275}\)

It is interesting to observe the respect of Allen, aged 36 in 1963, for the senior Portuguese clerk, his subordinate.

The rapid recovery of Hong Kong’s economy after 1945 was accompanied by a severe housing shortage. The renovation of badly looted premises and the provision of new construction lagged well behind employment opportunities. The Bank had

\(^{1273}\) F.A. (‘Jim’) Silva, Things I Remember, p. 12.
\(^{1274}\) P. Yvanovich, My wartime experience, p. 22. This was possibly Luigi Ribeiro, whose memoirs proudly recount his loyalty to the Bank and his promotion ahead of others. Even on his own account of it, this was based not just on ability and merit but also subservience to his boss’s unreasonable demands (L. Ribeiro, ‘Personal account of war experiences’, p. 15).
\(^{1275}\) John Allen interview, 28 February 2011.
shown itself throughout its history to be a good employer within the cultural constraints of colonial society. It continued to be so after the war, and in 1949 took an important initiative in providing housing. Sir Arthur Morse, who succeeded Sir Vandeleur Grayburn as Chief Manager, authorised the construction of the ‘Luso Apartments’ in northern Kowloon. Most of the sixty apartments in three blocks were for families, as the bank’s clerical staff resumed their pre-war occupations and social life. In 1955 these buildings were replaced by three much larger buildings, prosaically named A, B and C Blocks, with a D Block added for bachelor accommodation. A resident of the ‘Bank Flats’ later estimated the total population as 520, including 110 single men in D Block. ‘Billy’ Soares, a former Bank clerk and resident of the Bank Flats, added:

When the buildings were completed bank employees who were selected to get an apartment were only charged 10% of their monthly salary. Regardless of what one was earning, the staff were given similar quarters for 10% of their salary. The selection process was conducted by the Portuguese Staff Association who had a committee with guidelines giving priority to those with seniority in service, their marital status, the number of children they had and other criteria which included job performance.1276

This program was so successful and the flats so eagerly sought after that the Bank later built an additional block of apartments. However, not long after this was completed, the flats were no longer needed. Following the serious riots in 1967 many Portuguese left the colony and the Bank had difficulty in filling the apartments. Some years later the Bank Flats were sold to the general public. By then there was no-one left to bow to the Bank.

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1276 José Alexandre ‘Billy’ Soares, interview with A.M Jorge da Silva, The Portuguese community in Hong Kong, vol. 2, p. 50. Management lacked the imagination to give the buildings Portuguese names, though a moment’s thought could have supplied suitable heroes from Portugal’s era of greatness.
Part 3 – Other communities: Indians, Jews and Americans

It is important to see how the Portuguese community, that ‘community apart’, fared in comparison with other non-Chinese communities. Three of these will be discussed. In 1941, the Portuguese, numbering some 10,000, was the largest, while the Indians, also with a well-defined niche in Hong Kong society, were next in size, numbering over 7,000. They offer some distinct similarities to the role occupied by the Portuguese as well as wide differences. The other two are the small Jewish community, enormously important in a colony where making money had always been the main pre-occupation. Last are the Americans, who from the 1950s onwards both rode a great wave of prosperity and propelled it forward with the unique drive and self-belief that American capitalism has come to possess. Neither the Jewish nor the American community should be seen in isolation from each other, or from the way in which a significant number of the Portuguese remnant also became part of the surge of prosperity as Hong Kong became what Jan Morris described as an ‘immense manufacturing and financial centre.’ With the large ‘clerk class’ having departed, they were able at last to set aside the stigma of disadvantage and inferiority and, though few in number, assumed a significant role in the commercial and professional life of Hong Kong. It is not proposed to analyse these three communities in depth; for the purpose of this thesis they will be sketched briefly in order to view Hong Kong society through a prism entirely different from the one in which the Portuguese had been seen for most of Hong Kong’s history.

Indians

The researcher into community relations in late colonial Hong Kong is indebted to the important pioneering study made in 1971 by K.N. Vaid into the Indian community. Taking the form of a research report rather than an article or a book, it discussed the historical background of the early Parsee merchants, moving on to the strong Indian presence in the security sector in the early twentieth century, then concluding with a survey, chiefly based on interviews, with the Indian mercantile community of the post-World War II era. It is much to be regretted that no similar

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1277 K.N. Vaid, *The Overseas Indian Community in Hong Kong*, p. 20, quoting the Hong Kong Census Report, 1941.
1279 K.N. Vaid, *The Overseas Indian Community in Hong Kong.*
study was taken of the Portuguese community at about the same time, before most of its members left Hong Kong for good.

The comparisons and contrasts between the two are striking. In the first place, both of these groups, far more numerous than the transient expatriate British community, were scarcely noticed by their British rulers. They were subservient functionaries, of whom little notice was taken. This was because in the period under discussion both occupied well-defined and quite rigid occupational niches in the social and economic structure of colonial Hong Kong.

In order to discuss the Indian community in relation to the Portuguese, it is necessary to outline its development. The significance of the nineteenth century Parsees has been discussed in an earlier chapter. Although they were less than 0.25% of India’s population, their importance was considerable. They were free from the taboos on overseas travel that inhibited orthodox Hindus and were quick to learn English before other Indians did. Like most nineteenth century merchants, they gained rapid wealth by trading in opium, moving as well to liquor and cotton, and became major suppliers of entrepreneurial and managerial talent. Unlike later Indians, they made their mark in Hong Kong, the benefactions of Mody and Ruttonjee being particularly important. Besides his immense and lasting contribution to the establishment of Hong Kong University, viewed with strong disfavour by British colonial officials and merchants, Sir Hormusjee Mody paid for the canopied statue of Queen Victoria in Statue Square, the centrepiece of Chater’s vast praya reclamation. That, but not the university, won the acclaim of the British community. However, the endogamous nature of the Parsees eventually brought their presence to an end, accelerated by the abolition of the opium trade and the rise of a textile industry in Bombay, whence they had come and where they returned. In Hong Kong their numbers were always miniscule, their impact out of all proportion.

As the Parsees went, the Punjabis and Sikhs arrived, but in an entirely different role. The lawlessness of early Hong Kong has been referred to; the first five British governors were unable to overcome the ‘squeeze problem’ that sapped the

1280 K.N. Vaid, op. cit., p. 49.
1281 Ibid., p. 61.
1282 In 1908 there were 110 Parsees in Hong Kong, and 80 in 1938. They are commemorated in the names of Mody Road in the Mid-Levels and Bisney Road in Pokfulam.
effectiveness of Chinese police. In the 1860s McDonnell dealt with it by recruiting police from Punjab, where he had prior experience. It was done adroitly. Recruits were village boys who, according to Vaid, lacked social awareness and political consciousness.\textsuperscript{1283} The Shanghai Municipal Council adopted a similar policy; in both places, it was highly effective. By 1871, the Hong Kong Police Force was Indian with British officers, though from 1890, Chinese were again recruited.\textsuperscript{1284} By then, it was recognised that the Indians, while effective at law enforcement, were hated by the local population.

Prison officers were also largely recruited from the same Indian communities, and for a longer period, since it was not important to have local people visible on the streets, as it was with the police. In 1939, there were 226 Indian prison officers, again all Punjabi Muslims or Sikhs.\textsuperscript{1285} The Peakites, last to arrive in Stanley for internment in 1942, found themselves in the Indian prison warders’ quarters there for nearly four years, experiencing at first hand the inequalities of the British colonial system. Other internees rather unkindly referred to the place as ‘the Peak’, and its inhabitants as the ‘Peak coolies’.\textsuperscript{1286}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image}
\caption{Indian policemen standing over Chinese prisoners in the stocks, ca. 1905. The fact that this posed photograph was issued as a postcard makes it all the more objectionable. B. Davis (ed.), Historic Postcards of Hong Kong, p. 60.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{1283} They knew nothing of the nascent demands for \textit{swaraj}, and until the Amritsar massacre of 1919, the Sikhs had no quarrel with the British. K.N. Vaid, op. cit., pp. 37-38.
\textsuperscript{1284} In 1871 there were 182 Sikhs and 126 Punjabi Muslims. By the early twentieth century, though the number of Indians had increased to 700, there was an equal number of Chinese policemen to deal with a much larger population. There were still 744 Indian police in 1939. K.N. Vaid, op. cit., pp. 38, 41. However, in the event of trouble, the Indians were armed, but not the Chinese. P. Snow, op. cit., Photograph 6, between pp. 196 and 197.
\textsuperscript{1285} K.N. Vaid, op. cit., p. 41.
\textsuperscript{1286} G. Wright-Nooth, \textit{Prisoner of the Turnip Heads}, p. 100.
The war placed the Indian police and prison warders in a very difficult position. They were trained to give unquestioning obedience to the government of the day, but had no natural loyalty to the British Crown. Instructed to obey their new Japanese masters, they were also warned that those who refused would be shot. Eight were so dealt with; the others complied, for they had no option.\footnote{1287} The Japanese were less successful in recruiting Indian soldiers into their Indian National Army, partly due to the steadfastness of the only officer remaining in the Indian POW Camp, Captain Mateen Ahmed Ansari, who endured months of torture for refusing to abjure the King’s Commission, and was posthumously awarded the George Cross for his most conspicuous gallantry.\footnote{1288} While some Sikh guards were harsh, never forgetting Amritsar, others held an abiding regard for their former bosses, one of whom was given a bottle of rum by a former constable, now a warder, with the words ‘Sahib, Sahib, the Union Jack forever fluttering in my heart’.\footnote{1289}

When the war ended, British bosses released from Stanley were amazed at the number of Indians as well as Chinese who were soon back at their old posts, and in the subsequent war crimes trials Indian testimony undoubtedly carried weight.\footnote{1290} However, the era of Indians in law enforcement ended with the war and Indian independence, as the Hong Kong Police could no longer recruit the callow youths of rural Punjab, now part of Pakistan. By 1952, there were only three Punjabis left in the Hong Kong Police.\footnote{1291}

The upheaval in India in 1947 brought a totally different group of Indians. These were Hindu Sindhis who fled to Bombay after Partition and then moved on to Hong Kong. Vaid identified two distinct occupational groups: Amils and Bhaibunds. The former were professionals. They were clerks and petty officials, while the Bhaibunds, much more numerous, were businessmen. Vaid characterised them sharply:

\footnote{1287} They were stranded without any other means of livelihood, and the Japanese paid the wages of those who kept working. While the Chinese starved, the Indian civil servants received favoured treatment, including a special monthly allowance of 7 lb. of flour until December 1943. Supplies then ran out as the war turned against Japan. (P. Snow, op. cit., pp. 104, 173; K.N. Vaid, op. cit., p. 41).

\footnote{1288} O. Lindsay, \textit{At the going down of the sun}, pp. 116-121. These are the words of the citation, London Gazette, 16 April 1946, p. 1949.

\footnote{1289} G. Wright-Nooth, op. cit., p. 96.

\footnote{1290} P. Snow, op. cit., pp. 268, 309.

\footnote{1291} K.N. Vaid, op. cit., p. 43.
A Bhaibund Sindhi loves living in style and tends to measure a person’s social status by the size of his bank account and the weight of gold loaded on his womenfolk ... [They have] shrewd bargaining instincts, smell for the market and adaptability ... [They have made] a smaller contribution to Hong Kong than the Parsees earlier ... [They are] more money-minded, less socially oriented ... [They are] shopkeepers and money-lenders and have remained such ... consequently they fail to make their presence felt ... even to serve their own community.1292

Not surprisingly, people like this became some of the prime movers in Hong Kong’s booming economy after the Korean War and the severe reverses of the 1967 riots. Similar communities of Indians in Kenya, Fiji and Papua incurred savage retribution from less entrepreneurial local people, but in materialistic Hong Kong, they did phenomenally well. Vaid treats them at some length. For the purposes of this study, it is sufficient to indicate the size and scope of the Bhaibund Sindhi group in Hong Kong. Vaid secured interviews with 184, reporting that ‘our respondents were very sensitive to the economic, social and political situation in the Colony’.1293 Of the 184 interviewees, 113 had come to Hong Kong between 1950 and 1959, and all had good commercial contacts before coming. Vaid identified 810 Indian businesses.

It is striking that the Indian businesses on Hong Kong Island in 1971 were concentrated around the crowded Hollywood Road, Wyndham Street and Wellington Street district which had been occupied principally by the very self-contained Portuguese community from the 1870s until the 1920s.

1292 Ibid., pp. 64, 65, 71, 77.
1293 Ibid., p. 78. A questionnaire sent out to 81 Indian businesses in 1971 proved unavailing, there being only eight respondents. These people, like the Portuguese, were insecure and fearful of the future, lest they become stateless persons in a Hong Kong abandoned by Britain.
The tailors were almost all in Tsimshatsui on the Kowloon side, for, like the Portuguese, the Indians tended to be territorial. As Vaid pointed out, some expressed doubt as to whether Hong Kong had a community in the sense that the word is understood elsewhere, regarding it as a plural society comprising refugees and expatriates not seeking integration into a larger community.\textsuperscript{1294} Some remarkable similarities and then some sharp differences between the two groups, Indians and Portuguese, should now be examined.

**SIMILARITIES**

When Vaid remarked that ‘unfortunately, historians of Hong Kong have conveniently by-passed the contributions made by Indians in developing the Colony’, he could easily have been writing about the Portuguese. He added that they ‘resigned themselves to letting the British claim all laurels’.\textsuperscript{1295} More to the point, both were subject to British control of Hong Kong’s economic and political direction, at least until the 1984 Accord, by which time the Portuguese had largely departed.

Both communities were ‘unable to beget social esteem’.\textsuperscript{1296} There were of course exceptions, but the British regarded both with contempt as inferior in a variety of ways, all stemming from entrenched attitudes developed in the high noon of Victorian imperialism and not fundamentally shaken until well after World War II. Yet neither became hostile towards their British masters. The Indians did not bring

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\textsuperscript{1294} Ibid., pp. 89, 90.  
\textsuperscript{1295} Ibid., p. 98.  
\textsuperscript{1296} Ibid., p.103.
to Hong Kong the violent passions that tore India asunder, while the Portuguese, originally from Macau, came from the only Portuguese overseas territory that did not join the violent upheaval between the 1950s and 1970s against the repressive regime of Salazar. The Indians and Portuguese in Hong Kong were content quietly to accept *Pax Britannica*. Writing in 1950, Harold Ingrams observed that both would wish the Colony to be British rather than Chinese.\(^{1297}\)

In consequence, both became self-contained and inward looking. The territorial characteristics of both have been noted, but for the Portuguese, it was for a long time a religious concentration. Orthodox Jewish communities often seek to set up an *eruv*, a physical demarcation of the boundary of the distance that a worshipper might walk to synagogue on the Sabbath. Similarly, the Portuguese community had to live within the sound of church bells, akin to an aural *eruv*. For the religiously and culturally diverse Indians, this was not a consideration, their concentration being driven more by occupation. There were tailors in Tsimshatsui on the Kowloon side and small merchants in what had been the Mato Moiro district on the Hong Kong side. Strangely, as late as 1971, there were only three Indian restaurants in each of these concentrations, whereas the Portuguese generally frequented Chinese restaurants.\(^{1298}\)

Neither had strong cultural interests beyond food and religious observances. Vaid looked in vain for an Overseas Indian cultural life of any substance in 1971. Beyond nightclub singers, it was absent from the Portuguese community also.\(^{1299}\) Apart from the Portuguese fondness for Chinese food, neither absorbed much from the majority Chinese culture or gave anything to it, beyond the adoption of a few Portuguese words such as *comprador, praya, shroff* and *nullah*. Even *tiffin*, in general use as a term for lunch, had disappeared by the 1950s. Relatively strong in numbers, they were weak in influence, unlike the Jews and Parsees, influential far beyond their numbers.

\(^{1297}\) H. Ingrams, *Hong Kong*, p. 248. Ingrams gave Colony a capital ‘C’.

\(^{1298}\) A.M. Jorge da Silva, *The Portuguese community in Hong Kong*, vol. 2. p. 54. Jorge da Silva observed that ‘Chinese restaurants were very popular as the food was very much to the liking of the Portuguese community and conformed to their unwritten criteria of “the three Bs” - “Bom, bonito, barato” (good, attractive, and cheap)’.

\(^{1299}\) *Pace* Caroline Braga, who became a significant concert pianist as well as a music teacher. However, she did not identify with the Portuguese community.
DIFFERENCES

While both groups suffered from stereotypes, these were opposite. Not all Indians were rich, although they were considered to be rich, because of the conspicuous display of wealth by some. Vaid established that by far the majority ran small businesses, employing mainly family members and working very long hours for small rewards, and living in cramped, often squalid accommodation. Similarly, but contrastingly, not all Portuguese were ill-paid clerks, humble in both senses of the word. The decision in 1871 to make St Joseph’s College an Anglophone school, followed by several generations of higher education for a few, eventually succeeded in establishing an upper middle class with some wealthy individuals.

A major point of difference between the two communities was the Japanese Occupation. It placed the Indians in a difficult position, with most of them having to come to terms with the Japanese rulers. The difficulties faced by the Portuguese were of a different order. They had a strong loyalty, if not to the British, then to Hong Kong, which in the course of several generations, had become their homeland. It was a loyalty the Indians never had, and few, if any, served in the HKVDC. Apart from the several hundred Portuguese POWs imprisoned in Hong Kong, thousands fled to Macau, with few remaining in the waste land that Hong Kong had become. The Indians had nowhere to go.

The major differences emerged in the two decades between 1950 and 1970. For the most part, the Portuguese remained socially and economically static, whereas the Bhaibund Sindhis, far more entrepreneurial, exploited their economic opportunities to the full. Thus, while most of the Portuguese decided to get out, the Indians arrived in large numbers. The 10,000 who identified themselves as Portuguese in 1941, still roughly the same number in 1961, fell away to perhaps 1,000 in the early twenty-first century, many of them being ethnic Chinese with some Portuguese background.

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1300 K.N. Vaid, op. cit., p. 30. This may account for the small number of Indian restaurants at the time of his study.
1301 The business empire of the Harilelas originated with a small tailoring shop behind the Peninsula Hotel, renamed by the conquerors the Toa (i.e. East Asia) Hotel. Here they stitched uniforms for Japanese officers. P. Snow, op. cit., p. 159.
By contrast, the Indian community, numbering 7,379 in 1941, increased by 1966 to between 17,500 and 22,000.\textsuperscript{1302}

There remains one major difference, perhaps the most important. After the Parsee leaders of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Indians did not produce any significant community leaders thereafter. Their concentration on money-making is perhaps the main reason for this, together with the powerful rise of Chinese leadership after 1967. Indeed, it might be said that there was no real sense of an Indian community. By contrast, the Portuguese community had a very strong sense of identity: \textit{nossa gente}. It produced a succession of significant leaders, not only of their own community, but of the whole of Hong Kong. First was J.P. Braga, ‘that great old Hong Kong citizen’, as Henry Ching epitomised him. He led the way for others, who stood on his shoulders: Leo d’Almada, Sir Albert Rodrigues, Sir Roger Lobo and Comendador Arnaldo Sales, to name the most significant.\textsuperscript{1303}

Vaid put his finger on this important deficiency among the Indians in severe terms. ‘Money, unless it is used for wider social purposes, is more likely to generate contempt than prestige’, adding that the Indian community ‘should use its talents and resources to enrich the quality of life in the Colony’.\textsuperscript{1304} By contrast, members of the Portuguese community over a long period of time left their mark on Hong Kong in several significant ways.

\textbf{Jews}. In sharp contrast to the Portuguese community was the small but very significant Jewish community. Stereotypes never quite fit, but with these two groups the risk should be taken. One was entrepreneurial, the other unenterprising; one assertive, the other submissive; one seized business opportunities, the other inclined to let them slip through their fingers. In short, one grew very rich, while the other remained poor, as it had been since 1640. Initially, Jewish wealth came through opium, a fact freely recognised by the Jewish community. It was ‘a trade that

\textsuperscript{1302}Vaid’s estimate, op. cit., pp. 20, 21.
\textsuperscript{1303}In the course of a very long and distinguished public service, Sales easily earned a knighthood, but had decided to retain his Portuguese citizenship, not having been born in Hong Kong. He received high awards in Portuguese orders and the Order of the Bauhinia, Hong Kong’s own honours system.
\textsuperscript{1304}K.N. Vaid, op. cit., pp. 103-104.
brought swift prosperity’. Though initially and predominantly based in Shanghai until after World War II, the Jews retained the significance they had already gained in the economy of Hong Kong far beyond their numbers. The importance of the Sassoons and Kadoories, two Sephardic families, has already been discussed, but from the 1930s, the Jewish community grew larger and more diversified. There had been a Jewish cemetery from 1855, and a synagogue from 1881, when there were 71 Jews in Hong Kong. A Jewish Recreation Club was paid for in 1909 by Elly Kadoorie; he and his son Lawrence were the leaders of the Jewish community for most of the twentieth century until the latter’s death on 25 August 1993.

During the twentieth century it came to have a more cosmopolitan character. In 1900 there were 165 Jews in Hong Kong, but upheavals in Europe led by 1941 to the flight of some 20,000 Russian and Central European Jews to Shanghai, the only city in the world that would accept refugees without a visa. Some travelled further, to Hong Kong. There developed for the first time a community of Ashkenazim, refugees lacking the conspicuous wealth of the well-established Sephardim. World War II affected the Jews as much as other people in Hong Kong. Fourteen names are listed on the synagogue’s Roll of Honour – a high proportion for a small group. Too British to claim any other nationality, Lawrence and Horace Kadoorie were rounded up and sent to Stanley Camp, but their influence secured their release and they went to Shanghai, where Sir Elly was allowed to spend his last two years at Marble Hall, though his two sons, Lawrence and Horace, were interned. On 12 September 1945 Lawrence made his way back to Hong Kong as soon as possible, most appropriately sitting on a pile of bank notes being flown in by the R.A.F. to replace the Japanese Military Yen.

Despite the horrors of the Holocaust, anti-Semitism was still evident in post-war Hong Kong, and Jews continued to be ostracised, even in the Parents’ Association of King George V School, where a Jewish mother was not wanted on the

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1306 It was replaced in 1902, when the fine Ohel Leah (‘House of Leah’) synagogue was built in memory of his mother by Sir Jacob Sassoon, baronet, at 70 Robinson Road, at the edge of the large Portuguese community at Mato Moiro. D. Maynard & G. Ngan, *A History of the Jewish Community in Hong Kong 1843-1995*, pp. 15-19. This is the source of most of the information in this section.
1307 Those who remained in Shanghai endured two more major catastrophes: the Japanese Occupation of Shanghai, no less severe than it was in Hong Kong, and then the Communist revolution in 1949. Most then fled again, often for the third time since reaching Harbin, their first city of refuge. Hong Kong was the transit point for most, but some remained there.
1308 N. Cameron, *Power*, p. 151. He told the story to Nigel Cameron with much relish nearly forty years later; F.S.V. Donnison, op. cit., p. 205.
The community became, like the rest of non-Chinese Hong Kong, increasingly diverse after World War II. By 1995, the Ohel Leah Synagogue had 235 families on its roll of members, with seventeen nationalities. It was not a community much given to religious observance. In 1963, a prominent Jewish visitor to Hong Kong deplored that fact that there was no established Jewish community, though there were about 200 Jews in Hong Kong. He had attended two services at the Synagogue, but on both occasions there was not a quorum of ten people, so the service could not start. Yet thirty years later, there was sufficient strength and interest to refurbish and redevelop the synagogue and the site of the old Recreation Centre in what by then had become a district of high rise apartments. Long gone was the ‘leafy well vegetated area amidst mainly large residences in expansive grounds’.

**Americans.** Quite different were the Americans. The great Jewish families of the Far East were dynastic; the Americans were not, and few of them made their homes in Hong Kong. In terms of their movement, the American community affords another remarkable contrast to the Portuguese community. As the Portuguese community was departing en masse in the 1960s and 1970s, Americans, like the Sindhi Indians, were beginning to arrive in large numbers. They were not, of course, immigrants, as the Portuguese had been in the previous century. Ironically, while many Americans were coming to Hong Kong seeking opportunities for greater wealth as the British had done a century earlier, many Hong Kong Portuguese were going to America, also seeking opportunities to better themselves and their families. Broadly speaking, both groups succeeded.

The British in Hong Kong kept the Americans at arm’s length as long as they could. American traders came through the 1st Chinese War between 1839 and 1842 with little trouble by acceding to Lin Zexu’s demands; it did not endear them to the British, many of whom sustained great losses. Several American firms retained their

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1309 ‘Poor Mrs Frenkel, no-one seconded my proposal that she be put down on the list of candidates for the Committee, until Mr Jennings finally did so himself. Of course she wasn’t voted in, but two people who hadn’t troubled to attend the meeting were!’ Louie Braga to Audrey Braga, 30 March 1954. Paul Braga Papers. [I knew her son Robert Frenkel, who was in my class at KG Five School in 1951. He was known to be Jewish.]


1311 K. McDougall and B. Pettman, *The Ohel Leah Synagogue, Hong Kong*, p. 19. 430
importance for some decades, notably Russell & Co. and Heard & Co. Douglas Story’s envy in 1907 of the ‘enterprising Americans’ has been referred to in an earlier chapter. An early example of that enterprise was their importation of ice in 1847. With their acquisition of the Philippine Islands in 1899, they came much closer, and there were also many American Protestant missionaries in China. The British Establishment did not much care for the Americans, who did not fit readily into Hong Kong’s rigid hierarchies. Sir Vandeleur Grayburn (it is impossible to imagine an American having a name like that!) possibly spoke for others in the acidulous comment, ‘there is only one American in the Bank and that is one too many.’

In the 1920s, the Braga boys who went to North America travelled in liners named Empress of Japan and Empress of Australia. In 1940, the Empresses were used for the evacuation of British civilians. In the 1960s, the emigrants seeking a new life in America went aboard the President Cleveland and President Wilson. Few yet travelled by plane, but the first casualty of the Japanese air strike at Kai Tak airport on 8 December 1941 was, oddly enough, a Panam Clipper, sunk in Kowloon Bay at 8.00 a.m., its scheduled time of take-off.

The economic take-off came soon after the war. With Britain’s position in the world greatly diminished and its hold on Hong Kong uncertain, the United States was

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1312 J. Morris, *Hong Kong*, p. 111. The innovation is preserved in the name of Ice House Street in Central. It had earlier been imported by Jardine Matheson in 1843, but this may not have been the beginning of regular shipments. The arrival of the first cargo of ice from Chusan (Zhoushan) on 7 February 1843 was seen in Hong Kong as an historic event (W. Tarrant, op. cit., p. 77).
1313 It was through American missionaries that Olive Braga was converted in 1906, not the China Inland Mission or the Church Missionary Society, both British missions, and much better known in Hong Kong than American missions.
1315 A. Jorge da Silva, *Diaspora Macaense to California*, pp. 15, 16, 55.
1316 G. Wright-Nooth, *Prisoner of the Turnip Heads*, p. 46; G.E. Baxter, *Personal experiences during the siege of Hong Kong*, p. 3. There was bad blood at Stanley Camp between the 316 Americans and the 2,551 British. The Americans were far better organised, and the British felt that they received better treatment from the Japanese. Snow considered that may indeed have been the case, with the Japanese Government hoping until May 1942 for a negotiated peace with the USA after its remarkable conquests throughout the Far East (P. Snow, op. cit., p. 136). The major battles in the Coral Sea in May and Midway in June ended any such hopes, but the American civilians were nevertheless repatriated in June (G.E. Baxter, *Personal experiences*, pp. 29, 42-48). The number of internees is disputed between various sources. I have adopted the number given by an unidentified internee who added extensive notes to a copy of Baxter’s book in my possession. Obviously well-informed and precise in his detail, this man mentioned that he was in the HKVDC Army Service Corps. Reference to Tony Banham’s Hong Kong War Diary website suggests that he was one of three officers: Captain K.C. Hamilton, Captain A. Hutton-Potts or Captain T.R. Parsons.) www.hongkongwardiary.com. Accessed 19 August 2011.
overwhelmingly well-placed to muscle its way into the Hong Kong market, and it lost no time in doing so.\textsuperscript{1317} By 1950, Harold Ingrams, a senior British Colonial Officer appointed to write a book about Hong Kong, wrote, with a distinct note of disapproval, that there was ‘an American air about parts of Hong Kong’.\textsuperscript{1318} He observed that to money-making Chinese the American way of life makes a strong appeal.\textsuperscript{1319} Chinese wanting to learn spoken English now definitely preferred to speak with an American accent.

In 1950, the Korean War had the immediate effect of stopping Hong Kong’s commerce with China dead in its tracks. It forced Hong Kong’s businessmen to turn instead to manufacturing, which, with a pool of cheap, compliant labour, they did with vast success. American capital and managerial expertise were part of that success. In 1954, there were 50 American firms registered in Hong Kong, but by 1980 that had grown to 341. By 1990, with Hong Kong’s future clarified until 2047, Americanisation again accelerated, and the number had increased to 624.\textsuperscript{1320}

Cultural interchange grew rapidly in these years. For several centuries, Portuguese and Chinese cultures had little impact on each other in Macau or Hong Kong in terms of food, dress, architecture, language, religion or anything else. By contrast, within a couple of decades of World War II, the Hong Kong Chinese had readily begun to adopt American tastes, notwithstanding the 1967 riots. American and Japanese cars replaced British cars, though the Governor rode in a Rolls Royce until 1997, and the Peninsula Hotel continues to provide a fleet of them. In business, an American became Managing Director of Jardine, Matheson & Co.\textsuperscript{1321} The old Edwardian buildings on Chater’s 1903 praya were swept away, along with Grayburn’s 1935 ‘skyscraper’. In one of the new towers, overlooking the Hong Kong Club far below, perched the American Club on the 47\textsuperscript{th} floor.\textsuperscript{1322}

In all of this transformation, the small group of Portuguese who stayed in Hong Kong found a secure place. António Jorge da Silva listed 28 prominent professional

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1317} P. Snow, op. cit., p. 330.
\item \textsuperscript{1318} H. Ingrams, op. cit., p. 32.
\item \textsuperscript{1319} Ibid., p. 122.
\item \textsuperscript{1321} P. Snow, op. cit., p. 332.
\item \textsuperscript{1322} J. Morris, op. cit., p. 113.
\end{itemize}
and business people, who remained. They were the educated elite of lawyers, doctors and architects who had already achieved success and who saw no reason to leave, but they were a small group. The two Portuguese clubs no longer served an ethnic community. Club Recreio was largely Chinese by 2005. Club Lusitano, just as ethno-centric as the Hong Kong Club had been for well over a century, endeavoured to remain so, and also rebuilt its premises late in the twentieth century, the club occupying an eyrie atop the resulting 27 storey office tower. In 1950 the old club had 450 members. By 2005 it had only 92, and was forced to widen its horizons.

Part 4 – Restive aspirations: ‘we wonder what the future will be’

The experience of the employees of the Bank served to show how utterly dependent the Portuguese community was on prosperity generated by others. Reviewing the twenty years in Hong Kong after World War II, a Macanese writer concluded:

The hardworking Portuguese community is poor. Their members are hard working with adaptable qualities that allow them to achieve the necessary remuneration for their survival. However this remuneration was inadequate to achieve their independence they so much yearned for and, in the majority, [they] relied on their English superiors, without being able to form their own trading firms that would have allowed them to own properties in association with their own countrymen and a guarantee of certain independence.

The Bank looked after its clerical staff in a benign and paternalistic way. That held true also for most of the British companies as their staff filtered back after the war. Many turned up to their old posts, helped get things going again, and their presence was largely taken for granted. That was certainly true of the treatment given to the former members of the HKVDC. One of the first decisions of the

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1324 H. Ingrams, op. cit., p. 250.
1325 In December 2010, the University of NSW law alumni in Hong Kong, all Chinese, headed by a judge of the High Court, held a dinner there in honour of Sir Anthony Mason, the former Chief Justice of the High Court of Australia. It would have been unthinkable fifty years earlier for them to choose such a venue, or for the club to accept them.
1327 P. Snow, op. cit., p. 268. The elderly Chinese head ‘Boy’ in the English mess of the Bank was back behind the bar on the day the bank re-opened. It was still spoken of appreciatively years afterwards. Information from John Allen, sometime Head of the Securities Department.

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British Military Administration in September 1945 was to extend generous benefits to the European members of the Volunteers, including repatriation and cash benefits. Their pay extended to the date of their release. Yet this decision excluded the Chinese, Portuguese and Eurasian members of the Volunteers. Some 300 Portuguese had worn the King’s uniform and 26 were killed. 1328 The service of the survivors was deemed to have ended on the day of the British surrender in 1941, not the Japanese surrender in 1945. 1329 Soon after the return of the British, Caroline Braga wrote:

Had Father lived, he would have been sadly disappointed with conditions today. All the promises made to the Portuguese volunteers before the war were not fulfilled by the British Government. They have no-one who will fight for them as Father did, so we wonder what the future will be for them. 1330

It was an appalling injustice, which led to lasting bitterness and alienation. 1331 Donnison, the historian of the British Military Administration, admitted that ‘these provisions discriminated to some extent in favour of Europeans and ... aroused considerable feeling’. However, his bland statement that ‘the situation was ultimately satisfactorily cleared up on the basis of liberal and, as far as possible, equal treatment for all’ is wide of the mark. 1332 During the war, the shared privations of camp life broke down social barriers, but following this decision they reappeared almost at once. 1333

The returning British civilian administration did indeed make some concessions. 1334 The repeal of the Peak District (Residence) Ordinance in 1946 was, commented the British writer Philip Snow, a ‘spectacular break with the past’. 1335 A significant step in the endeavour to utilise the talents of key members

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1328 A. Jorge da Siva, *The Portuguese Community in Hong Kong*, vol. 1, p. 31.
1332 F.S.V. Donnison, op. cit, p. 209. This simply did not happen. Moreover, money advanced during the war to their dependents had to be repaid. Repeated attempts to reverse this regrettable decision were unavailing.
1333 L. Ribeiro, ‘Personal account of war experiences’, p. 16.
1334 These were spelt out in some detail by P. Snow, op. cit., pp. 287-296.
1335 P. Snow, op. cit., p. 291. It would be, remarked the Attorney General, G.E. Strickland, introducing the Bill in the Legislative Council, ‘out of harmony with the spirit of the times to retain it’. (Ordinance to Repeal the Peak District (Residence) Ordinance, 1918, *Hong Kong Hansard*, 19 July 1946).
of the local community was the appointment of Leo d’Almada as President of the General Military Court, trying Japanese war criminals and collaborators. Sir Mark Young came back as governor in May 1946 with a plan for political reform to engage local people, but it was swept aside by the on-rush of events as the Nationalist government collapsed in China, and more than a million refugees flooded the colony, overwhelming all its services and ending any thought of political reform. Whereas Churchill’s government had been reluctant to bolster the Hong Kong garrison in 1941, Attlee’s Labour government did so in 1950. There were then 30,000 troops in Hong Kong, and they seemed to give a much greater degree of solidity and permanence to the British presence. Young was replaced in 1947 by Sir Alexander Grantham, who had served in Hong Kong between 1922 and 1934, beginning as a cadet in the Colonial Service, and who comfortably returned to the old ways. He was strongly opposed to constitutional reform, and the Young Plan was quickly forgotten.

As a result, the old arrogance, at first greatly humbled by the war, soon returned. John Braga, accepted as a European in China Light in the 1930s, and despite his Home Leave entitlement, found himself treated as a Portuguese clerk in the 1950s, with the social stigma that implied. Younger men in that community reacted badly against this; for them the world was changing. Horatio Ozorio, a bank clerk in the Hongkong Bank who later became a bank executive in California, expressed what was a common experience for many people in a similar position.

My father’s generation and the generations before his, to put it bluntly, were obsequiously servile under their British masters ... World War II seems to have cleansed the atrophy from the thinking of the Macanese by having knocked down what had been their bailiwick in the three-tiered society that was Hong Kong’s

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1336 Its proceedings were extensively reported by the *South China Morning Post*. A file of undated press cuttings in the writer’s possession reporting the trials, compiled by an unknown member of the HKVDC, runs to 18 foolscap pages. D’Almada died in Hong Kong aged 93 in 1996. Among the obituaries was an Australian one: J.B. Correa, ‘Eulogy to Leonardo D’Almada e Castro, C.B.E., LL.D., Q.C.’, *Casa Down Under: Newsletter of the Casa de Macau, Australia*, October 1996.

1337 S. Tsang, ‘Grantham, Sir Alexander, in in M. Holdsworth and C. Munn (eds), *Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography*, p. 163. Grantham noted approvingly in his memoirs that ‘in a crown colony the Governor is next to the Almighty. Everyone stands up when he enters a room. He is deferred to on all occasions.’ A. Grantham, *Via Ports*, p. 107.

1338 Discussed in some detail by Philip Snow, whose sources included interviews in the 1990s with Hong Kong people who in the 1950s and 1960s would never have opened their mouths. The absence of written evidence is telling. P. Snow, op. cit., pp. 321-324.
before the war. With the Chinese gaining ascendancy, the younger generation started looking overseas for a better life. Glowing reports filtered back from America by the courageous few who had taken the plunge and left the Far East for greater opportunities in America. So, feeling as I did about the colonials and the colonial system, I joined the Macanese exodus from Hong Kong.\textsuperscript{1339}

Several others expressed similar feelings about the pushes and the pulls that intending emigrants always experience. One judgment was severe. ‘Not to mince words, a colonial structure such as Hong Kong’s was fundamentally racist and essentially toxic.’\textsuperscript{1340} For another Macanese, Gerry McDougall, the contempt with which his father was treated by Jardine, Matheson & Co., the ‘princely hong’, was enough to make him want to leave.

My father, a British subject, had once been taipan of Jardines in Swatow (Shantou) before World War II ... at the end of the war Jardines sent him to Hong Kong where he was one of their senior accountants. After an accumulated 30 years of loyal service with Jardines he was told to step down from his position when Jardines brought a young expatriate from the UK to replace him. To say my father was devastated is putting it mildly! To add insult to injury, my father now had to teach this younger and less-experienced man his job and then become this man’s subordinate.\textsuperscript{1341}

The egalitarianism of a younger generation exposed to American culture led to restive aspirations. These received a sudden and decisive shock in the riots which swept over Macau and Hong Kong in 1966 and 1967. It should have come as no surprise that the Chinese wanted the British out. There was a long history of unrest, some of which has been referred to in this thesis.\textsuperscript{1342} The 1925-1926 General Strike and boycott was easily the most serious episode, and was poorly handled by Sir Reginald Stubbs, with his open contempt for the Chinese, who had begun to realise

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\textsuperscript{1340} Arthur J. Remedios, in A.M. Jorge da Silva, \textit{Diaspora Macaense to California}, p. 40
\textsuperscript{1341} Still rankling from his father’s humiliation, McDougall, who worked for China Light, experienced a minor slight of his own, trivial but telling. Given 25 cents by a newly-arrived expatriate engineer from the UK to buy him a 20 cent bottle of Coca Cola, McDougall was told to keep the change. ‘It still galls me today’, added McDougall in 2009. A generation earlier, a member of the ‘Portuguese clerk class’ would have accepted the implied mendicancy without demur. No longer! (G. McDougall, in A.M. Jorge da Silva, \textit{Diaspora Macaense to California}, p. 45). John Allen (interview, 4 April 2010) observed that, arriving in 1955 aged 29, he could not have done without Mr Hyndman. This may have been Henrique Hyndman, #25453, (b. 4 October 1891, d. 18 May 1959), then a senior member of the Portuguese staff.
\textsuperscript{1342} Two nineteenth century examples are the poisoning incident in 1857 and the strenuous opposition to cleansing measures in the plague of 1894.
\end{flushleft}
the efficacy of the strike and the boycott as weapons against the privileged position of the foreigners in China.1343

Part 5 – To find a better future: the Diaspora of the Hong Kong Portuguese community

Protracted negotiations in 1944 and 1945 between the governments in London and Chungking did not lead to the return of Hong Kong to China together with the end of extraterritoriality, to the fury of Chiang Kai-shek. The fact that the People’s Republic of China left Hong Kong and Macau alone in 1949 ought not to have been seen by their rulers as Chinese acquiescence in the presence of these two reminders of China’s years of weakness, but it was.

Two aspects of the British return in 1945 were indicative. The second massive wave of looting in late August showed that the looters rejected the legitimacy, not only of the presence of the British but their property as well. The second was that as soon as the British fleet arrived, Chinese flags flew everywhere. Henry Ching’s gossip column in the South China Morning Post, ‘A bird’s eye view’, noted: ‘Plenty of Chinese flags up yesterday but very few British.’1344 The Union Jack flew only on government and military buildings. More than a decade later, riots in 1956 triggered by the removal of a Chinese Nationalist flag led to the deaths of more than sixty people. They were fomented, according to the governor, by ‘gangsters and hooligans’.1345 No real change followed.

Events in 1966 and 1967 were far more serious. It lies outside the scope of this thesis to discuss them in any detail, or to indicate how they changed the thinking of the British administrators who ran the Hong Kong Government and rather despised all

1344 South China Morning Post, 3 September 1945. ‘On nearly every house flew the flag of China’ added F.S.V. Donnison, op. cit., p. 202. However, it should be pointed out that very few Union Jacks would have survived the Japanese Occupation. To be discovered with one would have meant death. At the Fanling Babies’ Home, an orphanage in the New Territories run by two English missionaries, a Union Jack ‘had been made from oddments of red, white and blue cloth hastily assembled and raised with joy’. Unfortunately, this at once attracted looters. J. Doggett, The Yip family of Amah Rock, p. 193.
1345 A. Grantham, op. cit., p. 191.
beneath them. The trouble was so serious and far-reaching that it took many years before a detailed historical study could be undertaken in English.¹³⁴⁶

Like many major social and political upheavals, the flashpoint seemed almost trivial: an increase of fares on the Star Ferry in April 1966, which led to four days of rioting in Kowloon.¹³⁴⁷ Much worse was to come. At the end of the year, Macau lapsed into something approaching anarchy for several weeks. The mob’s first target was, predictably enough, the triumphalist statue in the Largo do Senado of Mesquita, who had humiliated the Chinese in 1849.¹³⁴⁸

The following year, Hong Kong too was caught up from May until December in the turbulence of the Cultural Revolution in the People’s Republic. Transport was paralysed, and mobs roamed the streets daubing walls at will and chanting slogans at the gates of Government House. This was dismissed at the time as only a spillover from the Cultural Revolution in China, but Cheung’s study offered a more considered and complex view. He described this unprecedented explosion of popular fury as ‘Hong Kong’s watershed’, both for its people, and for their colonial masters. He maintained that this was the first generation of Hong Kong people to

¹³⁴⁷ The Commission of Inquiry into the 1966 riots was chaired by Sir Lindsay Ride, who as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Hong Kong was a leading member of the Establishment. The Commission concluded its report, completed in December 1966, with a blandly dismissive statement that almost immediately proved to be a serious misreading of a situation that was soon out of control. ‘We do not believe that political, economic and social frustrations were the direct cause of the 1966 riots but within the economic and social fields there are factors ... that need to be watched, lest they provide inflammable material which could erupt into disturbances should opportunity arise in the future’. Kowloon disturbances 1966; report of Commission of Inquiry, p. 148.
¹³⁴⁸ L. & M. Ride, The Voices of Macao Stones, p. 53. Mesquita’s ornate monument in S. Miguel Cemetery was not touched, although it is just inside the cemetery gate and easily accessible.
feel a sense of belonging to this place, rather than to the *heung ha*, one’s own village, which earlier generations had thought of as home. If so, then British rule must come to an end; in effect, people wanted the British out because Hong Kong was theirs.  

Slowly, the British administration adjusted to this new momentum in the affairs of what was now called a ‘territory’, not a ‘colony’.

Following their removal during the Japanese Occupation, no royal statues remained in Statue Square for the mobs to tear down, but in the next few years, many other symbols of British superiority disappeared. The self-congratulatory icons of imperialism were removed more completely than they had been by the Japanese. Another large topic outside the scope of this thesis is the rapid implementation of real change in an administration that for the first time discarded its Olympian mantle and sought to engage with the Chinese, 99% of Hong Kong’s population. Policies to open doors in government and business to Chinese were set in place. A door that opened at last was that of the Hong Kong Club.  

Half a century earlier, Sir Cecil Clementi, who did more than any other governor to break down communal barriers, told the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce:

> Nothing has been a cause to me of more anxiety ... than the fact that the Chinese and the European communities of Hong Kong, although in daily contact with each other, nevertheless move (as it were) in different worlds neither having any real comprehension of the mode of life or ways of thought of the other. This is a most regrettable misunderstanding which retards the social, moral and intellectual and even the commercial and material progress of the colony.

He went on to advocate the establishment of a new Sino-British Club, the Concord Club, in place of the exclusive and snobbish Hong Kong Club. Sadly, it was an idea well before its time.

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1349 Gary Ka-wai Cheung, op. cit., passim, but especially pp. 132-142.
1350 Two indicative examples will serve. Until 1974, English was the colony’s only official language. Chinese was then added, the language of the huge majority having been effectively ignored until then. In 1975, the Hong Kong Cricket Ground, set apart for public recreation, but sequestrated in 1851 for the sole use of a few British sportsmen, was quietly turned into a public park, Chater Garden. P. Snow, op. cit., p. 325. The shade of Robert Fraser-Smith, who had once set up a deck-chair on the cricket pitch in protest, would have been gratified.
1351 P. Snow, op. cit., p. 325.
In the rush to push local people forward after the riots, scant attention was paid to the Portuguese, numbering at that time about 10,000 people, more than any other local non-Chinese group.\(^{1353}\) However, that was still less than 0.05% of the total population; inevitably, only a few key people achieved prominence in the professions or in public life. Leo d’Almada returned to the Legislative Council in 1946, and was appointed CBE in 1953, the honour that J.P. Braga had hoped for.\(^ {1354}\) Unlike Braga, who died in reduced circumstances as a refugee in wartime Macau, d’Almada remained in Hong Kong to enjoy a serene and comfortable old age, and was interviewed in 1987 by the writer Jan Morris, who recognised in him a patriarch with a significant familial link with the origins of Hong Kong.\(^ {1355}\) Braga’s successors on Legco, as it came to be called, were all moneyed men: d’Almada, Rodrigues and Lobo. D’Almada was succeeded in 1953 by Dr Alberto Rodrigues, a member of Legco until 1974 and of the Executive Council from 1962 to 1974. As Sir Albert Rodrigues, he became in 1971 the first Hong Kong Portuguese to be knighted. He was succeeded on Legco by Rogério Hyndman Lobo, a successful businessman. He too was knighted in 1985, at the end of his term of office, anglicising his name as Sir Roger Lobo. Both knights survived into the twenty-first century, their imperial titles continuing to be recognised in the Hong Kong SAR.\(^ {1356}\) While their honours were awarded towards the end of the old order, they had climbed to its pinnacle; if not to The Peak. António Jorge da Silva, the most recent commentator on the Portuguese community of Hong Kong, pointed out that before the changes forced by the 1967 riots, the higher honours were beyond the reach of the Portuguese.

Had the attitude of colonial Britain been different immediately after the Second World War, Leo d’Almada e Castro would certainly have been honoured more than being appointed CBE. The same is true of José Pedro Braga. In 1935, he was appointed Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE). A lower award, this was regarded as a less than adequate reward for his services.\(^ {1357}\)

There was no Portuguese appointee in 1985 to succeed Sir Roger Lobo on Legco, for the community was dwindling rapidly. Despite his prominence in public affairs,

\(^{1353}\) C. Neves, ‘The Portuguese in Hongkong’, *Voz dos Macaense de Vancouver*, vol. 4 no. 4, November 2002. The British population was approximately 22,000. At least half were Service personnel.

\(^{1354}\) Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire.

\(^{1355}\) J. Morris, op. cit., p. 105.

\(^{1356}\) A.M. Jorge da Silva, The Portuguese community in Hong Kong, vol. 1, p. 20.

Arnaldo de Oliveira Sales did not secure this position, preferring to retain Portuguese nationality and identity. About the time of the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997, the Portuguese Consul-General estimated the remaining Portuguese community ‘at about 1,000, an aging community with comparatively few people’. The rest had departed long before. Jack Braga could not wait to get his valuable library out of Hong Kong at the first hint of trouble in 1966. Many more left after the serious trouble in 1967. In 1980, John Allen, returning to Hong Kong as Group Staff Controller after postings with the Hongkong Bank elsewhere, found a very different scene. All the Portuguese had gone.

Nearly thirty years later, António Jorge da Silva interviewed some who had gone to America. ‘Before the War none of us ever thought we would leave Hong Kong or Macau. We were born there, it was our home.’ The emigrants of the 1960s and 1970s did not regard themselves as temporary exiles, waiting for the first opportunity to return, as in the grim years of exile between 1942 and 1945. This was a final break with the place that had been home for generations. Asked how the Hong Kong Portuguese should be remembered, one of them responded:

they should be remembered as a people who shared a strong communal bond, who worked hard and played well, who were good cooks and enjoyed their food, who were committed to family, and most importantly, who had the courage to surrender their comfortable lives to seek a better life for their families in countries where they could be fully-fledged citizens.

It is a succinct summation of the views of thousands of others who went to the United States, Canada, Australia, Britain, Portugal and Brazil, there to find a better future.

1359 John Allen Interview, 28 February 2011.  
1361 Eleanor Orth, Washington State. Response to the author’s questionnaire. 11 December 2009. A.M. Jorge da Silva, The Portuguese Community in Hong Kong, vol. 2, p. 75. She added: ‘I enjoyed my life in Hong Kong and feel very privileged to have had all those wonderful experiences and opportunities. But I am immensely grateful for having had the opportunity to immigrate to the U.S., to become a U.S. citizen, and to enjoy a wonderful life in this great country. I not only have no regrets, I am happy and grateful to call the U.S. my home.’
Conclusion

For much of their long presence on the China coast, the Portuguese clung tenaciously to their toehold in Macau. Less than a century of affluence in Macau’s golden age that ended abruptly in 1640 was followed by a grim and very protracted determination to survive. Some prospered, among them the Rosa and Noronha families, both of whom arrived in the eighteenth century. They were forebears of many of the Hong Kong Portuguese, including the Braga family, but by the 1830s, they too had become trapped by the economic decline that accompanied the rise of British and other foreign commerce on the China coast.

It was their good fortune that several determined men, notably João Vicente Rosa Braga and Delfino Noronha moved to Hong Kong in its early years when opportunities were still available and the situation fluid. Later Portuguese emigrants found themselves trapped again and manacled by a British socio-economic colonial system that placed them in a position of permanent inferiority. As Austin Coates succinctly expressed it:

They could not rise. They were not Protestants; they were not freemasons; and they were not really Europeans. As clerks they came, and as clerks they stayed, except for a small handful of professional men who were the natural leaders of the Portuguese community. 1362

What made their position tolerable to them was that they were superior in social and economic status to the Chinese, the vast majority of the population. While in Hong Kong they were free from centuries of submission to the mandarins, the people from Macau had learned submission as a cultural norm. Henceforward, they had to be to be submissive to a British rather than a Chinese set of rulers.

In the generation following the first emigration to Hong Kong, in the 1870s, a few saw that they must move away if they were to participate in the vast opportunities for self-advancement that the industrial age offered to the British and other Europeans but not to them. The Pereira family led the way. Two more were João Joaquim Braga, who succeeded in establishing his family in Britain, and his brother Vicente

Emilio Braga, who seized a golden opportunity in Japan, but at the cost of abandoning his family. A third was Vicente’s youngest son, José Pedro Braga, whose hopes for a career in law in Britain were denied him by a cruel turn of events.

All others, including J.P. Braga on his return to Hong Kong, had then to deal with a rigid and unyielding class system based on race, occupation and location that gave them limited opportunities and expected them to know their place. That meant a position of social inferiority, low pay (but well above the mass of Chinese workers), and exclusion from choice residential areas. An English police officer who arrived in January 1940 summed it up concisely. Hong Kong, he wrote, was ‘layered deep in snobbery.’

The vast majority of Portuguese immigrants, among the lower layers, were swept into the ‘Portuguese clerk class’, with only a few gaining access to the professions or succeeding in business.

J.P. Braga never accepted inferiority. He bestrides this thesis like a colossus, yet his life and career are enigmatic. Like most community leaders, he hungered after imperial honours, despite the contempt with which the colonial system treated him. He had no choice but to submit to it, while at the same time contesting it, yet never combating it successfully. His resolute attempts to change British attitudes had some success, especially in his role as the first Portuguese member of the Hong Kong Legislative Council, but most of the fruits of his labours were reaped by his successors.

He was brought up by his grandfather Delfino Noronha and his mentor Januário Carvalho in an atmosphere of commitment to public affairs and strong community responsibility. Thus by temperament, training and background he was well-equipped to use the mechanisms of the colonial system to create a unique role for himself in public affairs. His son Jack, drafting an unpublished obituary of his father in 1944 spelt out that role in eloquent words:

So nobly did he fulfil his duties that he opened the way to future Portuguese representation as he did in the other official posts which he occupied ... his part in many public questions proved that he was always on the side of the poor and helpless.

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1364 J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/7.2 /17 – Braga, José Pedro.

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Nevertheless to succeed in Hong Kong meant to succeed in business. Although he was chairman of two successful companies in the 1930s, J.P. Braga was never thought of as a taipan. In 1996 I asked Caroline Braga what the European businessmen thought of her father. ‘Oh, they despised him’, she replied. The frustration he must have felt seldom showed, but the press caught him in a revealing moment attacking ‘the bears of Ice House Street’, Hong Kong’s equivalent of Wall Street. Many of those bears were caged some years later at Stanley Internment Camp, while J.P. Braga fled to Macau. Until December 1941 he gladly held British Passport no. 7178. In June 1942 he left for Macau as a Portuguese citizen, travelling on Portuguese National Pass No. 3639. During his last two years it seemed that all he had worked for in half a century of public life had been destroyed and that his life’s work was a failure.

Yet in the long run the whole community benefited from his work. Among them were most members of J.P. Braga’s family, beneficiaries of an English education and brought up in the shadow of their father’s strong personal drive and restless aspirations. However, in the years before World War II, they too knew the limitations imposed by race and class. These things were never discussed, and rarely surfaced.

In 1927, Noel Braga befriended an English naval officer, Lieutenant S.J. Beadell, who came several times to the Gospel Hall while his ship HMS Danae was in port. So taken was he by Hong Kong and the friendship he had been shown that he thought of leaving the Royal Navy, joining the staff of China Light and bringing his wife out to Hong Kong. Noel and his family knew what the limits were.

I told Beadell I expected there would be a vacancy in a year’s time and explained the advantages he would have if he got a job in the Company. I warned him at the same time that he would need much grace, if he got the job, to keep on the same terms with us as he is at present. I said, too, that I sincerely trusted, if his wife came out here, that she would come as a real Christian lady, as otherwise, I was afraid, with the Hong Kong atmosphere like what it is, we should not be welcomed by her for very long after she came out.

1365 Interview with Caroline Braga, 17 October 1996.
1367 In the possession of this writer.
1368 Noel Braga diary, 2 November 1927. Beadell remained with the Royal Navy (Navy List, 1940).
Some years later, Caroline’s romance with Norman Mackenzie foundered on the same rock once Norman, newly arrived in Hong Kong, became aware of its cultural barriers. Caroline’s mother, Olive, who had nearly fifty years’ experience of being belittled by Hong Kong’s racism, saw clearly what was happening. Her handwriting was almost illegible and her English barely coherent, but what she sought to convey is clear enough. After the war Norman had nothing more to do with Caroline and did not answer her letters. Olive had already seen what would happen, and saw Norman’s attitude to her husband change too. As the war drew to its conclusion, she told her son James:

She has set her heart on him & we all fear the result – she is such a wonderful loving nature just the same as you & just as conscientious – she has never had any male friends & when this man came & made love (with what I believe) no intention but to mix with a nice girl – to keep himself good – he is a “Highbrow” – even his attitude to Father was toleration yet no-one discerned – most of all Father himself feted & made much of – yet this bitter pill to swallow.1369

Despite their palpable sense of inferiority, none of the Hong Kong Portuguese became militants. Not for them was the fiery oratory of the Indian radical M. R. Malik, who, obedient to his Japanese masters, proclaimed with windy rhetoric at a rally on ‘Indian Independence Day’, 26 January 1942, in Statue Square in Hong Kong that ‘British rule in India has been nothing but robbery, jobbery and snobbery’.1370 By implication, this applied to British rule throughout the Empire on which the sun had begun to set.

Their quiescence did not mean that the Hong Kong Portuguese, despite their subservience, were entirely happy with the pre-war status quo. Yet they knew that the economic miracle that Hong Kong became could never have occurred without the presence of the British. They created an enduring legacy of unimpeachable and excellent public administration that was stern and just, if aloof and unyielding. Many of those beneath them came to admire their calm if arrogant control, their firm and usually incorrupt insistence on the rule of law, their business skill, their excellent education system, and the liberalism and common humanity that were always present to a degree. It is these qualities that made J.P. Braga, who in 1929 became the first Portuguese member of the Legislative Council and six years later the first member of

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his community to become an Officer of the Order of the British Empire, to support that Empire whole-heartedly. He and his compatriots knew that they were far better off under British rule than they would have been in Macau, mired in economic atrophy.

The disaster of war turned that perception upside down, but only for a time. The British returned, but on borrowed time and in what was clearly now a borrowed place, to adopt Frank Welsh’s apt title. The Portuguese remained quiescent, as did the Chinese while their country remained in a state of turmoil. Eventually the vast Chinese majority began to assert their national identity and place irresistible pressure on the British. John Braga predicted in 1945, ‘the days of the European in Hong Kong are numbered and in the matter of a few years the Chinese will have everything.’ There was never any question where the Portuguese stood in this one-sided contest, for the riots of 1967 seemed to them to prefigure another catastrophe akin to the Japanese Occupation a quarter of a century earlier. Thousands emigrated just when it seemed that the situation had stabilised, while people from other countries made their way to Hong Kong to enjoy an unprecedented boom. A few Portuguese remained to share in this, but only a tiny minority of people well-placed to do so. Would the majority have enjoyed the same success had they stayed? Clearly not. Their subordinate role in the old order was too well defined and too rigid. Neither they nor those above them in the big British banks and commercial firms expected any change in the way things were run. Change, when it arrived in these places, was driven by an aspirational Chinese middle class which was by then well able to push the old hierarchy aside. Moreover, technological change was already rendering the clerk class obsolete. Had the Portuguese clerks stayed, there would soon have been no place for them at all. By leaving when they did, they narrowly escaped being once more trapped in a situation over which they had no control. This time there would have been no place of refuge to which they could escape.

1371 F. Welsh, A Borrowed place: the history of Hong Kong.
1373 T.W. Ngo, Hong Kong’s History. State and society under colonial rule, pp. 101-118; F. Welsh, pp. 466-473.
A few families eminent in their community had already risen above this predicament. They are discussed in Chapter 13, and their significant role in Hong Kong continues. They saw no need to become part of the great Macanese Diaspora of the 1960s and 1970s. The four unmarried children of J.P. Braga saw no such need either, their careers not at risk. Those with children of their own looked abroad, as earlier Bragas had done. They adopted a different point of view to their father, who in 1940 had told Sir Elly Kadoorie ‘I will stay with Hong Kong through thick and thin’. 1374

They inherited characteristics of two men who had spent much of their lives in Hong Kong. Each made his distinctive impression. Of Delfino Noronha, Government Printer for more than forty years, that was true in a literal sense, as well as in the leading role he came to have in his own community. 1375 Two generations later, this was equally true of his grandson, José Pedro Braga, ‘that great old Hong Kong citizen’, as Henry Ching characterised him. After his death, John Reeves, the British consul in Macau, captured his career in a few words to his widow, Olive. She told her son James:

The B.C. [British Consul] himself – when I thanked him for the kindness shewn after Father’s death remarked “no man has ever done for H.K. what your husband has done”. 1376

His descendants, another two generations later, would choose to make their own impressions elsewhere, in Australia, Britain, Canada and the United States of America. After several centuries of being beholden to others, they and their descendants were at last in control of their own destiny.

1374 J.P. Braga to Sir Elly Kadoorie, 11 July 1940. Hong Kong Heritage Project, A02-15.
1375 “The most important among them was Delfino Noronha, an outstanding figure in the Portuguese position in society … on his level a big man”, Austin Coates told a conference in Manila. “Rizal in Hong Kong”, in Proceedings of the International Congress on Rizal, 4-8 December 1961, p. 288.
Bibliography

MANUSCRIPT

Braga Family Papers – introductory note

Important sources for this thesis include three rich collections of letters and postcards written by several members of the Braga family during and immediately after the war years, 1942-1945.

Several other collections have also been used. These consist of personal papers as well as letters. They are listed below the three World War II collections.

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Braga Family Papers – World War II letters

James Braga

The first is a collection of letters made by James Braga, then living in Chicago, who spent many hours typing copies of letters sent with difficulty by other family members from Macau from 1942 to 1945. A few of the original letters were retained. After the war ended, James contacted his siblings asking them to send him any letters they might have as a permanent record of these unforgettable times. Only a few people had kept letters, principally his mother Olive and his sister Caroline, including a small but extremely important collection of Prisoner of War postcards from Maude at Stanley Internment Camp. Several family members travelled across the world in 1945 and 1946 in the whole process of massive adjustment to a vastly changed world. These were Maude, Clement, Noel, Hugh, John and Mary. No letters were sent by them to James, presumably because they all went out in the clear-up necessary when they left the Far East.

The collection commences in June 1942 when several letters were sent to James from Macau, and concludes in mid-1946. In December 1986 James, then aged 79, sent me his collection. It will be housed in the National Library of Australia on completion of this project. The collection is cited here as the ‘James Braga Papers’.

Paul Braga

The second significant collection of letters was kept in two folders by Paul Braga. This is part of a collection of papers from Paul Braga, sent to me by his daughter Frances in 1993. Paul wrote to his brother Hugh and sister-in-law Nora on 17 January 1986, concluding his letter, ‘Is Stuart still interested in writing about the Braga-Pollard roots? Ask him to let me know, and if “yes”, I would like him to have some material that came into my possession at different times.’ Paul died in 1989, and it is presumed that the letters and other papers sent to me by Frances comprise this collection. The citation for this collection is ‘Paul Braga Papers’.

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José Maria (Jack) Braga

The third collection is the file of family letters kept by Jack in the normal course of his methodical and systematic collection of materials of all kinds. These papers are in the National Library of Australia, forming sub-series 2.3 of the J.M. Braga collection, National Library of Australia, MS 4300. They are cited in the footnotes of this thesis as MS 4300/2.3, the notation used by the National Library of Australia.

Thus of the twelve Braga siblings, four, Jack, James, Paul and Caroline, kept the letters they received from other family members. Jack and Paul kept carbon copies of letters they typed. Without them, Chapters 9, 10, 11 and 12 of this thesis could not have been written.

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Braga Family Papers – other collections

Anthony Manuel (Tony) Braga

Tony Braga also retained his papers, including carbon copies of outgoing correspondence. However, most were lost after his death in 1994. Some were recovered and are held by his niece, Mrs Sheila Potter, Sydney. These are cited as ‘A.M. Braga Papers’.

A quite separate file contains letters and other papers sent to this writer between ca.1970 and 1991, and is separately cited as ‘A.M. Braga file’. The most important of these documents is a lengthy memorandum Tony wrote for an interview with Beverley Howells of the South China Morning Post, 8 April 1987. This led to the publication of an article about the Braga family in the Sunday Morning Post, 31 May 1987.

This file is cited as ‘A.M. Braga file’.

Hugh Braga

Hugh Braga, father of this writer, carefully culled his files towards the end of his life, keeping only a small number of personal papers that were made available to a group who successfully nominated him for the award of Senior Citizen of New South Wales for the year 1984. They are cited as ‘Hugh Braga file’.

José Pedro Braga

J.P. Braga’s eldest daughter, Jean, kept a small but important collection of her father’s early papers between 1886 and 1902, but nothing more recent. These were essential for Chapters 7 and 8. They are cited as ‘J.P. Braga Papers’. Passed to this writer following Jean’s death in 1986, they are now in the National Library of Australia. MS Acc08/113.
Noel Braga

Noel Braga kept a detailed diary between 1924 and 1928, which was made available by his daughter Mrs Janyce Luff, in May 2010. It was particularly useful for Chapters 8 and 10. It is cited as ‘Noel Braga Diary’.

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Hong Kong Heritage Project

This privately funded archive documents both the business and private activities of the Kadoorie family, set within the context of the development of Hong Kong in general and the Jewish community in particular. It holds

Correspondence from J.P. Braga, Hong Kong to Sir Elly Kadoorie, Shanghai, 1938. File A02/15.

Hong Kong Public Record Office

Hong Kong Blue Book, 1845-1920

C0 129 Reports of the governors of Hong Kong to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, London.

[N.B. The title ‘Colonial Secretary’ is used throughout this documentation in two different senses. The first refers to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, London, the Minister responsible for the administration of all Crown Colonies, and the governors’ immediate superior. Secondly, it refers to the second-in-command in the colony, and the governors’ immediate subordinate. Context always provides meaning].


National Library of Australia, Canberra

Braga, Caroline: Papers of Caroline Braga, 1921-1996, National Library of Australia, MS Acc05/35. This collection contains no letters. It consists of Caroline Braga’s scrapbooks and folders of programmes of recitals and concerts covering a period of 75 years, including the war years in Macau, 1943 to 1945.

Braga, José Maria (Jack): Papers of J.M. Braga, ca. 1924-1972, National Library of Australia, MS 4300.

MS 4300 is the most important and by far the largest of a series of manuscripts forming part of a very large collection, described in detail by Pauline Haldane, ‘The

**Braga, José Maria (Jack):** MS 4480 Transcript of the despatches of Richard, Marquess of Wellesley, British Library Manuscript 13,710.

**Braga, José Pedro:** Papers, MS 4380, MS Acc08/113.

**Montalto de Jesus, Carlos Augusto:** J.M. Braga Papers MS 4369 Historic Macao, 2nd edn, Salesian Press, Macao, 1926. This is one of three copies belonging to J.M. Braga, who sent it to a bookbinder and had it bound in vellum, a distinction he reserved for his most precious books. In this copy, he carefully added notes augmenting and referencing Montalto de Jesus’ work. He also contacted the author, seeking his comments and additional material for a possible third edition that might one day eventuate. These were also added in Jack’s neat, minuscule writing to this special copy. He added a note of warning to later readers: ‘These additions must be considered in the light of the bitterness felt by Montalto de Jesus after the suppression of the Second Edition of the book’. Although it is a printed book, these notes mean that it has been catalogued as a manuscript.

**Williams, Harold Stannett:** Papers, MS 6681. Notes on V.E. Braga.

**Australian War Memorial, Canberra**

Record of Proceedings of HMAS Mildura, August 1945, AWM78/221/1.

**State Library of NSW, Sydney**

Pollard, May: Papers of May Pollard, MLMSS 2205. May Pollard was the sister of Olive Pauline Braga, née Pollard.

**Sir Elly Kadoorie & Sons Ltd, Hong Kong**

This is the holding company for the business interests of the Kadoorie family. Some records from the 1920s and 1930s have been retained by the holding company rather than being transferred to the Hong Kong Heritage Project.

Smith, Carl Thurman

Index cards compiled by the Rev. Carl Smith (1918-2008), Hong Kong and Macau.

This collection of more than 139,000 cards, chiefly containing biographical information, was compiled by Carl Smith from ca. 1960 until shortly before his death. It is regarded by researchers into the history of Hong Kong and Macau as an indispensable research tool. It was described in a note by Elizabeth Sinn in the Newsletter of the Royal Asiatic Society, Hong Kong Branch, May 2007. The importance of what is known as the Carl Smith Collection is emphasised in the Introduction to M. Holdsworth and C. Munn (eds), Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography, referring appreciatively to 'the index cards he had compiled, containing data on tens of thousands of individuals gathered from government reports, newspapers, church records, tombstones and a plethora of other sources … Many of the entries here would have been impossible without his groundwork’ (p. ix). There is also an article by the editors on Smith in the Dictionary itself (pp. 397-398). The Carl Smith Collection is not itself a primary source, but gives access to obscure primary information.

Smith’s cards are held in two locations: the Hong Kong Central Library and the Arquivo Histórico, Macau. The Hong Kong collection has been digitised and indexed by the Hong Kong Public Records Office, which has prepared an introductory note for the on-line index:

Citation of the Carl Smith cards must therefore indicate which location is referred to. Following consultation in January 2011 with Marie Imelda Macleod, Director of the Arquivo Histórico de Macau, the following forms of citation were decided upon. Smith’s sources are given where possible. Two examples are:

Arquivo Histórico de Macau:

    Court file, 1782, indexed by Carl Smith. Arquivo Histórico de Macau, Carl Smith Index Cards, MO/AH/CS/INDEX/ 31275.

Hong Kong Public Record Office:


University of Hong Kong

University of Hong Kong, Register of Graduates, 1929.
Other Manuscripts


Ribeiro, Luigi F.V., ‘Personal account of war experiences’ 23 pp. typescript. Written for Dr C. Roland, who was gathering materials for his book *Long night’s journey into day*. Undated [1990s?]. Copy in my possession.

All the following books are in print form unless otherwise indicated.

**OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS**


On-line: Open Library: http://www.archive.org/stream/agreementbetween00grearich#page/n3/mode/2up


Hong Kong Hansard, 1929-1937 on-line: http://legco.gov.hk


Hong Kong Sessional Papers, 1900-1940. These contain the Jurors’ Lists, prepared annually and the census reports for the 1921 and 1931 censuses. National Library of Australia. Also on-line http://sunzi.lib.hku.hk/hkgro/

Maltby, Christopher Michael, Operations in Hong Kong from 8th to 25th December, 1941: supplement to the London Gazette of Tuesday the 27th of January, 1948, His Majesty’s Stationery Office, Hong Kong, 1948.

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All are in English unless otherwise stated. Where publication details make it obvious that the book is readily available, no location is given. However, many of the works are obscure, and it was deemed advisable to indicate where they were consulted. The considerable strength of the J.M. Braga collection in the National Library of Australia will at once be apparent. A few items in my collection are also indicated.


Banham, Tony, *We shall suffer there: Hong Kong’s defenders imprisoned, 1942-45*, Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong, 2009.


Baxter, George E. and East Asian Residents' Association (Sydney, N.S.W.) *Personal experiences during the siege of Hong Kong, December 8th - 25th, 1941; Internment by the Japanese, January 5th - June 29th, 1942; Trip home and exchange civilian prisoners Laurenco Marques, [sic] P.E.A., June 30th - August 26th, 1942*, East Asian Residents' Association, [Sydney : 194-?]. [P.E.A. – Portuguese East Africa]. Stuart Braga collection. This copy contains annotations and corrections by an officer of the Hong Kong Volunteers highly critical of Baxter’s role during the fighting.


Boxer, Charles Ralph, *Macao Three Hundred Years Ago*, Macau, 1942, reprinted as *Seventeenth Century Macau in contemporary documents and illustrations*, Heinemann, Hong Kong, 1984. [This reprints the English text only of the following item].


Braga, José Maria (Jack), *The beginnings of printing at Macao*, Hong Kong, privately published, n.d. [ca. 1965]. This is an offprint, with different pagination, of an article first published in *Studia*, (Lisbon), no. 12, July 1963. It was later issued as a book for a limited circulation among the author’s friends. Stuart Braga collection.

[A Portuguese translation, *Promórđios da Imprensa em Macau* was published as a book in 1965 by the *Boletim Eclesiástico da Diocese de Macau*. This is held by the National Library of Australia in the J.M. Braga manuscript collection. MS 4300/6.1/10].


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Appendix 1

Population of Macau
1557-1960

The absence of any statistical evidence for the population of Macau until the first census in 1910 means that a variety of secondary sources has to be considered; ‘relied on’ would not be a suitable term. The overall impression is clear enough. After their successful early years, the Portuguese population of Macau hung on grimly, generally declining during the seventeenth century but recovering strongly during the eighteenth century. Relatively stable numbers in the nineteenth century suggest successive waves of emigration as people sought a better life in Hong Kong and Shanghai. Unlike the Macanese, few of the Chinese then regarded Macau as their heung ha, their home. The Chinese population came and went as opportunity offered. A few sources indicate the non-Portuguese European population. These are shown as ‘others’. They are only significant in the 1830s and between 1942 and 1945. As shown in Chapter 12 there was only a hazy differentiation between British refugees in Macau and Hong Kong Portuguese who also managed to escape.

J.M. Braga, who studied the history of Macau quite intensively, wrote an essay of 13 quarto pages in typescript on the population of Macau.¹ It discussed the ethnic origin of the Macanese people, but did not include any statistics. This suggests that he regarded it as an impossible task. Therefore the following table can at best provide only a rough idea.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1557</td>
<td>400</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1561</td>
<td>500-600</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1582</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1621</td>
<td>700-800</td>
<td></td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1635</td>
<td>850</td>
<td></td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1644</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>44,000</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1662</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Note 1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20,500</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
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<tr>
<td>1719</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>More than 10,000</td>
<td>Note 1 (a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1745</td>
<td>5,212</td>
<td>About 8,000</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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¹ J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/7.3/6.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
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<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<td>1777</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>A</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1809</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E</td>
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<tr>
<td>1818</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
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<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>4,557</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
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<tr>
<td>1822</td>
<td>4,315</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>E, I</td>
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<td>1824</td>
<td>5,093</td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
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<td>I</td>
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<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>4,628</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>34,628</td>
<td>B</td>
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<tr>
<td>1834</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>145</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>4,804</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>ca. 30,000</td>
<td>C, E</td>
<td>Note 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>5,601</td>
<td></td>
<td>350</td>
<td></td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Note 3</td>
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<td>1845</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Note 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td>H</td>
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<td>1874</td>
<td>4,476</td>
<td>53,582</td>
<td>68,086</td>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Note 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>4,476</td>
<td>63,262</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E,F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>3,898</td>
<td>74,568</td>
<td>161</td>
<td></td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>3,898</td>
<td>74,627</td>
<td>78,706</td>
<td></td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>3,601</td>
<td>71,021</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>74,877</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>3,816</td>
<td>79,807</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>83,984</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td></td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>4,624</td>
<td>239,803</td>
<td>761</td>
<td>245,194</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942-1945</td>
<td>10,000 up to 500,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Note 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>4,066</td>
<td>183,105</td>
<td>601</td>
<td>187,772</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>7,467</td>
<td>160,764</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>168,299</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Note 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:


Teixeira used a variety of sources to compile his list. No records were extant in Macau; therefore all his sources were travellers to Macau, hazarding a rough guess at the population. They included the Dutch voyager J.P. Cohen (1621), and the Jesuit fathers Cardim (1644) and P.F. Sousa (1700). These priests were mainly concerned to record numbers of baptised Christians (*Cristãos*), whether Portuguese, *mestiços* or Chinese Christians. The clerics referred to any others, if at all, as gentiles (*gentios*). Thus it is difficult to determine whether those counted as Portuguese include Chinese Christians as well. Slaves were sometimes mentioned, but seldom counted. It appears that the government of Macau had only a vague notion of the size of the Chinese population, and did not concern itself with them.

B. *Chinese Repository*, vol. 3, no. 7, November 1834, pp. 292, 303. The figure of 4,628 in 1830 included 800 or 900 slaves and 300 soldiers. Both groups were Africans.
C. *O Macaísta Imparcial*. 1836-1837 Typecript copy in the J.M. Braga collection, National Library of Australia MS 4362, p. 12. This article copied from the newspaper listed men and women by age in separate groups in 1835 in each of the three ecclesiastical parishes of Macau. For both sexes, the median age was 15 to 30. Life was short in this place; there were only 41 males and 139 females over 60. No figures for Chinese were given. Neither the government nor the church was in a position to count this large group. Had they tried, the *Casa Branca* mandarin would probably have forbidden it.


E. J. Crouch-Smith et al., *Macau Protestant Chapel, a short history*, Appendix A, pp. 71-72. The authors of this carefully researched book apparently decided to publish material not readily available elsewhere. The sources used include H.B. Morse, *The chronicles of the East India Company trading to China, 1635-1834* and census figures from 1910 onwards.

F. *Chinese Recorder* 1889, p. 85, cited by J.M. Braga, notes in MS 4300/5.2.

G. Figures compiled from parish registers by a Franciscan friar, José de Jesus Maria, from parish registers examined during a sojourn in Macau from 1742 to 1745 and included in a manuscript entitled *Azia Sinica e Japonica*. This was seen by C.R. Boxer and quoted in *Fidalgos in the Far East*, p. 256.

H. J.D. Ball, *Macao, the Holy City*, 1905.
I. José de Aquino Guimarães e Freitas, *Memoria sobre Macão*, Coimbra, 1828. An artillery officer and therefore precise in his calculations, Guimarães e Freitas provided a population table, describing it as *Capitulo XI*, Chapter XI, reproduced here. The figures evidently came from the registers of the three parishes, Sé (the cathedral), S. Lourenço and S. António. He gave the figures for the *cristão* population: i.e. baptised Catholics. This necessarily includes Chinese Christians and excludes Protestants, then numbering about forty. Chinese Christians would have been few. The three parishes were within the city walls; the Chinese settlements were outside.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sé</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>1342</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>2139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Lourenço</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>1058</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>1720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. António</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>465</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Macão em Abril de 1828.*
Notes:

1. 1662 was considered Macau’s worst year. An anti-Qing uprising in Guangdong (Kwangtung) province led to an order that the coastline be evacuated. The Chinese population of Macau fled in a body, and the border was closed for three months. Many people starved to death, but figures are unknown. D. F. Lach, and E. J. Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe: A Century of Advance: East Asia*, p. 1697. Note 1(a) ‘We have more than ten thousand mouths to provide for’ (Address from the Macau Senado to the Kangsi Emperor, 1719. See Chapter 4, p. 110).

2. 1834 ‘From a tabular statement by the curates of the three parish churches of Macao, the population was: Whites 3,893; Black slaves 1,300; Chinese about 30,000. Among this number only some 77 were born in Portugal and in its dominions. Neither they nor any other vassals are allowed to quit Macao but by a previous consent of Government. The military force amounted to 240 men, with corresponding officers, with 130 guns mounted on the fortifications.’ *Chinese Recorder*, 1888, p. 35, cited by J.M. Braga, notes in MS 4300/5.2.

3. All British were evacuated from Macau on 26 August 1839. According to R Hutcheon, *Chinnery, the man and the legend*, p. 118, 2,000 lived for several months on vessels moored in Hong Kong harbour. This figure seems exaggerated, and is at variance with the fairly precise figures given by H.B. Morse, though it should be noted that Morse’s sources were the records of the East India Company, which ceased operations in China in 1834.

4. About 1,000 Portuguese died in a smallpox epidemic in 1842-1843, reducing their numbers to about 4,000.

5. The panic following the murder in Macau of Governor Amaral in 1849 led to the flight of some hundreds of people to Hong Kong. Sir George Bonham to Earl Grey, R.L. Jarman, *Hong Kong Annual Administration Reports, 1841-1941*, vol. 1, pp. 95, 121, 148. Macanese sources are silent about this exodus.

6. The Great Typhoon of 1874 devastated much of Macau and killed some 5,000 people, mainly Chinese fisher-folk. Hundreds of Portuguese subsequently fled to Hong Kong. Macanese sources are silent about this too. However, the Catholic population of Hong Kong increased from 4,520 to 5,250 between 1872 and 1875. Much of this increase, 730 people or 15%, was the result of an influx of people from Macau after the 1874 typhoon.

7. ‘Macau a small city with a population (a growth since 1937 with the refugees from Shanghai and Canton) increased from 150,000 people, in December of
this year, to 450,000, soon after the first months of the War (February and March 1942) and reached approximately 500,000.’ Beatriz Basto da Silva, *Cronologia da História de Macau*, vol. 4, p. 323; M. Teixeira, ‘Macau Durante a Guerra’, *Boletim do Instituto Luís de Camoes*, No. 1 and 2, pp. 33-49. According to R. Pinto, 20,000 people crossed the border into Macau on a single day soon after the fall of Canton to the Japanese on 22 October 1938. (R. Pinto, ‘War in peace’, *Macau*, No. 96, p. 76). The figure of 10,000 ‘others’ is J.M. Braga’s guesswork, and appears to include all non-Chinese from Hong Kong.

8. The decline after World War II until 1960 reflects the decline in economic opportunity in Macau.
Appendix 2

The Portuguese Population of Hong Kong

A glance at the vital statistics of Hong Kong makes it obvious that little attention was given to the Portuguese population. As in other ways, they were taken for granted. They were quiet, reliable and above all, inconspicuous. Therefore they were seldom counted.

Comparatively little attention was paid to the British population either. A note, ‘Migratory nature of the population’, prefacing the report of the 1921 census, explains the reason for this:

Except for a few professional men, employees of the Dock Companies and Civil servants, the European population almost completely changes every 5 years. Most of the employees of the various firms only complete one tour of duty here, and then after the expiration of their home leave are transferred elsewhere. These facts fully explain the allegations of the lack of public spirit in the Colony.²

There was no formal census until 1881, and population figures until then were no more than estimates, though the figures given by the Blue Book were quite precise. There were then decennial censuses, though the figures are of little use for this study, having little breakdown of the non-Chinese population. There were censuses in 1891, 1897, 1901 and 1906, but they yield no data useful for this study.

The Hong Kong Sessional Papers include the reports for the censuses of 1911, 1921 and 1931. Analysis of the census of 14/15 March 1941 had not been completed before the beginning of the Pacific War on 8 December, so no report was published. Only the censuses of 1921 and 1931 give more detailed analysis of the population by race, nationality, occupation and district.

² Census Report, 1921. Hong Kong Sessional Papers, 1922, p. 159.
491
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</table>
Sources:

A. *Hong Kong Blue Book*, 1848-1876.

B. Ecclesiastical returns, *Blue Book*. Figures taken from this source until 1870 are those of attendance at the Catholic churches of the Immaculate Conception and St Francis Xavier.

C. *Sessional Papers*, 1911. Report of 1911 Census, Table III, p. 12 gives the resident European civil population as British 3,761, Portuguese 2,558, German 342.

D. *Hong Kong Annual Report*, various years. The compilers point out that these figures are estimates.


F. Hong Kong Bureau of Census and Statistics

Notes:

1. Variations in figures can be the result of inconsistent record keeping, especially in the nineteenth century. Sometimes the military and police are included, sometimes not. It is striking to see how precise the official figures are when the people who set them down had little idea how many people there really were. The precision was presumably to demonstrate their efficiency to their superiors. As late as 1931, when the census taking was genuinely careful, the Census Report estimated that the real population was 20% higher. This estimate was based on a bizarre method of calculation. Hong Kong was then unsewered, and the amount of nightsoil collected and dumped at sea was estimated to come from a population 20% greater than that officially counted.

2. The *Hongkong Almanack*, 1846, printed late in 1845, lists 41 Portuguese names in Hong Kong. The Hong Kong *Blue Book* provides figures for the sittings and attendance at various places of worship. Until the opening of St Joseph’s Church, Garden Road, built in 1870 principally for Catholic members of the garrison, the attendance figures for the Catholic Church may be reckoned as the size of the Portuguese population, all of whom attended church regularly, for failure to attend Mass was a mortal sin. The figures of attendance supplied by the Catholic authorities were usually identical to or greater than the number of sittings. This may have been a pointed way of
telling the Protestants, ‘Our churches are packed to the door Sunday by Sunday’. The vital statistics for 1848, for example, indicate English and Portuguese counted together: births (55), marriages (13) and deaths (125). Most other years do not provide a comparable description. The consecration of the new Catholic church in 1843 was attended by 100 people, including a few Portuguese. It was not yet a substantial community. The Blue Book also provides detailed population figures, but there is no breakdown of the non-Chinese population. The 1931 Census devastatingly pointed out that until 1871 all population figures were based on estimates.


Blue Book 1875, Ecclesiastical Returns: Our Lady of Conception. Sittings 1,200. Average attendance 2,000. This figure may include people attending Mass twice. The church had burned down and the rebuilt church was much larger.

4. The Catholic population of Hong Kong is claimed by figures provided by the Catholic Diocesan Archives of Hong Kong to have increased from 4,520 to 5,250 between 1872 and 1875. Much of this increase, 730 people or 15%, was the result of an influx of people from Macau after the 1874 typhoon. ‘Hundreds of Portuguese families removed from Macao to Hongkong after the typhoon of 1874, which destroyed so many houses.’ (E.J. Eitel, Europe in China, p. 485). Eitel echoed a report by the Acting Registrar-General, 12 February 1877, referred to in a despatch from Sir John Pope Hennessy to Lord Carnarvon, 27 September 1877. The report stated that the increase in the European and American community ‘is almost solely attributable to the number of Portuguese who have made Hong Kong their residence since the partial destruction of Macao by typhoon and fire in 1874.’ G.B. Endacott, An Eastern entrepôt, p. 146.

5. Census, 1881. Sir John Pope Hennessy in a speech to Legislative Council, 3 June 1881, extracted the figure of 384 adult males from the figures made available to him. He noted, Hong Kong Government Gazette, 4 June 1881, that there had been an increase of 176 and 188 in the numbers of Portuguese women and children. He did not give the figures. Census figures, as referred to by G.B. Endacott, An Eastern entrepôt, p. 146.

6. The figures for 1897 are useful. They show a continuing steady flow of Portuguese immigration from Macau. Of the 2,263 Portuguese, 1,214 had been born in Hong Kong, while 931 had been born in Macau. The remaining 108 had presumably come from Portugal or Goa. Only 51 had become British subjects. As a community, they were slow to adopt the nationality of the place where their future lay.
7. The census taken in 1901 attempted to include the population of the New Territories. It also included 10,536 members of the Armed Services, reflecting an increased military presence following the Boxer rebellion. Hence the civil population in 1901 was 290,124. In 1911 there were still 6,727 members of the Armed Services. The civil population in 1911 was therefore 464,227. However, the total figure for 1911 given in 2011 by the Hong Kong Census and Statistic Department was 456,700.

8. The increase between 1911 and 1916 was the result of fighting around Canton following the revolution in 1912. The sharp fall in 1917 reflected the decline in trade resulting from World War I. People went back to their villages.

9. Census 1931. Sessional Papers No. 5, 1931. Of the 3,183 ‘Local Portuguese’, 1,089 claimed to be British citizens, while 2,088 entered themselves as Portuguese citizens. The report remarked, as had been noted more than thirty years earlier, that the Portuguese were slow to adopt British citizenship. Given the extent of discrimination against them, it is not hard to see why. The British civilian population was 6,625, but there were 7,700 service personnel, separately counted in this census.

10. The catastrophe of war is shown in the figures between 1937 and 1946 when, following the Japanese occupation of Canton in 1938, refugees flooded into Hong Kong and Macau, only to flee from Hong Kong after it fell to the Japanese in 1941. The end of World War II and the Chinese Revolution brought about another great increase.

11. The population of Hong Kong fell from ca. 1,600,000 to ca. 600,000 during the Japanese Occupation. J. Bosco Correa, resident in Hong Kong throughout the war, considered that more than 90% of the Portuguese population fled to Macau. No figures exist of this movement of people.

12. A writer in the Lusitano Newsletter, published by Club Lusitano in October 1961, vaguely estimated the Portuguese population as between 2,000 and 7,000. He arrived at a figure of 5,000. He observed: ‘of the Portuguese here, including children, there are today registered at the Consulate 2,000 with Portuguese citizenship. The proportion of those of the community with British citizenship compared to those with Portuguese citizenship is approximately 3 to 2. Based on this we could estimate the Portuguese Community in Hong Kong as 5,000 persons (Lusitano Newsletter, no. 1, October 1961, p. 2).

13. Figures of the Portuguese population after 1970 seem grossly inflated, though they come from the Hong Kong Annual Report. It seems likely that with Hong Kong facing an uncertain future, many people of largely Chinese ethnicity claimed Portuguese identity although they had few connections with that community, hoping to emigrate elsewhere in the event of a Chinese takeover of Hong Kong.
14. Catholic Diocesan Archives, Hong Kong. Figures from this source appear to be grossly inflated and have not been included in the table above. J.P. Braga noted that: ‘for the first half-century after the setting up of the Catholic Mission in Hongkong, the congregations of the Catholic churches were almost entirely Portuguese.’3 If this is the case, statistics from the Diocesan Archives should give some indication of the size of the Portuguese community in the nineteenth century. Plainly they do not, as the following list shows. It seems to be based on an optimistic guess.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Catholic adherents</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>700</td>
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<tr>
<td>1845</td>
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<td>1886</td>
<td>6,800</td>
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<td>1896</td>
<td>8,315</td>
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</table>

Appendix 3

Anders Ljungstedt

*An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China*

*and of the Roman Catholic Church, 1836*

Ljungstedt’s book made a considerable contribution to the negative impression that the British had of the Portuguese from Macau.

The historical work of Anders Ljungstedt, a Swedish merchant resident in Canton and Macau from 1798 until his death in Macau in 1835, was an important landmark in European understanding of the ancient Portuguese settlement, more than 250 years old when he began to research its history. He found no received historical tradition among the people of Macau other than the celebration of their victory over the Dutch in 1622 and the obstinate assertion of Portuguese sovereignty over Macau from the beginning. This is discussed in Chapter 1. Starting about 1808 and continuing more intensively following his retirement in 1813, Ljungstedt undertook a sustained and systematic examination of the history of the Portuguese settlement. Nothing was published until 1831, when Ljungstedt was aged 72, a ripe age in a place where life expectancy was short and sudden death frequent. In the next four years, he published two further instalments of his work, in 1832 and 1834. In addition, at the suggestion of Elijah Bridgman, editor of the *Chinese Repository*, he included a lengthy essay, ‘A Description of the City of Canton’, originally published by Bridgman. Finally, in the last year of his life, aged 76, he reworked this material and sent it to America for publication. He did not live to see the completed book, for he died at Macau on 10 March 1835. *An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China: and of the Roman Catholic church and mission in China. A supplementary chapter, description of the city of Canton, republished from the Chinese Repository, with the editor's*
permission was published in Boston in 1836. 175 years later it was still the only attempt at a systematic history of Macau written by an outsider.5

Ljungstedt’s life was researched by Lindsay and May Ride as part of the intensive work they undertook on the Old Protestant Cemetery in Macau and on the lives of those buried there.6 Born in Linköping, Sweden, on 12 March 1759, Ljungstedt worked as a tutor and interpreter in Russia until he sailed for China in 1798 to take up the post of resident supercargo (manager) of the factory of the Svenska Ostindiska Companiet, the Swedish East India Company. Though he later condemned the opium trade in strong terms, he prospered greatly from it.7 The Swedish company did well until 1813, when it closed down, a casualty of the Napoleonic Wars. A Bonapartist protégé, Marshal Bernadotte, had been installed on the throne of Sweden, which made Swedish trade subject to a British blockade. In those fifteen years, Ljungstedt had acquired such wealth that when he returned to Sweden, he endowed an industrial school in his home town.8 He was rewarded for his philanthropy with appointment as a knight of the Order of Wasa. Returning to Macau in 1815, he adopted the anglicised name Andrew (it was thus engraved on his tomb), and the title ‘Sir Andrew’, accepted by the mainly English foreign community. For the last twenty years of his life, he was a leading member of that community. Known to have a literary bent, he was referred as ‘the philosopher from the North’.9 He was appointed Swedish consul in 1820, and his portrait was painted twice by George Chinnery, the noted artist. Chinnery was mainly a watercolourist and sketcher, but also an able portraitist in oils.10 No longer active in business, Ljungstedt spent much time

5 Austin Coates’ A Macao Narrative being no more than a brief introduction, as its title suggests.
6 A summary of this research was published after Sir Lindsay’s death in L. & M. Ride, An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao, abridged and edited from their manuscripts by Bernard Mellor, Hong Kong University Press, 1996.
7 ‘This narcotic drug which enfeebles the faculties, both of mind and body’. A. Ljungstedt, An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China, p. 131.
8 L. & M. Ride, An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao, p. 142. The Rides visited the school where a portrait of the benefactor hangs in the Assembly Hall.
10 R. Hutcheon, Chinnery, the man and the legend, pp. v, 156, 157.
pursuing the interest in the history of Macau that he had already developed some years before.

The Europeans and Americans who became residents of Macau from the 1760s onwards took little notice of the way the Portuguese settlement was run, and no notice of its history. They found the constant tolling of the bells of fourteen churches and the frequent religious processions with images carried around the streets of Macau at best an irritant, at worst offensive to Protestant sensibilities. What could not be ignored was the refusal of the religious authorities to permit the burial of Protestants within the city walls. Outside, there was the likelihood of interference with the grave by Chinese people outraged by the foreigners’ disregard of the principles of feng shui, of which they were totally ignorant. As has been pointed out in Chapter Two, the serious problem of Protestant burial was not resolved until 1821. All of this was part of the background to Ljungstedt’s approach to the history of Macau.

It is inappropriate to view his work through a modern historical lens. There was no attempt at detachment, and his discussion of the history and institutions of Macau was often hostile. His is a personal view. Nevertheless, the final revision of his book has a description of the administrative structures of Macau in his own day that is largely careful, detailed and fair-minded. Likewise, his methodology was surprisingly modern. He did not plagiarise, and acknowledged his written sources. His published work was well-organised and well-written. Although he was a foreigner, his command of English was excellent. The modern system of footnotes lay nearly a century ahead, but he frequently referenced his information in a general way. Very unusually for his time, he provided a bibliography. He was prepared to consult others who might be interested in and to make changes to his early drafts. He was keenly aware of the importance of archival research, especially in a tropical climate where the originals were ‘worm-eaten and mouldering into dust’. He generously acknowledged his debt to Bishop Joaquim Saraiva for his ‘incredible and unrelenting pains in saving from perdition a host of interesting accounts relative to Macao’, which Ljungstedt compared with his own collections; ‘they were thereby improved so much, that this my humble Essay may, in many respects, be considered

a repository of facts of which the archives of the Senate can exhibit the originals no more.\textsuperscript{12}

He did not rake excessively over old coals, though he did deal with the infamous Scott case of 1773, also discussed in Chapter Two. Finally, what is most surprising is that he went to so much trouble on account of people whose venality he had experienced at first hand when the Governor’s wife demanded to have his residence after $8,000 had been spent on its renovation.\textsuperscript{13}

Ljungstedt’s interest began after the unsuccessful British attempt in 1802 to occupy Macau with a view to forestalling any French move against the Portuguese. Until then, he had assumed, as did most of the foreign residents of Macau, that the Portuguese had sovereign rights there. Writing in 1832, he observed that

Thirty years ago but few persons doubted that the Kings of Portugal exercised at Macao their sovereign authority, in virtue of an imperial grant of the place to vassals of Portugal for eminent services rendered by them to the Chinese empire. The author of this Essay entertained the same opinion, when in 1802, a British auxiliary detachment arrived and offered to defend, in conjunction with the Portuguese, the settlement against an apprehended attack from the French; a friendly proposal, which the government of Macao could not accept, because the Chinese authorities interfered ... The same result was, in 1808, experienced when a British force to a similar purpose, had disembarked and garrisoned three forts; the auxiliaries at last evacuated the place and re-embarked. These results prove that the Portuguese never had the right of sovereignty over Macao, though they have been in possession of it nearly three centuries.\textsuperscript{14}

Ljungstedt was fortunate in having access to research undertaken in Macau by Bishop Joaquim de Sousa Saraiva, who had been appointed Bishop of Peking, but was not permitted to travel there. Unable to take up his position, he lived from 1804

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{13} R.W.N. Lamas, \textit{Everything in Style: Harriett Low’s Macau}, p. 22. It is not known whether she succeeded.
\textsuperscript{14} Preface to Ljungstedt’s \textit{Contribution to an historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China, of the Portuguese envoys and ambassadors to China, of the Roman Catholic Mission in China, and of the Papal legates to China}, 1832, reprinted in his \textit{An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China: and of the Roman Catholic church and mission in China}, 1836, p. v. What Ljungstedt described as a ‘friendly proposal’ was in fact a blunt demand for abject surrender without resistance. ‘I have directed the Officer in Command of the British Armament … to propose to your Excellency terms for the peaceable surrender of the Settlement of Macao’. The Marquess of Wellesley, Governor-General of Bengal, to the Governor of Macau, José Manuel Pinto, 17 January 1802. Transcript, 1952 by Jack Braga of the despatches of Richard, Marquess Wellesley, British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 13,710. J.M. Braga Papers, National Library of Australia, MS 4480.
until his death in 1818 in Macau, where he devoted his time to researching its history. From him, averred Montalto de Jesus, Ljungstedt obtained ‘a mass of documents of great historic interest’. However, once he began to write, his exasperation with the debased state of public life he saw around him dominated his thinking. He became inclined to extrapolate back to earlier times the situation he saw. He was highly critical of the oligarchic administration of the Senate in the 1820s, but went much too far in describing it as ‘anarchy’. Similarly, disgusted by the poor standard of the ouvidores whom he had experienced, he began his account of the office thus:

Οuvidor This office wandered for one hundred and fifty years from one illiterate man to another.17

Canton Miscellany, no. 4, 1831, p. 226.

Ljungstedt showed that the Portuguese claim to sovereignty in Macau was flawed.

15 C.A. Montalto de Jesus, Historic Macao, pp. 28, 208.
17 Ibid., p. 291.
By 1831 he had written a series of six essays under the general heading ‘Portuguese settlements in China’. Publication was arranged in a short-lived literary periodical, the *Canton Miscellany*, five numbers of which appeared during 1831. His papers appeared in the last two issues, totalling 77 pages in duodecimo.

These appeared in No. 4:

- Of the Portuguese settlements in China, principally of Macao
  - Macao – Terms of tenure
  - Dependent on China
  - Independent of China

In No. 5 appeared:

- Political intercourse with China
- Actual state of Macao

This last, running to 35 pages, was the most detailed, broken into eight sub-headings: trade, population, collegial churches, convents, fortifications, the Chinese, Green Island & Taipa, and lastly, foreigners. His comment on the Macanese people – ‘this unholy stock’ – was devastating:

> This progeny is distinguished by the denomination of *Mestiços* or mongrels ... Their occupations at Macao are limited, as no other mechanical arts, than those required by navigation, are exercised. Young people of the inferior order either go to sea or enlist as soldiers, the more fortunate follow the business of Merchants, the holder of a few Chests of Opium being known by that appellation. Many have made fortunes by the drug and some have acquired great wealth.18

All articles and verse in the *Canton Miscellany* were anonymous. Thus there is no author’s introduction to what was obviously the product of a considerable amount of work. However, in that small community, the author’s identity must have been well-known. That deficiency was made good the following year, 1832, when Ljungstedt published his essays in a revised form in a book of 174 pages, *Contribution to an historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China, principally of Macao, of the Portuguese envoys & ambassadors to China, of the*

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18 *Canton Miscellany*, No. 5, 1831, pp. 355-356.
Roman Catholic mission in China, and of the Papal Legates to China, printed in Macau at the East India Company’s press. This had five parts, described by the *Chinese Repository*. Apart from the first two, they differed markedly from the earlier list:

1. Temporary settlement of the Portuguese in China.
2. Their fixed settlement in Macao – terms of tenure, dependence on and independence of China, and present state of the settlement.
4. Roman Catholic mission in China, and
5. Papal legates to this country.

The last three parts appear to have been an extension of ‘foreigners’, the last section of his earlier essay on the ‘Actual state of Macao’. This time, Ljungstedt provided a preface to his work.

‘Considerable pains have been taken in collecting the materials ... they are now submitted to the critical scrutiny of a few friends’. He noted that only one hundred copies were ‘struck off’. Breaking new ground, Ljungstedt was as careful in his comments to his peers as he was censorious of the Portuguese.

Elijah Bridgman enthusiastically welcomed the book in the *Chinese Repository*.

High commendation is due to the author of this ‘humble essay’ for his rich contribution to the historical records of foreigners in China ... and though ‘traced by the pen of a foreigner’, it will be read with pleasure and interest, not by a ‘few friends’ only, but by many strangers, who will be grateful for his patient and successful research.

If the foreign community had any misconceptions about the issue of Portuguese sovereignty over Macau, Ljungstedt dispelled them. The following year, Robert

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19 The review in the *Chinese Repository*, vol. 1, no. 10, February 1833, p. 398, described it in general terms as a duodecimo of less than two hundred pages, but a fuller description in the catalogue of the Lee Kong Chian Reference Library in the National Library of Singapore indicates that its length was 174 pages. J.M. Braga, ‘The beginnings of printing at Macao’, in *Studia*, Lisbon, No. 12, July 1963, p. 98. (p. 70 in an offprint set up as a book) described the various stages of the publication of Ljungstedt’s work. He recorded (note 123) that portions of the 1836 edition were printed at Macau. A comparison with other works printed at Macau in the 1830s shows strong similarity. However, Elijah Bridgman indicated that two sets of the complete manuscript were sent to Boston to be printed. *Chinese Repository*, vol. 3, no. 10, March 1835, p. 533.

20 The preface was reprinted in the 1836 edition: *An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China: and of the Roman Catholic church and mission in China*, p. v.

21 *Chinese Repository*, vol. 1, no. 10, February 1833, p. 398.
Morrison, the first Protestant missionary in China, was instructed by the officers of the East India Company, under pressure from the Governor of Macau, to stop using his printing press. He retorted that

It has been fully proved that Macao belongs to China, and is no part of the territories of the king of Portugal; the claim therefore is usurpation.22

This strongly expressed viewpoint of Morrison, by then widely respected and honoured for his achievements in lexicography and translation, is certain to have reflected those of the whole foreign community.

Encouraged by this reception, Ljungstedt went on to reprint more of his earlier work. In 1834 appeared a smaller book of 55 pages, Contribution to an historical sketch of the Roman Catholic Church at Macao; and the domestic and foreign relations of Macao, by A. L., Knt., printed this time at Canton, for its searing comments on the Catholic Church would have made it impossible to print it in Macau.23

The title indicated that it was concerned firstly with the church, then turning to those parts of his earlier essay, ‘Actual state of Macao’, that had not been reprinted in 1832. His attack on the church was vitriolic. It began,

The Roman Catholic Cross and bloody sword came from India by way of Malacca to China.24

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23 It is likely to have been printed on the Albion Press used by Robert Morrison in Macau until 1833 when the East India Company, under pressure from the Church, forced him to stop printing there and move his press to Canton. J.M. Braga, ‘The beginnings of printing at Macao’, in Studia, Lisbon, no. 12, July 1963, p. 109 (p. 81 in the offprint).
24 Contribution to an historical sketch of the Roman Catholic Church at Macao; and the domestic and foreign relations of Macao, p. 1. It is worth observing that Protestants made no use of the cross as a Christian symbol from the Reformation until the mid-nineteenth century. Not a single cross is to be found in the Old Protestant Cemetery in Macau.
He condemned the ecclesiastical thraldom under which Macau laboured, and went on to catalogue the constant celebration of saints’ days.

Besides eighteen festivals distinctly consecrated to the devotions of the Holy virgin, there are thirteen dedicated to saints, male and female. These solemnities last nine, ten or thirteen days, and generally end by religious public processions.\(^{25}\)

Two of these he described in some detail: Nossa Senhora do Rosario and Nossa Senhora dos Remedios, Our Lady of the Rosary and Our Lady of Remedies. These, he said,

are remarkable for the elegance, splendour and riches displayed on the image carried in procession. This outward prop of religion is cheered by an accompanying numerous clergy, who are chanting the praise of the saint during the airing it takes in a litter, laid on men’s shoulders.\(^{26}\)

The editor of the *Chinese Repository*, the American Protestant missionary Elijah Bridgman, welcomed Ljungstedt’s second volume as enthusiastically as he had the first, though he regretted that once again only a ‘limited’ number of copies were printed.\(^{27}\)

We appreciate highly the labours of any man who devotes his leisure hours to collecting and recording historical facts ... efforts of this kind are especially praiseworthy, when, as in the present instance, they are put forth by a veteran of three score years and fifteen.\(^{28}\)

Bridgman went on to pen a lengthy diatribe against the Church of Rome, giving a little space at the end to the second part of Ljungstedt’s paper, which dwelt on what Bridgman called the ‘very unsettled and unprosperous state’ of Macau. He put his finger squarely on several problems, though his view of future prospects would

\(^{25}\) Contribution to an historical sketch of the Roman Catholic Church at Macao; and the domestic and foreign relations of Macao, p. 10.

\(^{26}\) Ibid., p. 11. A procession identical to that described by Ljungstedt took place on the occasion of the IIIrd Encontro of the Macanese People in Macau in March 1999. As Macau returned to Chinese administration on 20 December 1999, this may have been the last occasion on which such an elaborate ceremony was conducted, though the clergy were no longer numerous.

\(^{27}\) *Chinese Repository*, vol. 3, no. 1, May 1834, p. 44. It is not known how many copies were printed.

\(^{28}\) *Chinese Repository*, vol. 3, no. 7, November 1834, p. 289.
soon prove to be too optimistic. His was the classic liberalism of Andrew Jackson’s America. Like Jackson, Bridgman believed in the transformation of society.\(^{29}\)

In several respects the situation of Macao is very favorable for commerce; and if the narrow policy of former years is exchanged for a liberal and enterprising line of conduct; if security for persons and property, liberty of conscience, and the freedom of the press, are guaranteed to all; and (what is perhaps no less important than any of the other measures), if Chinese interference is properly resisted, Macao may become in a few years one of the most important cities in the east.\(^{30}\)

A review also appeared in London in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, indicating the growing interest taken in England in the China trade. Ljungstedt’s little book, described as a ‘tract’, had been reprinted in London as a pamphlet of 40 pages, octavo.\(^{31}\) The reviewer noted Ljungstedt’s conclusion that ‘the Portuguese hold only a lease under the Chinese, with reservations in favour of the latter’. This was an Establishment journal, hence anti-Catholic at that time, and could be relied on to applaud Ljungstedt’s harsh comments on the ‘religious conflict between rival sects in the Romish Church’.\(^{32}\) The reviewer gave special attention to the church’s position in Macau, weaker than might have been supposed, according to Ljungstedt. Religious processions were the sole prerogative of the church according to the bishop, who attempted to ban Chinese pagan processions. Failing in this, he threatened to excommunicate anyone who watched them. He discovered,

to his dismay, that there were not fifty adult Christians in the settlement, who *had resisted the impulse of curiosity*, and abstained from witnessing the spectacles.\(^{33}\)

This review echoed the tone of the book, but people in Canton were more moderate. Ljungstedt did indeed modify his book, on the advice, it seems, of ‘enlightened friends’.\(^{34}\) The harsh comment about the procession of illiterate *ouvidores* vanished entirely. Instead, the office of ouvidor received only a passing mention.\(^{35}\) In 1834 he held that ‘the Roman Catholic Cross and bloody sword came from India by way


\(^{30}\) *Chinese Repository*, vol. 3, no. 7, November 1834, p. 303.

\(^{31}\) No surviving copy of this reprint has been located.

\(^{32}\) *Gentleman’s Magazine*, vol. 157, May 1835, p. 501.


\(^{34}\) A. Ljungstedt, Preface to *An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China: and of the Roman Catholic church and mission in China*, p. iii.

\(^{35}\) Ibid., pp. 48, 56.
of Malacca to China’. In 1835, this became ‘the Cross, and greedy merchants came from India by way of Malacca to China’. These are only two instances of a far more moderate tone. Yet many of the original conclusions remained. Most importantly, he was steadfast in his view that the Portuguese never had a valid claim to sovereignty in Macau. The *mestiços* were still mongrels. Ljungstedt, growing old gracefully, did listen to constructive criticism, but held firm to what he saw as fundamental.

He set to work at once on his extensive revisions, completed by the end of 1834, when he issued a ‘Prospectus’ for the forthcoming book. The revised manuscript was shown to Bridgman, who may have been the source of some of the moderating influences. In March 1835, Bridgman commented that

> The prospectus for the *Historical Sketch of Macao* by Andrew Ljungstedt, kn.t., appeared in December last; since that time the work has been forwarded in duplicate, to the United States, where it is to be published with all convenient dispatch. The original of this work was published in ‘Two Contributions to an *Historical Sketch of Macao,*’ — the first in 1832, and the second in 1834 ... The new work is much more elaborate than those essays; and if we may judge from a hasty perusal of a part of the manuscript, it is much better arranged and more accurate.  

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36 Ibid., p. 147.
Ljungstedt had died before the book came from far-away Boston, after a delay of a year. Within a few years, the rapid onrush of events in the Pearl River estuary eclipsed his book, and interest switched to the new British colony of Hong Kong. In 1834, Bridgman had commented that ‘Macao may become in a few years one of the most important cities in the east’. Ten years later, that would have been an absurd notion. Nevertheless, in that decade his book had made an indelible mark on the attitudes of the men who would shape the future of community relations in the Far East. The negative views of the Portuguese expressed by Sir John Davis were
probably reinforced by Ljungstedt’s. The Portuguese who arrived in Hong Kong in the 1840s found a powerful British mindset ranged against them. There was too much bad history that had begun with Anson’s experiences in Macau a century earlier. Ljungstedt’s book did not rehearse the abrasive experiences of that period. Rather, it set out to demonstrate to readers that the Portuguese position in Macau had always been invalid. By inference, the people who came from Macau need be given little consideration. It can scarcely have been his intention, but Ljungstedt’s book made a considerable contribution to the negative impression that the British rulers of Hong Kong had of the Portuguese who came there from Macau.

In vain would Montalto de Jesus fulminate in 1902 against Ljungstedt, that ‘insidious detractor of Macao’, who had written a ‘garbled, specious account’ of the origins of Macau. Dealing with the issue of sovereignty, he dismissed as ‘absurd’ Ljungstedt’s conclusion that following the Portuguese arrival there in the 1550s the higher mandarins took little notice of the colony for twenty-five years. No Portuguese writer at the beginning of the twentieth century could have written anything else.

However, by the end of the twentieth century, with the administration of Macau about to be returned to the People’s Republic of China, a new political correctness held sway. In 1990, addressing a Swedish History Delegation to Macau, Fr Manuel Teixeira, then the best-known historian of Macau, found it expedient to change a view he had held for more than sixty years about Ljungstedt.

The Portuguese historians that came afterwards, borrowed from him; but instead of declaring their indebtedness to him, attacked him violently. The reason is this: Ljungstedt, based in historical documents, asserted that Macau was Chinese territory. They denied it, declaring that the Emperor of China gave it to the Portuguese, which he never did. Therefore Ljungstedt was right and they are wrong.

Two years later, writing a foreword to a new edition of Ljungstedt’s book, Teixeira felt obliged to expand his retraction. His earlier mea culpa did not directly address what had for centuries been the burning issue of sovereignty. Following the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration on 13 April 1987 which agreed to the end of

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40 Printed as an additional Foreword to the 1992 reissue of Ljungstedt’s book.
Portuguese administration on 20 December 1999, that was no longer a tenable position. So Teixeira went further.

I was prejudiced against Ljungstedt, because both Montalto de Jesus and Jack Braga wrote badly against him. But all my prejudices fell into pieces when I read Ljungstedt *An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China and of the Roman Catholic church and mission in China.*

He described the collaboration of Ljungstedt with Bishop Saraiva, concluding,

Thus it was Ljungstedt, not Saraiva, that wrote and published the history … So Ljungstedt has been a benefactor of Macau … Ljungstedt’s history became also an abundant source where all the future historians went to drink. Thus Ljungstedt had greatly contributed to the understanding of Macau’s history. Therefore he deserves the gratitude of Macau as well as of Portugal. Glory to Ljungstedt.

It did not end there. Ljungstedt has in more recent years received more attention from the Portuguese settlement than he ever did in life. A magazine article in January 2011 rather inaccurately extolled this ‘pioneering Swedish sinologist’, who ‘pioneered the study of China in his native country.’

Anders Ljungstedt would have smiled wryly. He was well aware that the Macanese had for several centuries developed excellent survival skills in dealing with the Chinese.

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41 Jack Braga wrote bitterly of the ‘shameful distortion by Ljungstedt of the facts … he had culled from the manuscript material gathered by Miranda e Lima and Bishop Saraiva over a number of years’, going on to condemn ‘Ljungstedt’s misrepresentation of Macao’s rights’. J.M. Braga, ‘The beginnings of printing at Macao’, in *Studia*, Lisbon, no. 12, July 1963, p. 112 (p. 84 in the offprint).

42 Mark O’Neill, ‘Lasting words. Pioneering Swedish sinologist wrote first history of Macau’, *Macao Magazine*, no. 6, January 2011. Ljungstedt, of course, was in no sense a sinologist.
Appendix 4

A book burning in Macau

The suppression of C.A. Montalto de Jesus’

Historic Macao, 1929

The act of burning an author’s book is a powerful image of mindless authoritarianism, as though ideas could be crushed by action. Carlos Augusto Montalto de Jesus, the author of Historic Macao, one of the principal secondary sources of this thesis, suffered this ignominy when the second edition of his book provoked such outrage that it was burned in public in the very place whose history he had sought to honour. Montalto de Jesus himself left Macau, never to return. Another 60 years passed before the government of Macau republished his book, in Portuguese. It was, observed a later writer on the history of Macau, ‘one of the most remarkable cases of censorship registered in the whole history of Macau’.43 There have been other losses of important books there, and, in the case of the Jesuit College of St Paul, the loss of a whole library when the Order was expelled in 1762. Yet the burning of several hundred copies of Historic Macao on 11 March 1929 was of a different order. It was the result, not of indifference or neglect, but of vindictiveness, and it is significant that the administration which ordered the destruction of this book did nothing to commission a response to what had so deeply offended them. Book burners do not create. They only destroy.

The publication of Historic Macao by Montalto de Jesus in 1902 was a landmark for the Portuguese enclave. Nothing had been written in English about its history since Ljungstedt’s An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China, based on two smaller books published in Macau in 1832 and in Canton in 1834, an enlarged edition being published in Boston in 1836. Ljungstedt’s principal aim was to expose what he saw as the hollow pretensions of the Portuguese claim to sovereignty over Macau. Montalto de Jesus’ aims were to assert that claim and to celebrate the heroes of Macau’s tenacious survival, notably Arriaga, Amaral and Mesquita. Historic

43 L.A. de Sá, The boys from Macau, translated by A. Guterres, p. 44.
Macao, the title he chose, suggests a travelogue or guide book. The reality was a serious attempt to do justice, from a Portuguese perspective, to the history of this ancient place. He had no previous experience in writing history, and little experience in writing at all. He had been a clerk, probably in Jardine, Matheson & Co. until he was said to have emptied an ink-well over the head of his immediate superior, a fair-haired Scot. 44 Unemployable in Hong Kong from then on, he became what would now be called a freelance writer, drifting from place to place, but spending most of his time in Shanghai, more tolerant of eccentricity than rigidly hierarchical Hong Kong.

Born in Hong Kong in 1863, he was in his fortieth year when Historic Macao appeared. It is interesting that the author wrote in English and published his book in Hong Kong, a clear indication that there was insufficient interest in Macau to publish there in what was for the Macanese a foreign language. His English was fluent, though often pompous and pretentious. He would choose an elaborate word or a cumbersome string of words in an attempt to demonstrate his literary proficiency. 45 While vehemently asserting Portuguese sovereignty, he was also severe in his judgement of the follies of succeeding authorities in the eighteenth century when opportunities to recover Macau’s lost prosperity were frittered away. He was blunt and forceful in his assessment of the parlous state of affairs in Macau at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Despite this, he took what might be termed the official line on several contentious issues. The first was the issue of Portuguese sovereignty, about which no dissent

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45 A typical example is his description of the reaction of people in Macau to the sight of the mutilated and headless corpse of Amaral, assassinated on 22 August 1849: ‘stricken Macao realised in all its overpowering horror the heart-rending penalty of her regeneration’. Historic Macao, p. 341. C.R. Boxer dismissed this habitual style of Portuguese historical writing as ‘turgid rhetoric’. Fidalgos in the Far East, p. 158.
could be tolerated in Macau. The second was the way in which Colonel Vicente Mesquita was to be regarded. Mesquita was the leader of a small force which mounted a successful counter-attack against a far more numerous Chinese force threatening Macau in 1849. Mesquita at once became a celebrated hero, and in 1940 a statue was erected in his honour in the most prominent public place in Macau, on the Largo do Senado in front of the Leal Senado. Montalto de Jesus gave a lengthy and eulogistic account of Mesquita’s heroism. There were illustrations of Mesquita and two earlier heroes, Arriaga, who had adroitly thwarted the British attempt to occupy Macau in 1808, and Amaral, who confronted the Chinese in 1849. Thirdly, Montalto de Jesus championed the cause of Macau in the precarious situation it faced after Hong Kong became a British colony in 1841.

Once its contents became known, Montalto de Jesus’ book was well-received in Macau, where the author became a minor celebrity. He was officially thanked by the Leal Senado and recommended for royal honours, though nothing came of this. Encouraged by this success, he went on to write Historic Shanghai, published at Shanghai in 1909. It dealt largely with the origins of modern Shanghai and the turbulent period of the Taiping rebellion in the 1850s and 1860s.

Not an economic historian, Montalto de Jesus wrote little on the city’s massive development in the following half century. There is no mention at all of the Portuguese community in Shanghai. As in Hong Kong, the Portuguese community, while numerically one of the largest foreign communities, was insignificant as far as other foreign communities were concerned. It may be his lack of understanding of the importance of economic development that led to so much trouble for Montalto de Jesus between 1926 and 1929, culminating in the public burning of every copy of the second edition of Historic Macao that the authorities there could lay their hands on.

In the early 1920s, buoyed perhaps by the success of Historic Shanghai, Montalto de Jesus embarked on a second edition of his earlier book on Macau. Despite the turmoil in China, it was a time of growth for Hong Kong until the serious industrial trouble between 1922 and 1926 crippled the economy there. Macau too enjoyed a brief respite from the long period of decline that had set in almost three centuries earlier. For many years, its administrators had dreamed of the possibility of major

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46 Ibid., p. vii. The assistance of Fr Manuel Teixeira was acknowledged in the introduction. It is likely that he was the source of this information.
harbour works that would enable large ships to call there. A plan at the beginning of the twentieth century to dredge the West River leading to the Inner Harbour was opposed by the Chinese government and so came to nothing. Knowing that the shallow Inner Harbour could never again be a commercial port, the planners instead conceived of a large reclamation on the south-eastern side of the small peninsula, with a large sea-wall thrown around what would become a new Outer Harbour. The extensive reclamation would provide space for docks, industry, residential development, a railway terminus and even a ‘park for seaplanes’.

Unaccountably, the territory’s dire water problem was not included in the plan. If this vision were to become reality, a large increase in water consumption was inevitable, but most of Macau’s water was already supplied by lighter from streams in the Chinese hinterland. Access from deep water to the Outer Harbour would be provided by a channel 300 metres in length dredged through the shallow, silted-up western side of the Pearl River estuary. In the parlance of the days of sail, this was the ‘Macau Roads’. In brief, the scheme proposed to turn the great drawback of
Macau’s problem of shallow water into an advantage: the silt would be dredged and used for reclamation. Similarly, at the end of the twentieth century, another scheme designed to lessen Macau’s dependence on Hong Kong constructed an airport with a runway entirely reclaimed from shallow waters east of Taipa and Coloane. In 1922, with brighter prospects than there had been for many years, the decision was made to go ahead with the Porto Exterior project. Its promoters hailed it as the beginning of a new golden age for Macau, and the local press seized on their extravagant promises.

A motor road and a railway to Canton were an essential part of this vision. Therefore, when a new governor, Tamagnini Barbosa, arrived in 1931, he was greeted, not only with the usual dragon boats, a guard of honour and ceremonial arches, bedecked with flowers, but also a dummy locomotive, optimistically labelled, ‘Made in Macau’. The expectation was clear: the construction of a line to Canton should be high on his agenda. To the optimists, Macau was poised on the brink of a great leap forward.

*The new Governor of Macau, Tamagnini Barbosa, was welcomed in 1931 with a dummy locomotive, a strong hint that the railway line to Canton should go ahead during his administration. The locals seem puzzled.*

*J.M. Braga Pictures collection, National Library of Australia*
In preparing his new edition, Montalto de Jesus seemed oblivious to the major port works going on around him, though he included a map of them. All the old features were there in his book, and this time victors’ laurel wreaths were placed around the pictures of Arriaga, Amaral and Mesquita. Although he had been in Macau only since September 1924, less than two years, Jack Braga, already a keen historian of Macau, gave him strong support. He assisted him in having it printed at the Tipografia do Orfanato Salesian, the press of the Salesian Orphanage, the covers being printed by a commercial printer. The grateful author gave him three copies, and in one he wrote,

‘To my dear friend Jack Braga
these lines are inscribed as a token of recognition for his kind efforts in getting up this second edition of the work. The Author.’

In 1902, he had concluded gloomily, seeing no future for Macau, but in 1926, he cast around for a positive note on which to finish his book. His solution was to suggest:

it would be no derogation at all if helpless Portugal wisely placed Macau under the providential tutelage of the League of Nations as a safeguard against further ruinage,

adding that

for such a measure there is a notable precedent in the judicious internationalisation of Shanghai and its marvellous outcome.

In short, he dared to hope that Macau might yet surpass Hong Kong, which in 1926 had been virtually brought to its knees by the strike and boycott of 1925.

Founded in 1919 following World War I, the League of Nations was nominally responsible for the administration of parts of the former Ottoman Empire and the former German colonies in Africa and the Pacific. These were mandated to the

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47 It is in the National Library of Australia, BRA 2104. Another copy is at BRA 2754. The third copy, annotated by J.M. Braga, has been catalogued as a manuscript, MS 4369
48 C.A. Montalto de Jesus, Historic Macao, p. 514.
victors – Britain, France and the United States. Australia administered the north-east portion of New Guinea. Besides these territories, the League directly administered an awkward hot spot, Danzig on the Baltic Sea. Danzig was dwarfed by its larger neighbours, Germany and Poland, both of whom wanted it; it could not survive without outside protection. Montalto de Jesus appears to have considered that Macau was in a similar position. Moreover in 1926, the League appeared to be an effective champion of world peace and international justice. Reviews in the *South China Morning Post* and the *Hongkong Telegraph* on 14 June 1926 applauded the idea.49

Until then, the book had gone unnoticed in Macau, despite the fact that it was printed there. There was then an immediate outcry in the Macau press. On 16 June, *A Patria* let fly with a torrent of words. It described the offending new chapters in *Historic Macao*, as

a supplement full of insults aimed at Portugal, at the manner of our colonisation, at the method of our administration in the Colony, at the population of Macau; he treacherously even went as far as appealing to foreigners, who would have interfered in the Colony’s administration held by the Portuguese for five centuries.

It continued:

> We regret that newspapers from Hong Kong did not recognise immediately the falsifications and infamous purposes and why such a book could be considered more than a product of a sick imagination in every respect, at best, by Macau and Portugal. We are sure that the Government of this Province, faced with the Hong Kong press releases, will take the necessary steps that such a grave situation requires.50

Montalto de Jesus meant well. He thought he had proposed a way out of the deep pit into which Macau had sunk. However, he seemed to imply that Portugal was, like Germany, unworthy to be a colonial power. Moreover, Macau, like Danzig, could not survive on its own. Still worse, it was a slap in the face to the Macau government which had invested a great deal of money and effort into a major project which was confidently expected to save Macau from obscurity and perhaps even collapse.

There was an immediate rush by people associated with the book to distance themselves from it. The owner of *Tipografia Mercantil*, who had printed the covers,

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50 Ibid., pp. 44-80. De Sá made much of this brouhaha, devoting more than thirty pages to it.
took out an advertisement to declare that he had printed ‘truly nothing else’. The Director of the Tipografia do Orfanato Salesian, Fr. José Lucas, declared in a long letter to A Patria on 18 June that he had been a victim of deceit.

The author abused the trust of all. If there was a slight suspicion of the author’s intentions in his book against Portuguese national pride, I, as a devout Portuguese, and those who consider themselves patriots, no matter the economical sacrifice required, would have refused the publication of such material considering the attempt made against the country’s honour ... No payments were made in advance for the printing of the book and we have yet to receive any payments.

Fr. Lucas placed the blame squarely on Jack Braga’s shoulders.

His friend J.M. Braga, of whom we had and have considered to be a good person and a man of character until the present day, told us he was speaking as a member of a committee to engage us in the printing of the 2nd edition of the said book and to that effect provided us with the paper for the printing.

Jack Braga could hardly ignore this. He too wrote to A Patria.

I am reluctantly writing to you as my conscience is clear and for the only purpose to satisfy some of the friends who have advised me to write. I and some of my friends, acting solely with noble motives, managed to organise a group of persons who desired that precious historic data be made known about the history of Macau, and had guaranteed the purchase of a certain number of copies ... I myself did not see what was added to the 1st edition although he [Montalto de Jesus] had promised to show me the supplement to his first publication.

Another correspondent to O Combate on 24 June refused to accept this disclaimer, pointing out that as ‘Senhor Jack himself delivered copies to some of the subscribers he had himself procured, was he still not aware of its contents?’ Jack was able to weather the storm; Montalto de Jesus was not.
The outcry against Montalto de Jesus was shared by the enraged Macau authorities, who responded as the papers sought. They withdrew the book from sale and seized all copies they could lay their hands on. According to de Sá, this was 300 copies. The author was brought before a court and fined $400 plus costs, or four months in gaol in default for breach of the press laws, apparently for sedition.

Now destitute, he fled to Hong Kong, complaining:

I had to seek refuge in the Little Sisters of the Poor Home in Kowloon after being given this charity and having to live among old Chinese folk. This in itself is a condemnation of our Government since foreigners who, recognising the value of my work, were amazed to find the historian of Macau placed among coolies and Chinese beggars when visiting me in this home. I became ill and suffered from arthritis and heart problems. My executioners should rejoice from my sufferings — the greatest condemnation and suffering by any Macanese, in stark contrast to the homage rendered to me by many intellectual centres of Europe and America.51

He still knew how to tell a good story. Returning to Macau in 1928, he sought restitution of the seized copies. In a submission to the governor, he also sought recompense for the moral damage ... so that I can depart from this place with decency so as to forget the injuries and to die far from this ungrateful country for which I sacrificed all including my own health.

Macau 26 April 1928
Carlos Augusto Montalto de Jesus

Histrionics like these were unlikely to achieve a positive outcome. When his request was refused, he retorted sarcastically that the books might as well be burned. He was aghast when the authorities responded some months later to his ill-judged defiance by doing just that, in a public bonfire in the Largo do Senado on 11 March 1929. Later, he told a newspaper reporter in Shanghai, more sympathetic than those in Macau, that more than five hundred copies had been burned.52

51 Statement made in the Police Headquarters in Macau 26 April 1928. L.A. de Sá The Boys from Macau, p. 50.
52 China Press, 23 June 1929. Press cutting in J.M. Braga Papers, 4300/14. Possibly an exaggeration; de Sá’s figure was 300.
Jack Braga had little sympathy. On 17 March 1929, he commented in his diary:

In the evening I went to Monteiro’s for dinner, and the subject was Montalto, who is going about moaning about the burning of his books last Monday, but as it was at his own request he has only himself to blame. What a fool he is. So full of vanity that he has wrecked his life rather than accept the advice of friends, from his very youth to the present day.53

Jack Braga refused to surrender his copies. He may have had little sympathy with the situation Montalto had put himself in, but he disagreed profoundly with the authoritarian reaction of the Macau government, even keeping an envelope with some of the ashes.54 Instead, he sent the third of his three copies to a bookbinder and had it bound in vellum, a distinction he reserved for his most precious books. In this copy, he carefully added notes augmenting and referencing Montalto de Jesus’ work. He also contacted the author, seeking his comments and additional material for a possible third edition that might one day eventuate. These were also added in his neat, minuscule writing to this special copy.55 He added a note of warning to later readers: ‘These additions must be considered in the light of the bitterness felt by Montalto de Jesus after the suppression of the Second Edition of the book’.

Montalto de Jesus had intended to make a constructive suggestion. Instead it had been seen as an affront. No greater insult to an author can be imagined that the public burning of his book, and Montalto de Jesus left Macau, swearing never to return. Hatred followed him. The Jornal de Macau reported on 28 November 1929 that ‘esse inimigo dos Portugueses’, ‘this enemy of the Portuguese people’, was in Shanghai. However, Hong Kong papers and a Shanghai paper, the China Press,

53 J.M. Braga, Diary 1929, National Library of Australia, Braga Collection, MS 4300/1.
54 According to B.H.M. Koo, in a paper ‘Researching José Maria Braga’, delivered in 2004 at the Ricci Institute in Macau, p. 2. Although I have worked extensively in J.M. Braga’s papers at the National Library of Australia, I have not seen this envelope.
55 Although it is a printed book, these notes mean that it has been catalogued as a manuscript. National Library of Australia, MS 4369.
supported this ‘aged, broken-hearted historian’, 56 who died there more than two years later, aged 69, on 19 May 1932. 57

It took more than fifty years for Montalto de Jesus to be rehabilitated. In 1984, his book, whatever its faults, was reprinted by Oxford University Press as one of a series of important books on Far Eastern history. By then, the League of Nations had long since vanished and prosperity had at last come to Macau, but not through a revived maritime trade. In 1990, a Portuguese translation, *Macau histórico*, was published in Macau in the series *Livros do Oriente*. A Chinese translation followed in 2000. 58 However dated its opinions and obscure its language, the book still had no riposte or effective successor.

58 Information from Paul Spooner, June 2009.
Appendix 5

J.P. Braga, *The Portuguese in Hongkong and China, 1944*

This appendix discusses what has become in the long term José Pedro Braga’s lasting legacy to the Portuguese community of Hong Kong, his posthumously published book, *The Portuguese in Hongkong and China*. The appendix is in four parts. The first discusses the circumstances in which the book was written between June 1942 and February 1944, when Braga died. The second lists the chapter plan set out by his son, J.M. Braga, as the project began in mid-1942, varied somewhat in succeeding months. The third discusses, chapter by chapter, the strengths and weaknesses of the book as published. Finally, the book’s printing history is outlined in the fourth and last part.

The J.M. Braga collection in the National Library of Australia contains edited typescripts of the twelve published chapters, another seven unpublished draft chapters, and incomplete notes for what J.P. Braga intended to be another chapter on Portuguese luminaries in Hong Kong, though this was not provided for in the original chapter plan. These are at MS 4300, series 13.3. Four copies of the published book are in the collection, though two are incomplete.

One of the four, J.M. Braga’s personal copy, was lent to his friend Charles R. Boxer on the latter’s release from POW camp in Hong Kong for Boxer’s comments, which are pencilled throughout. Boxer took strong issue with J.P. Braga's censorious remarks concerning Anders Ljungstedt’s critical assessment of the Portuguese in the Far East (A. Ljungstedt, *An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China*, Boston, 1836). Jack Braga then had this copy bound in half leather, prefaced by the original chapter plan in his own handwriting, thus indicating the intended scope of a planned second edition.
1. **The writing of the book**

Jack Braga wrote a foreword to his father’s book in which he explained how it came to be written.

> When, on the 1st June, 1942, my father came from Hongkong to Macao, I cast about for something to which he might devote his time and employ his mind, that energetic and enthusiastic mind. Nothing seemed more practical than a book in which the story of ‘our people’ in Hong Kong might be told and thus preserved. He was eminently suited to the task.\(^{59}\)

J.P. Braga had had the advantage of hearing what Jack described as

thrilling tales from his grandfather, Delfino Noronha, of Hong Kong’s early days. Close to half a century earlier, in 1896, he had recounted something of Hong Kong’s early days in his short-lived magazine, *Odds and Ends*; this had been a life-long interest. Moreover he had since 1889 taken a constant and intelligent interest in the activities of the Portuguese in Hong Kong.

Jack went on, ‘He did it at the suggestion of Governor Teixeira’. Plainly, this was an imprimatur intended to avoid any possibility of censure.

Jack outlined the book’s methodology. ‘I placed before him such materials as I had.’ He did not mention that he had also drawn up chapter headings for up to 23 chapters. Thus the architecture of the book closely followed Jack’s own interests and his perception of what his father ought to write about. J.P. Braga appears willingly to have followed his son’s suggestion. The other obvious step in the book’s methodology is conveyed in the expression ‘I placed before him’. Jack had since the mid-1920s gathered what was already a considerable library on the history of the Portuguese in the Far East. Moreover, he had carefully kept press cuttings books covering his father’s career in Hong Kong. Jack’s collecting interests therefore determined to a large extent the way in which his father set about writing what was intended to be his *magnum opus*. Because Jack’s library began with the arrival of the Portuguese in the Far East and had a considerable emphasis upon the early church missions, this governed the book. In effect, the prolegomena dominated it and proved to be unnecessarily prolix. Jack explained in his foreword how the book took shape.

Thus it was that in the summer and autumn of 1942, I was busily engaged in the task, a proud and pleasant one, of helping my father with his book. His own papers had been left behind in Hongkong, and lost, but I placed before him, day after day, such material as I happened to possess. Drawing from this material and from his memory, my father prepared his notes and the book was written.

After an excellent beginning his efforts slackened, for he was distressed over nameless things, which interfered with the sequence of his thoughts. Shortly before his death, however, he resumed his interest, and just when it seemed that the book might be completed before many weeks, he suddenly passed away.60

A few days earlier, in the last few pages he wrote, J.P. Braga referred obliquely to the loss of his books and papers.

Much material relating to the Portuguese of Hongkong which the writer had laboriously gathered over a number of years is now, unfortunately, no longer available, and he has had to rely largely on his memory, now by reason of advancing years not a very dependable guide.61

This is a reference to what might be seen as one of the minor tragedies of World War II. Almost all of what appears to have been a fine library of rare imprints of nineteenth and early twentieth century books and pamphlets, chiefly from Hong Kong and Macau, were lost. It is likely that only three items survived, all now in the National Library of Australia: the Hongkong Almanack for 1849 and 1850, and the China Directory for 1861. Two are thought to be unique survivors.

Gwen Dew, an American journalist, has recorded what happened. A day or two after the surrender, and before civilians were interned, she saw in a courtyard ‘a huge pile of burning books … it was a sickening sight to a book-lover, and I turned my eyes away’.62 Many more books survived this initial frenzy of destruction, having been looted in the immediate aftermath of the surrender. Some days later, Dew saw street stalls where books were being sold by weight to use in lieu of firewood.63 In the struggle for survival in the hard times ahead, anything that could be used to cook rice had value – as fuel.

It may be that Jack realised that his father was failing. Two years after his father died, Jack wrote:

61 Ibid., p. 201.
63 Ibid., p. 209.
I should have recognized the symptoms, for instance, which indicated that dear Father was not well. But immersing myself in work for the anti-Jap cause I clouded my eyes. In that I failed, therefore, and this is something which gives me regret.64

‘This is José Pedro Braga’s book’, wrote Jack at the beginning of the foreword. On the face of it a filial tribute, this was in reality a defence mechanism. The overall plan of the book was entirely Jack’s work. It showed Jack’s severe limitations both as historian and as researcher. Although he had read both editions of Montalto de Jesus’ ground-breaking *Historic Macao*, which was almost brutally honest in dealing with the way the hapless Portuguese were treated by the Chinese mandarins for almost three centuries, Jack ignored anything that might be seen as criticism of the Macanese people and their Portuguese governors. His view of history was what used to be termed ‘Whig history’: an unending saga of success. Chapter Two, ‘The Portuguese impress the Chinese who desire Peace and Friendship with Portugal’ and Chapter Five, ‘Dutch and English envious of Portuguese trade’ of *The Portuguese in Hongkong and China* are good examples. The Chinese were not the least bit impressed with or friendly with the Portuguese, while the Dutch and English were not envious of Portuguese trade. They destroyed it.

J.P. Braga was a sick man when he arrived in Macau, and had lost much ground. Close to 71, he had suffered a stroke in 1938, and had high blood pressure. Correspondence between him and his son often reveals the older man’s concern for his health, e.g. on 10 February 1941 he wrote to Jack, ‘I had a rather bad night with this high blood pressure and feel out of sorts today.’65

Jack’s failure to make immediate use of his father’s unique knowledge of the Hong Kong Portuguese community was deeply unfortunate and a lost opportunity. The title of J.P. Braga’s book suggested that he would also write about the substantial Portuguese community of Shanghai, and there were eight pages about them in his draft unpublished chapters. The history of this community was then not undertaken until 2010 by António Jorge da Silva, by which time no-one was left who remembered its early days. Fortunately, substantial material was available for the later history of this community, dispersed by war, revolution and expulsion.66

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64 Jack Braga to Tony Braga, 23 February 1946. James Braga Papers.
Reluctantly, it is necessary to conclude that in writing the book, J.P. Braga was obliged by the regimen imposed on him by Jack to waste months on lengthy prolegomena that could easily have been supplied later by Jack himself or by another writer. No wonder J.P. Braga lost interest for a time.

Nevertheless, in the last twenty months of his life, he wrote more than 85,000 words, a substantial achievement for an ailing man who was also pursuing other interests such as setting up a Macao Technical College. It shows the strength of J.P. Braga’s intellect and his judicious understanding of the community that he led with such distinction and success. It indicates his capacity to assess and appreciate its strengths, while not ignoring its weaknesses. It courageously and confidently places faith in the return of British rule in Hong Kong, albeit on a basis in which there would be a place for those hitherto shut out of opportunities they ought to have.

Jack claimed that ‘fifteen chapters were almost ready for publication at the time of his [father’s] death. He had only to revise them once before they would have been ready for the press. The notes [were] assembled and the typescript completed, however, of a further eight chapters.’67 This is a somewhat exaggerated statement. Twelve chapters were printed, and another seven chapters were drafted and almost completed. Several of these could not be published in wartime Macau because of their strongly pro-British sentiments. Chapter 14, for example, began with the following. ‘In earlier pages of this book, it has been shown how from the very first, the Portuguese from Macau proved willing helpers of the British community at Hong Kong.’ Chapter 21 dealt with ‘World War I – Portuguese support for the British Cause – Hong Kong Police Reserves – 1st Annual Dinner of the Portuguese Company HKVDF, 4 September 1938’, including J.P. Braga’s speech in extenso.

The remaining chapters, drawn largely from Jack’s press cuttings albums, were largely an apologia for J.P. Braga’s role in the Hong Kong Legislative Council in the 1930s and lacked the broader dimension of earlier chapters, perhaps revealing a failing man no longer able to use this voluminous material in a selective way. Put simply, Jack published all that was good enough. Finally, there were some rough notes that J.P. Braga may have intended to use in Chapters 16 and 17, not included in

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Jack’s initial draft list of 25 chapters, and the final two chapters, Chapters 24 and 25, but there are no drafts of these.

The manuscripts in the National Library of Australia bear the signs of Jack’s very extensive editing on most pages, as do the twelve chapters which were published, though Jack claimed not to have edited his father’s work, wishing to avoid criticism for what the book did or did not contain. Nevertheless, despite its shortcomings and incompleteness, J.P. Braga’s important book, a pioneer in its field, had no successor for more than sixty years, until the publication in 2007 and 2010 of the two volumes of António Pacheco Jorge da Silva’s *The Portuguese community in Hong Kong, a pictorial history*. The introductory text of this drew heavily on Braga’s work.

2. **Chapter list**

J.M. Braga’s draft chapter plan follows. It was largely adhered to in the book as printed, except that an unplanned Chapter 12 was added, ‘Portuguese Interest in Land Development in Hongkong — Genesis of Kowloon — Some Interesting Personalities among the Portuguese of Old Hongkong’. It is arguably the most valuable chapter in the book, and stemmed from J.P. Braga’s knowledge of the community in which he had grown up rather than from Jack’s rigid structure.

**Published**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 1</th>
<th>Early Portuguese voyages of discovery of a sea route to China</th>
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<td>Chapter 2</td>
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<td>Foreign envy of Portuguese trade. Britons at Macau</td>
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<td>End of East India Company’s monopoly. Captain Elliot’s proclamation</td>
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<td>Chapter 7</td>
<td>Early Hongkong from Portuguese records. Vicissitudes of early Hongkong</td>
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<td>Chapter 8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chapter 9</td>
<td>Perfect equality of Crown servants. Sir John Pope Hennessy and the Portuguese</td>
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<td>Chapter 10</td>
<td>Religious influences on the Portuguese – Catholic education - early churches</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chapter 11</td>
<td>Early Portuguese investments in Hong Kong. The Portuguese in Kowloon. Macao capital for Hongkong</td>
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Unpublished. Of these, drafts were written of chapters 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20 and 21. Chapters 16, 17 and 22 appear to have been left unallocated to allow for variation, which did occur when a different Chapter 12 was written.

Chapter 12 Clubs for the Portuguese – the Club Lusitano
Chapter 13 Relations between Macau and Hong Kong – piracy on the China coast. Hongkong volunteers.
Chapter 14 Portuguese in Hongkong government service. Racial discrimination. Cantlie’s plea
Chapter 15 Discriminatory policy and its effects. Handicaps suffered by colonials due to policy of patronage.
Chapter 16
Chapter 17
Chapter 18 Catholic clubs and the Portuguese – the Club de Recreio – the Associação de Socorros Mutuos
Chapter 19 Portuguese housing schemes – the proposed Cidade de Camoes – the Ho Mun Tin scheme
Chapter 20 Macao Delimitation discussions in Hongkong
Chapter 21 World War I and Portuguese contributions – Hong Kong Volunteer Corps and the Police Reserves
Chapter 22
Chapter 23 Sanitary Board
Chapter 24 The Urban Council

3. A critical discussion of the book

Chapter 1 was concerned with Portuguese voyages of discovery from the time of Prince Henry the Navigator. Chapter 2 followed chronologically with a discussion of early Sino-Portuguese relations. Chapter 3 followed this with much detail about the Jesuit missions in sixteenth and seventeenth century China. The style of writing suggests that it was largely written or rewritten by Jack. Chapter 4 began with more discussion of the Jesuit missions in China, which is followed by a detailed and technical account of the Portuguese contribution to botany in Bengal in the sixteenth century. As if aware that this very lengthy digression is of dubious relevance at best, J.P. Braga concluded the chapter by expressing the hope that Portugal may return to the position of commercial and cultural importance in the commerce of Africa and the Far East she had once enjoyed. This conclusion at least is recognisably written in his somewhat florid and rhetorical style rather than these laborious and irrelevant lists. Jack’s good friend, Charles Boxer, aptly described him as ‘the learned Macau
antiquary’. This chapter is a good example of what Boxer had in mind. It is dominated by a mass of detail that has nothing to do with the book’s title. Finally, J.P. Braga went out of his way to suggest that Portugal’s recovery may be led by ‘the great Salazar’. In 1944 it was politically correct to pay due deference to the Portuguese dictator. However, when the book came to be reprinted in 1978 as a special number of the Boletim do Instituto Luís de Camões, these sentences were omitted. By that time, Salazar had fallen and the political pendulum had swung the other way.

From Chapter 5 onwards, the book was more J.P. Braga’s work. He discussed, though in a superficial way, the growth of English influence in Macau and the China trade. The favourable impressions of early English visitors to Macau were recounted with some relish, following which he launched an onslaught on Anders Ljungstedt, the Swedish merchant who wrote the first book in English on Macau, published in its final form in 1836. J.P. Braga’s normally measured use of language deserted him and the tone became bitter and censorious. This is very revealing of the intellectual baggage that Braga had carried throughout his life – the clear perception that the British and other northern Europeans regarded the Portuguese with contempt and derision. He sought to rebut Ljungstedt’s strictures with lengthy quotations from two writers whose comments on Macau and its people were more appreciative.

Ljungstedt arrived in Canton in 1798 and died at Macau in 1835. He had seen how its long commercial decline had led to a greatly reduced population and widespread poverty. There were many derelict buildings and the mansions on the Praya Grande were by the 1830s largely occupied by European merchants. While he knew of this decline into poverty for most of the Macanese people, J.P. Braga ignored it, and dwelt upon what he saw as the racial sneers used by Ljungstedt, who described the local Macanese people as ‘mongrels’. Quite rightly, he pointed out that the Portuguese merchants – all male – who flocked to Goa and Macau in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries necessarily intermarried with the local population. Ljungstedt was writing at a time when intermarriage between a local woman and a British or Northern European man invariably led to the latter’s loss of

68 C.R. Boxer, Seventeenth Century Macau, p. 3n.
69 Boletim do Instituto Luís de Camões, Vol. XII, No. 1 and 2, Spring and Summer 1978.
70 It is discussed in Appendix 3.
social standing, employment and British identity. It was rare, but it did happen. The most striking instance is that of Henry Hyndman, son of a colonel in the East India Company’s army, who married a local woman, Antônia Josefa Maria de Gamboa, in Macau in 1814. He was thereafter known as Henrique Hyndman, and his descendants melded seamlessly into the local Macanese population. As Boxer has pointed out, miscegenation as well as marriage led to a melding of European and local populations, especially in Goa. Many Macanese were descended from Goanese families. This led to an ethnic mix in the Portuguese Far Eastern territories that was distinctly different to the ethnic composition of Portugal itself. This was a process that would later be repeated in the experience of other nations, but Ljungstedt was encountering it de nouveau at a point when this process had been in operation for 250 years already. He censured it in uncompromising language that J.P. Braga found highly objectionable.

Eventually J.P. Braga turned to Hong Kong, supposedly the subject of the book. At the time he was writing, no book on the history of Hong Kong had been published since Eitel’s *Europe in China* in 1895. Only one book in English had been written about Macau since Ljungstedt’s work in the 1830s. This was C.A. Montalto de Jesus’ *Historic Macao*, published in 1902 and revised in 1926, though the revised edition was suppressed. In effect there was nothing available in print during the 1930s in the Far East on the history of Macau or Hong Kong.

Accordingly, J.P. Braga dwelt on this in two chapters, stressing the support given by Macau to the British while they were being harassed by Chinese authorities in the two years prior to the outbreak of the Opium War in 1839. He used four main sources which he identified: Eitel, Montalto de Jesus, *The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams* by his son, F.W. Williams, and a Macau newspaper of 1841, *O Portuguez na China*, copies of which were clearly available to him. The result was a fairly thorough account of the political events leading to the first Opium War between 1838 and 1842, ignoring the military events which were of no great significance to his story. Obviously he lacked the archival sources which would be available to later writers beginning with George Endacott in the 1950s.

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73 Macanese Families website: Henrique Hyndman, #21009, accessed 24 July 2011. Other non-Portuguese names to be found in the Macanese community of Hong Kong were Barnes, Danenberg, McDougall, Marcwick (adapted from Markwick), Reed and Yvanovich.
75 It is discussed in Appendix 4.
Jack’s fascination with antiquarian detail then again cluttered the text with a
digression on the ethnology of the Chinese population of South China – the Tanka,
the Hoklo, the Punti, and the Hakka (pages 100 to 103). It seems that, once again, at
this point in writing, this is what he placed in front of his father. After that, the older
man turned again to the early difficulties of Hong Kong, but the discussion was once
more skewed by a three-page account, drawn verbatim from Basil Lubbock’s
Clipper Ships, of two typhoons in 1841 that wreaked havoc on the nascent
settlement. This is all very well, but there was hardly a mention of the subject of
the book – the Portuguese in Hong Kong. In effect, the first seven chapters of the
book, 112 pages, did little more than introduce the reader to the subject, to which
Braga at last turned his attention in Chapter 8.

The book came to life with this chapter. There was a surer touch as the author was
obviously well versed in his subject, having access to a small but significant group of
newspapers from the 1840s. Moreover, he had learned much from his grandfather
who lived through the pioneering days and later reflected on them around the dinner
table. In old age, Delfino Noronha could justifiably be proud of what both he and the
colony of Hong Kong had achieved. From him, J.P. Braga gained a fascination with
the achievements of the past and an unshakeable confidence in a bright future. As a
boy, J.P. Braga lived with his grandfather, who was both his mentor and for the last
few years of his life his business partner as well. Braga traced the pioneering years of
Hong Kong in general terms, stressing the supportive role of the Portuguese in the
first years of the new British settlement. He then turned to the important role played
in government by several key people. First among them were the d’Almada brothers.
Their important contribution was discussed fully and in warmly appreciative terms,
and the discussion has been useful in the writing of this thesis.

Other significant members of the early Portuguese community then received due
attention – Grand-Pré and Hyndman. The former left no descendants, but Hyndman
left a large family whose members were in later generations to be found throughout
the Hong Kong financial and commercial scene. Until the 1960s, their role was
subordinate, though significant. Henrique Hyndman, the third of that name, became
Chief Clerk, the highest position then available to a Portuguese in the Hongkong

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76 B. Lubbock. The Opium Clippers, by Basil Lubbock, Glasgow, 1933, pp. 248-254
Bank but in 1985, his grandson, Rogério Hyndman Lobo, a great-great grandson of Colonel Henry Hyndman, was knighted as Sir Roger Lobo.\(^77\)

Turning to his grandfather, Delfino Noronha, J.P. Braga wrote with affection and discernment. Noronha was in business in Hong Kong from 1844 until his death in 1900 – more than fifty years. He held the contract for the *Hong Kong Government Gazette* from 1859. It was a remarkable achievement, and one of which the grandson’s pride is powerfully evident. Using Jack’s list of the publications of Noronha & Co., J.P. Braga extracted the best of them for special comment.\(^78\)

Chapters 9 to 12 saw J.P. Braga at his best. In writing Chapter 9, he alone knew the families and individuals of nineteenth century Hong Kong about whom he wrote, and he did so with relish. His analysis of the significance of the nineteenth century Hong Kong Portuguese community was balanced and well-written. He did not seek to overstate his case. Repeatedly, he mentioned families, individuals and themes to be discussed later in the book, in chapters which would never be written. Late in Chapter 9, he once more fell into the trap of allowing the source material to dominate his writing. Jack handed him three early Hong Kong almanacs – the archaic spelling ‘almanack’ was used – and J.P. Braga went through them, listing the names of Portuguese people and their employers. Very few had their own businesses. The lists are interesting and important, for the almanacs themselves are great rarities.\(^79\) However, they interrupt the flow of the chapter, which was up to that point written in an easy and comfortable style. They would have been better printed as an appendix; Jack was certainly familiar with books thus arranged.

In Chapter 10, ‘Catholic Churches and Schools in Hongkong’, Braga again warmed to his subject. He had personally benefitted a great deal from Catholic education, and was a strong supporter of St Joseph’s College and the newer La Salle College in Kowloon. In the 1930s, Catholic girls’ schools could also rely on the Hon J.P. Braga to support their public events. The result is a chapter written with a sure hand and with obvious commitment. He knew at first hand the institutions and people of whom he wrote – churches, schools, missions, bishops and priests. However, yet

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77 Rogério Lobo, Macanese Families #22200.
79 A few errors occurred in the course of transcription. These have been corrected in the second edition of the book, edited and extended by Dr Barney Koo, and scheduled for publication in 2012 by the Instituto Internacional de Macau.
again the chapter was marred at the end by a lapse into tedious detail, drawn from a rare pamphlet in Jack’s library, *Report of the Roman Catholic Educational and Charitable Establishments in Hongkong for the year 1876.*

Chapter 11, ‘Early relations between Macao and Hongkong – Last Days of Portuguese Shipping in the East’ is a chapter in which Braga provided a useful Portuguese perspective on what was until then largely seen from the perspective of the Anglo-German historian E. J. Eitel. While drawing heavily on Montalto de Jesus’ *Historic Macao*, Braga also used another rare booklet in Jack’s collection, *Correspondence of H. M. F. M’s Consul with the English, French & American Consuls, before and after the Ningpo Massacre.* However, the chapter is wrongly placed in the book. It interrupts the interesting account of people and situations that Braga knew first-hand, and ought to have been placed earlier in the book.

Chapter 12, ‘Portuguese interest in land development in Hongkong— genesis of Kowloon — some interesting personalities among the Portuguese of old Hongkong’, is the only chapter in which Braga’s vast knowledge of the Hong Kong Portuguese community was given unfettered reign. Unfortunately it was also the last chapter he wrote. He relished telling stories of families, individuals and circumstances that interested him. His writing was also interesting; although they were an old man’s reminiscences, they did not become wistful or maudlin. His impressions of people and events were sharply focussed and his appraisals were generous but never fawning. He shunned gossip and malice, knowing from bitter experience how much of it had blighted this community. He sought to celebrate its strengths and to encourage his readers to do the same. There the book concluded. Braga commented towards the end, on page 198, that ‘Mr. J. M. A. da Silva will come under further notice in later pages of this book’. However, death intervened.

4. Printing history

*The Portuguese in Hongkong and China*, printed on the press of the newspaper *Renascimento*, was first published in a tiny edition in Macau in 1944. Perhaps as few as 50 copies were printed on rough paper at a time of acute shortage of paper, and

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80 Hong Kong, 1857. [H.M.F.M. – the King of Portugal, ‘His Most Faithful Majesty’. ‘Rex Fidelissimus’ was a title bestowed on King John V of Portugal in 1748 by Pope Benedict XIV.]
when Jack Braga had very little money. Several of J.M. Braga’s wartime imprints are thought to have been published in editions of 50 copies.

His foreword made it clear that this was intended to be what might be called an ‘emergency edition’, to be superseded quickly by a revised edition. He told a correspondent soon after the war that he hoped to work on the book again. ‘I have been trying to complete the book in the way in which he would have wanted it to be done. I still have a great deal of work to do in this connection.’ However, Jack’s new edition never eventuated.

Only six copies of the 1944 edition are known to have survived. Leo d’Almada had access to one in 1949 when he prepared an address to the Instituto Português de Hongkong. This may have been borrowed from Jack Braga, who had four copies, all now in the National Library of Australia. When a reprint was planned in 1978, only one copy could be found in Macau, in the possession of Fr. Kirschner, S.J., Fr. Manuel Teixeira not having a copy himself. Sir Lindsay Ride, Vice-Chancellor of Hong Kong University, had a sixth copy, which was presented by Lady Ride to Hong Kong University Library in 1997. No other copies appear to be held in any library subscribing to OCLC as at 31 August 2011. None of J.M. Braga’s siblings seem to have had a copy; they did not share his interest in the history of Macau and had broken away from their Portuguese roots. James Braga’s collection of family letters written between 1941 and 1946 contains no mention of its publication.

It was reissued in Macau in 1979 at the instance of Fr. Manuel Teixeira in the Boletim do Instituto “Luís de Camões”, Vol. XII, Nos 1 and 2, 1978, as a single issue. This obscure journal rescued the book from oblivion, but it did not have a wide circulation. It seems to have been type-set by a printer with little or no English, while Teixeira, whose English was also a little shaky, unfortunately did not have a proof-reader with a good command of English, so that his re-issue (it was not a second edition as it had no new material) contained numerous errors. Teixeira concluded with this postscript:

We regret to inform that this essay — The Portuguese in Hongkong and China — remained incomplete with the death of Mr. José Paulo [sic] Braga.

82 Almada e Castro, Leo d’, ‘Some notes on the Portuguese in Hong Kong’ Boletim Instituto Português de Hongkong, 11 Sessão, March 1949.
on 12-2-1944; his son, Mr. José Maria Braga, still alive, did not complete it. We appeal to the Portuguese in Hongkong to add the last chapter to this very interesting essay, which was published in Macau during the II World War. The copy we used in reprinting this work was kindly put at our disposal by our dear friend, Fr. António Carlos Kirschner, to whom we are grateful. We could not find in Macau any other copy.

Macau, January 1979 – Fr. Manuel Teixeira.83

This reissue was further republished in Macau in 1998 by Fundação Macau. Unfortunately, little attempt was made to correct the errors of the 1978 re-issue. An Introduction was added, which also contained several errors. Another misfortune is that none of the three issues of the book contained an index.

More recently, Dr Barney H.M. Koo completed a new and greatly extended edition in 2003, taking account of the unpublished chapters and J.P. Braga’s rough notes. After a lengthy delay, this true second edition was published by the Instituto Internacíonal de Macau in February 2013.84 The text and pagination used in this thesis are those of the original 1944 edition, copied in 1999 at Hong Kong University Library from the Ride copy. A few typographical errors have been corrected by this writer. This is the version cited in this thesis.85

84 The book has also been placed on the Internet. It is one of a number of significant publications on the website of the Macau Public Library, at http://www.library.gov.mo/macreturn/DATA/PP31/index.htm (accessed 7 March 2010), the text used being that of the 1998 re-issue.
85 It is on the Macanese Families website, www.macanesefamilies.com.
Appendix 6 – Part 1

Olive Braga – ‘The peace of Christ garrisoning her heart’

The conversion of Olive Braga in April 1906 had profound effects for Olive and her family. It led to serious tensions in her marriage and eventually to life-transforming experiences for many of her children. It led them some years later to break decisively with the Portuguese community as all but one of them turned away from the Catholic Church and at least for a time became members of the Christian Brethren. In a family long accustomed to crisis and disruption, this was perhaps the most decisive, dramatic and unexpected break with the past. At the same time, it was a sincere, heartfelt and thorough-going commitment to a very different path of Christian belief and discipleship. Life would never be the same again for any of them.

Olive and her elder sister Corunna (‘Crun’) did not realise what would ensue when they married into the Portuguese community of Hong Kong, later moving to Macau. From the beginning, they were isolated and ostracised by both the British and the Portuguese. To the British, they had married into a debased community of racially inferior people, superstitious, priest-ridden Catholics. To the Portuguese, they were outsiders who could never become part of nossa gente – ‘our people’, though both attempted to become devout Catholics. It did not win them acceptance. It was a dreadful predicament, apparently without resolution until a small group of American missionaries befriended them. This led to the conversion of both sisters. One of the missionaries recounted Crun’s conversion and then told of what Olive experienced in her loyalty to her newly found faith.86 Her story reads, in part:

This lady [Crun] has a sister in Hong Kong who also married a Portuguese. She too was a devout Catholic, but like her sister could find no rest for her soul. So bowed down and careworn was she by her sins that in despair she longed for oblivion. Mrs Munroe, a missionary friend of ours living in Hong Kong, knowing of her hungry heart, went frequently to see her and talked with her about the things of God. I also occasionally visited her. It was an inspiration to talk to her, she drank in so eagerly all that was said, but she could not seem to get to the point of accepting Christ as her personal Saviour. One day Mrs Todd was in Hong Kong and called to see her. God gave through her the very message that was needed

86 Gleanings from South China, vol. 3, no.1, January 1907, pp. 38-42.
and the light and joy of Christ’s salvation flooded the soul that so long had been groping blindly after God.

It cost her not a little to become a Christian; she has had to endure bitter persecution at the hands of her husband, who seems almost possessed with a demon so great is his anger against her for leaving the Catholic Church. He is a man of good education and is a respected citizen of Hong Kong, but because of the change in her faith he addresses his wife in the most reproachful and abusive language and at times is violent in his treatment of her. He tore a waist [band] off of her because it had been given by one of the hated Protestants. Once when she was praying he threw things at her. On another occasion he jerked the wedding ring off of her finger. [These two sentences were marked in the margin, apparently by Olive.] At one time her arms were black and blue as a result of his treatment. He said once, “I burn to do violence!” He has threatened to separate from her and put the children in a Convent. Life is not easy for her under these conditions, but God is upholding her in this time of hard trial. She said to me a short time ago that she is willing to bear whatever he may inflict, and that she will make no appeal to earthly authorities for help. I ask your earnest prayers in behalf of her husband. Numbers of us have been praying for him, and it must be that his intense feeling arises in part at least from his own unrest of heart and conviction that he too should trust in the Blood of Christ.

Olive kept no diary, but she did write a few small notes on the fly-leaf of her Bible, where she knew her husband would never look:

Conversion April 1906. Baptised May 25th 1907 by Mr Munro [sic]
– Frances speaks Terrible after effect Joe disappears Crun to rescue.87

In her lonely distress, Olive could not write to her sister, but only in her Bible. It contains three closely written pages of devotional commentary with reference to the Book of Revelations. The present and her future prospects in this life were too bleak for Olive to contemplate. Instead, she took solace in an apocalyptic vision. It concluded with a pathetic, barely coherent torrent of words filled with pain.

“Love your enemies” pressed on the heart of a Christian woman, suffering over the robbery of her husband and children’s affections by another – “How can I, Lord, there is no use trying to love one who has broken up my home & deeply wronged me - I cannot.” “But,” He whispered, “I can love her through you, if you will fully yield your heart to me.” “Lord, if you can, I am willing,” she answered, and there began to flow through her

87 Frances was presumably the Miss F.P. Winn who wrote the account of Olive’s conversion in the mission’s magazine. The Bible is in the possession (2012) of Mrs Sheila Potter.
heart a stream of compassionate pity & benevolent desire towards the woman as she prayed for her (Matt. 5: 44), and when the poor woman came to her, under condition [sic], almost helping her wrongdoing, this love stream overflowed its banks, & she put her arms tenderly about her & gave her a kiss of reconciliation – she lived on in her broken home, battling with poverty, bringing up her children, the love of Jesus was her comfort and the peace of Christ garrisoning her heart – & the husband advanced in position and popularity. Christ met her lack – linked onto the God of love.

The sense of this is that Olive had to endure her husband’s infidelity, and even showed compassion to his mistress when she became pregnant to him. Meanwhile, J. P. Braga ‘advanced in position and popularity’, while his wife struggled with a large family, her husband’s love replaced by the love of Christ. Later, her intense piety would be shared, at least for a time, with all but one of her thirteen children. Jack, the eldest son, remained loyal to the Catholic Church and the faith of his father.

Appendix 6 – Part 2

José Pedro Braga – ‘Apologia pro vita sua’

Noel Braga’s diary, 8 May 1926

There is ample documentation about J.P. Braga’s public life. He was constantly in the public eye as a member of the Legislative Council from 1929 to 1937, and as a prominent member of the Portuguese community for fifty years. By contrast, his private life was well hidden, despite glimpses in his correspondence with Jack and his business reports to Sir Elly Kadoorie, extensively used in Chapter 9. Two obvious reasons for this are the conversion of his whole family except Jack to Protestantism and his serious financial problems following the 1925-1926 strike and boycott. Both were a serious personal embarrassment, while his children’s departure en masse from the Catholic Church was a very public affront, without precedent or parallel in the Hong Kong Portuguese community. He remained silent about both, with only one exception. This is revealed in the diary of his son Noel.
Written in his early twenties, this reveals the mind of an intelligent, highly principled man, intensely loyal to his family and very supportive in the face of his father’s business difficulties, giving him each month up to 90% of his income. Noel was rock solid in his support of the Gospel Hall with its emphasis on personal salvation. He became obsessed with the need to convert his father, headed, he felt sure, for hell fire. He made several unavailing attempts, each greatly irritating the older man, who took them as a condemnation of his business methods as well as his adherence to Catholicism. Noel began to lose sleep about the matter, and his diary recorded symptoms of clinical depression, though he did not recognise them as such. Matters came to a head on 8 May 1926, soon after J.P. Braga’s courageous decision to go deeply into debt to buy four properties on Knutsford Terrace in Kowloon, while the property market was depressed. The General Strike of 1925 was over, but the boycott was still in effect. The economy had not improved, and the outlook for Hong Kong remained bleak.

After much hesitation, Noel made a further attempt to explain to his father the Gospel of Salvation. It provoked an outburst that Noel, with a remarkably retentive memory, committed to his diary in as much detail as he could. This account is as close as it is possible to get to José Braga’s personal values and principles. In 1870 his father had abandoned his wife and seven children, but José, the eighth, born after his father’s defection, would never do likewise.

Noel’s diary entry, written in high agitation, switched from reported speech to personal reflection and back again. These are not separated in the following extract. He wrote:

I went to Father’s room, after much hesitation … before I could get halfway through he burst out by denouncing what he called my religious fanaticism which greatly annoyed him, and the whole idea of our wanting to have our own way which the fact that we were helping to support the home made more or less easy. He said he would not be dictated to. He had seen misfortune in the past and was confident that he would, if his health permitted him, be able to eventually overcome the present financial difficulties. He said he had many friends, and he appeared to think they would stand him in good stead. The most important part of my message, I told him, but not very clearly, and I am afraid he did not get it properly that it did not go home to him, because I was not speaking kindly. He, if I remember rightly, was constantly talking me down, and just at that moment Jean entered the room. He said no one had been singled
out in this trouble. Wealthy firms had lost piles of money. He seemed hopeful that Hong Kong was only suffering a temporary setback, and that it would recover later. Land values were comparatively low for the time being only. Thirty years ago he foresaw the difficulty the Colony would experience in the matter of housing accommodation. Things would be worse afterwards, and he secured the Knutsford Terrace houses because he considered it his duty as a father to provide for his children. The present misfortune could not have been foreseen. He had put his money into the best securities. It was not as if he had gone into speculative stocks like Rubber and mining companies. He could not be blamed for the present misfortune. He spoke of the hard times he had as a young man, without money and severely handicapped by ill health. In spite of great odds, he had succeeded in bringing up the family and if we had anything – and he thought we had a great deal – more than others, it was due to him. He had done his best for us, and he felt he had done his duty. His conscience was clear. He was solely responsible for his debts, and we were not encumbered in any way. He would seek to straighten out things in his financial affairs, assuming all responsibility himself, and now that we were earning our money, he felt he could leave us to carry on for ourselves, but he was very sorry for Paul, Caroline and Mary [all still at school, with poor job prospects in this time of crisis]. He had no vices and if he could earn even $100 a month, say in Shanghai or Singapore, it would be sufficient. Money had not been his object in life; if it had been so, he would have been a millionaire today.

His words were spoken with an eloquence and force that would have convinced anyone of his upright, honourable and noble character, and his high sense of duty, doing his best to those who had turned from him in the matter of religion, because he felt he had at least to discharge his duties towards them as a father. Unfortunately, he appeared not to have given his family a proper hearing, and so misunderstandings have arisen, resulting in a lack of confidence on both sides, not much expression of sympathy for each others’ purposes and aims, and an invisible but very apparent and real breach. Only through God can the breach be properly healed, and I felt I had a message from the Lord to Father which I held back at a time when it was most urgently needed. I am afraid Father is under the impression that I spoke to condemn his methods of business, when in fact the message was that before everything else God wants him to know His Son as his Saviour.

My disobedience to the voice of the Lord condemned me terribly. If I had only spoken the words clearly and at the right time, what a difference there might have been! As a result of my disobedience great troubles may come, and Father may be much more difficult to reach. Mine is the sin. God’s way was perfect. I was in the way. O Lord, let not my wrong hinder Thy work with Father, but may Thy plans be carried out by which Father may be saved.
He seemed to have got the impression that I considered it was time for him to come over to our side in the matter of religion. He emphasised the fact that he was a Catholic and nothing would change him from being a Catholic.

Not for many years would relationships become close between J.P. Braga and his Protestant sons. Several of them were closely associated with him in business, but it took the calamity of war to bring them close together. How this happened is discussed in Chapters 9, 11 and 12.
Appendix 7

J.P. Braga

Record of public service and directorships

On 7 February 1935, J.P. Braga was approached by Sir William Shenton to provide him with a list of the official committees on which he had served. This is the list provided by Braga.88

By any standards, the list is a remarkable record of public service, well deserving of the official recognition that followed. It appears that Shenton was preparing a nomination for Braga to receive a decoration in the forthcoming King’s Birthday honours.

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8th February 1935

The Honourable

Sir William Shenton,

Etc, Etc., Etc.

Dear Sir William,

My Record

As requested by you yesterday, I send herewith a copy of my record.

I have not kept any note of my various appointments, and have compiled this record partly from memory and partly from digging into files of old papers.

This record may not be quite complete as regards the Committees on which I have served and that have been appointed by the Governor. In other respects you may find it overloaded with material that you may consider superfluous but which I included, probably, from the lack of a sense of modesty.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) J.P. BRAGA.

88 J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/13.1/1.
JOSÉ PEDRO BRAGA

Born at Hong Kong on the 3rd August, 1871. His grandparents were among the first settlers from the Portuguese Colony of Macao, who established themselves in Hong Kong (1841) almost immediately after the transfer of the Superintendency of British Trade from Macao to Hong Kong.

Educated at St Joseph’s College, Hong Kong. Winner of the Belilios Scholarship, tenable for two years at the said College. Proceeded to Calcutta to continue his studies there in the Jesuits’ College of St. Xavier’s in that city and, subsequently, in Roberts Memorial College, of which he was Gold Medallist in 1889.

Managing Editor of the “Hongkong Telegraph” from 1902 to 1909.

Appointed Reuter’s Correspondent in Hong Kong in 1906, and continued to hold that position for 25 years, when he resigned in August, 1931. While as Reuter’s correspondent, assisted the Propaganda Committee (later the Publicity Bureau) during the whole period of the World War (1914 to 1918). Mr Braga’s association with Reuter’s Service in Hong Kong was referred to in an article in the “South China Morning Post” of 4 September 1931. The article states, inter alia:–

“His long residence here, his knowledge of Hong Kong affairs, his keen ‘nose for news’, his faculty for sifting reports for their significance and importance, and the fact that his obvious integrity and his quiet courtesy gave him entry everywhere – these natural advantages enabled him to cover the Hong Kong field accurately and thoroughly. It is neither an exaggeration, nor a reflection upon the newspapers when it is said that, as a result of Mr Braga’s efficiency, first news of Hongkong events often came from abroad. That his services for Reuter have been fully appreciated is revealed in a cordial letter of thanks for his long and able assistance which Mr. Braga has received from Sir Roderick Jones, head of Reuter’s.”

Hong Kong Correspondent for the Associated Press of America, from which post he resigned in 1931.

Appointed Unofficial Justice of the Peace, 25th April, 1919.

Was the first Honorary Secretary, and one of the founders of the St Joseph’s College Old Boys’ Association, subsequently being elected its President.

Became a Member of the Committee and subsequently Patron of the First Hong Kong Troop (St Joseph’s College) Boy Scouts.

Was nominated by the Governor as a member of the Sanitary Board on the 8th of December 1927; was subsequently elected (unopposed) a Member of the Sanitary Board in 1930, and continued to serve until his appointment to the Legislative Council.89

89 He had not checked the dates. His first appointment was in November 1926. His subsequent election was in November 1927. His appointment to the Legislative Council was in January 1929. The rest of the dates in this document appear to be accurate.
Was the Honorary English Secretary and Treasurer of the Committee of the New Territories Agricultural Show, which organised the first Show in 1927.

A staunch supporter of, and contributor to the Press on the agricultural and industrial development of the New Territories.

Appointed an Unofficial Member of the Legislative Council from 17th January, 1929 to 16th January, 1933. Reappointed for a second term from 17th January, 1933 to 16th January 1937, and continues as an Unofficial Member of the Council.

Referring to the original appointment, Sir Cecil Clementi, G.C.M.G., at the meeting of the Council on the 24th January 1929, said:-

In the Honourable Mr. Braga I welcome the first representative of the Portuguese community to sit in this Council. (Applause.) We all of us appreciate the value of the Portuguese community here resident, and it is a pleasure to us that Mr. Braga, who in a very literal sense is a son of Hong Kong, should inaugurate the representation of that community in the Legislative Council.

Appointed Member of the Court of the University of Hong Kong, 1929.

One of the Vice-Presidents of the Hong Kong Society for the Protection of Children.

For the past few years served as a Member of the Committee for the detailed revision of the Jurors’ List. On the 7th February, 1935, the Registrar of the Supreme Court wrote:

“Very many thanks for the care with which you have revised the Jury List.”

Ex-President of the Club Lusitano.

PORTUGUESE DECORATION –

Honoured by the Portuguese Government (26th October, 1929) by being created a Commander of the Ancient and Noble Order of Christ.

COMMITTEES -

Served on the following Committees appointed by the Governor:

Water Emergency Committee (1929).
Stamp Duties Commission (1929), and submitted a long Memorandum for the Committee’s consideration.
Public Playing Fields Committee (1929).
Original Member of the Hong Kong Broadcasting Committee, and still holds the appointment.
Member of the Hong Kong Volunteer Defence Corps Advisory Committee.
New Territories Produce Marketing Committee (1934).
H.M.’s Silver Jubilee (1935).
Following the financial crisis of 1925, the Government appointed a Committee to enquire into the arrangements then existing in Hong Kong for dealing in stocks and shares of public companies. Mr. Braga was called as a witness before the Committee for examination. He wrote two long Memoranda dealing with the subject which the Commission was to consider. In the Commission’s Report (Sessional Paper No. 16/1925) laid before the Legislative Council on the 22nd October, 1925, there appears the following paragraph:

“19. We wish to thank the gentlemen who have submitted memoranda for the consideration of the Commission. These memoranda, especially the one drawn up by Mr J.P. Braga, contain valuable information which has been of great use to us.”

OTHER COMMITTEES –

H.R.H. the Prince of Wales Reception Committee (1922).
First Grand Military Tattoo Committee (1928).
Member of the Chater Memorial Committee (1928).
Member of the Organizing Committee of the International Dance Festival (1929) under the Patronage of His Excellency the Governor, Sir Cecil Clementi, K.C.M.G, with Lady Southorn as Chairman, proceeds in aid of charity.
H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester Reception Committee (1929).
Public Committee to welcome H.E. Sir Wm. Peel, K.B.E., on his arrival in the Colony for the purpose of assuming the Governorship (1930).
Chairman of Committee for organizing the First British Empire Fair in Hong Kong in 1932. Presented to the Honourable Sir William Shenton, First Honorary Secretary of the Empire Products Fair, a voluminous Report of the Fair, illustrated throughout with photographs of every section of the Fair.
Member of Committee (Vice-Chairman) of the Second British Empire Fair (1933).

In the course of his speech at the opening of the Second British Empire Fair, H.E. the Governor, Sir William Peel, K.B.E., referred in the following terms to Mr. Braga’s work in the organisation of the Fair:

“It would take too long to mention by name many residents who have helped towards the organisation of the Fair, but ...

[The rest of the document is missing, but the Governor’s speech was fully reported in the South China Morning Post, 25 May 1933.]

90 One of these memoranda is Native banks: their formation and their functions considered in relation to the economic crisis in Hong Kong, 1925. 97 pp. Two copies of this are now in the papers of his son: J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4371.
Directorships

J.P. Braga was at various times a director of the following companies, all of which were connected with R.G. Shewan except for the Hongkong Engineering & Construction Co. Ltd. 91

China Light & Power Co. Ltd. (Chairman 1934 and 1938)

China Provident Loan & Mortgage Co. Ltd.

Hong Kong, Canton and Macao Steamboat Co. Ltd.

Hongkong Engineering & Construction Co. Ltd. (Chairman 1930-1941)

Hong Kong Rope Manufacturing Co. Ltd.

Sandakan Light & Power Co. Ltd.

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Appendix 8

Hong Kong Legislative Council

Growth in unofficial membership

In the period under review here, 1843 to 1937, the Hong Kong Legislative Council grew from 3 to 17 members. However, the basis of membership remained the same from beginning to end: appointment by the Governor of Hong Kong.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Official</th>
<th>Unofficial</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Governor had both a deliberative and casting vote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Unofficials elected by JPs at a meeting at ‘the Club’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Proceedings published 1858 Public admitted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1st Chinese member, Ng Choy, on Pope Hennessy’s initiative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2 Chinese members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3 Chinese members, 1 Portuguese member</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Constitutional development in Hong Kong was more limited than in most other British colonies due to Hong Kong’s special circumstances. Although the number of unofficial members was gradually increased, official members were always in the majority, so that the Governor retained control. From 1881, increase of the size of the Council was principally in a Sinophile direction, the appointment of a Portuguese member in 1929 being a significant departure from this policy.

At the meeting of the Legislative Council on 24 May 1929, Sir Cecil Clementi made it clear that an essential feature of the Council from that point would be continuing
Portuguese as well as Chinese membership – but not representation in an elected sense, although that was the word he used.

In the Honourable Mr. Braga I welcome the first representative of the Portuguese community to sit in this Council. We all of us appreciate the value of the Portuguese community here resident, and it is a pleasure to us that Mr. Braga, who in a very literal sense is a son of Hongkong, should inaugurate the representation of that community in the Legislative Council.

Sources:

G.B. Endacott, Government and people in Hong Kong 1841-1962, a constitutional history, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 1964.


N. Miners, Hong Kong under imperial rule, 1912-1941, Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1987.
Appendix 9

J.P. Braga and the Imperial Honours system

State recognition for community and political service has always been a chancy affair in any country, but in Hong Kong it had become generally accepted that membership of the Hong Kong Legislative Council would be rewarded with Honours appropriate to their level of service, wealth and distinction. This applied in particular to government officials from the Governor down. All governors of Hong Kong except the last, Christopher Patten, were knighted before their appointment or early in their term of office. Sir Henry Pottinger, the first governor, received the accolade of knighthood in ‘a grand ceremony’ at Government House at the hands of Admiral Sir William Parker, who two days earlier had received his insignia from Pottinger, the exchange of civilities being described as ‘a most interesting public ceremony’. The Chief Justice was knighted after an appropriate interval, and lesser honours trickled downwards.

The Order generally used to reward colonial service was the Order of St Michael and St George, instituted for this purpose in 1818. Thus it lacked the prestige of the great mediaeval Orders: the Garter, the Thistle and St Patrick, all with a single class. The fourth mediaeval Order, the Order of the Bath, had three classes. The Order of St Michael and St George was set up, like the Order of the Bath, with three classes, to reflect the colonial pecking order. The First Class was Knight Grand Cross (GCMG), then Second Class, Knight Commander (KCMG) and Third Class, Companion (CMG). A Governor-General was often GCMG, and a Governor was usually KCMG, while the Colonial Secretary was CMG. The latter could expect advancement in the Order when he became Governor in another colony.

With the need for a much greater range of Imperial Honours to reward both military and civil service in the Great War, the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire

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92 Chinese Repository, vol. 12, no. 5, May 1843, p. 279; W. Tarrant, Hongkong. Part I, 1839-1844, A history of Hongkong from the time of its cession to the British Empire to the year 1844, pp. 53 and 76.
93 The Garter was the English order, the Thistle Scottish and St Patrick Irish. Awards in the Order of St Patrick were discontinued after the creation of the Irish Free State in 1921, and the Order is now extinct.
94 Wits soon lampooned it: ‘Call Me George, Kindly Call Me George, God Calls Me George’.
was set up in 1917, with a greater range of classes, adding a fourth and fifth class to the three in the ancient Order of the Bath and the newer Order of St Michael and St George: Officer (OBE) and Member (MBE). It was over-used in the aftermath of World War I to the extent that the OBE became referred to as the Order of the Bad Egg.\textsuperscript{95} It was scornfully dismissed by the English constitutional expert A.B. Keith as ‘that reward of incompetence and servility’.\textsuperscript{96}

Besides the orders of knighthood, ancient and modern, there was the award of Knight Bachelor (Kt), which ranked below all other knighthoods in the order of precedence. It became normal practice throughout the British Empire for titles to be awarded for philanthropy, irrespective of race. Cynics might have said that the policy was designed to open fat wallets. Sir Hormusjee Mody’s knighthood was conferred immediately after the laying of the foundation stone of Hong Kong University in 1910; he had defrayed the entire cost of the university’s main building.\textsuperscript{97} Sir Ellis Kadoorie, KBE, and his brother Sir Elly Kadoorie, KBE, Sir Paul Chater, Kt, and Sir Robert Ho Tung, Kt, were also noted philanthropists.

Titles were also conferred on long-serving members of the Legislative Council. Sir Kai Ho Kai, Kt, the first Chinese member and in 1912 the first Chinese knight, was a member for 24 years.\textsuperscript{98} He was followed by a second, Sir Boshan Wei Yuk, Kt, in 1919 and Sir Shouson Chow, Kt. Wei Yuk was on the Council for 21 years, but hardly ever spoke more than a few sentences.\textsuperscript{99} Chinese could be knighted, but were not admitted to the Orders of Knighthood whose members took precedence over

\textsuperscript{95} 25,000 people were awarded the OBE over a period of four years. A journalist in a gossip column invented a respondent to congratulations saying that he was pleased to be one of the First Hundred Thousand. \textit{British Journal of Nursing}, vol. 60, 30 March 1918, p. 227. In the colonies there was nothing like this gross debasement of the Honours system.


\textsuperscript{97} Reporting on the major events of the year, government officials ignored the opening of the university in 1912. The British merchants and administrators, determined to hold the reins of power, opposed the establishment of an educational institution whose graduates might challenge their position. ‘If we educate the Chinaman, he may become a serious rival’ (P. Snow, \textit{The Fall of Hong Kong}, p. 9). After the laying of the foundation stone in 1910, the university received no mention until 1920 in this official compendium of major events year by year. In 1920, honorary doctorates were conferred on the Governor and the Colonial Secretary. Unsurprisingly, the Government contributed $1,000,000 to the university’s Endowment Fund nine months later. \textit{Historical and statistical abstract of the colony of Hongkong}, 1841-1920, pp. 42, 46, 67, 68.


\textsuperscript{99} N. Miners, \textit{Hong Kong under imperial rule}, 1912-1941, p. 61.
Knights Bachelor. Sir Henry Pollock was a member from 1903 to 1941. He was knighted in 1924. Stubbs, in whose term of office the honour was conferred, told the Secretary of State that ‘he is rather exceptionally stupid, but he is an honest and straightforward gentleman whom I have always found eminently reasonable when matters have been fully explained to him.’ The conclusion is inescapable that Pollock’s mute compliance was rewarded by honours and continued re-appointment far beyond any useful contribution that he might have made. Writing in the South China Morning Post, Henry Ching made the point tellingly in commenting on Braga’s retirement. ‘Too often in the past, the ordinary public’s representatives, nominated by Government, have tended to earn their nomination by a policy of acquiescence’. It was, added the Post, ‘a bad old tradition’. He did not go on to deplore the honours that flowed from subservience to the official line, but Ching might have agreed with another acerbic sally by A.B. Keith, ‘honours have proved ... a deplorable source of corruption and injury to public life.’

A powerful press backed by a well-informed public opinion would have made this impossible, but there was no effective public accountability in a Crown Colony where such a system was not only condoned but applauded. It might be expected that a public career showing conspicuous commitment would be rewarded, but that was not what gained the higher honours at that time. ‘The administration of the Colony has usually been serene and untroubled’, complacently reported the Governor, Sir Andrew Caldecott, in 1939. Caldecott ignored the uncomfortable proximity of the Imperial Japanese Army, just across the border, and the deluge of hundreds of thousands of refugees who flooded across the border into Hong Kong after the Japanese occupation of Canton in October 1938. It followed that any critic of this ‘serene and untroubled’ administration was a trouble-maker, and should also be ignored.

100 Ibid., p. 131.
103 Annual Report, 1938, p. 5.
The Order of the British Empire, with its five classes, was finely nuanced to a range of recognition, and could also be used as a significant means of non-recognition.\textsuperscript{104} Dr Tso See-wan, who was appointed to the Legislative Council at the same time as J.P. Braga, was appropriately appointed OBE in 1928 for his services during the crisis of 1925. J.P. Braga had been appointed OBE in the King’s Birthday honours in June 1935 but in the same list, Dr Tso was advanced to CBE.\textsuperscript{105} Mrs Bella Southorn, the wife of the Colonial Secretary, also received the OBE later that year.\textsuperscript{106} Other women, social climbers with a household of servants to do all the work, delighted in the malicious gossip so beloved of the idle who have nothing better to do. She was being rewarded for the tea parties she put on ‘to Help Her Husband’s Career’, said one of them.\textsuperscript{107} J.P. Braga, no gossip, was more generous in his comments about Mrs Southorn. Well acquainted with the social niceties of a public occasion, and speaking just after the departure of Sir Cecil Clementi, while her husband was Acting Governor, he described her thus:

> The leading lady of the Colony, leading in more senses than one. Mrs Southorn leads in the promotion of international friendship and goodwill. She leads in social work and is always to the front in all the Colony’s benevolent activities, which have a peculiar fascination for her.\textsuperscript{108}

His OBE was conferred in November, at an investiture conducted at Government House by the Acting Governor, the newly knighted Sir Thomas Southorn.\textsuperscript{109} He told Jack:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{104} The same was true of the peerage, also with five ranks: duke, marquis, earl, viscount and baron. Moreover, there were three different peerages: those of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, followed by Scottish peerages, with Irish peerages far below either in terms of status. This gave even more opportunities of administering a considered slight to an aspiring aristocrat. Thus in 1800, Lord Mornington, whose brother became the vastly more important Duke of Wellington, told his superior, Lord Grenville, that ‘you will gain credit by conferring some high and brilliant honour upon me immediately’. Instead he was granted a marquisate in the Irish peerage, with the title Marquis of Wellesley. He regarded an Irish peerage as a studied insult, dismissing it as a ‘double-gift potato’. He complained bitterly to Grenville that ‘never was reward so effectually perverted to the purposes of degradation and dishonor.’ B.R. Verma and S.R. Bakshi, The East India Company and its administration, p. 208.
  \item \textsuperscript{105} Hong Kong Government Gazette, 3 June 1935.
  \item \textsuperscript{106} Annual Report, 1938, p. 189. Bella Southorn, née Woolf, was the sister-in-law of Virginia Woolf.
  \item \textsuperscript{107} Stella Benson, quoted by F. Welsh, A borrowed place: the history of Hong Kong, p. 383.
  \item \textsuperscript{108} South China Morning Post, 7 November 1935, J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/14.1/40, fol. 52.
  \item \textsuperscript{109} An invitation is in the Caroline Braga Papers, National Library of Australia, MS Acc05/35.
\end{itemize}
The investiture took place at Government House yesterday and, as expected, it was a very imposing and very dignified affair. I felt sorry you and Augusta could not be there. Every other member of the family was present.\[10\]

There was no such recognition at the end of his term of office in 1937. As has been noted in Chapter 9, he could not bring himself to admit in public that he had been passed over for a reward that most others received. J.P. Braga could be a stern critic of the Government of Hong Kong, but he was also a child of the imperial system. Therefore he was eager to receive its overt rewards: the title ‘Honourable’ while he was a member of the Legislative Council, a suitable imperial honour in recognition of his services during his first term of office, and, like other members, another honour at the conclusion of his second. The lack of recognition occasioned bitter disappointment.

\[10\] J.P. Braga to J.M. Braga, 7 November 1935, J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/2.3/7.
Appendix 10

Malacca and Macau

The Portuguese conquistador Afonso Albuquerque correctly saw the port of Malacca (Malay Melaka, Portuguese Malaca), on the east coast of the strait that has ever since borne the name of the town, as the fulcrum to maritime control of all trade in the Far East.

As soon as he seized it in 1511, he built a major fortification. It was intended to be impregnable, and was seen as such for more than a century. This fort, ‘A Famosa’ (‘the Famous’), was the starting point of Portuguese expeditions to China and Japan in the following half-century. Facing the sea, Albuquerque constructed a huge four-storey stone keep, to which he gave a traditional Portuguese name, Torre de Menajem, the Tower of Homage, built in a style which modern artillery had rendered obsolete in Europe by the sixteenth century; in Malacca, it was intended to impress rather than to protect. It impressed local sultans who sought to oust these foreign interlopers, but it did not overawe the Dutch.
Arriving early in the seventeenth century, they saw that control of the town and the Strait of Malacca must be wrested from the Portuguese. It took them many years to achieve this. The Dutch reduction of Malacca in January 1641 was successful at their third attempt, and even then the siege took eight months, though they had blockaded Malacca since 1638. They had seriously thought of lifting the siege until their last desperate assault succeeded. Malacca was overcome, but its population was not put to the sword.  

There remained therefore a sizeable Portuguese community that stubbornly defied all Dutch efforts to purge them of their Catholicism. The new Protestant rulers of Malacca excluded priests and hence prohibited the celebration of all the Catholic sacraments: Baptism, Confession, the Mass, Marriage, Confirmation, Holy Orders and Extreme Unction. This last was especially hurtful to devout Catholics, effectively placing them in danger of Hell fire, for they believed that they would die

without absolution. Thus they were embittered, excluded and marginalised in more than 150 years of Dutch rule. That did not end with the British occupation of Malacca in 1807; the Catholic community merely exchanged one set of Protestant rulers for another. It clung to its distinct identity, and its language, isolated from both metropolitan Portugal and Portuguese India, developed as a localised creole, Kristang, from the Portuguese Cristão, for as far as these people were concerned, they were the only true Christian believers in Malacca.

Despite its remoteness from Portugal, this distant Portuguese community retained its identity. Recent research by Professor Alan N. Baxter, at the Research Centre for Luso-Asian Studies at the University of Macau of the Macanese creole, known as patuá, have established that Kristang considerably influenced the development of this even more remote Portuguese derivative tongue until the early twentieth century, when Cantonese influences began to grow stronger.112

This was despite the complete separation of the two after 1641, with Portuguese ships no longer able to visit Malacca. Thus all the influence occurred in the first eighty years of Macau’s settlement, between 1557 and 1638, when the final Dutch blockade commenced. Both Kristang and patuá are principally domestic languages. Hence the Malaccan creole, Kristang, travelled eastwards rapidly with women moving to Macau with their husbands, or in search of one. After the Dutch conquest, there was substantial migration from Malacca to Macau. Any attempt to quantify this influence would be mere conjecture, in demographic terms, but the work of Baxter and others has established a clear linguistic link, especially in the way in which Old Portuguese vocabulary and grammar were modified.

An important difference between the two groups was that the Macanese remained, despite the constant limitations of Chinese suzerainty, in control of their own destiny, unlike the small Portuguese community of Malacca. Once the masters of Malacca, they were its outcasts, even after the defeat of the Dutch by the English in 1807. They became the fishermen, evolving in Malacca, as have fishing communities in many other places, into an enclosed community. J.T. Thomson, an English visitor arriving by sea in 1864 commented that ‘in approaching the roads, we passed

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112 Professor Baxter reported his research at a session of the 3rd Encontro of the Macanese Peoples, Macau, in November 2010. This was supported by a DVD of interviews with speakers of both the Macanese patuá and the Malaccan Kristang. Baxter entitled his DVD ‘Patuá di Macau, índe ta vai?’
through hundreds of fishing boats, manned by Malays and Indo-Portuguese’. On
shore, Thomson was entertained by a leader of Malaccan society, one of the group of
Eurasians who Ljungstedt had described thirty years earlier as ‘mongrels’.

He was an ‘East Indian’, or ‘country-born’ gentleman, which terms
are preferred to that of ‘half-caste’, a term held to be opprobrious in
this part of the world. My friend having been educated in Europe, in
polite circles, received me in a generous, warm-hearted, and polished
manner, which commanded my profound respect and gratitude.114

However, this man was an exception. Most remained fishermen, living at the low-
lying coastal district of Bandar Hilir. Their boats were no more than simple skiffs.115
Ethnically more Malay than Portuguese, they persisted doggedly to maintain a
Portuguese identity. Under British rule, the formal practice of the Catholic religion
resumed, the ‘mission’ being under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Macau. Priests
sent there were often Portuguese, thus strengthening the bond.116

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113 J.T. Thomson, Some glimpses into life in the Far East, p. 22.
114 Ibid., p. 23.

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The Portuguese community was wretchedly housed until in 1930 two priests, Fr. Jules François and Fr. Álvaro Coroado persuaded the British authorities to set up a ‘Portuguese settlement’. At first this had seventeen small adobe houses with thatched roofs and sand floors, lacking in any modern amenities.117 Inevitably, it became a small ghetto. The people who lived there were at the bottom end of the socio-economic spectrum, unable to come to terms with the broader Malaccan community, and isolated by language, occupation and illiteracy, as well as religious and ethnic identity.118

The ostentatious display of the Union Jack suggests that the photograph predates Malaysian independence in 1956, which the fishing community feared might lead to persecution from the majority Muslims. The car presumably belonged to the priest.


118 C.R. Boxer pointed out that Christian missionaries in Hindu and Buddhist lands often had greater success among fishing communities, despised by those above them. The Portuguese seaborne empire, p. 83.
Theirs was a fate that might easily have befallen the Portuguese community in Macau following the collapse of its trade, had there not been opportunities for a better life in nearby Hong Kong. Just as Macau gradually emerged from its long torpor as the economy of East Asia boomed in the 1970s and beyond, so also the Portuguese community of Malacca gradually prospered and their quality of life improved. The long connection with fishing gradually lessened as the Malaysian economy diversified, but the community’s nostalgic Portuguese identity has continued and intensified.\(^{119}\) By the end of the twentieth century, this small district of twelve hectares had been rebuilt. It had become a kind of theme park, with colourful pseudo-Portuguese embellishments introduced to attract tourism.

There was a tendency for the Macanese people to blame the British in Hong Kong for the decline of their fortunes. The Portuguese of Malacca might have done the same, but they were not, to use Montalto de Jesus’ colourful language, ‘destined to vegetate as the proletariat of prosperous foreign communities in the Far East’.\(^{120}\) His assessment went too far, for Hong Kong gave the Macanese the chance to escape from destitution, even though they were indeed exploited in a capitalist economic system with very few restraints.

On the other hand, the situation of the Malaccan Portuguese was close to destitution. They became, for well over a century, a small group of fisher folk living almost at subsistence level. Both Macanese and Malaccans were eventually able to better themselves. However, in doing so, the Malaccan Portuguese, numbering by the early twenty-first century about 4,000 people, have largely remained in the place where their forebears first introduced the language, religion and identity which are proudly continued after five centuries. Here they have participated in a far more prosperous economy in the last half century. By contrast, better economic opportunities came to the great majority of the Macanese only when they quit the Far East, mostly in the 1960s and 1970s.


\(^{120}\) C.A. Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Macao*, p. 424. See Chapter Eight.
Appendix 11

Noronha & Co.’s finest book

Hong Kong’s first Royal Visit

By the late 1860s, Noronha & Co. was producing fine books in addition to the flood of government and commercial work. The best example of the work of Delfino Noronha in his prime was published in 1869. It was a commemorative volume produced with great care and obvious expertise to record Hong Kong’s first Royal Visit.121

The front cover of
Visit of His Royal Highness The Duke of Edinburgh to Hong Kong in 1869,
printed by Noronha & Sons, Government Printers.
J.M. Braga’s copy in the National Library of Australia

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121 The visit was described a century later in an article by John Luff, ‘HMS Galatea calls at Hongkong’, in his ‘Hong Kong Perambulator’ series, No. 10, South China Morning Post, 11 September 1967. Paul Braga Papers.
The text written by William R. Beach, this was entitled *Visit of His Royal Highness The Duke of Edinburgh to Hong Kong in 1869*, quarto, [vi], 59 pp., with seven large mounted photographs by John Thomson, then recognised as the best photographer in the Far East. This was the first photographically illustrated book published in China. The completed book was bound in red leather and lettered in gold, befitting the royal personage it honoured.

Its production was a significant step forward for Noronha & Co. Without doubt the official record of the first royal visit to Hong Kong had to be of outstanding quality. Noronha, who had been the Government Printer for ten years, had to rise to this very important occasion. Noronha’s book was a *tour de force*, including a folding panorama of Government House. It may be presumed that he worked closely with a local photographic studio to reproduce Thomson’s plates superbly well. This is likely to be Lai Afong, commended by Thomson. The production brought together Noronha’s entrepreneurial skills in his management of his own staff, the studio and the binder, producing a presentation volume at a high level of excellence.

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123 A copy was offered at the Third International Antiquarian Bookfair, Hong Kong, December 2009, for HK$140,000 by The 19th Century Shop, Maryland, USA, the bookseller noting that only one copy had appeared in auction records in the previous eighty years.
Appendix 12

Functus Officio – a questionable decision

The sentencing of J.M. Braga, 1919

The story of the adjustment of the Portuguese to Hong Kong in the 150 years of British jurisdiction was on the whole a matter of making the most of limited opportunities. There was little criminality; the ‘Portuguese clerk class’ gained a reputation for probity, industry and reliability of which it was proud. Thus the case of José Maria (Jack) Braga attracted much attention in 1919 when the eldest son of a leading Portuguese family was sentenced to six months’ hard labour for embezzlement. The case is fully discussed in Chapter 10. However, one aspect of what appeared to the public a simple case of punishment fitting the crime warrants further comment.

The South China Morning Post reported on Tuesday 22 October 1919:

The case first came before the Magistrate [N.L. Smith] on Saturday last when, on the defendant pleading guilty, a fine of $250 or six months was imposed.

Mr. W.E.L. Shenton appeared for the prosecution and Mr. M.K. Lo for the defence.

Yesterday, His Worship addressed the solicitors concerned, saying that five minutes after he gave his decision on Saturday he realised that he had made a mistake which might amount to an injustice. He now sentenced the defendant to six months’ hard labour.

Most readers were likely to have felt that a fine was manifestly inadequate, and that a custodial sentence was certainly warranted as a deterrent. Therefore, justice had been done, and in the view of most of the public, was seen to have been done.

However, the magistrate’s final decision might be questioned. Both the lawyers involved in the case and the magistrate were able men, and all three had significant public careers. Sir William Shenton and Sir Man Kam Lo were eventually knighted for their public and political service in Hong Kong. Smith progressed steadily through the ranks of government service in Hong Kong, becoming Colonial
Secretary in 1936. In 1919, all stood at the threshold of promising careers, and could not afford to make a mistake. All must have known of the common law principle of *functus officio* (‘having discharged his duty’). Briefly stated, this is to say that once a magistrate has convicted a person charged with an offence before him, he has discharged his duty, and cannot rescind the sentence and retry the case. It is open to either party to take the matter to a higher jurisdiction on appeal.

Although the following case is a recent judgement, the principle has been unchanged for a very long time. It appears to have seldom come before courts for determination, but a Canadian judgement in 2003 spelt out its importance in succinct terms which have since been referred to several times in other jurisdictions. The judge observed:

> If a court is permitted to continually revisit or reconsider final orders simply because it has changed its mind or wishes to continue exercising jurisdiction over a matter, there would never be finality to a proceeding.

Smith handed down his sentence on Saturday morning, 18 October 1919. The next Monday he told the court that ‘five minutes after he gave his decision on Saturday he realised that he had made a mistake’. This is improbable. It is much more likely that over tiffin in the Hong Kong Club on Saturday, he was told in no uncertain terms by people more senior than himself that he had been made a fool of by two clever lawyers, Lo and Shenton, in what would later be called a ‘plea bargain’. The young criminal had to go to gaol as an example to others; the Portuguese must be kept in their place. He was told to reopen the case first thing on Monday morning and change his judgement. The statement that he realised five minutes after the rising of the court that he had made a mistake was a smoke-screen to avoid giving the impression that he had been under pressure. So Jack Braga went to gaol without another word being said. It should be noted that the prison sentence was not imposed in lieu of an unpaid fine; the defendant was not given the chance to pay.

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124 G. Ure, ‘Smith, Norman Lockhart’ in M. Holdsworth and C. Munn (eds), *Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography*, p. 400. He left Hong Kong on 7 December 1941, the day before the Japanese attack, and returned to England, where he became a hospital administrator. He is not to be confused with Sir Norman Smith, who was appointed Director of the Indian Intelligence Bureau on 15 August 1944.


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Smith, Lo and Shenton would all have known that such a procedure was irregular. Common law applied in Hong Kong just as it did in Britain. No colonial ordinance could have set it aside, since under the Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865, no colonial law might be repugnant to an Imperial law. So the principle of *functus officio* applied in Hong Kong, but was ignored on this occasion. If either Shenton or Lo had demurred, it might have jeopardised their careers. They would not have secured much in the way of briefs from people who mattered. Smith’s progression through the ranks could have been impeded.

It is likely that the defendant’s father, J.P. Braga, who had a sound knowledge of public affairs and had once begun to read legal texts, would also have been aware of the principle of *functus officio*. Eighteen years later, the governor, Sir Andrew Caldecott, used the phrase in farewelling Braga on the completion of his two terms as a member of the Legislative Council:

> The successful Legislative Councillor is never really *functus officio* because he has become the proved friend and trusted confidant of the Administration and the people.  

Although he probably knew that what was taking place was illegal, Braga held his peace. Had he objected, then the matter would have gone to the Supreme Court. In fact at the first hearing, Smith told the defendant, ‘I think you may consider yourself very lucky that [the prosecution] are not pressing for a trial at the Supreme Court’. Had that happened, there would have been more dreadful publicity, and the end result was likely to have been the same: a six months’ gaol sentence. There would also have been substantial costs. It was better by far to accept what the Establishment had decided behind closed doors. Later, while Braga was a political figure, better placed to attack the Establishment, the Press applauded him, deploring what it described as ‘under the punkah politics’.

While it is true that any embezzler would have been punished, it is likely that if the young clerk had been British, the matter would have been hushed up, and the

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126 *Hong Kong Hansard*, 3 February 1937, also reported in *South China Morning Post*, 4 February 1937. *South China Morning Post*, 15 April 1937. J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/14.1/34, loose cutting at end of album.

127 Discussed in Chapter 9, ‘Son of Hong Kong’.  

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offender packed off Home on the next ship. In a British colony, appearances must be kept up, but treating local inferiors unjustly was part of the colonial system. Deals done behind the scene had been part of the *modus operandi* of Hong Kong’s courts since its earliest days.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ C. Munn, ‘Hulme, John Walter’, in M. Holdsworth and C. Munn (eds), *Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography*, p. 203. This was a normal procedure in the Supreme Court presided over by the colony’s first Chief Justice, John Walter Hume, from 1844 to 1860, notorious for miscarriages of justice.
Appendix 13

Anarchy in Kowloon, 11-12 December 1941

The following extracts are from letters collected between 1942 and 1946 by James Braga, then living in Chicago. The presentation and punctuation of the originals has been closely followed, the only changes being the correction of a few spelling errors. These five letters were all written by members of the Braga family.

Most of the events described here took place in a period of less than two days, between the afternoon of 11 December and the evening of 12 December 1941. This was about 30 hours of terror, following the British evacuation of Kowloon and before the advancing Japanese military took charge.

The places and people referred to in the letters require explanation. The action took place at what is referred to as ‘the Estate’ or ‘the site’, the major housing estate in Homantin, Kowloon. Knutsford Terrace is also referred to. In this terrace of twelve houses in Tsimshatsui was the Braga family compound. They had owned four of the houses there since 1926 and occupied three of them.

‘The Estate’ was at first called the ‘Garden Suburb’, developed between 1932 and 1936 by the Hongkong Engineering & Construction Co., of which J.P. Braga was Chairman. Finance for the project was provided by Sir Elly Kadoorie, Braga’s business partner. On completion, the two roads in the Estate were named Kadoorie Avenue and Braga Circuit. Immediately adjacent, and on Argyle Street, below these two roads, was the head office of China Light & Power Co., Sir Elly Kadoorie’s principal Hong Kong investment. A public stairway ran between the two levels. As will be seen, this building and the adjacent stairway proved critical to the security, perhaps to the survival, of the embattled Braga family on 12 December.

As houses on ‘the Estate’ were completed, they were leased. Among the lessees were three members of the Braga family who married and moved there between 1936 and 1940. These were Hugh and his wife Nora, Paul and his wife Audrey, and John and his wife Louie. Hugh and John were employees of Kadoorie companies. Their brothers Noel and Tony, also Kadoorie employees, remained at Knutsford Terrace. Noel occupied No. 10 with his wife Marjory and their children, Maurice and Janyce. Tony, a bachelor, lived at No. 11 next door with his parents and spinster sisters, Jean, Caroline and Mary (‘the girls’). Another sister, Maude, had married an Englishman, Eric Franks, so both were interned following the Japanese victory. All are mentioned in these letters. Another brother, Hugh, known to the others as

129 Hong Kong Government Gazette, 6 November 1936.
'Hughie', was appointed as the Construction Company’s civil engineer in 1931, and then held the position of General Works Manager from 1935 to 1941. In that capacity he had built a large air-raid shelter, a tunnel cut into the hillside behind a row of houses. However, he left Hong Kong on 19 June 1941 to join his wife and children, who had been evacuated to Australia a year earlier. It is clear from the following letters that, had they been in ‘Hillview’, their house at 18 Braga Circuit in December 1941, they would have been killed when the house was hit by British shelling from Hong Kong Island following the fall of Kowloon.

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The headquarters of China Light & Power Co., at the intersection of Argyle Street and Waterloo Road. The house where the Braga family and others sheltered from looters on 11 and 12 December 1941 is to the right, on Kadoorie Avenue. A public stairway connects the two levels.

Courtesy of Hong Kong Heritage Project.

1. Marjory Braga, Noel’s wife, Kowloon, to her mother, Mrs Ethel Morris, England

Both Marjory and her mother were devout members of the Christian Brethren (often known as the Plymouth Brethren). Marjory is likely to have sent the letter with her husband, who made five journeys between Hong Kong and Macau in the second half of 1942 in preparation for moving his mother, Olive Braga, to Macau. After much delay, this occurred in August 1943. Noel himself moved with his family from Hong Kong to Macau on 26 January 1943. This letter is likely to have been taken to Macau for onward transmission on Noel’s first perilous journey at the end of June 1942. It is apparent that Marjory had been unable to write to her mother since the fall of Hong Kong seven months earlier. There is no paragraphing in this letter, and Marjory carefully avoided telling her mother about the terror of the looting. Her home at Knutsford Terrace escaped looting in December 1941, but not in the hiatus of authority following the Japanese surrender on 15 August 1945 and the arrival of the British fleet on 30 August.
Kowloon, Hongkong, 26 June 1942

My dearest darling Mum & my dear ones:

How can I begin this letter to you after all this lapse of time and when so much has happened in the past 7 months except on a note of praise and thanksgiving to our loving heavenly Father, who has done so much for us! Truly we can say we have proved Him as never before in our lives, we can say He is faithful. Although our future at the moment looks insecure and we are living only from day to day, we believe that He who has kept us will keep and will provide for us … We were stunned at the sudden outbreak of the war, and as our house is old and in the midst of objectives, John and Louie invited us to stay with them on the site where there is an air raid tunnel behind their house. Those days seem like a nightmare now, but we were kept safe and unharmed. It was a relief that Kowloon fell quickly and in less than a week the Japs had taken the place. Hongkong held out until Xmas Day and we were subjected to bombardment from that side and spent most of our time in the shelter. The loss of life was terrific considering the short time we were at war, although the place actually shows very little sign of damage. We left our house in the care of the coolie and the two dogs and we can only acknowledge a miracle when I tell you that we returned to our house after nearly a month to find it absolutely intact and just as we had left it. The looting by the Chinese, which swiftly followed the surrender of the British and before the Japs took control was terrific and there was hardly a house that was not broken into and stripped of everything. The houses were even stripped of woodwork, windows and doors. Truly God guarded our house and we can only praise and thank Him with wonder. Dear Noel has no work and after the war we lived on faith because our money was in the bank and some in the office and Noel was unable to get to the office. He has no work and we now have been allowed to draw most of our money from the bank and this has kept us going. Noel has also been negotiating with the Japs and he is allowed to draw with the rest of the staff who are third nationals his “provident fund” paid into the bank by the company. This will keep us going for some time and it may necessitate our going to Macao, but we wait on Him for guidance in this matter. We live on rice and vegetables as meat is prohibitive. We can get a little fresh milk and together with some powdered milk we have in hand, jam and some canned goods we are doing very well. Sugar is also out of the question, but jam takes its place. We are also allowed a ration of bread daily from the Portuguese centre, but we expect that to cease at any moment. Butter is an unknown quantity. Fish is fairly reasonable and this helps our diet. …

Your loving daughter, Marjory
2. Tony Braga, Hong Kong, to his brother James and sister-in-law Anne Braga, Chicago

This letter was probably taken by Noel to Macau with the preceding letter. ‘Home’ was No. 11 Knutsford Terrace, to which Tony had returned with his mother and sisters on 31 December 1941, a few days after the fall of Hong Kong on Christmas Day. Tony was a member of the Hong Kong Volunteer Defence Corps, but was not caught up in the battle at Stanley on Christmas Day in which most members of his unit, a stretcher bearer platoon of the Medical Corps, were killed. A month later, the civilian internment camp was set up there. It is clear from this letter that people outside Stanley Camp had no idea how hard conditions there were. ‘Reggie’ is thought to be Reginaldo Emanuel dos Remédios (#592, Macanese Families website).

At Home, June 27, 1942.

My dear Jamie and Anne,

All the tribe are keeping fairly fit in spite of strenuous times through which we’ve passed. We have realized how much mental anxiety both of you and Hughie and Nora must have suffered, not knowing what had happened to us, and we have tried by various means to get to get a cable through to say all were safe and well.

When the bombs began to fall about 8 on Monday a.m., Dec. 8, all were at home with exception of this chap on the way to Red Cross post on the Island. The shock was very hard on Mother, Father and the girls, but they stood up wonderfully well under it. The same day, in between air raids, they and Noel and Marjory with Maurice and Janyce went up to the Estate, some staying at Paul’s and Audrey’s and others with John. The tunnel shelter Hughie built was an ideal place of refuge. Out at my post, I couldn’t forgive myself for not having taken heed of your repeated warnings & sent Mother and the girls to Australia. The whole defence scheme was an utter failure, due principally to incompetence and corruption in high places. I had hardly any food the four days I was out at my post, and only one set of splints and a few bandages in the whole place. We kept asking for more but couldn’t get them. On the fourth day [Thursday 11 December] my turn came for one day’s leave. Was just about to say good-bye to all the home folks up at the tunnel when Reggie came rushing in to say our troops were being driven down Nathan Road. I was thus cut off and stayed with the family, most fortunately, as most of the fellows in our sector were wiped out.

When war broke out British and American families were moved to Hong Kong. The police abandoned Kowloon the day I returned without any warning to the people. A reign of terror followed throughout the afternoon, that night and the following day. Thousands of Chinese roamed the streets in bands, armed with choppers, bamboo poles and some with revolvers. They attacked and robbed people, broke into houses and looted them of everything of value. Up at the site [Kadoorie Avenue] all the tenants left behind congregated in one house for safety and we fought off the lootors,
about forty of them who came twice & threatened to kill us if we didn’t let them in. One of our people had a revolver and so had the head of the robber gang; they exchanged shots but missed. Shortly before dark the Japanese arrived on the Estate and that was the end of the looters. Then the next two weeks we lived through the bombardment. A battery just behind Paul’s house exchanged fire intermittently with Hong Kong. When the barrage became too hot, we rushed off to the tunnel shelter, with shrapnel flying around. After a while Mother & Father found the rush too great a strain and they stayed indoors after that. One afternoon Hughie’s house was hit, a shell falling through the sitting-room ceiling & wrecking the house, and other shots landed on Bradbury’s [next door], but no one was hurt.

With the exception of a few unpleasant incidents, in one of which John was robbed of his fountain pen, watch and camera, we had little trouble with soldiers, although some of them wandered in and out of Paul’s and John’s very freely. At home, Jean with that big fellow [Theo Ingram, Jean’s boyfriend, a member of the Volunteers, but, like Tony and Paul, apparently cut off], the dogs and the neighbours, chased off the looters and we lost nothing to speak of. After H.K. surrendered, he gave himself up and was interned. With the exception of Father who stayed on at Paul’s, the rest of us returned home on New Year’s Eve. Maude and Eric are also interned at Stanley, where they are in charge of the kitchen in the gaol. We have no communication with them, but have received word that they are both getting fat! (Their flat was completely looted.) The rest of us are, I’m afraid, somewhat leaner, owing to a rather restricted diet. Food is strictly rationed. We have ¼ lb. of bread each day at .85 [cents] a lb. (if you want more you can buy at $1.50 & up at some stores, but we can’t afford), flour is going and will probably not have bread much longer. We also have rice – a fraction of a catty each a day at .60 per catty – and we can buy vegetables and a little fish and occasionally a bit of meat at correspondingly high prices. Have laid in some stores – cracked wheat for porridge at breakfast, milk powder, jam etc. all at wicked prices. I was fortunate in finding Benger’s Food – 15 tins – and about 5 lbs. Senna pods for Mother, and hope to get more Senna – enough to last till the War is over. We have only one servant and all do some housework.

3. Olive Braga, Hong Kong, to her son James and daughter-in-law Anne, Chicago.

Olive’s reference to ‘bombing’ should be understood as ‘shelling’. There had never been R.A.F. bombers in Hong Kong, and the few obsolete aircraft were destroyed in the first Japanese air raid on 8 December. ‘The Fraternity’ was the Christian Bookroom and church run by Olive’s friends Dr and Mrs Clift, some 400 metres away on Nathan Road, just close enough for Olive to reach despite her indifferent health. Although the Clifts were interned at Stanley in January 1942, the church was still open. Apart from her exile in Macau between 1943 and 1945 and shorter

130 Benger’s food was similar to dried milk. It was considered ideal for people with digestive troubles, and was enriched with vitamins and minerals to nourish invalids. Senna alexandrina was a herbal medicine used as a laxative.
overseas trips, Caroline played the piano at services here for 66 years – from its beginning about 1931 until 1997, a year before her death. For the first time in their lives, the Bragas found themselves doing simple household chores – but not cooking, the mysteries of which were unknown to them.

Although Olive’s few surviving letters are a jumble of words and emotions, this letter shows a greater awareness than any of her children’s letters about the plight of the Chinese looters, plundering the properties of the departed British while the opportunity offered before the Japanese took control. They knew that they were about to undergo the extreme hardship endured by people in other Chinese cities under the rigours of Japanese occupation. Olive observed, significantly, that ‘the Chinese want an equality’.

Undated, but probably also 27 June 1942.

Dear Jamie and Anne,

Your wedding picture on my radio table always by my bed – our hearts having gone out to your loving hearts knowing how perturbed and upset you both, and Hugh and Nora, have been for us.

We were at Knutsford when the bombing of Kowloon began. That very day we moved to the site. Ingram was hiding in the basement, and Jean and Noel’s dogs kept the looters at bay. Then Hongkong began to bomb us at the site. All had to sleep in our clothes in one room and go to tunnel, night or day. I hindered the girls and Tony for running in an open space and lying down on pathways at flying shrapnel, so stopped in Paul’s cloak room with Rollo, who was so scared that he shivered and shook – no bark in him. With looters in a mob, battering doors, screaming, shouting and the bombing going on – but looters worse than bombing. Tony’s first day leave brought him home and marvellous, the first day was the day Kowloon fell – a miraculous escape. Paul also a narrow escape. All in rations. Tony managed to get five pounds Senna – works with a quantity of raisins. Tony also managed to get 15 tins (small) Benger’s. I am on ½ ration and powdered milk, one eighth part. Family indulge me. $5 a lb. for pigs liver – a tiny scrap. 40 cents for fish. Family’s diet – Chinese vegetables and condiments, which are exorbitant. No fruit. My digestion and stomach better. No bleeding and no colitis at all, but fallen arches in both feet, so the feet have spread and shoes too small. So agony to stand or walk for long. On Sunday I limp to the Fraternity. Chinese Christians and three real spiritual Chinese preachers give the message – I think the world of their good messages – Caroline still plays for them. … We have been marvellously preserved from danger. Have come through it, and even our food and water not failed us yet. Paul and Audrey at the site, and we have a friend who moved up there whom Father helped before. She is grateful, is a widow. She can have water and electricity, so the family can go up for a bath and ironing. There is no conveyance, unless buses at high price so everyone trudges and funds so low and the food lack of family makes them with working. Tony, Jean and
Mary have sawn wood and chopped and we all have to do our bit. Caroline washes up, Tony dries dishes. There are backyards, rooms to sweep, the day is full for us all. We keep one cook, who takes time off in the afternoon. The Chinese want an equality. We have to wash our own clothes. I can’t go to the site for bath, but glad of a puddle of water. Water and electricity is exorbitant, and from dusk to dawn there is perpetual blackout for us, so I fall and bump and break. Candles and matches are sky high. All foods are beyond us, yet God has proved Himself a God of deliverance in danger and supplying our needs, and our health and in other ways too. … We require prayer against looters. They are famishing and families are dying in the streets. So they come in mobs. Pray for and as God taught us in Exodus 12, for our doors to be kept from them and every evil thing. Everyone’s nerves are in a tangle and the strain hardship and fear has aged all, and all are like shadows. My eyes and ears failing. …

4. Olive Braga, Macau, to her son Hugh and daughter-in-law Nora, Sydney

With great difficulty Olive was persuaded to go to Macau in August 1943. From there, she wrote another letter almost as soon as mails resumed between Hong Kong and the outside world after the war. This letter, like the one written in June 1942, dwells on the dramatic events following the British collapse in Kowloon. Nearly four years, later, they remained vivid in the memory of the old lady of 75, whose mind might otherwise appear to be wandering. Although it was not referred to in other family letters, the spectacle of looters tied up by the Japanese authorities and left to die a lingering death was verified in 2011 by Olive’s grandson, Maurice Braga. Then aged six, Maurice lived close to the lamp post where this atrocity occurred, and saw what took place.

Olive remained in Macau until February 1946, so this letter is likely to have been taken back to Hong Kong by her daughter Maude, who visited her mother in Macau as soon as she could, following her release from Stanley Internment Camp at the end of August 1945.

Macao 10th Sept. 1945

My dearest Hugh & Nora,

[pp. 2-3] We have had a nightmare of a time in H.K. John came down to take us to his house next day after Kowloon fell – 11th Dec. 1941 – As on that time H.K. was bombing for the gun – everyone had to sleep on ground floor – (too dangerous to go upstairs at all.) the bombing got worse yet the Nipps removed the gun away – so we had to go to Paul’s – I couldn’t get to the Tunnel – as when shrapneled had to dodge & sometimes lie down – I couldn’t skip or jump to pathway besides hindered Caroline & Mary who would not leave me alone – in their kindness – but seeing
myself such a hindrance I stayed in Paul’s house – Rollo shivering under my knees – then the looters came in a mob – smashed windows of front door – but God gave me a great deliverance for the bombing began and drove them away – & they bombed the roof of your house off – we would have been safer at Knutsford – sometimes family spent nights in Tunnel – Father made his way up easily but it was impossible for me.

[Some days later, back at Knutsford Terrace]

Everywhere was stench & filth & violence – poor innocent helpless Chinese old men & women tied up to our lamp post till they died – all the people wanted to give water or food but Japs would not allow – broiling sun or typhoon – crying – thrashed – dead, thrown into dust cart. ...

5. Paul Braga, Chungking, to his brother James and sister-in-law Anne, Chicago
Paul did not set down his recollections until after his escape to Free China in 1943. After leaving Hong Kong for Macau in October 1942, he, his wife Audrey and their two children made their way with difficulty in July 1943 to Kweilin, where their third child was born five months later. Meanwhile, Paul went on to Chungking, seeking a way to leave China. It took another year to get away to Calcutta and thence to San Francisco. This letter was carried by hand to America by a pre-war business associate.

Paul’s account is by far the fullest of the four available, and does not pull punches in going into detail that others glossed over. They did so, knowing that James was a habitual worrier, and the thought of his mother still in peril (she remained in Hong Kong under Japanese occupation for another six months) would upset him very deeply. However, Paul believed that the truth must be told. Moreover, he did not hesitate to lay praise or blame where he felt it was deserved.

He began by describing the family’s casual reaction to news received early on 8 December of the outbreak of war, until they were shocked into action by the bombing of Kai Tak airport only a mile away. Although the situation was tense and the Volunteers had been called up the day before, no-one had bothered to find the key to the air raid shelter or to provision it with emergency supplies. On 12 December, Dr Isaac Newton at Kowloon Hospital, not far from ‘the Estate’, could hear the roar of looting on Nathan Road, only a kilometre away.

Chungking 22nd October 1943
My dearest Jamie and Anne,

I rushed the children with the amah to Hughie’s air-raid shelter but found it locked. Presently Fred Roza turned up and we threw our combined weights against the wooden gates until the hinges broke. ... In the course of the day the two families at
Knutsford excepting Jean were transferred to John’s and my house to be near the shelter. On Thursday morning [11 December] Tony got leave to come over from HK to see the family and within a few minutes of his arrival at the shelter, news came in that the Japs were fighting in Nathan Road. It was then out of the question for him to return and we quickly and quietly changed him into one of my suits. That afternoon and evening ground was lost and re-taken by the Japs along the length of Nathan Road but by next morning, 8.00 o’clock, the British had completed the evacuation of Kowloon. The previous night, looting and robbing had broken out in many parts, but in the morning it was all over the place. Thousands of coolies, house-boys and workman-classes of Chinese were swarming everywhere, many of them with fire arms, daggers etc. Wherever a band of anything from 30 to 100 men went they had either a truck, bus or several cars into which they emptied their loot. Any resistance meant instant death unless you were strong enough to drive them off. In our family’s case we moved into those two large semi-detached houses above the China Light building together with several other families, we were 16 able-bodied men strong, about forty women and children and one old man – (Father). There should have been one old lady – Mother – but she positively refused to be scared by anything, and stuck on at my house, using our bedroom instead of staying downstairs where it was so much safer from shellfire. By the Grace of God, a Frenchman in our crowd had an old revolver (with only 7 shots) which he had not used for years, and didn’t even know if it worked. This, along with all manner of swords, knives, choppers etc. was produced in the course of preparations against the looters. At first the revolver didn’t work, but after fiddling about with it some time it decided to work. The house nearest the road [Argyle Street] was the Argentine Consul’s, so it was decided that this house was to be the fortress. Tony, Noel and about five others were lying on the verandah with thick black walking sticks poking a few inches over the edge to give the looters the appearance of being the ends of rifles. At first a couple of trucks appeared but they drove past and went for the large reddish house which was taken by the C.N.A.C. [China National Airways Corporation] official who was killed when his plane was shot down by the Japs in 1938. Two other trucks appeared and went over to Hughie’s old place, Bradbury’s and the two next to mine. Then a group of about a dozen came to us demanded that we open up but they were told to hurry off if they didn’t want to be shot and killed. Within half an hour they returned with two trucks and about 40-50 men – two with revolvers, the rest with large daggers, poles, ladders and ropes. They made a rush for the front door which fortunately was made of very heavy teak and was therefore able to stand up to their efforts to force it sufficiently long to enable the man with the revolver to climb a back wall to take a couple of shots at them. We were all shouting wildly and so were they. Presently three shots were fired by them through the front door, another through the window over the stairway and the battle was on. Everyone was shouting different orders, while the situation outside the house was getting more threatening with the arrival of
ladders. Some of the men, along with most of the ladies wanted to surrender but it was due mainly to the cool-headedness of the Argentine Consul and Tony that we did not lose. They had perched themselves perilously on a wall, and the former fired twice into the crowd, while others on the verandah kept to their “guns” and hurled various heavy articles. The tide changed all of a sudden, in a second after the shots were fired from our side, the gangs split up and ran for their lives, stopping within shouting distance, and from there threatened to return with more men to kill us all.

You can well imagine the scene of about sixty men, women and children, all desperately excited and scared, shouting, crying and each offering his or her own suggestion. Up till this moment as usual with Noel, he had kept more in the background than the others, but now he came forward with the only sensible idea, which was to bring new hope to us all. With his little knowledge of Japanese acquired in Japan a few years ago, he would go out into Nathan Road to look out for some Jap soldiers and bring them up. It was unanimously agreed that he should go with the Frenchman who owned the revolver, and they left at about 11.00 a.m. Hour after hour went by and there was no sign of either until about 3 o’clock when he turned up with a soldier but without the Frenchman. They were found by Jap soldiers who treated them with the greatest suspicion and removed them to some temporary station where they were questioned. Noel suggested that they might set up quarters of some sort in the China Light Bldg. as he felt that their being close by would keep the looters from returning that night. Finally, an officer agreed to send a soldier along to look the place over, but the Frenchman was kept as hostage. About five that evening 150 to 200 men occupied the C.L. Bldg. and for the present we knew we were safe from the looters.

In the interim of Noel’s absence we had kept up a watch on the verandah of the Argentine Consul’s house, while the near-by houses were each being emptied out by the looters. My house for some extraordinary reason was not touched, possibly because it was close to where we were, and as they may have thought, “within firing range”. Our troubles and adventures were by no means over, they had only just started, but I will send more news on another occasion. So I propose for the continuation of this letter, to tell you about each individual member of the family.

Mother: Mother’s reactions to all the troubles was quite different to anyone we knew and while they no doubt proved to be her salvation, at times they put a very great strain on the family. She could not sense the gravity of the situation at all and felt that we were wasting our energies in worry and effort. It seemed impossible to her that the whole course of our living standards that we had been used to all our lives were changed, as it were, over-night. When on the second day of Kowloon's occupation her morning milk had not turned up, she insisted that Noel write in a strong complaint to Mr. Wilkinson of the Dairy Farm, and as I said before, she insisted on staying on alone at my house while all the other families entrenched themselves at the semi-detached houses (or when things got bad in the air-raid shelter). This meant that Noel, Tony and I had to take turns to stay with her during the day and night which exposed us to shellfire from HK and even more terrible,
visits from individual Jap soldiers searching for women. With these men, age or health never counted and the presence of a single man would not have amounted to any protection at all. Her greatest desire during the fighting was to return to Knutsford, so that within a few days of the surrender a Jap gendarme officer who happened to be one of our tenants in No. 10 Knutsford Terrace after the Donald family moved out, took her and the girls home in his car. Tony and Noel’s family returned on foot. ...

Paul also referred to

the return shelling from British forts in Hongkong which brought direct hits on some of the Jap guns. Most of these shells missed their targets, [but] one hit Hughie’s house and wrecked it completely.

The Hongkong News, the English-language newspaper published by the Japanese government between 1942 and 15 August 1945, published a special issue on 25 December 1942, the first anniversary of the fall of Hong Kong. The Hongkong Bank building had become the 'Governor's office'. The statue of Queen Victoria had been shipped to Japan but was later recovered and placed elsewhere in Hong Kong. In its place, beneath the elaborate stone canopy, was a proclamation issued by the Japanese Governor, Lieut. General Isogai, who described Britain as 'the public enemy of mankind'.

Appendix 14

Sir Robert Ho Tung and the Braga family

The benefactions for which Sir Robert Ho Tung was justly famous and for which he received two knighthoods were public, well-documented and well-publicised. Sometimes they might be regarded as shrewdly placed to gain the maximum personal advantage, but the general thrust of his philanthropy was far-sighted and of lasting benefit to the entire community, especially in the areas of education and public health. It seems likely that there were other instances of private philanthropy that have passed unnoticed. This appendix instances one such case over a period of more than fifty years.

This opportunity should be taken to record the lasting interest Ho Tung took in one Hong Kong family that made a great difference to its fortunes for three generations. But for Ho Tung, the prominence to which J.P. Braga rose and the secure positions

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131 They were summarised by May Holdsworth, ‘Ho Tung, Sir Robert’, in M. Holdsworth and C. Munn, Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography, pp. 195-196 and B. Harrison, University of Hong Kong, the first 50 years, 1911-1961. There are seventeen references to Ho Tung in this commemorative volume. The university would have found it difficult to function without his massive support, especially in its foundational years.
later held by several of his descendants would never have eventuated. His patronage was periodic, but it was vital on the occasions it was granted.

The connection between Robert Ho Tung and J.P. Braga appears to stem from initiatives taken by both to challenge the inherent injustices of British imperialism. As a political *enfant terrible*, Braga had inveighed against the entrenched discrimination against the Portuguese in his pamphlet, *The Rights of Aliens in Hongkong*, published in December 1895.\(^{132}\) Ho Tung, from a far stronger position, including his appointment as a Justice of the Peace in 1891 and the huge fortune he had already amassed as the chief comprador of Jardine, Matheson & Co., spoke out strongly at a public meeting of 400 Chinese on 22 December 1895 against the Light and Pass Ordinance, which since 1870 had placed Chinese under a curfew. Ho Tung was straight to the point. ‘We pay more taxes than the Europeans, and derive the least advantage … I condemn the Ordinance simply because it is against the Chinese only.’\(^{133}\)

Although they came from different standpoints, Braga and Ho Tung coincidentally attacked British racism at exactly the same moment. Neither succeeded in making any immediate difference, but it gave both men common ground which otherwise would not have existed. On Braga’s death nearly fifty years later, Ho Tung told his son Jack that ‘your father and I have been lifelong friends and on many important occasions have been working together’.\(^{134}\) Both knew at first-hand the impact of racial discrimination. Braga, educated on equal terms with British boys in Calcutta, returned to Hong Kong as a member of the Portuguese underclass. Ho Tung, despite his wealth, could never overcome the contempt in which, as a Eurasian, he was held by the British. In 1908, when he sought to gain residence on the Peak, he was contemptuously dismissed by the governor, Sir Frederick Lugard, as ‘an illegitimate half-caste whose wives and concubines numbered four’.\(^{135}\)

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132 This is dealt with in Chapter 7, ‘Printer’s devil’.
Ho Tung made a point of employing Europeans to teach his children English. Among them, from about 1900 to 1904, was Corunna Noronha, J.P. Braga’s sister-in-law, who had been deserted by her husband, Charles Noronha, Braga’s uncle.

Ho Tung rescued Braga from oblivion in 1902 when he approached him to become manager of the Hongkong Telegraph, a position which proved to be the springboard for an eminent public career. The two went separate ways in 1910, when Braga left the Telegraph, but later Ho Tung was a member of the board of China Light from 1926 to 1933 and thus a co-director with J.P. Braga.

Recognising Braga’s capacity as a businessman, Ho Tung approached him to join the board of Hongkong Engineering and Construction Co., founded in 1922, and then crippled by the troubles that beset Hong Kong in the mid-1920s. Its business was mainly in pile-driving, for which there was little new activity in the prevailing climate. There was pressure for the company to be wound up, but in 1930 Ho Tung put Braga in as Managing Director and Chairman. He had thrown Braga a lifeline for the second time. It was once again make or break, as it had been in 1902. Ho

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136 This is examined in Chapter 8, ‘Making his mark – J.P. Braga 1900-1929’.
138 Minutes, Hongkong Engineering and Construction Co., 17 June 1941. Braga said then that Ho Tung had given him six months to turn the company around. This may have been hyperbole; in the middle of the Great Depression, that would have been impossible.
Tung knew his man, and felt that he would come up with some scheme that would save the day. In the event, it was J.P. Braga’s son Hugh who saved the day for his father with a scheme that must at first have seemed impossible.

Ho Tung then supported the major project conceived by Hugh in 1931 to develop what was initially termed the ‘garden suburb’ in Ho Man Tin.139 When Hugh Braga demonstrated the feasibility of the project by conducting a detailed survey of an apparently impossible site, it was Ho Tung who moved that he be given a generous ex gratia payment of $2,500. However, it was Kadoorie, not Ho Tung, who provided the necessary financial backing for the project to proceed.

Ho Tung’s role in securing a teaching position for Jack Braga at St Joseph’s College in Macau in 1924 is conjectural, but is suggested by a scholar who has reflected carefully on the career of J.M. Braga.140 Such advocacy and intervention would be entirely consistent with the way he gave support where it was needed, and Ho Tung would have known that the hitherto promising young man, now with a criminal record, was trapped in unemployment.141 He may have heard that Jack Braga was a keen reader with a scholarly bent and a methodical mind. He was already exhibiting the traits that would make him a noted book collector and bibliophile. They were not attributes that would by themselves have secured a position at St Joseph’s.

Less direct, but also of fundamental importance to the future of Hong Kong, was Ho Tung’s strategic gift in 1919 to Hong Kong University of an engineering workshop that gave many young men careers of lasting usefulness. They included Jack’s brother Hugh, who became a significant civil engineer, architect and community leader.142

Ho Tung came into direct and frequent contact with Jack Braga in Macau during World War II, and developed a very high opinion of him. Ho Tung’s son told Jack

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141 This is discussed in Chapter 10, ‘The honourable tribe’.
142 This is discussed in Chapter 11, ‘Divergent paths’ and Appendix 15 ‘the Braga Family leave Hong Kong’.

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that ‘my father values your opinion considerably’. 143 Jack later wrote to Ho Tung that ‘my war work in the Macao underground is not unknown to you’. 144 Details are unknown to others, but in 1943 Jack obtained two .38 calibre revolvers for Ho Tung; one was returned to Jack at the end of the war. 145

Even the fabulously wealthy Ho Tung, who had taken refuge in Macau, was short of ready funds by 1945. He enlisted Jack’s assistance in drafting a letter to the British consul seeking a remittance from Britain to Macau of £10,000 for his use. The letter went on: ‘if however it cannot be done, I must accept the inevitable and that is to give me an allowance which I hope will be increased from £200 to £300 per month owing to the constant rise of cost of living’. 146 He supported this request with a copy of a letter he had received from Sir Geoffrey Northcote on his retirement as Governor of Hong Kong in September 1941: ‘You have done much to help British arms along the path to Victory’.

Ho Tung sent Jack a Christmas present in 1946, with a covering letter containing the traditional Chinese good wishes for happiness, the characters carefully added in Ho Tung’s calligraphy: Fook (Good Luck), Sau (Long Life) Hong (Good Health), Neng (Happiness). 147 For his part, Jack told Ho Tung on his 88th birthday, ‘You can look back on a long life of useful service to your fellow-men’. 148 The two men had a high regard for each other, and Jack’s esteem for Hong Kong’s greatest benefactor increased still further when in 1948 Sir Robert used his influence to have Jack’s daughters Carol and Teresa nominated for scholarships he had already endowed at Hong Kong University. Jack’s third daughter, Maria, would also receive a Donor

143 E.S.K. Ho-Tung to J.M. Braga, 17 October 1944. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/4.7/1.
144 J.M. Braga to Sir Robert Ho Tung, 29 November 1950. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/4.7/1. However, the files thought to detail this work are closed until 2017. MS 4300/8.1/27-29.
145 Ho Tung to J.M. Braga, 9 October 1943, 19 November 1945. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/4.7/1.
146 Ho Tung to J.P. Reeves, British consul in Macau. Undated, but apparently early 1945. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/4.7/1.
147 Ho Tung to J.M. Braga, 23 December 1946. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/4.7/1.
Scholarship in Arts. Always taking the long view in education, Ho Tung is likely to have heard that they showed excellent potential. This was the man spurned by Sir Frederick Lugard but whose benefactions made it possible for Hong Kong University, Lugard’s brain-child, to educate engineers, including Hugh Braga, and

doctors, including Carol and Teresa Braga. All three would have distinguished careers in their professions.

In 1902 Ho Tung paid for new buildings for the Central British School in Kowloon, establishing its reputation for high standards. This benefaction later benefited other members of the Braga family, including this writer, who attended the school from 1949 to 1951. By then it had been moved to new buildings and renamed King George V School, known as ‘K G Five’.

After the war, Ho Tung occasionally sent Jack letters written in Portuguese that he had received for Jack to translate. Knowing Jack’s passion for historical research involving the Portuguese, Ho Tung gave him financial assistance when Jack spent some months delving into archives in Portugal in 1952.\footnote{Ho Tung to Jack, 2 September 1952. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/4.7/1.} Again, he could foresee the long-term benefits of this work. This generosity was entirely in character with this remarkable man. Finally, on his death in 1956, he left Jack a bequest of $5,000.

As a Eurasian youth apparently without prospects in racist Hong Kong in the 1870s, Robert Ho Tung was a student at the government-run Central School, later renamed Queen’s College. The inaugural principal, Frederick Stewart, insisted on a curriculum that bridged the gulf between western and Chinese culture and language. This bold and far-sighted initiative created life opportunities for many students. Among them was Ho Tung, who acknowledged his debt for the rest of his long life (he died aged 93), and required his family to do the same. For decades he took them twice a year to pay respects at Stewart’s grave in Hong Kong’s Colonial Cemetery. On his death, he bequeathed funds to ensure that the grave of his mentor should be continually maintained.\footnote{G. Bickley, ‘Stewart, Frederick’, in M. Holdsworth and C. Munn (eds), \textit{Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography}, p. 405.} Throughout life he set out to do for others what Frederick Stewart had done for him.

Sir Robert Ho Tung paid life-long tribute to Frederick Stewart, his mentor and benefactor. It is therefore appropriate that this appendix pays similar tribute to Sir Robert Ho Tung on behalf of the Braga family.
Appendix 15

The Braga family leave Hong Kong, 1946-1998

The final half century of the lives of J.P. Braga’s children falls outside the time frame of this thesis. Nevertheless, it seemed appropriate to set down their story, which is briefly sketched in Chapter 13. Available source material enabled this to be done readily. The result is this appendix, which is organised in three parts.

Part 1 – Post-war recovery, 1946

The story of what occurred is told largely through the comprehensive collection of letters gathered by James Braga. A limited postal service resumed on 5 September, a few days after the arrival of the British fleet. It was used extensively by Maude, still in Stanley Camp, at last able to write to her family in Macau after the long period of minimal contact. In a series of letters she kept them fully informed of the rapid progress of events in Hong Kong as the Royal Navy took charge, and did not hesitate to warn them of the huge task that had to be undertaken. There were almost no public utilities at first. ‘The “Maidstone” submarine depot parent ship which is lying alongside the Naval Yard, is now supplying electricity to the Colony’, wrote Maude on 2 September, three days after the Fleet arrived.

This was early September 1945, and in the broiling heat

there were dead bodies lying about, refuse and dirt which had not been cleaned away for weeks had accumulated in the streets ... but the Navy has been busy and the city is beginning to look better.

In the few days before the Royal Navy asserted its authority, another frenzy of looting occurred. Hugh, who arrived from Australia in November, told James:

Hong Kong has been stripped of all trees by the Chinese who have also looted all unoccupied houses. Not because they needed the things, but because of the opportunity to rob. Things they couldn’t

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152 South China Morning Post, 5 September 1945. Two examples of the rare postmarks are in the James Braga Papers.
154 Maude Franks to Hugh Braga, 8 September 1945. James Braga Papers.
take away were smashed. Hong Kong has suffered infinitely more at the hands of the Chinese than of the Japs.\textsuperscript{155}

This anarchy was short-lived, and there were few Europeans around to terrorise, but it seriously delayed the recovery.\textsuperscript{156} The immediate tasks faced by Rear-Admiral Harcourt, at the head of a military administration until the following April, were to re-establish order, clear the camps and incarcerate the Japanese garrison. This was achieved as rapidly as possible, and Stanley Camp was closed on 7 September. Most of the internees and POWs were evacuated to Britain and Australia, the hospital ship \textit{Oxfordshire} leaving on 3 September with the neediest cases.\textsuperscript{157} The \textit{Empress of Australia}, crammed with 3,000 service personnel to re-occupy Hong Kong, arrived

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Left: the first papers on sale in Hong Kong, 1 September 1945.  
\textit{Imperial War Museum IWM SE_004971}

Right: Jack Braga's copy in the National Library of Australia Newspapers Collection. 
\textit{Henry Ching’s editorial ‘Deliverance’, is printed in the left hand column.}
\textit{There being no other currency, the paper sold for 10 Military Yen.}
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\textsuperscript{155} Hugh Braga to James Braga, 8 January 1946, James Braga Papers.
\textsuperscript{156} Among the few was Mildred Dibden, who ran the Fanling Babies’ Home at this distant part of the New Territories. Cut off from English and local supporters, she had survived the war with great difficulty and fortitude. After the Japanese surrender, and well before the arrival of British forces, she celebrated their survival by flying a Union Jack, which served only to attract a mob of looters who seized supplies given to them by the Japanese authorities eager to ingratiate themselves with the only English people. J. Doggett, \textit{the Yip family of Amah Rock}, pp. 190-195.
\textsuperscript{157} \textit{South China Morning Post}, 4 September 1945.
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on 4 September and sailed again, now crowded with ex-POWs and internees, on 10 September, bound for Liverpool.\textsuperscript{158} It was a remarkable and necessary feat of organisation. Maude and Eric sailed a few days later in the \textit{Highland Monarch}, which picked up more former internees at Singapore. Maude, never one for self-pity, wrote to Jack that ‘The experiences of those who have joined us at Singapore, and who have come from Burma, Sarawak and other inland places prove that we in H.K. camps have been living in luxury in comparison.’\textsuperscript{159} It was reassuring to the evacuees that the Union Jack flew in every port of call: Hong Kong, Singapore, Colombo, Aden, Suez, Port Said, Malta and Gibraltar. Within two decades, it flew only in Hong Kong and Gibraltar.

John and Louie Braga and their two children, neither internees nor POWs, followed in October in the auxiliary aircraft carrier \textit{Empire Lagan}. Clement’s wife Muriel went back to Vancouver in December, to be followed by Clement the next year when he eventually secured permission. Noel and Marjory left for England in February in a slow tramp steamer, the \textit{Menelaus}, broiling in a cabin close to the engine room. Noel did not want to go, but Lawrence Kadoorie insisted. ‘So we have no alternative but to take orders and go off to England’, concluded Noel.\textsuperscript{160} Once they were there, Nora saw that he and Marjory were ‘terribly keen on staying, and don’t like the thought of returning to Hong Kong at all’.\textsuperscript{161} Accordingly Noel resigned from China Light as from 30 September 1946, earning from Kadoorie a generous reference as ‘an experienced executive officer of the highest integrity’.\textsuperscript{162}

For a few months after the Japanese surrender, ‘everything was at sixes and sevens’, as Noel put it.\textsuperscript{163} Repatriation was the immediate issue, and there was bitterness when some were taken and others left. Caroline told Maude that ‘the repatriation scheme is still being carried out with names of Bastos, Noronhas and people of all different nationalities going off – Germans included, yet Mother, who is English, is not allowed to be repatriated’.\textsuperscript{164} If true, that was exceptional. The Portuguese

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\textsuperscript{158} T. Banham, \textit{We shall suffer there}, p. 221. \textit{South China Morning Post,} 4 and 12 September 1945.
\textsuperscript{159} Maude Franks to Jack Braga, 14 October 1945, J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/8.1/12.
\textsuperscript{160} Noel Braga to Olive Braga, 18 December 1945. James Braga Papers.
\textsuperscript{161} Nora Braga to Paul Braga, 13 July 1946. James Braga Papers.
\textsuperscript{162} 10 February 1947. Copy from his son, Maurice Braga, 16 July 2011.
\textsuperscript{163} Noel Braga to Hugh Braga, 2 October 1945. James Braga Papers.
\textsuperscript{164} Caroline Braga to Maude Franks, 7 January 1946.
\end{flushend}
community, whose men had suffered just as much the British POWs and were every bit as run-down, were excluded from the scheme. Paul met an ex-POW from Shamshuipo, a Mr Simpson.

He tells of conditions, far more horrible than we had been given to believe. The sufferings of those outside the camps was worse than that of the prisoners, especially the Portuguese, who had played a big role in espionage work against the Japs, and whose work is now forgotten. Many lost their lives, he said.\footnote{Paul Braga to James Braga, 12 December 1945. James Braga Papers.}

It was already evident before the end of 1945 that the British Government had no intention of doing anything at all for the Portuguese members of the Hong Kong Volunteers who had been interned.\footnote{Jack Braga to James Braga, 25 December 1945. James Braga Papers.} British Volunteers received pay for the duration of the war, but the service of the Portuguese was deemed to have finished on 25 December 1941, the day of the surrender. On release from the POW camp, they were issued with new uniforms until their discharge in November, when they did not even receive a proper medical inspection.\footnote{P. Yvanovich, My Wartime Experience, p. 52.} Subsidies paid to their dependants in Macau during the war had to be repaid.\footnote{A. Jorge da Siva, The Portuguese Community in Hong Kong, vol. 2, p. 43.} Their protests were ignored. To make matters worse, they were required for some days after their release from POW camp to guard the Peak residences of the British elite to protect them against further looting. It took forty years of effort for a handful of survivors to be paid a pension.\footnote{L. Ribeiro, letter to editor, South China Morning Post, 15 September 1987; A. Jorge da Silva, The Portuguese Community in Hong Kong, vol. 2, pp. 44-45.}

Caroline and Mary were not evacuated, but Olive told Paul that ‘Hughie and Nora have been just wonderful and are going to pay for them for a trip to Australia’.\footnote{Olive Braga to Paul Braga, 2 January 1946. James Braga Papers.}

Meanwhile, Noel heard from the Repatriation Officer as early as November 1945 that ‘there have been strong complaints sent by the Portuguese in Hong Kong to the Government because members of the Braga family have been repatriated to England and Canada. He said there may be trouble over this later on’.\footnote{Noel Braga to Olive Braga, 30 November 1945. Tony Braga Papers. According to Donnison, 2,770 persons were found in Stanley Camp and Ma Tau Chung Camp, of whom 1,014 were repatriated.} This did not occur, but if anything it widened the gulf between them and the Portuguese community.

\footnotetext[165]{Paul Braga to James Braga, 12 December 1945. James Braga Papers.} 
\footnotetext[166]{Jack Braga to James Braga, 25 December 1945. James Braga Papers.} 
\footnotetext[167]{P. Yvanovich, My Wartime Experience, p. 52.} 
\footnotetext[168]{A. Jorge da Siva, The Portuguese Community in Hong Kong, vol. 2, p. 43.} 
\footnotetext[169]{L. Ribeiro, letter to editor, South China Morning Post, 15 September 1987; A. Jorge da Silva, The Portuguese Community in Hong Kong, vol. 2, pp. 44-45.} 
\footnotetext[170]{Olive Braga to Paul Braga, 2 January 1946. James Braga Papers.} 
\footnotetext[171]{Noel Braga to Olive Braga, 30 November 1945. Tony Braga Papers. According to Donnison, 2,770 persons were found in Stanley Camp and Ma Tau Chung Camp, of whom 1,014 were repatriated.}
In Macau there was much discussion about what was to happen, but little action as time went by. The inertia of 1942 and 1943 remained, but matters could not drag on like that, as financial support from the British consulate ended in February 1946. Olive, increasingly set in her ways, was again a problem to her family. In January, Caroline told Maude:

For the past weeks Mother has been very busy trying to sort out her things before they are packed to ship over to Hong Kong. The whole move has been a great worry to her as she wonders how she will get along with life in Hong Kong and in a different house.

Hugh arrived in Hong Kong from Australia on 30 November. He was met at Kai Tak, still called ‘the aerodrome’ by Caroline and Noel, who wrote that ‘although, like everybody else, he has aged a bit, he looks in first-class shape and is quite broad-chested and full of vim, vigour and vitality’. For his part, Hugh was shocked at how he found them, even though he knew that people in both Macau and Hong Kong had been through a dreadful time. He expected to find everyone thin and run-down. So he did, but he told Maude, ‘I think that Jean looks worst of all, principally because, I think, she doesn’t seem to care how she looks’. Some of the Knutsford Terrace houses had survived in reasonable condition until the Japanese surrender, but only No. 12, where Jean lived, survived the ensuing orgy of looting until the British military asserted control.

As soon as he returned to Hong Kong on 16 November, Noel rushed to Knutsford Terrace to see what had happened to it and was horrified to find his home, No. 10, an empty shell with no doors, floors or windows and every piece of wood stripped out. Jean told her family that Nos. 1 to 10 had been demolished by the looters, not bombed during the war. No. 11 had survived, though damaged, and Caroline was able to stay there when she came to Hong Kong at the end of November. However, Jean refused to have her mother back. She had indeed become obdurate during this long ordeal, but was seen to be even more so. ‘One has to admire her

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172 Caroline Braga to Maude Franks, 7 January 1946, James Braga Papers.
173 Ibid.
175 Hugh Braga to Maude Franks, 11 January 1946, James Braga Papers.
176 Email from Noel’s son, Maurice Braga, 19 July 2011.
courage’, wrote Nora, ‘in the way she carried on alone all through the war, but, according to Maude, it has embittered her and she is more difficult than ever.'

Nevertheless Caroline saw another side to Jean.

When the troops landed in Hong Kong, the R.A.F. took over Royal Court Hotel at the end of the Terrace and Jean became their mascot ... when the R.A.F. saw her they were touched with pity and plied her with good food and she writes to say how happy she is with them. She has her grand piano and when they have time off they go to the house to sing while she accompanies; and altogether she is feeling better and happy.

It was Hugh who found a solution. He had heard little about the Braga family’s conditions in Hong Kong and Macau during the war years, but realised that their predicament was likely to be desperate. Out of the blue, he was approached on 21 September 1945 to return to Hong Kong with the British Military Administration to take charge of roads in Kowloon and the New Territories, damaged in the British retreat, and then neglected throughout the war. Things moved swiftly. Within a few days he had sold his house and furniture and arranged for his family to travel to England. Nora would stay there with her parents until Hong Kong was fit for family life and schools reopened. After paying out the mortgage, he had £2,000 capital available, about $25,000 Hong Kong dollars. He and Nora agreed to use it all

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180 Caroline Braga to James Braga, 21 October 1945. James Braga Papers. One of the R.A.F. boys struck up an enduring friendship with Jack’s family when they returned and lived at Knutsford Terrace in 1946. This was Ken Wilkie, still in touch with the Braga family as recently as July 2012. Another, Edgar Greenwood, according to Tony, gave Jean half his salary each month because he felt sorry for her. Tony Braga to John Braga, 29 April 1946. James Braga Papers.
181 Ernest Morris to Noel and Marjory Braga, 1 October 1945. Ernest, Marjory’s brother, was a crew member of HMS Thracian, a destroyer damaged and beached at Hong Kong during the fighting. Morris, who lost an arm in the fighting, became a POW, and was evacuated to Australia in September 1945. He stayed for ten days with Nora and Hugh Braga in Sydney. He wrote, ‘All that love & comfort could do to dispel our Camp experience they have certainly done.’ He was present when the approach to Hugh to return to Hong Kong arrived. Ernest added, ‘he was able to discuss measures for the relief of your dear ones. Maud’s letters describing her visit to Macao seriously alarmed us as to your condition. You folks who remained outside the camps certainly suffered greater privation than the actual prisoners’. Copy made available by Maurice Braga, Marjory’s son.
182 P.H.H. White, Alias Jungle Doctor, p. 155. Paul White, who became a noted author, had just returned from Africa, where he had been a medical missionary. He was in immediate need of a house; Hugh was in immediate need of a purchaser. He sold the house for £2,500, the price pegged by wartime regulations, and the furniture for £600. White borrowed the entire sum from a solicitor friend, who told him, “It’s a gift! It’s a gift! The furniture is lovely.” Hugh had brought solid teak furniture with him from Hong Kong in 1941. (Interview between Paul White and Phillip Jensen, 23 July 1986). Both men were profoundly grateful. Nora and her two children left Sydney in the Dominion Monarch on 18 October, arriving in Southampton on 15 November. There was a delay of several weeks before Hugh left Australia, eventually reaching Hong Kong on 30 November.
for the benefit of the Braga family in Hong Kong.\footnote{I hold myself responsible to a limit of £2,000.} There was much generosity in these very needy times, but this was the most selfless action of all. His family realised it. Noel wrote to his mother:

Hughie has been the soul of kindness to us ... he has made a big sacrifice in giving up his job and his home in Australia to come to Hong Kong for the sake of us all’.\footnote{Noel Braga to Olive Braga, 4 January 1946. James Braga Papers.}

His mercy mission began with an unfortunate setback. ‘I bought $800 worth of new winter underwear for all members of the family and a large quantity of tinned food [but] almost all these things were stolen from the crate in Sydney’.\footnote{Hugh Braga to James Braga, 8 January 1946. James Braga Papers.} Finding housing in looted Hong Kong was almost impossible, but after much searching, he located a large house, 164 Boundary St, Kowloon, that would accommodate all of them. Used by the Japanese Army to accommodate officers, it had escaped the looting at the end of August 1945. In March 1946, Olive, Tony, Caroline and Mary moved there. Olive, often so demanding, was genuinely appreciative, telling Paul that ‘it has been wonderful of Hugh providing this grand house and the expenses of food, water, light, etc.’\footnote{Olive Braga to Paul Braga, 9 June 1946. James Braga Papers.} Later, Tony secured a house on Chatham Rd, Tsimshatsui; thereafter, Hugh’s family, on returning to Hong Kong, had the house to themselves, though it was extensively used as a base for supporting their missionary friends.

Hugh kept his promise to send Mary to Australia. She was so run-down and tired that doctors suspected tuberculosis, then a major killer of young women, and her vitality seemed permanently sapped. A modern diagnosis might be chronic fatigue syndrome, then unrecognised. In April 1946 she went to Australia to recuperate, living in a girls’ hostel at Ashfield, a Sydney suburb. Tony reported:

Hughie’s given her enough money to stay in Australia for six months and he has suggested to her that if she likes the life there she should try to make a living in Sydney by teaching music to little children as...
she’d done here. If she finds it too difficult she can return to Hong Kong at the end of summer.\textsuperscript{187}

It did not work out, and Mary returned to Hong Kong to care for her mother, placing duty ahead of career or self-interest, as she had always done. However, she later went to England pursuing her musical studies.

Olive returned in February from Macau, returning also to a history of making trouble, no longer for Jean, but for her own personal servant, However, a new appointee stood up to her as no-one had ever done before. Her family were well aware that she had a reputation for being demanding:

\begin{quote}
The Old Lady is keeping in excellent health, and you’ll be glad to hear that she’s not had any serious battles-royal with the servant. Ah Gum is the name of the young party, and she’s far from being one of China’s best beauties, but she does know her onions well and all the rest of her work, and she takes no nonsense from anyone.\textsuperscript{188}
\end{quote}

Olive had reached the age of 76 in January 1946, and her frailty increased in the following years until her death on 13 February 1952 after a stroke on her 82\textsuperscript{nd} birthday, three weeks earlier.\textsuperscript{189}

Hugh had been brought to Hong Kong as an officer in the British Military Administration. He told James:

\begin{quote}
My work keeps me extremely busy as I am in charge of all roads in Kowloon and the New Territories, doing the work which 4 men used to do before the war. My job is only a temporary one and I don’t know what will happen to
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{187} Tony Braga to John Braga, 29 April 1946. James Braga Papers.
\textsuperscript{188} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{189} South China Morning Post, 14 February 1952. The obituary, almost certainly written by Tony, dwelt on her early career as a violinist in the nineteenth century. Jack was then in Portugal, busily engaged in historical research, and was kept fully informed in a torrent of letters from Hong Kong. J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/2.3/11.
me after my contract expires at the end of November. However, I know that God brought me here and He will take care of me. I am working under the Military Administration and have the designation S.O. III C.A. (Works) which means Staff Officer No. 3, Civil Administration. The rank is equivalent to that of a Capt.  

Noel told his mother that Hugh ‘is extremely capable and the P.W.D. [Public Works Department] are very fortunate to have him’. 

While Hugh’s future course was uncertain, one of his brothers had a clear vision of the way ahead, even if it was in terms of political rather than religious belief. Tony was the second of his family after Clement to make a complete and final break with Christian faith. The Japanese Occupation had given him time to himself for the first time since his boyhood hospitalisation. He used it to pursue a growing fascination with socialism, fuelled by the widely circulated books of the Left Book Club and by conversations with his Russian chess partners in war-time Hong Kong. The Russians, like the Portuguese, were classed by the Japanese as Third Nationals until the Russian declaration of war on Japan in the last few days of the Pacific War. Tony’s viewpoint was spelt out in a long letter to John, who he considered the brother with an ear more willing to listen than the others. After less than a month, Hugh mentioned that he had already had several brushes with Tony on the matter of socialism – and Tony’s chronic unpunctuality. Tony seized upon the Benthamite catch-cry ‘the greatest happiness of the greatest number’, applying it to the Russians:

I do not feel a special love towards them just because they are Russians. But I do think that the economic system they are trying to spread throughout the world provides the greatest good for the greatest number of people – and that I consider the essence of a great civilization... In the U.S.S.R. people of all races share the same opportunities and benefits (free education, medical attention, state insurance, etc.). This fact is known throughout Asia and I believe it’s largely responsible for the rapid spread of communistic ideas among the submerged masses in all the lands of this vast continent.

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190 Hugh Braga to James Braga, 8 January 1946. James Braga Papers.
In discarding one set of messianic teachings for another, Tony still believed in the victory of the Higher, but he would have distanced himself from A.J.P. Taylor’s clever jibe that this is what made Karl Marx a great religious teacher. 193

He was fortunate that the skills he had gained through years of hard work for his father had not gone unnoticed. Soon after the British reoccupation, Lawrence Kadoorie was appointed to chair a Building Reconstruction Advisory Committee. He at once sought out Tony as its secretary. 194 The committee worked rapidly, dealing in the first instance with the critical European housing shortage, noting in its report in May 1946 to the newly restored civil governor, Sir Mark Young, that there was a shortage of accommodation for between 7,000 and 9,000 persons, and recommending how this might be tackled. 195

Lawrence and Horace Kadoorie employed Tony for twenty-two years as their accountant, ‘looking after the family accounts’. 196 The relationship somehow endured, the Kadoories ignoring Tony’s communist leanings for the sake of his competence. They shrewdly realised that Tony was in practice a thorough-going capitalist and a capable investor, whatever else he was in theory. It was an inconsistency that Tony never admitted to himself. Much later he told a journalist that it was ‘a job he successfully pursued and heartily detested’. 197

For their part, the Kadoories valued his qualities, Horace Kadoorie telling Tony that ‘it gives me pleasure that our long-standing connection with the Braga family is continuing, and it is pleasing to know that in you we have a man of integrity, intelligence and ability.’ 198 The Kadoories wanted the stability of a local man. An accountant brought in from Britain or America would be unlikely to stay long. They looked after Tony well, and in their employment, he gained a very secure financial position.

193 In his introduction to the Pelican edition of Communist Manifesto.
195 China Mail, 15 May 1946. Press cutting in the James Braga Papers. According to the Report, 1,808 European houses had been destroyed and 310 seriously damaged, while a further 834 had been requisitioned by the Military Administration. With about two thirds of European houses having been destroyed, this left practically nowhere for civilians to live. Their return was accordingly delayed.
196 Sunday Morning Post, 31 May 1947.
197 Ibid.
Tony was able to use his position on the Building Reconstruction Advisory Committee to resolve his family’s accommodation difficulty for some years. In this too, he seemed to have no difficulty reconciling socialist principle with capitalist practice, to say nothing of simony.

There are two other houses as possible Braga habitations I have in mind: they’re Mrs. Lourenco’s two houses in Chatham Road which have been occupied by the Military since November ... you may be sure I’ll not let any outsiders have the houses when they are freed, but will offer them first to our tribal members. There’s plenty of space and the rent is about $200 for each house – and they face south; so let’s hope they’ll solve the Braga housing problem when the time comes. Jack has asked me for one of the houses for his family.199

Tony was as good as his word, and both houses were duly occupied as he planned, one by Olive, Tony, Caroline and Mary. Later, the other was occupied by Jack and his family, the basement being occupied by a Portuguese refugee family on whom Jack took pity. Jean remained at 12 Knutsford Terrace until its sale, then moving to a flat on the Hong Kong side.

Part 2 – Anxious years, 1947 to 1967

It is often said that the years between 45 and 55 are the best years of a man’s life. For some of the Bragas, the two decades after 1946 were indeed their best years. For others, their best years lay a decade behind, in what must have seemed halcyon days of peace and stability, but the security symbolised by the Union Jack flying over ten thousand places throughout the Empire had gone forever. A generation earlier, J.P. Braga had been left penniless by the financial catastrophe of 1925. In the later 1940s, his children had to start again when they too were in middle age. The twenty years ahead would often be uncertain and anxious.

Jean, once accomplished and vivacious, was affected by the war more than others. The infatuation in 1941 with Theo Ingram did not help. After the war, Jean continued to teach music, with a remarkable ability to encourage and affirm her students, but by the 1960s, these gifts began to leave her. She became a withdrawn and difficult person, and eventually a recluse, jealously guarding her possessions and the family’s furniture, all of which she now claimed as her own. She could fly into rages. The experiences of a hard early life, and most of all the privations, loneliness and constant fear in the face of Japanese atrocities had eaten into her.200

By contrast, these were Jack’s best years. Although he and his family had experienced severe privations in Macau like most others, Jack Braga never lost his vigour and strong community spirit. These continued to flourish in post-war Hong Kong, where he moved in mid-1946. For the next twenty years he lived and worked there, running an import-export business, Braga & Co., though his friend Geoffrey Bonsall whimsically suggested that his book collection was really his business, absorbing most of his time and interest, while the business was his hobby, to which he gave whatever time was left.201 His passion for book collecting and historical research dominated his time and attention. Residence in Hong Kong gave a new

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200 A looter was tied to a lamp post in Knutsford Terrace and left to die of hunger and thirst. Japanese soldiers beat him every so often and would not allow people to give him any assistance. Email from Noel’s son, Maurice, 18 July 2011. He was aged six when this occurred.

201 Obituary in Review of Culture, no. 5, 1988, Instituto Cultural de Macau, pp. 102-103. Geoffrey Bonsall, Deputy Librarian of Hong Kong University collaborated with J.M. Braga in preparing a bibliography of the history of medicine in Hong Kong. It was proposed to publish this in Elixir, the journal of the Department of Pathology of Hong Kong University. A copy of the bibliography is in the J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/11.1/3.
dimension to his collection, which now extended to the history of British activity in the Far East from the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century. In addition, his determination to record the history of Portuguese expansion took a new turn, and he now added many transcriptions of papers documenting the activities of early navigators and missionaries. In 1952 he visited Portugal, and embarked on a project of securing transcriptions of the ‘Jesuitas na Asia’ manuscripts in the Ajuda Library, Lisbon.  

He regarded these manuscripts as the most important part of his collection.

Jack was active in the affairs of a body founded after World War II to promote the cultural interests of the Macanese community in Hong Kong, the Instituto Português de Hongkong. It appears to have been a small group of people who met to hear papers on Portuguese history. It published an occasional bulletin with articles in Portuguese and English, including several by Jack.

By the early 1950s, his output became more selective, and the continuing collaboration with Charles Boxer brought about a substantial improvement in his scholarship. Boxer sent Jack several of his manuscripts for comment. Jack produced several scholarly papers, notably The beginnings of printing at Macao, Lisbon, 1963 and A seller of sing-songs: a chapter in the foreign trade of China and Macao. For several years he prepared an extensive bibliography for the Hong Kong Annual Report. He was regarded by the Portuguese community as the unofficial historian of Macau. His growing reputation led in 1949 to the award of Grande Cavaleiro in the highly esteemed Ordem do S. Tiago da Espada (Knight of the Order of St James of the Sword) by the President of Portugal. However, a proposal made by friends for Hong Kong University to award Braga an honorary MA was unsuccessful.

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202 J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/6.2.
204 Boletim de Instituto Português de Hongkong.
205 Studia, Lisbon, no. 12, July 1963, pp. 29-137.
207 Geoffrey Bonsall was a prime mover in this. Information from Bonsall at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, Hong Kong Branch, 1 December 2010. Bonsall remained active in historical circles in Hong Kong for many years.
He was determined to secure for his children the opportunity to study medicine which he had not had. Hoping for quick profits from his business, he thought of sending them to Edinburgh to study medicine, but this dream soon vanished. An application for scholarships from Hong Kong University was turned down, on the mistaken grounds that the Braga family was well-to-do. That remarkable philanthropist, Sir Robert Ho Tung, stepped in again, almost half a century after he had rescued J.P. Braga from oblivion. He had seen Jack’s work in Macau at first hand, and valued his work for British Intelligence.

He now paid for three of Jack’s daughters to go to Hong Kong University, two studying medicine and the third Arts. A fourth daughter became a Trained Nurse. In 1952 Jack sent his three sons to Australia, where one became a doctor, another an electrical engineer and the third had a long career in the Commonwealth Public Service. All seven did well in life. It was an amazing achievement for a man who undertook this large task in his late forties with no accumulated wealth. All the while, he continued to add to his impressive library, carefully housed and cared for in the house that Tony had secured. It occupied more than a dozen large book cases in a big room that was equipped with one of the few domestic dehumidifiers then in Hong Kong.

Maude continued to be, in her brother John’s words, ‘the good soul that she is’. Her employers, Standard Oil, paid her accrued salary for the three years and nine months of her internment; Eric was similarly recompensed by the Hong Kong Prisons Department. He and Maude were repatriated to Britain for a few months’ leave. However, when they returned to Hong Kong they were almost penniless. Eric, like many other internees, seemed less able to cope with life, and had spent pounds as though they were Hong Kong dollars, the exchange rate being $16 to £1. Both were re-instated by their former employers, but about 1948, Eric was savagely attacked and seriously injured by a Chinese prisoner. After a long spell in hospital, he was

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208 B. Koo, ‘Researching José Maria Braga’, p. 20.
209 This is detailed in Appendix 14. Jack wrote, ‘It is really consoling to know that I have a friend who has so readily helped me at the present juncture.’ J.M. Braga to Sir Robert Ho Tung, 26 September 1946. J.M. Braga Papers MS4300/4.7/1.
210 Not even Government House was then air-conditioned. L.H. Palin, ‘Black, Sir Robert Brown’, in M. Holdsworth & C. Munn (eds), Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography, p. 31.
invalided out of Government service with a pension; there was no provision at that
time for Worker’s Compensation.\textsuperscript{211}

In 1950 Maude and Eric moved to Australia. Maude wanted to get Eric away from
the memories and influences of Hong Kong, as he was by then drinking heavily.
They bought a small cottage at Frenchs Forest in Sydney, then a remote settlement
with poor public transport and no pub. Maude was guardian to the three sons of her
eldest brother, Jack, when they came to Sydney to further their education.\textsuperscript{212} Maude
suffered a stroke in her kitchen in October 1962 and struck her head on the stove as
she fell. Never regaining consciousness, she lingered in hospital for five days before
succumbing on 18 October. She had been totally loyal to Eric throughout their
marriage, and he was utterly shattered at her death. He lived on for many more years,
laterly at the War Veterans’ Home at the Sydney suburb of Narrabeen, until about
1979, when he moved out, unwilling to contribute part of his pension towards his
upkeep. He then lived in a boarding house in Manly, where he died on 18 August
1983.

Clement coped less successfully with the great changes he faced after wartime
Macau. He arrived in Vancouver in July 1946. It was then a smoke-obscured rainy
port populated mostly by loggers, miners and dock workers. He lived in poor

\textsuperscript{211} Eric was then employed by the Sailors’ and Soldiers’ Home to care for servicemen ashore. Maude
and Eric lived in premises attached to the clubhouse for a year or two. Eric resumed his interest in
photography, and produced excellent figure studies, most notably of Hong Kong urban life, with an
eye for photographs suggestive of the character of his subjects. Eric never settled back to civilian life.
He believed that he was owed a substantial pension in recompense for what he had been through
during World War I, when he had been accidentally injured while serving in the British Army, though
he did not see active service in France. He carried a chip on his shoulder that blighted his life from
then on. Maude coped with this unsettled situation without complaint, and at family gatherings would
spend time with her nieces and nephews, joining their games and building sandcastles with them on
the beach. She took up painting, and found much fulfilment in this pastime.

\textsuperscript{212} In the early 1950s, the Franks moved to Mona Vale, a beach suburb north of Sydney. This was a
larger community than Frenchs Forest, and Maude found good friends among local artists and in the
Seventh Day Adventist Church. Her watercolours, especially of scenes at nearby Narrabeen lagoon,
developed markedly in these years. She did well in several local competitions, and was stimulated by
the response to her work. Both her growing interest in art and her involvement in the church may have
been a response to an increasingly difficult situation with Eric, who had never been easy to live with.
She never quite committed herself to membership of the S.D.A. Church, which she saw as needlessly
strict. She agreed to give up tea and coffee, but baulked at becoming a vegetarian, laughing at herself
both for yielding to one request and for refusing the other. The Braga family had never been tea
drinkers, but she told church elders that she had eaten meat all of her life, and that her health would
suffer if she suddenly stopped. Maude’s paintings reflected her personality well: serene, buoyant, and
interested in the world around. They were careful, methodical, well put together, confident and honest.
The aphorism that art reflects life was borne out in the life and the art of Maude Franks.
accommodation for the next nine years in various rooming houses and apartments, and had difficulty finding work, having no contacts. For most of the next twenty years Clement’s situation was bleak.213

Noel, with Hugh the outstanding member of the family up to 1941, was another man whose life was adversely affected by the war. He never regained a position comparable to the one he had once held. Having resigned from China Light, he remained in England, living in Eastbourne where his children were educated. Noel and Marjory, with wonted kindness, were guardians to Hugh’s daughter Sheila, who was left in England at boarding school when Nora returned to Hong Kong late in 1946.214

When Hugh’s engagement with the British Military Administration ended, he followed the plan he had conceived as soon as he returned to Hong Kong. This was to embark on what for the time was a large-scale engineering project akin to the Kadoorie Avenue and Braga Circuit development that he had begun fifteen years earlier, setting up the Metropolitan Construction Company. He had trouble securing working capital, and this hampered him considerably. At first he became connected to an American financier, C.V. Starr, but found the relationship unworkable. His good reputation gave him sound contacts when he set up his own firm, Hugh Braga & Co. in 1949.215

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213 Information from Lynne Braga, Clement’s daughter, 1996. Eventually he was employed as a waiter at the fashionable Vancouver Club, then as a salesman at a machine supply store and finally as a traffic manager in a small company called Canada Grain Export. There he worked for the next fifteen years. After nine years in Canada, he was able to begin the purchase of a small, rather dilapidated cottage. Clement found release in literature and the dramatic arts. He discovered something of a niche in newly forming drama circles in the city, first appearing in Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, then acting and producing for the Vancouver Shakespeare Society and finally, forming his own amateur drama troupe, the Harlequin Players. He produced and directed several plays, including ‘A Winter’s Tale’ and ‘Lady Windermere’s Fan’. He was particularly fond of reading the Romantic poets and Shakespeare. Home improvement, though, was not a consideration. Unfortunately, as the little cottage deteriorated over the years, so did Muriel’s health. In 1963, Clem lost his job at Canada Grain Export when the small organisation was sold to a larger company. Soon after this happened, Muriel had a serious stroke and was hospitalised for three months.

214 Noel obtained employment as a Company Secretary until 1952 when he accepted an invitation to join an American organisation, the Christian Children’s Fund. He became its Director in South Korea at the end of the Korean War where he established and organised several centres in that country for the relief of children orphaned by the war. In 1958, he left the C.C.F. to become Secretary of the St. John Ambulance Brigade in Hong Kong, a position he held until 1961. He then went to England, intending to study law, as his father had hoped to do 75 years before.

215 Hugh embarked on an ambitious enterprise at Jardine’s Lookout above Happy Valley, not far from where the Portuguese enclave had been proposed in 1912. This was on a far larger scale, and involved the use of bulldozers, unknown in pre-war Hong Kong. By 1950, site formation was well advanced, and Hugh also undertook the development of a similar but smaller project at Headland Road on the south side of the Island. Between the two he began construction of a house on Repulse Bay Road,
As well as running his business, Hugh was Sunday School Superintendent at St Andrew’s Church of England, Kowloon. He was chairman of the Advisory Committee of an orphanage for abandoned girls, the Fanling Babies’ Home. In 1951 he organised a large emergency operation to provide accommodation for several hundred missionaries when the China Inland Mission was obliged to withdraw from China following the Communist revolution.

Civil war in China was nothing new, and Hong Kong had coped with its vicissitudes for most of its history. However, the fighting which erupted in Manchuria in 1946 was of a different order. When Shanghai was occupied by the Red Army in May 1949, a non-stop airlift brought people to Hong Kong for three days. As the Kuomintang forces collapsed in the following weeks, business confidence in Hong Kong was shaken, although it soon became apparent that the People’s Republic of China, proclaimed in Beijing on 1 October 1949, had no immediate intention of occupying Hong Kong. The uncertainty in 1949 turned into economic catastrophe the following year when the Korean War broke out. When China entered the Korean War in December, the United Nations banned trade with China, bringing Hong Kong to its knees. Hugh’s business all but collapsed. He moved to Australia where he was invited to return to his wartime employment as Chief Civil Engineer at the chemicals firm Timbrol Ltd, later acquired by the American firm Union Carbide.

with a splendid view southwards to the South China Sea. It would have been the pinnacle of a successful career.

216 J. Doggett, *The Yip family of Amah Rock*, pp. 209-212. He also served as honorary architect for several organisations including the Salvation Army, and became a member of the Court of the University of Hong Kong. He was honorary architect for the restoration of Morrison Hall where he had been in residence as a university student in the 1920s. He and Nora threw their home open to missionaries from Nora’s mission, the Bible Churchmen’s Missionary Society, en route to and from China.

217 P. Thompson, *China: the reluctant exodus*, pp. 75-79.

218 In 1962, the Governor, Sir Robert Black, told the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies that there was no explanation for China’s ‘failure to press her claims on Hong Kong hitherto, other than a conviction that time will not derogate from those claims and an assessment that her immediate interests counsel restraint. It is on this slim thread that the stability and, indeed, the security of Hong Kong depend.’ L.H. Palin, ‘Black, Sir Robert Brown’, in M. Holdsworth, & C. Munn (eds), *Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography*, p. 31.

219 People who had expressed interest in the Jardine’s Lookout project backed away, and other payments were not met. Hugh was in no position to sit out the tempest. The Repulse Bay Road house had to be sold before completion. He and Nora paid a brief exploratory visit to Australia at the end of 1950, and by August 1951, they had packed up and left Hong Kong for good, though Hugh came back several times in the next two years, winding up the business. When he finally left, his career was summarised in *South China Morning Post*, 25 January 1953 .

220 He had left in 1945 with lasting respect, and a fine reputation that continued to be enhanced in his second term of employment there. Interview with Charles Miller, sometime General Manager of Union Carbide Chemicals Division, 25 July 2011; interview at Ku-ring-gai Probus Club with Jim Smith, Hugh’s assistant in the early 1950s, 25 November 2010. Smith had never worked for a boss.
They also resumed the church and community activities in which they had been engaged during the war.²²¹

On the other side of the Pacific Ocean, James too had a change after the war. In 1946 he moved from Chicago to Sacramento, California, as Anne found the harsh winters of Illinois hard to bear, and the climate on the west coast was milder. He continued to study, and gained the M.A. degree from George Pepperdine College with a thesis on Expository Preaching. In October 1949 he accepted an invitation to join the faculty of Multnomah School of the Bible in Portland, Oregon, where he taught Homiletics, Methods of Bible Study and Missions for twenty-five years.²²²

James’ career and interests were if anything the mirror image of Tony’s, though they never lost an affectionate regard for each other. Tony, who had been obstinate and difficult during the war, changed over the years with a responsible job and strong cultural interests. He did not lose his fascination with socialism, but it never turned into Left Wing activism.

He was keen to foster in the cultural wilderness of post-war Hong Kong an appreciation of the music and literature of which he had grown so fond, and was one of the prime movers in the establishment of the Sino-British Club in 1946.²²³

who delegated responsibility to his junior associates to the extent that Hugh did, forming the opinion that he was ‘too trusting’. He told this writer, nearly sixty years after he had worked for Hugh, ‘You have exactly the same mannerisms as your father.’

²²¹ They were deeply involved in a young people’s Christian movement, the Crusader Union of NSW. Hugh’s skills as an engineer came to the fore in the early stages of development of two Crusader campsites near Sydney. He and Nora commenced the Senior Crusader Fellowship, a training programme for leaders at youth camps held there. Hugh served as a Council member of the two schools attended by his children, assisting in the resumption of building programmes after the long delay caused by depression and war. Having run his own business for several years, it was frustrating to him to be once more an employee, but he found much fulfilment in the Christian and community activities that he continued to enjoy for many years.

²²² His book How to Prepare Bible Messages was published by Multnomah School of the Bible in 1969, thus launching Multnomah Press, which became a thriving publisher of Christian literature. It was reprinted seven times before a revised edition was issued in 1981. The following year, How to Study the Bible followed, and in 1990 a booklet, Discovering Scripture Memory. His first book, How to Prepare Bible Messages, was translated into at least seven languages and How to Study the Bible into at least five. At weekends he served as pastor to a series of small congregations until they grew large enough to support their own minister. At least one of these was a Chinese congregation. Long years of ministry turned the rather anxious young man of the 1930s into a caring and very well respected senior pastor and teacher in the 1960s and beyond.

²²³ The intention was to establish a literary circle and an amateur orchestra. He felt that there must be in the colony many lovers of music and literature like himself, both in the British and Chinese sections of the community. A true Internationalist, Tony sought to implement in the cultural milieu of Hong Kong the high-minded principles of the United Nations in these early post-war years before the hardening influences of the Cold War overwhelmed them. Tony served for ten years as Secretary of the Sino-British Club, and his foundational work was justly recognised in 1984 at the 10th anniversary of the Hong Kong Philharmonic Society, the successor of this early post-war attempt at
elicited the support of the talented Dr Solomon Bard, whom he had known in musical circles before the war, when Bard returned to Hong Kong in 1947.

He also pioneered cultural links with the Peoples’ Republic of China during the 1950s and 1960s, at a time when inter-change between Hong Kong and its large and powerful neighbour was minimal. In this, his ideological sympathies were of assistance in China, though these initiatives did not commend him to the musical fraternity in Hong Kong.224

John’s interest in music more than matched Tony’s, but he did not throw himself into Hong Kong’s literary and musical life in the way that Tony did. John, Louie and their two children returned to Hong Kong after the war. Two more children were born to them in the next few years. John resumed his old position as Assistant Company Secretary at China Light, but things were never the same as they had been before the war. In the 1920s and 1930s, John’s competence in business administration seemed now to have deserted him. Like Noel, he too never really got over the war; as with others, the years of hardship and privation robbed him of his

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an organised approach to music in Hong Kong. He was bitterly disappointed when things did not work out as he had hoped. The literary circle which he intended should go hand-in-hand with the development of fine music flourished briefly, but remained small. Meanwhile, the orchestra developed as more of a cultural elite than he felt it should. He argued strongly against the change of name from Sino-British Orchestra to Hong Kong Philharmonic Orchestra, and refused to continue as Secretary, believing that the original vision had been lost. He never regained a significant role in musical circles in Hong Kong, though he was closely associated with the movement to build a new City Hall in 1964. Interview with Dr Solomon Bard, Sydney, December 1995.

224 Dr Bard, in a phone call in June 2012, told of the pressure placed on several would-be members of the delegation who withdrew upon being threatened with losing their jobs if they went.
drive. Louie urged him to complete his qualifications in Accountancy as his brother Tony did, but he never finished the course.

Moreover, the climate changed in China Light in these years. Before the war, there was a consideration and mutual respect between British officials and businessmen on the one hand and local people of Portuguese descent on the other. After the war, a new managerial set came out from Britain who lacked the old understandings. John was seen as a member of the Portuguese community, and was not treated well at China Light in the post-war period. He stayed on at China Light until 1966, when he retired somewhat early and went to Scotland. In these difficult times, the violin was John’s solace, even more than it had been in earlier years. In the early 1950s he purchased his own Stradivarius violin from the English dealer, Hill, quite cheaply, before the value and scarcity of these famous instruments was fully recognised. Over time, old violins became his passion.

Paul, so keen to do well in business after the war, eventually went back to the business he knew. Again he obtained a position in the motor industry, joining a well-established dealership, Dodwell Motors, although for some time there were few private vehicles on the road. By December 1952 he was General Manager of Dodwells, and as prosperity gathered pace in the following years, the firm did well under his capable management until his retirement in June 1970. A family tragedy in the early 1950s severely affected Paul for the rest of his life, but Paul’s reaction to it was wholly admirable. His wife Audrey suffered from severe headaches for some years, and aggressive X-ray treatment by local doctors left her seriously brain-damaged. At that time, such a procedure was innovative and hazardous. Sadly, it left Audrey with severely impaired capabilities and a greatly altered personality. Ready to do the best for his wife, Paul arranged brain surgery at the Mayo Clinic, Rochester, Minnesota, in 1955. Over time, she partially recovered, to find fulfilment in Chinese painting, taught by a skilled Chinese teacher. Her accomplishments, warmly supported by Paul, led to

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225 The question of race relations after World War II is discussed in Chapter 13.
226 This was despite the fact that he was a Protestant, had a Scottish wife, and possessed excellent skills in written and spoken English. His terms of employment were indeed those of an expatriate, and in 1950, he was eligible for nine months’ leave after four years of service. John and Louie left for Edinburgh with the children, and bought a house there. Louie stayed on in Scotland, while John went to Hong Kong alone for a time until the family joined him in 1952. Louie wrote that ‘to tell the truth, I am thoroughly weary of all this striving and straining to put ourselves in a sounder financial position’. Louie Braga to her sister-in-law Audrey Braga, 30 March 1954. Paul Braga Papers.
227 These continued to be unhappy years, the more so because John believed that his immediate superior was corrupt, but was powerless to do anything about it. Information from David Braga, son of John Braga, 20 April 1999.
several successful exhibitions and the enthusiastic endorsement of Dr Norman Vincent Peale, a famed Christian leader. In the long years of her illness, Paul was kind, compassionate, loyal and considerate. No husband could have done more than he did for a wife so changed.

Respected and successful in the Hong Kong business community, Paul developed an interest in collecting antique Chinese snuff bottles. He became a leading member of a circle of collectors and published two papers in the journal *Arts of Asia*. Paul also developed a collection of pictures of early Hong Kong and Macau, dispersed after his death.

In the early 1960s, Paul developed with his brother Tony a block of flats at Pokfulam, on the southern side of Hong Kong Island. Quite close to a major Chinese cemetery, the area had been shunned by Chinese developers until that time. His apartment had a magnificent view across Lamma Island to the South China Sea. Here Paul returned to his boyhood hobby of photography, taking some fine studies of the view that was ever changing with the seasons, the weather and the constant flow of shipping.

While Paul’s interests in the fine arts diverged from the musical tradition in which he grew up, his younger sister Caroline remained firmly in the centre of it. She resumed teaching as soon as she returned to Hong Kong in 1946. Most of her pupils were the

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children of Chinese business and professional families keen to learn the piano from a gentle yet demanding teacher.\textsuperscript{230}

\begin{center}
	extbf{Caroline Braga at what was described as a farewell recital broadcast over Radio Hong Kong. An accompanying press statement indicated that she planned to emigrate to the United States, but she returned to Hong Kong after some months.}

South China Morning Post, 11 April 1962.

Caroline Braga Papers
\end{center}

After the death of their mother in 1952 and of Mary in 1965, Tony and Caroline finally moved to homes of their own, Caroline residing and teaching at Estoril Court on Garden Rd in the Mid-Levels. Deeply unsettled by the serious riots in Macau and Hong Kong in 1966 and 1967, she sought to emigrate to the United States of America. It was a time when many other Portuguese families whose homes had been in Macau or Hong Kong for generations left for good. Caroline went to America in May 1967 and sought to enrol in the Juilliard School of Music in New York, but this did not eventuate, so she returned to Hong Kong as the situation gradually calmed down, resuming a very disciplined routine of teaching.

\textsuperscript{230}Over the years, she became renowned as the leading piano teacher in Hong Kong. She gave occasional public performances, and during the 1950s and 1960s, several recitals were broadcast on Radio Hong Kong and on television. In 1959, she participated in a series of lectures at the University of Hong Kong’s Department of Extra-Mural Studies on the history of keyboard music from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries. Her brother Tony gave the lectures, while Caroline demonstrated on the keyboard from practically the whole spectrum of classical music. Her style was characterised by a gentleness and precision of touch that consciously sought to honour the composer’s intentions. Her standards were high, and she demanded excellence both in herself and her pupils, some of whom achieved international recognition.
The post-war years of Mary, the youngest member of her family, are perhaps the most
difficult to discuss. There was neither brilliant success nor abject failure. Mary's life,
short as it was, needs to be viewed through a different lens. Mary had a sweet and
loving personality, and was characterised by an other-worldliness that perhaps
stemmed from the fact that others had usually made her decisions for her. Mary
seemed to belong to an age of greater gentility than the bustling and ruthless world of
the twentieth century. Her family understood this, seeing in Mary much of what they
valued in their Mother’s sanctity, though Olive had a far stronger personality.231

It took Mary several years to find a niche, following study in London, eventually
going to Japan in 1959 to teach music at the Christian Academy in Tokyo, a school
for the children of American missionaries.232 Here she developed breast cancer,
which was not detected for some time. Returning to Hong Kong, she had a radical
mastectomy, the Christian Academy giving her strong and caring support. However,
it was too late. Despite treatment in Australia and Hong Kong, she died on 15 July
1965, aged 51.233 It was natural that she should be laid to rest alongside Olive in the
Protestant section of Happy Valley Cemetery. Olive Braga’s grave bears the
inscription: ‘In Thy presence is fullness of joy; at Thy right hand are pleasures for
evermore.’ (Psalm 16, verse 11), appropriately reflecting the spirituality of both
mother and daughter.

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It is uncommon to find a sample of twelve siblings whose lives can be studied fairly
closely in the aftermath of war for some twenty years until the mid to late 1960s. The
results of that study are quite remarkable for the diversity of the outcomes. The very
close-knit family community of the 1920s had become widely scattered, very diverse

231 After her mother’s death in 1952, Mary went to London, where she studied for her Licentiate of
the Royal Academy of Music, living for about two years in a hostel run by the China Inland Mission,
later renamed the Overseas Missionary Fellowship. She hoped to join the mission in Japan as a
teacher of missionaries’ children, but no place was available. Instead, she was offered a place in a
Mission school in Manila, but declined the offer. Returning to Hong Kong, she continued to teach the
piano to younger children, and put much effort into her Sunday School lessons.
232 Her copy of its magazine, Matsu, is in the National Library of Australia.
233 Her brother Hugh arranged for her to go to Sydney in 1964 for radiotherapy at Royal Prince Alfred
Hospital, which possessed the latest equipment for the treatment of cancer. On her discharge from
hospital, she stayed with Hugh and Nora for some months. Her health continued to decline, and she
died some months after returning to Hong Kong. Her family maintained a vigil at her bedside round
the clock during her last weeks. Tony, who had been sole executor of the estate of his father, was also
the executor of Mary’s estate, using his financial acumen over a period of more than twenty years to
increase its value to the beneficiaries, though the estate had not been substantial.
in interests and achievements, and varied in patterns of religious commitment. That period of forty years had been marked by the central experience of war, which brought them together in common purpose, despite the inevitable frictions produced by the almost unimaginable stress of those years. Those still in Hong Kong in 1941 rapidly rediscovered their Portuguese roots for the duration of the Japanese Occupation, and just as rapidly forgot them after the war.

Ten of the twelve were still alive in August 1965, twenty years after the war. All ten died before the end of the twentieth century. They had drawn far apart by the 1960s; their later years drew them closer together again in some respects, and this appendix concludes with a powerful and heartfelt plea for unity written by the eldest brother, Jack. In his fine leadership during World War II, he was the one who had done more for unity than anyone else. In old age, and in failing health, he sought to revive the best of all they had in common. The later years of these ten form the final part of this appendix.

**Part 3 – ‘Kind words can never die’**

Jean Braga, the eldest of the siblings, had selflessly and loyally given the best years of her life to the upbringing of the younger ones. It is not surprising that the four decades after the liberation of Hong Kong in 1945 were a shadow land, blighted by the years of hardship, the bitterness of opportunity denied and a life unfulfilled. That most of her siblings lived lives more enriched than hers is a tribute to her care and devotion. She died, still in Hong Kong, on 1 February 1987, aged 90, her last years a dim twilight.

By contrast, Jack would know several years of serene fulfilment after all the decades of struggle before illness overcame him. By the mid-1960s, six of his seven children were in Australia, and he planned to follow them there as soon as suitable arrangements could be made. He also hoped to obtain a position for himself that would enable him to work full-time in his beloved library. Political troubles in Hong Kong and Macau associated with the rise of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the mid-1960s hastened his decision, and in 1966, Jack sold his library
to the National Library of Australia for £10,000 sterling. Two years later, he came to Canberra, where he worked at the library as a consultant from December 1968 until January 1972, but his health was already failing. He set himself the task of translating into English the most important of the Jesuitas na Asia manuscripts, Bishop António Gouvea’s *Asia Extrema*, hoping that it would be published by the National Library of Australia, but was able to finish only three of the six books.

The twilight years were sad and very prolonged. Afflicted by Parkinson’s disease, Jack went with Augusta early in 1973 to San Francisco, where their eldest daughter Carol was Professor of Gynaecology at the University of California, Berkeley Campus. She gave her parents devoted care until their deaths, 16 and 19 years later. Jack died on 27 April 1988, aged 90. By then, his name was held in honour in the little Portuguese colony that he had done so much to promote. The Portuguese government posthumously awarded him the high rank of *Grande Oficial, Ordem do Infante Dom Henrique* (Grand Officer of the Order of Prince Henry the Navigator).

Jack Braga was a remarkable man. He grew up in Hong Kong, a place of opportunity until the years immediately following World War I. Macau, the sleepy backwater that his family had left eighty years before, then became his home for the next twenty years. Jack worked diligently as a teacher and as a businessman. He never had sufficient means to support his growing passion for books, pictures and maps. Yet he persisted, and despite all the setbacks caused by economic depression, war and business difficulties, he left a fine legacy – a collection of abiding value not only to Australia, where most of his family had made their home, but also to a steadily growing body of international users. Moreover, he left behind him in the Far East

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234 His copy of the contract is in his papers in the National Library of Australia. MS 4300/10/3.
235 Introductory note by Gabriela Ramiro Pombas Cabelo, President of the Cultural Institute of Macau, *in José Maria Braga, O Homem e sua obra*, p. [5]. Further details of this exhibition catalogue are in the bibliography.
a name that continued to be held in honour and respect several decades after he had left.

Clement’s life in Canada had seen many disappointments, but his last years were marked by a happy re-connection with his brothers, followed by a sad end following a traffic accident. On New Year’s Eve 1971, he was knocked down by a van driven by a celebrating neighbour. He died on 7 February 1972, aged 69, 237

The three brothers born between 1903 and 1906, Noel, Hugh and James, last saw each other in 1940 as they lived on different continents thereafter. 238 Each adhered steadfastly to their mother’s example of Christian discipleship to the end of their days. Noel’s days ended first. On his return to England in 1961, he tried to achieve his lifelong ambition to become a lawyer, but illness prevented him from completing the course. He died on 18 December 1979, aged 76, following several years of declining health. 239

Hugh, resident in Australia from 1951, became a prominent Anglican layman. 240 In later years, he and his wife Nora were the inaugural wardens from 1975 to 1977 at St David’s, Forestville, an Anglican retirement village in Sydney, establishing a tradition of caring service. In 1981 the residents strongly supported the successful nomination of Hugh for the award of Senior Citizen of the Year for New South

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237 Operated on unsuccessfully for subdural haematoma, he was left comatose. During this crisis, Paul left his affairs in Hong Kong and rushed to Canada. An able businessman, he was tremendously helpful in organising things despite being unfamiliar with the procedures of British Columbia. Muriel, unable to face the future, died three months later in a nursing home. Not long before, he and Muriel had visited Britain to see his brothers Noel and John. In 1964 Clem (he had adopted the shortened form) and Muriel decided to sell their home in Vancouver and travel to England, a dream they had always had. They were able to stay with Noel and Marjory in England and John and Louie in Edinburgh. This was a wonderful time for Clem since he had only had the briefest of visits from three of his brothers, James, Paul and Tony and one sister, Caroline, since leaving Hong Kong. After seeing something of Britain and France, Clem and Muriel returned to Canada, settling in Victoria, capital city of British Columbia. Clem had vacationed there a few times and admired the ‘English’ atmosphere of the place. However, Victoria is situated on Vancouver Island, and so they would spend their remaining years separated from their daughter who worked in Vancouver on the mainland.

238 Although Hugh and Nora visited Noel and Marjory in England in 1958,

239 He passed his intermediate examinations with distinction, but as age caught up with him, it proved a frustratingly unattainable ambition. However, he took an active role in the welfare of his fellow students and retained a keen interest in the law. He also found continuing fulfilment as an Elder in the local Brethren Assembly, Dean Hall, near his home at Hanwell in western London. Noel and Marjory were the only members of their generation who retained life-long adherence to the Christian Brethren until their death. Marjory survived him by 26 years, dying at the age of 93 in 2005.

Wales in recognition of his many years of community action. The next year his health began to decline and he died on 2 June 1987.241

The third of this trio, James, had lived in America since 1940. He exercised a caring ministry to his widespread family through constant letter writing.242 Lacking children of his own, he became a loving ‘grandfather’ to families of his former students, always rejoicing in God’s goodness. He suffered two strokes in 1985 and 1992, but was still able to maintain contact with a large family of nieces and nephews around the world almost until his death on 21 April 1994.243

Tony survived him by two weeks, dying on 9 May. His strident socialism moderated with passing years, and eventually disappeared together with the end of the Soviet Union. He retired from Sir Elly Kadoorie & Sons Ltd. in 1973, and the remainder of his life was dominated by his love of music. He continued to develop his large collection of gramophone records and books. Every day began with Mozart, ‘than whom there is no better companion,’ as he put it. He spent many hours preparing lectures on the life and work of leading classical composers. These were delivered to a group of friends and pupils of his sister Caroline. They began with Mozart, and included, over a period of some ten years, Chopin, Beethoven, Haydn, Brahms, Mendelssohn, Schubert, Schumann and Dvorak. His lectures were marked by a warmth and sensitivity to each composer’s development as human being and musician, and by a great empathy with him. The text was accompanied by a selection of recorded music illustrating the best elements of the composer’s style and

241 Daily Telegraph, Sydney, 13 October 1981. His fellow residents saw in him a business and professional man who put his Christian belief into practice in all his dealings. He never tired of helping others. He was generous with his time, money and professional expertise, and loved to share his knowledge of the Bible with others, especially young people. Nora survived him by six years, dying on 17 October 1993, aged 86.
242 James and Anne moved in 1984 to Willamette View Retirement Center at Milwaukie near Portland, Oregon, where he continued to write and to care for Anne, whose health had never been robust. His serenity, loving nature and utter trust in the providence of God won him a large circle of friends. Despite growing frailty, his life was filled with prayer and praise.
skill. These lectures revealed much of Tony Braga’s essential humanity, his humour, and his considerable skill as a teacher. In addition, he prepared a scholarly series of lectures on the History of Keyboard Music since the Twelfth Century, delivered at the University of Hong Kong. This series went beyond Tony’s usual range of interests, which began with Bach and ended with Brahms. He had no interest in any twentieth century music, and no interest in music outside the mainstream of the Western European classical tradition.244 His reputation for kindness and generosity continued undiminished, and he was always hospitable to family members who visited Hong Kong. During his twenty-one years of retirement, Tony travelled extensively, visiting relatives in Australia, Britain, Canada and the U.S.A. on many occasions. Passionately loyal to his family, he was responsible for a major article on the Bragas that appeared in the Sunday Morning Post on 31 May 1987. More than any of his brothers, he was appreciative of the major contribution that his brother Jack had made to the history of Macau and Hong Kong.

On his death in 1994, his extensive library of books on music was sent to Australia, where it became the A.M. Braga Music Library at Trinity Grammar School, Sydney.245 The inscription beneath a photograph of Tony Braga in the Library aptly summarised what he sought to achieve: ‘A lover of music. Always keen to share that love with others.’

That might also be said of the next brother, John, though he died thirteen years earlier in Edinburgh on 29 May 1981, aged 72. The violin remained John’s chief interest. He wrote more music for it, but his chief talent was a remarkable ability to ferret out old violins made by Italian and Spanish masters, especially those from the golden age of Italian violin making in Cremona in the early eighteenth century. He went to Spain several times in the 1950s and 1960s, and struck up a friendship with the leading violin maker Fernando Solar. This was at a time when, before the tourist boom of the last quarter of the twentieth century, Spain was an impoverished

244 Interview with Dr Solomon Bard, Sydney, December 1995.
245 It passed to his sister Caroline, who arranged for the books to be sent to Australia, where they were presented to the school. Tony had visited the school in 1986, and had been impressed by the high standard of its music, and by the opportunities that these boys had for learning and performing music, opportunities that he never had. In the intervening decade, the school’s music facilities had been developed vigorously, so that when a large new building was opened in October 1996, Tony’s library became a useful adjunct to it. This donation of the A.M. Braga Music Library ensured the continuation of the long musical tradition of what was described by Roderick West, sometime Headmaster of the school, at the opening on 17 October 1996, as ‘this outstanding Hong Kong family’.
country, still prostrate after the ruinous civil war of 1936 to 1939. There were many old violins still to be found in churches as well as private homes. Together, John Braga and Fernando Solar discovered a number of significant old Italian violins in Spain, and John also travelled to southern Germany and to Cremona in Italy.246

His years of experience in a senior position at an early age in China Light had helped him to become an excellent judge of character, and he was, like most of his family, a fine letter writer. These skills in a robust man would have fitted him for a senior administrative position. Instead, his later years were dogged by increasing ill health. Perhaps John Braga should have been a violin dealer in his later years. Certainly, it was a field in which he had outstanding expertise, and a knack of picking a genuinely rare and important instrument. He suffered a mild stroke in 1974, at the comparatively early age of 66, and was thereafter an invalid. He died of a heart attack in 1981, not long after visiting his daughter in Australia.

He had written during the war a sensitive and moving arrangement for piano and violin of a traditional piece called the ‘Macao Lullaby’. It was widely known; indeed at the 3rd Encontro of the scattered Macanese people, held in Macau in March 1999, many of those present at the final reception joined in singing it when it was played by a string ensemble. It had become almost a leitmotif of Macanese identity. In his arrangement of the lovely ‘Macao Lullaby’, full of peace and joy, yet written at a time of hardship in the midst of war, John Braga left a legacy of enduring value to the Macanese people.

246 Information from J. David Braga, John’s son, 20 April 1999.
Paul, the youngest brother, adapted well to the changing scenes of life. After his retirement in 1970, he relocated to San Francisco, where his daughter Frances and son Peter lived. His roots in the Far East remained with him in his aesthetic tastes, particularly in his fine collection of snuff bottles. He described this as ‘my principal interest in life’.²⁴⁷ Paul fell ill with cancer in the early 1980s, and died aged 79 on 14 August 1989, survived by Audrey who died aged 83 on 6 December 1997. Paul’s early years were a time of promise and achievement, while in his middle years he bravely faced the turbulence of war and the stress of his wife’s serious illness, but his later years were serene and contented. In his interests and collections, he selected only the best. It was a natural reflection of the quality of the man himself.

Caroline was the last survivor of the thirteen children of José and Olive Braga, and the only one who did not retire.²⁴⁸ She continued to teach until she suffered a stroke in October 1998, and died in Queen Mary Hospital on 21 November shortly before her 87th birthday. Caroline was the leading exponent in her generation of the Braga family’s musical tradition, which extended back for several generations on her mother’s side.²⁴⁹ In more than seventy-five years of teaching the piano she brought enrichment to the lives of many young people, and helped to build bridges between Eastern and Western cultural traditions. Her role was unique in the history of Hong Kong and in the history of her family.

All of them were aspirational at least to some degree, and despite the wide gaps that developed over, the years, a fundamental loyalty remained. It was best expressed by Jack, who in old age recognised what Tony in particular had done over many years to support his own and the next generation of his family. Let Jack Braga have the last word, in a letter to Tony on 21 August 1978. Jack was then aged 81 and Parkinson’s

²⁴⁷ Paul Braga, ‘San Francisco Chinese Snuff Bottle Collectors, Part 1’, *Arts of Asia*, vol. 13 no. 5, September-October 1983, p. 110. In this article he traced his interest in Chinese arts and crafts to the fine display of ornaments in the home of his parents on Robinson Road, Hong Kong sixty years before. His collection was carefully arranged in a superb cabinet and complemented by excellent pictures and furniture. Paul was a member of the Hong Kong Chinese Snuff Bottle Collectors Study Group, and was a contributor to an exhibition of three hundred snuff bottles jointly presented by the Group and the Urban Council, Hong Kong, in October 1977. The well-illustrated catalogue is in this writer’s collection.

²⁴⁸ The thought of doing so would never have crossed her mind. Highly methodical, she taught for six days a week, her diary arranged in half-hour blocks right through the day, with a break for lunch. As late as 1996 she was still taking new pupils, carefully selective of who she would accept. She moved in the late 1970s to share a flat with her brother Tony, and continued to teach. Later, she moved to another flat in the same building.

The disease was well advanced. He referred to a letter to Tony from Paul, who was then visiting him.

My dear Tony,

My attention has been drawn to his reference to members of the family ‘living on borrowed time’. But without knowing the details and not having time to ask about its meaning, I feel that everything must be done to urge that past differences and bitter feelings be left behind and completely forgotten.

The strength of a family as a whole is derived from its unity, and one can see how easily this strength can be undermined by ill-feelings and harsh words. Much of the unity within our family, I consider, comes from your personal interest and concern by you, dearest Tony, and personal sacrifices, your wise counselling and deep concern in the welfare of the family as a whole, and it is my earnest wish that this message of love be passed on to each member of the family and his/her loved ones, to be preserved at all costs.

I think of how Abraham Lincoln has commemorated this thought in undying words which we would, each one, do well to remember at all costs. Our beloved mother used to repeat a little thought which is such a beautiful one: ‘kind words can never die’. Let this apply to our family and [be] preserved in the hearts of each one of us.

With all my heart, I address my love to each member of the family, asking God to bless every one of us.

Jack
Appendix 16

Fr Joaquim Gonçalves and printing in Macau

In the long history of Macau, a few people stand out as having made a real difference to the lives of others. Chief among them was a Lazarist priest, Fr Joaquim Affonso Gonçalves, who taught at the Seminário S. José, (St Joseph’s Seminary) in Macau from 1813 until his death in 1841 at the age of 65. These were extraordinary times, and Fr Gonçalves was an extraordinary teacher. Over a period of fifteen years, he taught some dozens of boys what he saw as the ‘craft’ of printing, and gave them life skills that enabled them to succeed in a harshly competitive world. For the rest of the nineteenth century, as a result of his work, Portuguese printers dominated this essential service industry in Hong Kong, Shanghai, Singapore and Canton. He was in effect the pioneer of technical education in the Far East. In the early days of Macau, the Jesuits had brought out a printing press that was used to considerable effect in both Macau and Japan, but this ceased operations in 1620 and the press was sent to Manila. 250 Between 1662 and 1718, a further 18 books were printed, chiefly in Macau. However, these were printed xylographically, using carved wooden blocks, not moveable type. In 1736, the Portuguese government banned printing in all its overseas territories, a prohibition that was strictly enforced on Portuguese subjects until 1820.251

More than that, he was the leading Portuguese scholar in Chinese in this and any preceding era. He taught his students how to print in order to get his scholarly work published. He did this to such effect that he was the only Portuguese to be admitted to membership of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, later granted the title Royal Asiatic Society. It was the leading body interested in sinological studies. He was honoured in Portugal too. In 1840 he was elected one of sixty corresponding members of the

250 The following discussion is drawn principally from the thorough and painstaking research of J.M. Braga, ‘The beginnings of printing at Macao’, Studia, Lisbon, no. 12, July 1963, pp. 29-137.
251 It was occasioned by Jesuit truculence in refusing for decades to comply with the papal prohibition of the Chinese Rites, the veneration of ancestors, which the Jesuits maintained did not amount to idolatry. The ban on printing was intended to be a remedy against heresy and sedition, but it led to ignorance and illiteracy and it created a cultural wilderness throughout the African and Asian territories still controlled by Portugal. The ban on printing was rigidly enforced. The best thing to be said for it is that it was better than the Inquisition, which never came to Macau. The Chinese mandarins would not have stood by and permitted an auto da fé.
Academia Real das Ciências [the Royal Academy of Sciences] in Lisbon. Towards the end of his life, on 18 November 1840, he was granted the title of Cavaleiro da Ordem de N. S. da Conceição de Vila Viçosa, knight of the Order of Our Lady of Conception of Vila Viçosa. He was recognised as a world authority in his field of study.

The British East India Company had already set up its own press in Macau in 1815, ignoring the Portuguese prohibition on printing, and several major publications came from it, notably Robert Morrison’s seminally important Dictionary of the Chinese Language, published in six volumes between 1815 and 1823. Seeing this product of Protestant scholarship as well as smaller volumes of tracts, sermons and literary works, the ecclesiastical authorities in Macau also resumed printing, initially without authorisation. A collection in 24 small volumes of the lives of the saints was printed xylographically in 1815 at St. Joseph’s College, the forerunner of a far more ambitious undertaking some years later.

St. Joseph’s was fortunate in having a long-serving and far-sighted Superior, Fr Joaquim João Leite, who held the office from 1808 until 1853. Fr Leite took steps in 1818 to gain permission from the Portuguese government to set up a printing press at the seminary, with the assurance that it would not be a charge on the royal exchequer, and that it would be used only for missionary purposes. This was a successful strategy, appealing as it did to the long-established Padroado of the Crown. The reply came to the Bishop of Macau, a year later, in 1819:

His Majesty has deigned to grant the permission asked for ... to show that His Majesty, being desirous of promoting, by every means, the healthy objectives of the Missions, has not wished to prevent the success of your work, and has permitted the use of the printing press, the supervision of which His Majesty commits to your zeal and care. 253

Fr Leite knew that he had a man in his community who could undertake the work, Fr Joaquim Affonso Gonçalves, named in the petition, with the added comment that there was ‘more than one person capable of undertaking its proper supervision’.

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It was several years before the college was able to act upon this initiative. Having assured the Crown that there would be no cost to it, the college then lacked the means to procure a printing press and the necessary fonts. Meanwhile, during a brief period of a more liberal outlook in Portugal in 1820, the ban on printing in the colonies was relaxed.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 75-76.} A printing press was soon sent to Macau. This press produced in the next few years two short-lived newspapers. The first was \textit{A Abelha da China} (\textit{The Bee of China}), published from 1822 to 1823. It was then succeeded by the \textit{Gazeta de Macao} until 1826.\footnote{A good run of this paper is held by the National Library of Australia.} Two others appeared briefly, eight years after the demise of the \textit{Gazeta de Macao}, the \textit{Chronica de Macau} in 1834 and \textit{Macaista Imparcial} in 1835.

When the \textit{Gazeta de Macao} closed, the press was lent to St. Joseph’s, probably reflecting the good reputation of Fr Gonçalves as a man known to be dedicated to the study of Chinese and to have a knowledge of printing. Gonçalves, who had arrived at Macau in 1813, then produced two books on linguistics.

The first is in Latin: \textit{Grammatica Latina ad usum Sinensium Juvenum}, bearing the imprint \textit{In regali Collegio Sancti Joseph, Macao Tipografia do Seminário, Macao}, 1828, while the second, printed in 1829, is in Portuguese: \textit{Arte China, constante de alphabeto e grammatica, comprehendo modelos das differentes composicoens}. It bears the imprint \textit{Impressa com licença régia no Real Collegio de S. José, Macao}.\footnote{J.M. Braga, ‘The beginnings of printing at Macao’, \textit{Studia}, Lisbon, no. 12, July 1963, pp. 133-134 gives full details. It is noted that Gonçalves used the spelling \textit{collegio} rather than the usual form \textit{colégio}. Forgotten for a very long time, Fr Gonçalves’ work has at last begun to attract scholarly attention. A paper on \textit{Arte China} was read at a conference in 2005: Joseph A. Levi, ‘Padre Joaquim Afonso Gonçalves (1781-1834) and the \textit{Arte China} (1829): An innovative linguistic approach to
Fr Gonçalves continued to work on a Portuguese-Chinese dictionary, *Diccionário Portuguez-China*, printed at St. Joseph’s College in 1831, then a Chinese-Portuguese dictionary, *Diccionário China-Portuguez* in 1833. To achieve this, Gonçalves had, as reported by the *Chinese Repository*, moved well beyond the hand-carved wooden blocks used in 1815 to a font of Chinese movable type, in addition to the fonts he acquired when the newspapers closed down. Three further works followed between 1836 and 1841, *Vocabularium Latino-Sinicum*, *Lexicon Manuale Latino-Sinicum* and *Lexicon Magnum Latino-Sinicum*.  

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257 A set of both volumes was offered by Tuttle Company, Tokyo, at the International Antiquarian Bookfair, Hong Kong, in January 2009 for US$13,000. The scholarly bookseller, Nicholas Ingleton, noted that this work was ‘a major publishing feat that rivals Morrison’s six-volume *Dictionary of the Chinese Language*’.  
258 *Chinese Repository*, vol. 3, May 1834, pp. 43-44.  
Gonçalves died in 1841, and well merited the generous Latin epitaph engraved on the black marble monument placed in the chapel of St. Joseph’s when his remains were transferred there in 1872.

Montalto de Jesus paid tribute to his work sixty years after his death in a comment that also drew attention to the cultural chasm that divided the Portuguese and Chinese: it ‘constituted an unprecedented sinological achievement among the Portuguese after well-nigh three centuries in China’. The boys at St. Joseph’s who assisted Fr Gonçalves were obviously trained to a very high level of proficiency, working on books in which absolute accuracy was essential.

This was probably supplied by J.M. Braga, who carefully recorded the eminent priest’s work in his ‘A to Z’.

The epitaph reads, ‘Hic jacet Rever. D. Joaquimus Alfonsum Gonvalves Lucitanus Presbyter Congregationis Missionis in regali Sancti Josephi Macaoensi Collegio Professor eximus Regalis Societatis Asiaticae solius extex Pro sinensisibus missionibus sollicitus petrutilia opera amico lusitano Lationque sermone compositus et in lucem edidit moribus suavissimis doctrina Praestanti integra vita cui plenus diebus in Domino quievit sexagenario Major quinto nonas Octobris anno MDCCCXLI. In memoriam tanti viri equs amici literaturaque cultores, Hunc lapidem consecravere.’ The inscription is set out in J.D. Ball, Macao, the Holy City, p. 22. The Latin is poor, and I am grateful to the following Latinists who have worked on translating it into fluent English: Mrs Jean Farleigh, Messrs Michael Smee and Roderick West, AM. Their work yields the following:

‘Here lies the Reverend Dom Joaquim Alfonso Gonçalves, Portuguese priest of the Congregation of Missions in the Royal College of St Joseph of Macao, a distinguished teacher of the Royal Asiatic Society, the only foreigner concerned for Chinese missions. Moved by godly prayers, he composed learned works in his native Portuguese and in Latin. Of the gentlest disposition, of excellent learning, and of blameless life, he rested in the Lord, full of days, over his sixtieth year, on the third of October in the year 1841. In memory of so great a man, his friends and lovers of learning have dedicated this monument.’

C.A. Montalto de Jesus, Historic Macao, p. 282. Montalto de Jesus observed that Gonçalves was a member of the order of St Vincent de Paula. All other sources identify the staff of the college as Lazarists from Goa. It seems likely that Gonçalves brought with him skills that he had acquired elsewhere, for Goa was subject to the same ban on printing as Macau.
Use of the italic ‘U’ in ‘CURIOSIDADES’ indicates that Gonçalves had limited resources available to him. Two states of the book are known; both have this variation. There are other instances where he had to make do. He had no wealthy patron to support his enterprise. Books produced at the East India Company’s press in Macau by an expert printer, P.P. Thoms, were printed on better paper, with a greater range of font and superior binding. However, given that there had been no tradition of printing and hence no skilled Portuguese printers in Macau, Gonçalves’ achievements are all the more remarkable as scholar, teacher, linguist, lexicographer and printer. Besides all this, he was in effect the pioneer of western technical education in the Far East.

Illustrations by courtesy of Tuttle Company, Tokyo
Father Joaquim Affonso Gonçalves
(1776-1841)

This print is from the J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/7.2/47

It appears to be from a pious leaflet exhorting prayer for the repose of the soul of Fr Gonçalves.

O. R.do = Orar para o Repouso [da alma]

The reinterment, on 3 October 1872, the 31st anniversary of Gonçalves’ death, was marked by solemn obsequies, set out in a small leaflet, a worm-damaged copy of which was located and preserved many years later by J.M. Braga.262

262 J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/7.2/47 – Gonçalves, Joaquim Affonso.
It is not hard to see this fine scholar with his precise linguistic standards as a very demanding task-master who would expect the same high standards from his pupils that he set for himself. They could hardly have had a better preparation for expectations in the commercial work on which some of them would be engaged for the next half-century and even longer.

_Canton Miscellany, 1831. Each issue was attractively bound in silk-covered boards._

*Illustrations by courtesy of Tuttle Company, Tokyo.*

These opportunities soon became available. The rapidly growing merchant population in the 1830s spawned several newspapers both at Macau and Canton. James Matheson, who had arrived in Canton in 1820, imported a small hand printing press in 1827 so that the _Canton Register_, the first English newspaper, could be published. In 1832, he and William Jardine joined forces to form Jardine, Matheson & Co., the most powerful firm in the Far East for many decades. Matheson was of genteel, although not of aristocratic stock, and some of his family had been clergy and others army officers. He was considered liberal, suave and affable. Like many businessmen at the time, he was a person of some taste and culture. It seems likely that a short-lived literary magazine, the _Canton Miscellany_, was printed on his press. It was clearly written for a well-educated readership, as

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each number was attractively bound in silk covers. This may have been too ambitious, as it survived for only five issues between June 1831 and May 1832.\(^{264}\)

The *Canton Register* was joined by another newspaper, the *Canton Press* in September 1835.\(^{265}\) Far more important than either of these was the long-running magazine, the *Chinese Repository*, which appeared in May 1832, and more than took the place of the recently defunct *Canton Miscellany*. Founded by Elijah Bridgman, the first American Protestant missionary to China, it was scholarly and well-researched. It published useful comment on issues of the day and scholarly articles on Chinese civilisation. Importantly, it had an international circulation. ‘It performed the useful task of interpreting China to Westerners, especially to the Western merchants who lived within her gates and who were all too often grossly and contemptuously ignorant of her’.\(^{266}\)

By 1833 there were five English presses in China, three from England and two from America.\(^{267}\) As shown in Chapter 6, all employed Portuguese compositors, trained by Fr Gonçalves. This remarkable man gave the opportunity of honourable employment to scores of Portuguese youths. To a few, he gave the opportunity of a significant role of leadership in their community. Pre-eminent among them was Delfino Noronha, the subject of Chapter 6.

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\(^{264}\) J.M. Braga, ‘The beginnings of printing at Macao’, *Studia*, Lisbon, no. 12, July 1963, p. 81. Braga’s copies, some with the original binding, are in the National Library of Australia.


\(^{266}\) When I was fortunate enough to purchase several volumes of it, the *Chinese Repository* was my introduction, in the 1960s, to the story of the cultural interaction of China and the West in the decade prior to the first Opium War. The *Chinese Repository* receives due attention in K.S. Latourette’s magisterial *A History of Christian Missions in China*, pp. 218, 221.

\(^{267}\) *Chinese Repository*, August 1833, pp. 6-7.
Appendix 17

Glossary of Chinese names

Any attempt at uniformity in the Romanisation of Chinese names is bound to run into difficulties in a study covering a period of more than two centuries. As most of this thesis deals with events and people in Hong Kong (to use the form ‘Xiang gang’ would be absurd), the rule of thumb has been adopted of using terminology appropriate to the period covered. There are certain to be inconsistencies, which the following table may help to resolve. Most names are in Chapter 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simplified form</th>
<th>Wade-Giles</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cheng Ho</td>
<td>Zhèng Hé</td>
<td>广州</td>
<td>Zheng He</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canton, the form of Cantão adopted by the English.</td>
<td>Guangzhou</td>
<td>广东</td>
<td>Guangzhou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwangtung</td>
<td>Guangdong, traditionally Romanised as Kwangtung</td>
<td>广东</td>
<td>Guangdong</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lintin</td>
<td>Lintin</td>
<td>Nei Lingding</td>
<td>内伶仃岛</td>
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<tr>
<td>A Ma</td>
<td>Ma-tsu</td>
<td>Māzǔ</td>
<td>媽祖</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macau</td>
<td>A Ma Cao, simplified as Macau or Macao</td>
<td>Aomén</td>
<td>澳門</td>
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<tr>
<td>Qianlong</td>
<td>Ch’ien-lung</td>
<td>Qiánlóng</td>
<td>乾隆帝</td>
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<td>Chusan</td>
<td>Chusan</td>
<td>Zhoushan</td>
<td>舟山</td>
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<td>kow tow</td>
<td>kòutóu</td>
<td>叩頭</td>
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<td>Tsungli Yamen</td>
<td>Zōnglí Yámen</td>
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<td>Lin Tse-hsü</td>
<td>Lín Zèxú</td>
<td>林則徐</td>
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<td>Lu Kun</td>
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<td>Chuanbi</td>
<td>沙角炮台</td>
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<td>Daoguang</td>
<td>Tao kuang</td>
<td>Dàoguā</td>
<td>道光</td>
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</table>


268 Much the same accommodation was adopted by Frank Welsh in *Hong Kong, a borrowed place.*