Making Impressions

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

Stuart Braga

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The Australian National University

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Three significant books


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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. 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.

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1 J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/7.3.6.
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<td>78,706</td>
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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 Macaista Imparcial*. 1836-1837 Typescript 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 *Capítulo 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>
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<th>Freguezias</th>
<th>Homens de 14 anos para cima</th>
<th>Ditos, dito para baixo</th>
<th>Mulheres</th>
<th>Escravos</th>
<th>Somas</th>
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<td>251</td>
<td>1342</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>2139</td>
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<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>

*Macao 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 Luis 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.
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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.’

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.

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<td>1881</td>
<td>6,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>6,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>8,315</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</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*

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4 According to his introductory note to the essay in *An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China: and of the Roman Catholic church and mission in China*, p. xi.
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 water colourist 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.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.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.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

¹² Ibid.
¹⁴ Preface to Ljungstedt’s *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 *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:

Ouvidor This office wandered for one hundred and fifty years from one illiterate man to another.

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.\(^2\)

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.\(^3\)

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.\(^4\)

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\(^3\) 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).

\(^4\) *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.
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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{30}

A review also appeared in London in the \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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’.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{had resisted the impulse of curiosity}, and abstained from witnessing the spectacles.\textsuperscript{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’.\textsuperscript{34} The harsh comment about the procession of illiterate ouvidores vanished entirely. Instead, the office of ouvidor received only a passing mention.\textsuperscript{35} In 1834 he held that ‘the Roman Catholic Cross and bloody sword came from India by way

\textsuperscript{31} No surviving copy of this reprint has been located.
\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Gentleman’s Magazine}, vol. 157, May 1835, p. 501.
\textsuperscript{34} A. Ljungstedt, Preface to \textit{An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China: and of the Roman Catholic church and mission in China}, p. iii.
\textsuperscript{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 *mesticos* 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, knt., 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.\textsuperscript{38} 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.\textsuperscript{39} 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.\textsuperscript{40}

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

\textsuperscript{38} J. F. Davis, \textit{The Chinese Empire}, passim, but especially pp. 65-66.
\textsuperscript{39} C.A. Montalto de Jesus, \textit{Historic Macao}, pp. 26, 29, 38.
\textsuperscript{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*.41

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’.42

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.

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 Historie 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. 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. 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.  

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. 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. 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,

Carlos A. Montalto de Jesus,
China Press, 23 June 1929

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’, 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

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.’ 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**

| Chapter 1 | Early Portuguese voyages of discovery of a sea route to China |
| Chapter 2 | Peace and friendship between China and Portugal |
| Chapter 3 | The Portuguese padroado. Jesuit College founded at Macao |
| Chapter 4 | Jesuits’ services to China. Subordination of Portugal’s national interests |
| Chapter 5 | Foreign envy of Portuguese trade. Britons at Macau |
| Chapter 6 | End of East India Company’s monopoly. Captain Elliot’s proclamation |
| Chapter 7 | Early Hongkong from Portuguese records. Vicissitudes of early Hongkong |
| Chapter 8 | Early Portuguese settlers |
| Chapter 9 | Perfect equality of Crown servants. Sir John Pope Hennessy and the Portuguese |
| Chapter 10 | Religious influences on the Portuguese – Catholic education - early churches |
| Chapter 11 | Early Portuguese investments in Hong Kong. The Portuguese in Kowloon. Macao capital for Hongkong |
**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’. 68 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, 69 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. 70 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. 71

Ljungstedt arrived in Canton in 1798 and died at Macau in 1835. 72 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.\(^{73}\) As Boxer has pointed out, miscegenation as well as marriage led to a melding of European and local populations, especially in Goa.\(^{74}\) 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 \textit{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 \textit{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’ \textit{Historic Macao}, published in 1902 and revised in 1926, though the revised edition was suppressed.\(^{75}\) 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, \textit{The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams} by his son, F.W. Williams, and a Macau newspaper of 1841, \textit{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.

\(^{73}\) 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.

\(^{74}\) C.R. Boxer, \textit{The Portuguese Seaborne Empire}, pp. 304-309. See Chapter 3.

\(^{75}\) 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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{77} Rogério Lobo, Macanese Families #22200.
\textsuperscript{78} J.M. Braga, entry for Noronha & Co., Bio-bibliographical index, National Library of Australia, MS 4300/7.2.
\textsuperscript{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.

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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 Internacional 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

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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.

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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

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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.]

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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.

⁹¹ Wikipedia article on J.P. Braga, in Chinese. 
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.
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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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{96} The testy comment of the eminent constitutional expert A.B. Keith, in \textit{Responsible Government in
the Dominions}, vol. 2, p. 1020. Keith, however, was regarded as ‘prone to sharp and prejudiced

\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.

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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. 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. Mrs Bella Southorn, the wife of the Colonial Secretary, also received the OBE later that year. 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. 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.

His OBE was conferred in November, at an investiture conducted at Government House by the Acting Governor, the newly knighted Sir Thomas Southorn. He told Jack:

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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.

105 Hong Kong Government Gazette, 3 June 1935.

106 Annual Report, 1938, p. 189. Bella Southorn, née Woolf, was the sister-in-law of Virginia Woolf.

107 Stella Benson, quoted by F. Welsh, A borrowed place: the history of Hong Kong, p. 383.

108 South China Morning Post, 7 November 1935, J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/14.1/40, fol. 52.

109 An invitation is in the Caroline Braga Papers, National Library of Australia, MS Acc05/35.
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.\textsuperscript{110}

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.

\textsuperscript{110} 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.

![Map of Malacca and the Straits](image.png)

Karte von Dem Eylande Sumatra,
showing the town and Straits of Malacca.
Geographicus Rare Antique Maps, via Wikipedia

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.  

Porto de S. Tiago (St James’ Gate)

The sole remnant of ‘A Famosa’, Albuquerque’s massive fort, built in 1611 and blown up by the British in 1807. The date 1670 above the portal was added by the Dutch in 1670.


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.\footnote{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, undo ta vai?’}

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
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.

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. 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.

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113 J.T. Thomson, Some glimpses into life in the Far East, p. 22.
114 Ibid., p. 23.
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. 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.

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.


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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.

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.122 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.123

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. 124 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.125

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.  
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.  

126

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’.  

127

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’.
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

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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.
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 looters,
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.¹³⁰ 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’.*

*J.M. Braga collection, Newspapers Branch, National Library of Australia.*
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. \(^{131}\) 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.

![Sir Robert Ho Tung, ca. 1920s](Dictionary of Hong Kong Biography, p. 195)

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

\(^{131}\) 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. 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.’

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’. 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’.

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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.136 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.137

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.138 He had thrown Braga a lifeline for the second time. It was once again make or break, as it had been in 1902. Ho

136 This is examined in Chapter 8, ‘Making his mark – J.P. Braga 1900-1929’.
137 N. Cameron, Power, pp. 79, 123, 267.
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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\(^{139}\) *South China Morning Post*, 21 January 1932. Press cuttings in J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/14.1/40, fol. 1-7. Braga’s role in the development is dealt with in Chapter 9, ‘Son of Hong Kong’.

\(^{140}\) B. Koo, ‘Researching José Maria Braga’, a paper presented to the Ricci Institute, Macau, 2004.

\(^{141}\) 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’.
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.\textsuperscript{149} 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

\textsuperscript{149} Jack to Ho Tung, 10 September 1948, 4 June 1952, 12 June 1954. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/4.7/1.
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 1952.150 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.151 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.

150 Ho Tung to Jack, 2 September 1952. J.M. Braga Papers MS 4300/4.7/1.
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

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.155

Left: the first papers on sale in Hong Kong, 1 September 1945.
Imperial War Museum IWM SE_004971

Right: Jack Braga’s copy in the National Library of Australia Newspapers Collection.
Henry Ching’s editorial ‘Deliverance’, is printed in the left hand column.
There being no other currency, the paper sold for 10 Military Yen.

This anarchy was short-lived, and there were few Europeans around to terrorise, but it seriously delayed the recovery.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 Oxfordshire leaving on 3 September with the neediest cases.157 The Empress of Australia, crammed with 3,000 service personnel to re-occupy Hong Kong, arrived

155 Hugh Braga to James Braga, 8 January 1946, James Braga Papers.
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, the Yip family of Amah Rock, pp. 190-195.
157 South China Morning Post, 4 September 1945.
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

\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.
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.165

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.166 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.167 Subsidies paid to their dependants in Macau during the war had to be repaid.168 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.169

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’.170

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’.171 This did not occur, but if anything it widened the gulf between them and the Portuguese community.

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. 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’.  

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’. 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.’ 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

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183 ‘I hold myself responsible to a limit of £2,000.’ Hugh Braga to James Braga. James Braga Papers. Date unknown, as this letter has unfortunately been lost. When the box of letters was sent to me in 1986, I looked through it quickly and was struck by this undertaking. The letter in which it was given it was placed in my out tray for copying by my secretary. It did not come back, and a subsequent search failed to locate it. It may have been caught up with filing, in which case it could still be in the Stuart Braga Papers in the Trinity Grammar School Archives.

184 The Bank of New South Wales’s selling rate for the Hong Kong dollar on 21 December 1945 was 19 1/8 pence (i.e. $12.55 to the Australian pound). West Australian, 22 December 1945.

185 Hugh Braga to James Braga, 8 January 1946. James Braga Papers.

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:

![Image](Olive_Braga_ca.1949_Paul_Braga_Papers)

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.  

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 82nd birthday, three weeks earlier.

Hugh had been brought to Hong Kong as an officer in the British Military Administration. He told James:

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

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188 Ibid.
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. 190

Noel told his mother that Hugh ‘is extremely capable and the P.W.D. [Public Works Department] are very fortunate to have him’. 191

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. 192 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.

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.

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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.
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. Lourenço’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

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.²⁰² He regarded these manuscripts as the most important part of his collection.²⁰³

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.²⁰⁴

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, 1963²⁰⁵ and A seller of sing-songs: a chapter in the foreign trade of China and Macao.²⁰⁶ 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.²⁰⁷

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.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.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,
lationally 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-obsured rainy
port populated mostly by loggers, miners and dock workers. He lived in poor

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.
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.  

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.

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.

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.

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.

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 He 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 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.\textsuperscript{225} John was seen as a member of the Portuguese community, and was not treated well at China Light in the post-war period.\textsuperscript{226} He stayed on at China Light until 1966, when he retired somewhat early and went to Scotland.\textsuperscript{227} 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

\textsuperscript{225} The question of race relations after World War II is discussed in Chapter 13.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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{quote}
\textit{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.}

\textit{South China Morning Post, 11 April 1962.}

\textit{Caroline Braga Papers}
\end{quote}

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.

\begin{quote}
\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.
\end{quote}
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

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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 AsiaExtrema, 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.\footnote{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.}

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.\footnote{Although Hugh and Nora visited Noel and Marjory in England in 1958,} 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.\footnote{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.}

Hugh, resident in Australia from 1951, became a prominent Anglican layman.\footnote{His obituary in the magazine of the Diocese of Sydney was written by Archbishop Sir Marcus Loane. \textit{Southern Cross}, August 1987, p. 24.} 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
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. 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. 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

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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’. 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. 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. 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

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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.

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 Affonço 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 1853.252 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 Affonço 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.254 A printing press was soon sent to Macau. This press produced in the next few years two short-lived newspapers. The first was A Abelha da China (The Bee of China), published from 1822 to 1823. It was then succeeded by the Gazeta de Macao until 1826.255 Two others appeared briefly, eight years after the demise of the Gazeta de Macao, the Chronica de Macau in 1834 and Macaista Imparcial in 1835.

When the 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: Grammatica Latina ad usum Sinensium Juvenum, bearing the imprint In regali Collegio Sancti Joseph, Macao Tipografia do Seminário, Macao, 1828, while the second, printed in 1829, is in Portuguese: Arte China, constante de alphabeto e grammatica, comprehendendo modelos das differentes composicoens. It bears the imprint Impressa com licença régia no Real Collegio de S. José, Macao.256

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254 Ibid., pp. 75-76.
255 A good run of this paper is held by the National Library of Australia.
256 J.M. Braga, ‘The beginnings of printing at Macao’, Studia, Lisbon, no. 12, July 1963, pp. 133-134 gives full details. It is noted that Gonçalves used the spelling collegio rather than the usual form colégio. Forgotten for a very long time, Fr Gonçalves’ work has at last begun to attract scholarly attention. A paper on Arte China was read at a conference in 2005: Joseph A. Levi, ‘Padre Joaquim Afonso Gonçalves (1781-1834) and the 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*.259

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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 1872.260

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’.261 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’. J.M. Braga Papers, MS 4300/7/2/47 – Gonçalves, Joaquim Affonso.  

260 The epitaph reads, ‘Hic jacet Rever. D. Joaquimus Alfonsum Gonsalves Lucitanus Presbyter Congregationis Missionis in regali Sancti Josephi Maconensi Collegio Professor eximius Regalis Societatis Asiaticaee solius extext Pro sinensisibus missionibus sollicitus petrutitia opera amico lusitano Lationque sermone composuit et in lucem edidit moribus suavissimi doctrina Praestanti integra vita cui plenus diebus in Domino quievit sexagenario Major quinto nonas Octobris anno MDCCCXLI. In memoriam tanti viri equs amici litteraturaeque 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.’

261 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.
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

Programme
for
the solemn exhumation of the mortal remains of the illustrious sinologue Fr Joaquim Affonso Gonsalves, and the translation of the same from the old cemetery of St Paul’s to the church of St Joseph’s seminary.

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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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.268 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>郑和</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canton, the form of Cantão adopted by the English.</td>
<td>Guangzhou</td>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>广东</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwangtung</td>
<td>Guangdong, traditionally Romanised as Kwangtung</td>
<td>Guǎngdōng</td>
<td>廣東</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lintin</td>
<td>Lintin</td>
<td>Nei Lingding</td>
<td>内伶仃岛</td>
</tr>
<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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qianlong</td>
<td>Ch’ien-lung</td>
<td>Qiánlòng</td>
<td>乾隆帝</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chusan</td>
<td>Chusan</td>
<td>Zhourshan</td>
<td>舟山</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kow tow</td>
<td>kòutóu</td>
<td>吠頭</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zongli Yamen</td>
<td>Tsungli Yamen</td>
<td>Zōnglí Yámen</td>
<td>總理衙門</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lin Zexu</td>
<td>Lin Tse-hsü</td>
<td>Lin Zèxú</td>
<td>林則徐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lu Kun</td>
<td></td>
<td>陆坤</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhongshan</td>
<td>Heungshan</td>
<td>Xiangshan</td>
<td>香山</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kangxi</td>
<td>K’ang-hsi</td>
<td>Kānxī</td>
<td>康熙帝</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yongzheng</td>
<td>Yung Cheng</td>
<td>yōngzhèng</td>
<td>雍正帝</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chuenpi</td>
<td>Chuenpee</td>
<td>Chuanbi</td>
<td>沙角炮台</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daoguang</td>
<td>Tao kuang</td>
<td>Dàoguā</td>
<td>道光</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


268 Much the same accommodation was adopted by Frank Welsh in Hong Kong, a borrowed place.