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Please send your comments to pforet@bluewin.ch. Note: The four maps of this chapter are missing.

6. Globalizing Macau The Emotional Costs of Modernity (1910-1930)

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This chapter deals with the ambiguity that political authorities feel toward culture and history when they are pressed to enlarge and modernize urban infrastructures (Caldeira Cabral et al, 1999, and Yusuf et al, 1997). I will discuss the strategy followed by the Harbour Works Department of Macau as the city sought to reposition itself as an international trade centre. I examine Macau's spatial transformations between 1910, when a progressive regime came to power in Lisbon, and 1930, when the first extension phase of the Porto Exterior facilities was completed. I review the tactics used to promote a new image of the Portuguese colony, and seek explanations for the contradictions found in the official discourse on the changing environment. I rely mostly on the comparison of the visual narratives provided by the tourist guidebooks published during the period (Ho, 1994, and Pittis et al, 1997). Paying attention to the omissions, repetitions and silences found in the descriptions of this unique historical landscape allows me to test the limits set by culture to the globalization processes that are transforming the southern coast of China (Cartier, 2001).

From postcards in the 1910s to the public image of the 1930s

For centuries, the city-port of Macau has facilitated the exchange of goods, ideas and people between China and the rest of the world (Cheng, 1999a, and Pons, 1999). Colonial Macau took advantage of an informal agreement between Portugal and China to develop a sense of place that brought together military and religious architecture, romantic aestheticism, and crude forms of capitalism. Beginning in 1915, engineers and urban planners infatuated with modernity cast away the image of a chic summer resort. While the port authority continued to refer to the territory's cachet until 1930, its promotional literature presented the progress of industrialization, the extension of the harbour facilities, and the assets of the Colony for international commerce (Figure 6.1).

In order to look at the history of progress in colonial Asia, I will examine how the greatness of Portugal, the exoticism of China, and the promises of modernity came to be jointly exalted in an unlikely forum. The attraction that Macau exerted on Europeans and Americans' imaginations was such that the first photographs taken of Asia, in 1844, were those of its peninsula.¹ Seen from the stately Rua Praia Grande, the landscape of Macau yielded its own vision of global relations, with values based on aesthetic contemplation, intercultural exchanges, and tolerance of vice (Pons, 1999, and Taylor, 2002). I will draw on pictures and urban maps that enhanced the image Macau had between 1910 when Portugal became a Republic with an empire, and 1930 when work on the Outer Harbour was completed and, as a result, Macau acquired a new maritime façade. My analysis will cross several boundaries as I move between a river estuary, a reclaimed area, a Portuguese promenade, and the Cantonese low houses that extended inland, behind the lofty arcades of Rua Praia Grande (Johnson, 1997, and Pons, 1999). The geographical and ethnic boundaries that separate the littoral from downtown, and Portuguese institutions from Chinese stores, are easy to locate in the urban fabric. I am however interested in a much more elusive boundary, one that delineates antagonistic perspectives on Macau's past and future (Schein, 2001).

I will focus on the trope of a 'charming bay', understood as the aesthetic fusion of geographical confusion (Macau as an imitation of Naples or Lisbon) and historical denial (the 18th century landscape present in 20th century Macau) (Corbin, 1995). Understanding how an image of contemplation gave way to another of action would assist in understanding how the city's uniquely complex identity changed over time (Dubini, 2002). Examining the photos taken by the administration helps in underlining the significance of contradiction and ambiguity in the cultural values of Macau's colonial elite. A geographical study of Macau's waterfront can therefore contribute to our general assessment of colonial rule and internationalism because this peculiar example directly magnifies the leading role of culture in the history of modernity (Taylor, 2002).

Although often overlooked, tourist guidebooks and postcards provide an intricate insight into the interplay of globalization and colonialism (Arnold, 1910). Old tourist booklets can provide evidence on the contradictory attitudes and silence policies that government agencies experienced and implemented. The landscape paintings of Macau and the photographs of the institutions located near Praia Grande (the Boa Vista Hotel, the Governor's Palace, the Sé Cathedral, etc.) reveal the resilient complexity of the colonial order (Ho, 1994). The city government, while usually unable to fund them, invited architects and urban planners to prepare reclamation projects in the immediate vicinity of Praia Grande. These projects resulted in exquisite maps, lofty statements on progress, as well as new guidebooks to modern Macau (Do Inso, 1930). The comparison of photographs and postcards of Praia Grande with these texts gives us an insight on concepts about mapping, collage and disappearance that are both local and universal in significance (Mathews, 1998). Instead of speaking about real places and true events, I suggest that we look at how subjective geography, one that plays with feelings of lack and loss, successively celebrated Praia Grande, divorced the bay from the Pearl River delta, and finally stopped photographing it. Such attitude changes reveal much about

larger issues about Macau, such as its image of self, its conceptions of modernity, or its strategy to avoid marginalization at the frontier that the Portuguese, British and Chinese Empires shared. In Macau several communities, each with its own subculture, met and never merged: Chinese and more precisely Cantonese immigrants, Portuguese bureaucrats, and Catholic Macanese residents who were Chinese looking but Portuguese speakers. The presence of a fourth group was tolerated in the city: international travellers and merchants who were welcomed for reasons we will discuss below.

The Colony invited international tourists to turn their backs to the Cantonese city and marvel at the muddy waters of the picturesque Praia Grande. The perception of Praia Grande changed dramatically, as the bay seemed unable to respond to the economic needs of a progressive time. A new age began in the late 1920s when the construction of Outer Harbour changed the face of Macau forever. In the name of modernity, Bahia Praia Grande, for centuries the major attraction of the Colony, came to *visually* disappear sixty years before the bay was *actually* reclaimed. I connect the disappearance of Praia Grande as a central theme to the emergence of a space of transition on the Eastern shore of the peninsula. I pursue this theme through an examination of what is missing in the travel literature of colonial Macau. I deal therefore with the photographing policies of Praia Grande when I speculate on the absence of pictures of a bay. Bahia Praia Grande remained physically present but the tide of modernity swept away its *raison d'être*. A landscape that had acquired a dual quality since it reflected the actual Chinese and Portuguese built environments as well as visions about an idealized future thus lost its Proustian character to assume only utilitarian functions.

I will not attempt to review the especially vast scholarly literature on Macau. Richard Louis Edmonds (1993) has written a comprehensive account of the geography of Macau as well as a bibliographical introduction to the territory. Historians have been prolific on Macau, taking advantage of well-documented city archives to analyze the relationship between Portugal, China and Macau. Jonathan Porter and Charles Boxer are probably the two best know scholars in Macau studies; many have enjoyed Porter's (1996) *Macau, The Imaginary City: Culture and Society, 1557 to the Present*. Austin Coates has written the semi-fictional *City of Broken Promises* on Macau in the 1780's. Academics may enjoy *Macau. A Cultural Janus* by Christina Miu Bing Cheng (1999b). The general public may consult the richly illustrated *Revista de Cultura* published by the Instituto Cultural de Macau (ICM).² The *South China Morning Post* and *Hong Kong Standard*, both edited in Hong Kong, are reliable sources of information on daily trivia in Macau.

The history of Macau from 1557 to 1910

Portugal officially founded Macau in 1557.³ After Portuguese vessels defeated the pirate fleets that plagued the coasts, merchants, officers and priests from Portugal gained residency rights on a tiny peninsula, at the entrance of the most important waterway in South China.⁴ Although administered by Portugal, the city paid taxes until 1848 to the Chinese government since it was part of China. In 1887, after Portugal sought to suppress the opium trade, the

Qing court admitted Lisbon's occupation of the city of Macau and of the islands of Taipa and Coloane.⁵ Beijing and Lisbon altered the political status of Macau in 1979, when China accepted the retrocession of a territory that post-Salazar Portugal no longer wanted to rule.⁶ This agreement between the two countries over the definition of a zone for political ambiguity turned Macau into the only neutral venue that China and Europe had for four centuries (Montaldo de Jesus, 1902, and Ptak, 2001).

International commerce had to pass through Canton and Macau until the end of China's closed-door policy and the establishment of Hong Kong, in 1841 (Porter, 1993). Macau became so wealthy that Sir John Bowring called it the 'gem of the Orient Earth'.⁷ The Colony went through a difficult period of adjustment when it lost its lucrative monopoly as Shanghai and Canton (Guangzhou) were opened to foreign trade, and Hong Kong rose to pre-eminence in East Asia. Exports declined rapidly and were limited to tobacco, tea, silk, opium, cement, and dry salt fish. The principal companies in town were all family firms: shipping and general merchants, millinery stores, printers, grocers and wine merchants, general stores, druggists and perfumeries. Coolies transited through Macau on their way to the Americas, which provided an additional income to the Colony.⁸ In 1926, 150,000 residents inhabited a three square kilometre wide territory; the little peninsula was entirely built over when, in 1928, population reached 160,000. The size of the population could change dramatically according to the political conditions that reigned in China. The figure was only an estimated 80,000 in 1915 (Tetsudôin, 1915: 332, and MCAOP, 1928: 6).

Evaluated at \$50,000,000 in 1926, trade was certainly not negligible, but Macau had only two modern banks: the Banco Nacional Ultramarino and the Banco Pou Seng. Seven Chinese banks were located Rua dos Mercadores and Avenida Almeida Ribeiro. This number is small because Macao has historically been important for her speculative activities and not for her commercial activities (MCAOP, 1926: 40). Since its beginnings, Macau has been known as a haven for organized crime, a springboard for illegal immigration, a centre for prostitution, and today a smuggling point for endangered species and art objects (Porter, 1993).

Officially, four activities dominated the life of Macau at the beginning of the 20th century, all of them in the hands of the Chinese merchant class: importation of rice, exportation of fish, the manufacture of fireworks, and gambling:

Macao is popularly known as the 'Monte Carlo of the Orient' — there being several large gambling establishments, conducted under Government control, the licenses bringing in a large revenue to the colonial treasury. Besides licensed gambling houses, there is a lottery conducted by the Government. The lots are drawn once a month, the highest prize being as large as \$150,000 (Tetsudôin, 1915: 332).

Tourism was actually a very important element of the local economy, in terms of income as well as in terms of prestige (Arnold, 1910). During the second part of the 19th century Macau became the summer resort of many of the wealthy residents of Hong Kong. The sea breezes that entered Macau provided a cooler summer than in Victoria City. Tourists took a refresh-

ing bath at Bela Vista or Boa Vista early in the morning, enjoyed the pastel colours of the city buildings in the afternoon light, and before the gambling saloons opened, strolled on the well kept promenade of Praia Grande where military bands played (Figure 6.2). They found the time to visit the churches of the “Christian city” (*a cidade cristã*) as well as the Buddhist temples of the “Chinese city” (Wangxia in Chinese or Mongha in Cantonese).

The eastern shore of Macau from 1910 to 1930

Flowing southward from Canton, the Xijiang River (Si-kiang or West River) brings alluvium to the Zhujiang delta (Chu-kiang or Pearl River). The prosperity of Macau has directly depended on port accommodations, a channel and constant dredging (Montaldo de Jesus, 1902). Silt has always threatened access to Macau because the city is situated on a river estuary. Proposals for port development were made in the 1880s but led to nothing, though everybody agreed that the biggest obstacle to economic progress was the silting of the harbour, “a distressing, severe, (and) terrible impediment” (MCAOP, 1926: 7). Foreign corporations had some reservations on the ability of the Colony’s government to act decisively. Made in 1915 in Hong Kong newspapers, statements like: “The Portuguese authorities are now apparently earnestly endeavouring to revive the prosperity of Macau” imply that the authorities in place before Portugal became a Republic were the major obstacle to infrastructure projects (Tetsudôin, 1915: 332).

In the late 1920s, Macau decided to open itself to steamers that drew 25 feet of water, because it wanted to be part of the traffic of high sea ships that sailed from Hong Kong and Canton, respectively four and eight hours away (Do Inso, 1930). Until then, the city had nine wharves but none large enough for ocean-going shipping. The government first conducted construction work on the narrow Inner Harbour or Porto Interior, around Ilha Verde on the western side of the peninsula. Brick factories, cement plants, timber yards, and dry dockyards occupied the reclaimed land. The development of the Outer Harbour or Porto Exterior, was the major undertaking on the eastern side of the peninsula. Work began in 1923 and was expected to last for three years at least according to the port authority:

The plans for this portion of the work were drawn up by distinguished Portuguese engineers, ideas being adapted from some of the best ports of the world. The work of construction was adjudicated to the NETHERLANDS HARBOUR WORKS Co., in public tender in which two British, one American and two Dutch firms were bidding (MCAOP, 1926: 10).

The ‘Porto artificial’ project consisted of three elements: the building of breakwaters strong enough to resist typhoons, the dredging of a channel (the ‘Canal de acesso’) and the building of a reclamation area half the size of Macau. According to the “Sketch of Macau. Area reclaimed and to be reclaimed, with site of new Port” map, the project was placed within an ambitious framework that would eventually connect through landfills Coloane and Taipa

Islands to the peninsula of Macau (MCAOP, 1926: 12a). As the *South China Morning Post* wrote in its March 19, 1926 issue:

The Portuguese have proceeded with their undertaking with confidence in their hearts and the hope to accomplish something, that, handed down to posterity, will be a monument of endeavour and an example of determination for ages to come (MCAOP, 1926: 12).

The Outer Harbour originally included in its plans the reclamation of the Bahia da Praia Grande, where ships anchored when weather permitted, but eventually the new Porto artificial did not extend to the shallow bay (Figure 6.3). We need to explain why, since there were no physical, political or technical obstacles to an expansion further south. For a while, a purely cultural and totally invisible border protected the bay from additional development.

The tourist literature on Macau around 1910

An intensively cultural cityscape developed over time that reflected Macau's unique and historical responsibility in world exchanges (Cheng, 1999a). Portuguese architecture, with its impressive fortresses and churches, protected the native Cantonese population that rarely knew Portuguese, almost never rebelled, and was not Catholic in its huge majority.⁹ This architectural legacy formed the basis needed for the construction of an image of romantic Macau as a destination for international tourism (Arnold, 1910). Alfred Harmsworth, a visitor who later became the notorious Lord Northcliffe, stated in an article to *The Times*:

To me Macao appeared as a beautiful little Portuguese city. There is a certain melancholy about it; but it is the melancholy, not of solitude, but of ruins, of avenidas, of lovely gardens tended by hands long forgotten (...). The pale pink and pale green houses, with balustrades and verandahs, take one for few seconds back to the Tagus (MCAOP, 1928: 6).¹⁰

Left for decades without the facilities needed for industrial development, Macau allowed itself to cultivate a *metis* identity very different from the ethnic segregation enforced in nearby Hong Kong (Cheng, 1999a). This ambiguity is well reflected in the travel literature on Macau, since the places of interest available for tourist consumption included both Portuguese and Chinese landmarks. The way they were described in guidebooks did not imply that colonial sites were necessarily more significant than native sites. There were exceptions, of course: the guidebook to China of the Imperial Japanese Government Railways excluded all Chinese places and listed the façade of São Paulo, Fort Guia, and Camões' garden being the only sites worthy of interest (Tetsudôin, 1915: 332).

The Tourist Guide to Canton, The West River and Macau proposed programs that varied according to the duration of the stay. This guidebook became so popular that it went out of print twice. A functional division in time separated the colonial and native landscapes. Most visi-

tors were in Macau for only two days, but a few had the leisure of staying four days or more. Suggestions to hurried travellers for their first day in Macau included Portuguese places only, with the exception of the gambling saloons. The menu of the second day proposed a mixture of Chinese restaurants and factories, and the touring of more Portuguese institutions. Travellers who remained for three days or more visited the Cantonese walled villages around Macau, and partook of ‘tiffins’ while enjoying the rural scenery (Hurley, 1903: 80-82).¹¹

The Bahia da Praia Grande (Nanwan) was called the most scenic place of the sleepy Colony. Praia Grande was more precisely the name of a fashionable promenade in summer, a kilometre long esplanade that extended along the shore of the bay. Banyan trees were planted close to the beach but protected by a granite wall. The Government House, official buildings, consulates, and residential houses were lined up on the opposite side of the Rua Praia Grande:

The Praya Grande is a fine marine drive overlooking the bay of the same name. The Governor’s residence, many fine private and public buildings, and the Government Offices, are situated along this crescent shaped bay, facing the open sea, while shady banyans line this beautiful road (MCAOP, 1926: 30).

The rich *hong* merchants had their city mansions built along the promenade: “Mr. Chun Fong has a very handsome residence on the Praia Grande near the Public Gardens in Macao” (Hurley, 1903: 92). The major hotels of the Colony, too, were on Praia Grande (Arnold, 1910). Such was the case with the Boa Vista Hotel, which was reputed among the best in East Asia for its unsurpassed cuisine, diligent guides, and grandiose panorama:

Pleasantly situated at a slight elevation to the West of the Praia Grande and approached by a well paved road having a very easy gradient, it commands grand panoramic views over the beautiful sea dotted with many islands, the quaint old Settlement and the distant mainland (Hurley, 1903: xxxxi).

Travellers who admired it from the hotel’s upper veranda reported that the Bay of the Praia Grande Seen was a modest *replica* of the beautiful Bay of Naples (Hurley, 1903: 73).¹² Although repetitive, quoting such comments is important because they identify the bay with the geographical pivot of colonial Macau.

The tourist literature on Macau around 1930

The Harbour (or Port) Works Department of Macau ordered its Publicity Office to compile two short travel guidebooks, which were published in English in 1926 and 1927. The Department anticipated an increase in business that would have followed the completion of expansive port facilities on the eastern shore of Macau. The purpose of the first brochure was to present the new opportunities that would exist for the ‘progressive business man’ and to encourage international tourism:

Macao is very interesting to the tourist, who can find in this town, beautiful gardens, Chinese temples and evidences of Portuguese occupation from early times. The Chinese quarter will always be of interest to visitors, and is quite close to the European residential centre (MCAOP, 1926: 21).

The Harbour Works Department felt it had to rectify the public image of Macau because until then the Colony was considered only as a resort where the traveller would relax from more stressful Hong Kong and Canton:

The splendid climatic conditions (of Macau) and its salubrity, the tranquillity and natural beauty, and its picturesque scenery and historical associations make this Portuguese colony one of the most charming of ports in the Far East.¹³ It is very much admired by tourists, and declared to be a splendid resort for quiet and retirement (...). Macao is the health-resort par excellence, and what it offers is not peace alone, but what is more, “an atmosphere of peace and rest” much sought after but seldom found (MCAOP, 1926: 8).

In *Macao: The Portuguese Colony in China*, the Department insisted that the administration welcomed the entrepreneurs who would take advantage of commercial opportunities and the industrial potential of a city. Land was cheaper and labour had always been inexpensive.

In 1927, the Department published *A Visitors' Handbook to Romantic Macao*, which, although organized differently, constituted an enlarged revision of *Macao: The Portuguese Colony in China*.¹⁴ The first edition of the *Visitors' Handbook* was quickly sold out, and a second edition was printed the year after:

The active demand for this booklet has proven the need for such a publication, and the complete exhaustion of the first edition in less than two weeks has prompted the issue of a second edition, considerably added to with new sections and much further useful information (MCAOP, 1928: preface).

As the change of titles suggests, the editors had become interested in foreign tourists more than in captains of industry. This is curious because the Colony was now open to ocean traffic, the construction of the New Port had been almost completed, and empty space existed on reclaimed land for the building of offices and warehouses. Nevertheless, the Department issued a new booklet to help ‘the adventurous spirits’ in their discovery of ‘Old Macau’:

There is a charm in romance that words cannot express, and romance embraces life in all its aspects, extending also to Nature, countries, and human habitations; and few are the romantic scenes left in this modern world. In Macao, however, there is romance still: the romance of history, sung and seldom forgotten, and herein lies its charm. Those who would turn from sordid commercialism to seek and appreciate the charm that underlies beauty will find Macao, in her Nature setting, soul satisfying (MCAOP, 1928: 5).

This quotation evidences the tension between two competing views of modernity in Macau – one that accepts its cultural heritage and one that rejects it. The same government agency sought to promote them at the same time as if a charming, introspective, and cultural Macau would coexist with a progressive, extroverted, and industrial Macau that looked toward the future. The eastern shore of Macau was the locale where this tension became most clearly visible because it was here that the Porto artificial confronted Praia Grande Bay.

Taking pictures of the landscape of modernity

Places that symbolize modernity were scattered in the text of the Macao guidebooks of the Harbour Works Department (MCAOP, 1928: 12).¹⁵ The list included the Military Hospital near the wooded park of the Guia Lighthouse, the lighthouse itself whose lighting installations were replaced around 1900, the secluded Macau Electric Company founded in 1910, and the radio station of Macau, one of the most powerful ones in East Asia.¹⁶ On its hilltop, Fort Guia was very conspicuous although the largest military structure was at São Paulo do Monte. Add to this list the Macau Club where physicians, lawyers, engineers and all ‘the principal Portuguese residents of Macao’ met. The club’s reading room provided newspapers from Macau, like *A Patria* and *O Combate*, and the foreign daily papers.

The two guidebooks of the port authority had many pictures of the Colony. The illustrations in the *Visitors’ Handbook* were of higher quality and selected with care to impress readers. The locations of the images in the booklet and the arrangement of the photograph series were indicative of the editors’ concerns. Camões’ bust and grotto, the A-ma temple, the Vasco da Gama monument, the Barrier Gate, the Pillar of Victory, the Guia Lighthouse, the Flora Gardens, the Old Protestant Cemetery, the Camões’ Gardens, São Paulo Church, and Santa Casa da Misericórdia, were culturally significant places. One picture deserved a special mention for its original fusion of Portuguese and Chinese traditional architectures: “In and Around Macau” was a collage of two photographs that features a Chinese garden and the Governor’s residence. A Chinese reader would not have missed the symbolism of the composition: the garden forms a square while the Governor’s palace lies inside a circle. In Chinese cosmology, the earth is square while the sky is round. The picture can therefore be interpreted as an allegory for Macau: a Chinese piece of land under a Portuguese canopy (MCAOP, 1928: 12a). These pictures that celebrated colonial culture were immediately followed by a second series of photographs. The industrial Ihla Verde, a brick making factory, the fishing fleet, the industrial district of Patane, the dockyard of Inner Harbour, the Macao Water Works, streets scene in the Inner Harbour and Chinatown did not fit well with what travellers had read so far about picturesque Macau. This systematic but internally incoherent arrangement of illustrations must be the outcome of meetings between officials who held contradictory visions on the future development of Macau.¹⁷

On the other hand, pictures of a number of places were missing: photographs of the Race Course, the Victoria Cinematograph, the Riviera, Boa Vista, and President Hotels, the

Almeida Ribeiro and Republica avenues could have contributed to the modernity theme. Photographs of the Teatro Dom Pedro V, the Lin Fung Temple (Lin-fung miu or Lianfeng miao), the Penha Chapel, and the Sé Cathedral could have enriched the romantic theme.¹⁸ Other places could have been photographed to illustrate the dual allegiance of the Macanese identity, like the Loo Lim-yok's estate with its Portuguese style mansion surrounded by a Chinese-style garden. The strangest omission was the absence of pictures of Praia Grande and the Outer Harbour, as if the Harbour Works Department failed to reach a consensus on how to depict Macau's new eastern shore.

The business community of Macau had some sympathy for Praia Grande, but not too much since it symbolized a long era of stagnation. The politically conservative *Macao Review* published a prophetic description of the Colony's future. An anonymous journalist wrote that the port authority was opening to Macau 'the gates to a glorious day, after a long, long night of languid slumber'. In the same article he compared Praia Grande to an abandoned cemetery:

No sound of activity was to be heard as the steamer slowly steamed into port, giving the visitor the impression that he had come upon a city that was dead. Proceeding down the Outer Harbour [toward Praia Grande], the feeling was further enhanced: some solitary fishing craft lay idly at anchor (*The Macao Review* 1-2: 19).¹⁹

The two pictorial treatments of Praia Grande around 1930 present a strong contrast with the tourist literature and many postcards produced two decades before (Ho, 1994). The depictions of the Colony put Praia Grande at the centre of the travellers' aesthetic experience in Macau, but the port authority did not show the bay. Complacent and repetitive descriptions of the promenade are present in each guidebook, but where are the photographs? Praia Grande became literally a text since no visual material accompanied its introduction to the tourists. This treatment by the colonial administration is surprising because until the turn of the century, the bay was the favourite theme of many paintings and postcards of Macau. In other words, Praia Grande was transformed from a visual to a textual landscape when officials of the Republic of Portugal sought to modernize the image of the Colony.

Conclusion

Until 1910, when in Lisbon a republican regime replaced the monarchy, political isolation, economic irrelevance, and the sedimentation of its port had combined to keep Macau somnolent and picturesque. The Colony survived the passage of time in the shadow of Hong Kong, while keeping a distinct identity as a Sino-Portuguese settlement that the tourism industry supported. The official guidebooks to Macau made nevertheless obvious that government agencies did not expect tourists to stay for more than a few days. The charms of the city were not supposed to last. After all, there was no reason to assume that casual visitors would fail to quickly perceive the true dimensions of the Macanese society, or would find insularity, parochialism, and a *metis* culture so attractive that they would prolong their sojourns. The administration had, moreover, definite plans to cast off the image of a summer resort and turn the

Colony into an industrial city with direct access to maritime trade. The building of the port facilities compelled officials to reconsider the identity of the Colony based until then on its historical relationship with Praia Grande. The Portuguese exclave extended on the eastern shore of the peninsula, around the bay: reclaiming the bay with in the name of progress implicitly rejected the ways in which the Macanese elite had contemplated its territory for generations. While providing space for a ferry terminal, the massive reclamation projects linked to the creation of the Outer Harbour were both openly welcomed and secretly feared the administration. The decision not to reproduce in the same booklets photographs of both the new harbour and the ancient bay illustrate this ambiguity felt about the emotional cost of modernity and globalization.

Like elsewhere in East Asia, in Shanghai, Seoul, Tokyo, progress in Macau has meant erasing the past and rebuilding the urban environment (Figure 6.4). Once physical limits were imposed to the scenery of Praia Grande, the destruction of the architectural patrimony of Macau could begin. Joint venture companies backed by Hong Kong and Chinese investors have built new casinos, shopping malls, apartment complexes and factory facilities since the 1970s. The once rural Taipa and Coloane islands are connected to the peninsula and Macau to the undistinguished urban sprawl of the Zhujiang delta (Porter, 1993 and Wong et al, 1997). Ferryboats loaded with tourists still ply the Hong Kong-Macau route. Every day, hydrofoil ferries make 80 trips between the two cities. Macau received nearly 12,000,000 visitors in 2003. Two thirds of Macau's tax revenue came from the Sociedade de jogos de Macau, which is the Portuguese name of Stanley Ho's gaming empire. The construction of twenty Las Vegas-style casino resorts with 60,000 hotel rooms is being planned. Deutsche Bank (Hong Kong) and Société Générale (Asia) are the leading banks of the future Wynn Resorts project. The two ex-colonies, both run by business tycoons, are listed before Geneva and Zurich as the world's most expensive cities.

Today, the professionals of the tourism industry focus on both the economic potential as well as the historical landscape of Macau, even if locating the architectural remnants of a glorious past can be challenging. Travellers have never found so little that would be related to Macau's authentic history, either because sites have been thoroughly destroyed or because landmarks have been extensively restored (Fallon, 2002). Since Praia Grande Bay is now reduced to two hemispheric basins, the icon that the Tourism Bureau sells to visitors is the façade of the São Paulo church, with its tombstone quality.²⁰ The tourism industry is quickly expanding in size, as the territory wants to position itself as a centre for international conventions and festivals (Cheng, 1999a). Talks about the new airport that is supposed to end Macau's isolation and transform the city into a gateway to China may remind us of visionary discussions held in the 1920s about granting adequate transportation to the Colony (Porter 1993).

Appendix

Chronology

1845: Lisbon declares that Macau is a free port.
 1863: Rua da Praia Grande is widened through the reclamation of the shore of the bay.
 1864: Feasibility study for the improvement of port facilities.
 1884: Submission of Adolfo Loureiro's project for the construction of an Outer Harbour.
 1908-09: Submission of Vasconcelos Porto's Outer Harbour's project.
 1910: End of the monarchy in Portugal. Inauguration of the Praia Grande coastal road, which consists of Avenida da Praia Grande in the north (Nanwan da malu) and Avenida da Republica in the south (Minguo da malu).
 1911: Fall of the Qing dynasty. A republic is proclaimed the year after.
 1919: Creation of an Outer Harbour commission.
 1923: Work on the Outer Harbour begins.
 1926: Industrial fair in São Francisco gardens, Praia Grande.
 1926: Military coup in Lisbon. The newly opened avenue north of Praia Grande is named after the dictator, Doctor António Oliveira Salazar who leads the *Estado Novo*, a pro-fascist corporative republic.
 1927: Area reclaimed in Outer Harbour.
 1928: Inauguration of the Outer Harbour and opening of a trade fair.
 1931-1939: First landfill in Praia Grande. The Rua da Praia Grande is cut from the sea between the São Francisco gardens and the Government Offices.
 1934: The government grants licenses to casino-style gambling.
 1949: Fall of Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist regime. The People's Republic of China is established.
 1976: Military coup in Lisbon. Portugal becomes a democracy.
 1984: Creation of a commission for the protection of Macau's architectural heritage
 1990: A new area is reclaimed to enlarge the Outer Harbour.
 1993: A committee selects "Eight Scenes in Macau" for their outstanding beauty. Praia Grande is not included.
 1995: Praia Grande is closed, divided, and partly reclaimed.
 1999: Macau becomes a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China.

Notes

¹ Both spellings, "Macau" and "Macao," can be found in the literature but the latter name became officially obsolete in 1955. I respect the contemporary spelling in my quotations and today's spelling in the body of my text. I apologize for the discrepancies.

² The web site of this governmental agency is: www.icm.gov.mo.

³ 1557 is a conventional date. The name Macau (Macao in historical materials and Aomen in Chinese) would come from the name of the A-ma temple (Ma-kok miu in Cantonese, Make miao in Chinese), which lies at the entrance of the Inner Harbour. The temple was founded at least two centuries before the arrival of the Portuguese.

⁴ Piracy was still active in the 1920s.

⁵ The *Luso-Chinese Treatise of Friendship and Trade* did not delimit the borders of the territory.

⁶ China and Portugal established diplomatic relations in 1979. The Sino-Portuguese joint declaration announced in 1987 the return of Macau to China in 1999.

⁷ Sir John Bowring was the controversial governor of Hong Kong from 1854 to 1859.

⁸ Coolies were contract workers who replaced African slaves to (usually) work in plantations and mines. 250,000 coolies were shipped from South China to Cuba and Peru during the second part of the 19th century. 50,000 more coolies went to Mexico between 1900 and 1920. Despite anti-Chinese riots and "exclusion acts," they migrated also to USA, where they built the transcontinental railroads and toiled in the vineyards of California. Canton and Hong Kong restricted the infamous coolie trade, but the regulations of these two cities did not apply to Macau.

⁹ According to the 1927 census, the population of Macau numbered 157,000, out of which 98% were Chinese. About 85% of the population is ethnically Cantonese. Other Han Chinese communities are from Fujian and Shanghai. The Macanese community — Portuguese speakers of Sino-Portuguese ancestry — would constitute a

tiny minority of 1.5%. The percentage of Catholics was historically much higher than it is was in the 1920s: up to 95% by the end of the 17th century instead of a low 25% reported in 1930.

¹⁰ Lord Northcliffe was the enterprising owner of the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Mirror*, *The Times*, etc.

¹¹ Indian workers carry their lunch to work in metal boxes stacked together that are called *tiffins*. As they toured colonial Asia, Westerners discovered that tiffin boxes were very convenient for their picnics.

¹² While the Boa Vista Hotel is situated on a cliff overlooking the bay, the Macao Hotel and The International were located centrally on Praia Grande, next to the Governor's Palace, and only five minutes from the steamer wharves.

¹³ "Salubrity" refers to the conceptions on public health that the medical doctors entertained during the Victorian period. They held oppressively warm temperatures responsible for all tropical diseases. Invigorating cool winds were supposed to hasten the recovery from malaria, hepatitis, etc.

¹⁴ To avoid confusion, I am calling "*Macao Guidebook*" the 1926 edition, and "*Visitor's Handbook*" the 1928 edition of the booklet published by the Conselho de administração das obras do portos.

¹⁵ The *Visitors' Handbook* provides a comprehensive "Suggested Itinerary" from Avenida Almeida Ribeiro, to Guia Hill, the Barrier Gate, Camões' Grotto and São Paulo's ruins, Penha Hill, and finally the A-Ma Temple.

¹⁶ Because it is the oldest lighthouse on the Chinese coast, the Guia Lighthouse has acted as the emblematic introduction of modernity to China by Portugal. A drawing of the lighthouse tower ornamented the frontispiece of the pro-business *Macao Review*.

¹⁷ This is my personal interpretation. I am not aware of archival materials about such discussions.

¹⁸ The Church of Se is traditionally called a "cathedral."

¹⁹ *The Macao Review* was a short-lived journal that advocated the creation of a Chamber of Commerce and a generous discussion of the peculiar problems of the Harbour Works Department. Under the title "First Impressions of Macau, by Hongkong Boy," the journal editors wrote in 1930 an anonymous travel account in which Praia Grande was described and derided, but not even named.

²⁰ Built in 1602, the Jesuit church was burned in 1835. Only the façade has survived the fire.

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