

EXPERIENCE, MEMORY AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PAST:  
REMEMBERING MACAU 1941 – 1945

by

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### Abstract

During most of the Second World War, from the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 to the Japanese surrender in 1945, the Portuguese colony of Macau was the only neutral territory in the Pacific. During these years the colony served as a haven for hundreds of thousands who were fleeing Japanese expansion. A central aspect of Macau's war experience was the internal life of the colony. However, little or no published or archival material is available on this subject. Accordingly, the only feasible way to study this aspect of the territory's history is to draw on the testimony of those who in fact did experience wartime conditions in Macau.

For the interview process, subjects were selected who belong to a distinct ethno-cultural group that has emerged from Macau's Portuguese and Chinese heritages – the Macanese. Besides the Macanese community resident in Macau, there are also several diasporic communities around the world. Many members of these communities spent the duration of the war in Macau as refugees, and the interview process clearly showed that members of the diasporic and resident Macanese communities had qualitatively different memories of the Second World War. Furthermore, the recollections of the Portuguese Jesuit priest Father Manuel Teixeira have played a prominent if idiosyncratic role in perceptions of Macau's Second World War experience, and so his testimony is discussed in relation to that of the Macanese. The way in which those interviewed expressed their perceptions of the past seemed to be rooted in and shaped by their experiences both before and since the war. Memory is, in other words, a construct.

By analysing these narrated memories in terms of the existing theoretical literature on oral history and collective memory, this thesis strives to shed light on the connections between experience, memory, and the construction of the Second World War in the resident and diasporic Macanese communities.

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During most of the Second World War, from the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 to the Japanese surrender in 1945, the Portuguese colony of Macau was the only neutral territory in the Pacific. During these years the colony served as a haven for hundreds of thousands who were fleeing Japanese expansion. Despite Macau's unique status and, for the many with no other refuge, essential role during the conflict in the Pacific, historians have paid little or no attention to any facet of Macau's history during this period. A central aspect of Macau's war experience was the internal life of the colony. However, little or no published or archival material is available on this subject. Accordingly, the only feasible way to study this aspect of the territory is to draw on the testimony of those who in fact did experience wartime conditions in Macau. Half a century after the end of the war, many of these individuals are still alive and capable of narrating their experience.

The interview process, which involved some ten individuals resident in Macau between 1941 and 1945, quickly made apparent that the testimony they gave was the product of a number of factors. The way in which those interviewed expressed their perceptions of the past seemed to be rooted in and shaped by their experiences both before and since the war. Memory is, in other words, a construct. The construction of their testimony needs therefore to be systematically analyzed and related to the theoretical literature. This thesis explores the events of the Second World War in Macau, and the memories of several individuals who lived there throughout the war, ultimately showing the ways in which groups base their construction of the past on surrounding experiential knowledge.

What follows is a broad overview of Macau and the Macanese people, followed by a brief discussion of the territory's role in the Second World War. In light of his prominent place in the perception of Macau's twentieth century history, Father Manuel Teixeira's role and recollections will be discussed prior to any exploration of the Macanese communities' wartime memories. The existing theoretical literature on oral history will then be used to interpret the connections between memory, experience, and the construction of the past.

### Macau and the Macanese

The tiny enclave of Macau consists of a peninsula and two islands on the western edge of the Pearl River Delta, approximately ninety kilometres from Hong Kong. The Chinese and the Portuguese have jointly occupied it since the mid-sixteenth century, when Portuguese merchants landed in the uninhabited southern end of the peninsula. From this first arrival of the Portuguese in Macau, the territory has drawn upon Portuguese, Chinese, and other global influences to create cultural, political, and economic traditions that are unique to the territory. An overview of history in terms of its political administration, its commerce, and its culture, is necessary to our understanding of the impact of World War II upon Macau.

In the sixteenth century, Macau was not usually a destination but rather a jumping-off point for European traders and missionaries seeking commercial or ideological gateways into China and Japan. To the Imperial administration of China, Macau was a virtually uninhabited backwater on the edge of the Empire: bureaucrats sent to the Macau area from Beijing were usually those who had fallen out of favour.<sup>1</sup> Macau was not worthy of much consideration from the Portuguese perspective either. In fact, before 1842 and the establishment of British rule at Hong Kong, Macau did not function as a Portuguese colony in the conventional sense, although it fell under indirect Portuguese jurisdiction through Goa.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Jonathan Porter, Macau, The Imaginary City (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1996), 47.

<sup>2</sup> Gradually an ad hoc system developed through which Macau was governed by both the Portuguese merchants who lived there and by the local Chinese government. Portuguese traders had been living in the area for approximately twenty years, from the early 1550s to the early 1570s, before the local Guangdong government began demanding rent payments for the land the Portuguese were using. In 1572 a formal land tax, which the Portuguese called fora do chão, of five hundred taels of silver was established as the annual Portuguese payment to China for its use of Macau. Students of Macau hold the fora do chão as the most compelling evidence to support the argument that from the beginning the territory was not a Portuguese colony. As further evidence of the combined Sino-Portuguese character of Macau's administration, the governor of the Two Guangs (Guangdong and Guangxi) integrated Portuguese Macau into the Chinese system of government by decreeing in 1582 that Macau was to be administered by the Vice Prefect for Coastal Defense of Guangdong and the Maritime Trade Supervisor. In legal matters, foreigners were expected to tend to their own criminals when the crime committed did not involve the Chinese. However, any crime involving a Chinese or non-Portuguese foreigner

In the mid-1840s, the Portuguese crown decided to establish a colonial government in Macau along the model of the British one set up in Hong Kong. After a difficult start, Portugal was finally able to establish its right through the successful negotiation of the Treaty of Beijing with China in 1887.<sup>3</sup> This treaty guaranteed Portugal's "perpetual occupation and government" of Macau and confirmed that Portugal would never alienate Macau without China's approval.<sup>4</sup> From this time until 1987 and the development of the Joint Declaration between China and Portugal regarding Macau, the territory functioned as a Portuguese colony. This colonial status came, however, after three hundred years of ad hoc cooperative government between Portuguese traders and missionaries and the local Chinese officials.

The unconventional aspects of Macau's political and administrative history have always been closely linked to the territory's vibrant commercial heritage. For close to three hundred years, Macau served as the main conduit of trade between China and Europe. In two distinct periods, from the 1570s to 1640 and again from the 1760s to 1842, the enclave held a complete monopoly on all trade transactions with China's only open port, Guangzhou (Canton).<sup>5</sup> Throughout the four hundred and fifty years of Portugal's possession of Macau, the territory developed its identity as a meeting-place, a locus of international trade and exchange that often functioned without direct control from either of the empires to which it was linked. Instead, Macau's primary relationships were with other cities along the trade routes of Asia. Even the Portuguese and Chinese

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as either plaintiff or defendant was to be tried by the Chinese officials in Haojing. This legal system followed a precedent established in the Tang, Song, and Yuan dynasties to administer the *fanfang* or foreign district system in Guangdong. The Chinese government viewed the leader of the Haojing Portuguese as a chieftain and appointed him as an Yimu, a low-ranking Chinese official, so that he could govern his own people within the framework of the Ming administrative system. See Fei Chengkang, *Macao 400 Years* (Shanghai: The Publishing House of Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, 1996), 43.

<sup>3</sup> The Portuguese appointed their first Governor, Ferreira do Amaral, in 1846. He was assassinated in 1849 by Chinese rebels who opposed his systematic destruction of Chinese graveyards in order to create new roadways. *Ibid*, 237 – 238. See also Alfredo Gomes Dias, *Sob o Signo da Transição: Macau no Século XIX*. (Macau: Imprensa Oficial de Macau, 1998), 58 – 72.

<sup>4</sup> Fei Chengkang, *Macao 400 Years*. (Shanghai: The Publishing House of Shanghai Academy of Social Science, 1996), 228.

cities which ostensibly oversaw Macau from a political and administrative viewpoint were predominantly trading cities: Goa, in India, and Guangzhou. As Macau provided a conduit and a focal point for trade and exchange, it also relied upon this trade for its continued survival. The peninsula of Macau, with its rocky terrain and quiet shores, occupies an area of less than seven square kilometres. Including the two small islands of Taipa and Coloane, the entire administrative region has an area of just over seventeen square kilometres. Most of this land cannot support agriculture, and as its population of traders and missionaries grew, the fishing industry was not able to meet the territory's needs. Macau thus depended upon the food staples and other essential goods it imported from China, Japan, Southeast Asia, India, Africa, and Europe. Originally through its potential as a centre for trade and subsequently through its reliance upon that trade for its continued existence, Macau has developed an economic and ideological identity that draws on cultures and traditions from throughout the world.

Macau's population strongly reflects this international identity, and for many the territory is merely a temporary home. Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese, Dutch, British, French and American traders, among many others, have lived for months, years or decades in Macau, but they have never been more than sojourners. Ultimately, they have returned to their homelands or have moved on to other trade regions. Over time, however, a permanent and distinct ethno-cultural group – the Macanese – has emerged from the territory. Of mixed Portuguese and Chinese descent, the Macanese often speak a patois derived from Cantonese and Portuguese. Language is not, however, the only aspect of the Macanese culture to blur the lines between Portuguese and Chinese traditions. In cuisine, art, architecture, music, literature, and even religion, over four centuries the Macanese have developed a culture rooted in both Europe and Asia, which is now uniquely theirs.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Fei, 47. See also Huang Hanqiang, "To Study Macau To Serve Macau", Review of Culture, 1987, 92.

<sup>6</sup> A fine example of Macanese culture growing out of its diverse roots is the Catholic cemetery in Macau, in which there are photographs or portraits of the deceased on their headstones, in the



While Macau continues to contain a Macanese population, if one which now comprises less than five percent of the total population, a strong and relatively cohesive Macanese diasporic community has developed in various locations around the world. The original motive for its members' departure from Macau was strictly economic. Numerous Macanese families moved to Hong Kong in the mid-1840s, seeking prosperity in the newly founded British colony. The family of Dr. Germano A. V. Ribeiro, for instance, lived for eight generations in Hong Kong – but traces its lineage in Macau to the seventeenth century.<sup>7</sup> Other families moved to Shanghai and other Chinese port cities, with the result that, by the mid-twentieth century, Macanese communities existed in most of the major coastal cities of China.<sup>8</sup> Despite having left Macau, often many generations back, these communities retained a sense of Macanese identity, expressed in the social and recreational clubs set up in the cities where they settled. By many, and especially by the Macanese themselves, these communities are seen as the human expression of over four hundred years of Sino-Portuguese relations. For a great number of these Macanese settled abroad, their first actual experience of Macau – their ancestral homeland – was during the time they spent there as refugees during the Second World War.

Although eventually I was to meet diasporic Macanese in Canada, who came from families like those described above, the first contact I had with the Macanese was with those whom I have chosen to dub the “residential” group. These Macanese have been living in Macau since at least twenty years before the war, continue to live in Macau to this day, and have no intention of leaving even though Macau has recently passed from Portuguese jurisdiction to Chinese.<sup>9</sup> These people remember what Macau was like before the war came, and can identify changes that Macau underwent during or because of the war.

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manner of the Chinese Buddhist tradition, and where at the foot of each grave is a box of sand where the bereaved can burn sticks of incense in prayer to the dead.

<sup>7</sup> Interview with Dr. Germano Ribeiro, July 23, 2001. Interview conducted in English.

<sup>8</sup> I could not obtain concrete numbers for the size of any of the Macanese communities in these cities. Alvaro Guterres, interviewed on July 20, 2001, described the Macanese community in Shanghai as being “quite large”. Interview conducted in English.

<sup>9</sup> I was unable to interview those who had stayed in Macau right up until the return to China in 1999, and who might have had a slightly different perspective on the territory's history.

The resident Macanese community of Macau, specifically those who lived in Macau during the Second World War, constitute, it must be stressed, a miniscule minority of the colony's population, and in many ways form a self-contained, insular community.<sup>10</sup> They read the same newspapers, eat in the same restaurants, and belong to the same social clubs. They are financially comfortable, and they are all acquainted with one another, if not good friends. They are extremely homogenous, sharing the same religion, language, culture, age, childhood educational experiences, and a wealth of other demographic attributes. In fact, these attributes were what first led me to believe that a dominant narrative of the Second World War in Macau might emerge through oral testimony. Despite Macau's having been a temporary home to so many, especially during and immediately following the war, here lies a group for whom the territory is home, and who appear to have experienced the war as a community.

Similarly, the sample of diasporic Macanese discussed here is small, and is entirely centred in Vancouver, Canada. The interviewees come from diverse walks of life, but at the same time offer such a unified account of the war that it makes sense to study their responses as members of the Macanese diasporic community. Furthermore, they all belong to the *Casa de Macau* in Vancouver, which is a cultural club for Macanese. This membership is strong evidence of their actively Macanese identity. In the case of both communities, their characteristics and circumstances make them well suited to this manner of study.

To better comprehend the stories that these communities tell of the war, we must first examine the major events and circumstances that conjoined to create Macau's experience of the Second World War.

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<sup>10</sup> Fewer than one thousand Portuguese speakers now (2001) live in Macau. I question if more than about fifty of this thousand actually lived in Macau during the war. Of these I interviewed six.

## Macau's Significance in the Second World War

The prevailing view in scholarship on international relations dates the start of World War Two in the Pacific to July 1937, when the Japanese launched their invasion of China.<sup>11</sup> The following five years witnessed a highly aggressive campaign of Japanese imperial expansion in Asia. As Shanghai, Tientsin, Guangzhou, and innumerable other Chinese cities fell to the Japanese, expatriate refugees from all over the world flowed into Hong Kong. When Hong Kong itself was invaded and fell to Japan on December 25, 1941, many of these refugees in turn fled to Macau. By August 1942, Japan's empire extended from Sumatra to the Aleutians. In the entire Pacific region Macau was the only non-Japanese territory from India to Hawaii, from Australia to Siberia. As will be demonstrated below, Macau was soon flooded to the bursting point with refugees both rich and poor, from all over the world, whom it was ultimately unable to support.

The fact of Portuguese neutrality during the Second World War enabled the Macanese of Hong Kong and the refugee groups then in the colony to leave the conquered territory in early 1942. The first boat, which sailed from Hong Kong on February 7, 1942, carried a few thousand people across the mouth of the Pearl River Delta.<sup>12</sup> Although no reliable statistics exist enumerating the refugees who spent the war in Macau, it is estimated that the colony's population grew from less than five hundred thousand to over a million.<sup>13</sup> To

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<sup>11</sup> Although the Japanese established the puppet state of Manchuguo in Northern China in 1931, war was not officially declared until 1937.

<sup>12</sup> These refugees were not all Macanese, nor were they all residents of Hong Kong. Shanghai fell to Japan in 1937, and almost all the refugees from these coastal cities (Shanghai, Ningbo, Tientsin, etc.) who were going to leave would have done so. The Foreign Concessions in these cities were closed by 1941, meaning that whatever refugees had left would already be in Hong Kong by the time that territory fell to Japan.

<sup>13</sup> This is the estimate of Joachim Groder, a PhD. student at the University of Salzburg in Austria who studies twentieth century migration through Macau. None of the sources I have accessed, including my interviews with Father Teixeira, give any number more specific than "thousands", although on one occasion Teixeira did say "a million". According to Groder, "for the height of the refugee wave during WWII you find numbers reaching from 400.000 to 1,2 million (the latter is very probably far from reality). Most scholars would set the refugee population at about 500.000 to 600.000 for the period after the fall of Shanghai, Canton and Hong Kong, thus as for 1942-1945. If you have a look at other data like the statistics on entries and exits of passengers in Macau, for the year of 1946 you have a negative migratory balance of 500.000 people - meaning that 500.000 more persons exited the territory than entered it." This is from a

handle the influx of refugees, the colonial government commandeered many of Macau's clubs and recreational facilities, as well as a number of hotels. Most notable of these were the prestigious Bela Vista Hotel, the Military Club (Club Militar), and the Canidrome – the dog racetrack. It was in these centres that the majority of diasporic Macanese spent the Second World War.<sup>14</sup>

As a consequence of these developments, in the period from 1941 to 1945 Macau became more than ever a highly internationalized and overpopulated neutral enclave, largely cut off from its established and vital supply routes. It was mostly isolated from the outside world by the war between Japan and the Allied Forces. During these four years, therefore, the Portuguese colony had to perform a double tightrope act. It had, with few means of defence, to sustain its neutrality and maintain its autonomy in the face of the belligerent powers. It had also to maintain its control over the swollen population of the colony and to prevent internal subversion. Any historian who seeks to understand the dynamics of this complex system needs to draw on all pertinent evidence and to investigate that evidence systematically and profoundly.

This evidence would preferably consist of documentary sources (governmental and semi-governmental) produced in Macau itself during the Second World War, followed by private documents such as personal correspondence, and lastly newspapers and journal articles of the period. Given the weakness of the Portuguese administration in Macau and the intractable problems it faced, the first and third categories of evidence will have to be handled with caution. Their contents were strongly influenced by censorship and by the need for discretion. Further, much of what occurred in the colony, such as the acts of espionage that abounded in Macau throughout the war, was unavowed, and cannot by its very nature be well documented.

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personal correspondence from Mr. Groder – he has been so frustrated in his attempts to find reliable information on refugee migration through Macau during the war years that he has elected to focus his research on the period after 1949.

<sup>14</sup> Importantly, the colonial government was less able to supply relief in the form of food, shelter, and medical care for many of the thousands of impoverished Chinese who, having no official claim to refugee status, ultimately lived and tried to survive on Macau's streets during the war. A study of the experience of these thousands would be a valuable – albeit nearly impossible – undertaking.

The reality, perhaps a surprising reality, is that the written and printed sources of evidence on Macau's experience of the Second World War are extremely thin. Archives containing pertinent materials are few in number, their holdings incomplete and often inaccessible to researchers. The Macau Historical Archives, which should be a primary source of information, are virtually bare of any documents written between 1940 and 1946. There is no easy explanation for this hole in the archives; the director of the Archives, Maria Fatima Lau, is herself puzzled by their absence.<sup>15</sup> The newspapers that continued to be printed in Macau throughout the war were tightly censored. Their columns are mainly filled with trivia such as wedding and christening announcements.<sup>16</sup>

The problems researchers face in locating source material for a study of Macau during the Second World War are evident from the J. M. Braga Collection housed at Canberra in the National Library of Australia. This collection claims to cover the Second World War period "very fully," but an investigation of the collection's published index shows that their collected documents consist exclusively of newspaper articles and transcribed radio broadcasts – both of which were heavily censored during the war.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, the monographs forming the Braga Collection's secondary material on the war deal with Hong Kong, Singapore, Japan, and Great Britain – and not at all with Macau. Few books have been written in English about Macau, and of these none deal adequately with the war. Until very recently, the history of the territory was almost exclusively the domain of British historian Charles R. Boxer, whose work on the Portuguese colonial empire does not consider events after the early nineteenth century. A very few English-language historians, including Geoffrey C. Gunn and Jonathan Porter, have written on Macau in the late twentieth century. Gunn alone has discussed Macau's experience of the

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<sup>15</sup> From visits to the Macau Historical Archives, June and July 2000.

<sup>16</sup> While these may themselves be an interesting study in the culture of the war, they are at best peripheral to my topic and in any case are available only in Macau, where I cannot easily access them.

<sup>17</sup> An online version of this index can be found at [www.nla.gov.au/asian/form/braga.html](http://www.nla.gov.au/asian/form/braga.html).

Second World War.<sup>18</sup> The approach adopted in Encountering Macau can only be termed superficial; his book is a narrow, almost exclusively narrative work, drawing solely on English-language documents.

Given this dearth of both primary and secondary documentation, the most fruitful and the only viable way to study the experience of Macau during the Second World War is to turn to oral history, and to conduct interviews with people who lived in the colony during the war. Oral testimony is customarily employed by historians in conjunction with documentary sources, and often as supplementary to it. In this study, however, documentary sources supplement the oral testimony, which is the essence of the research. During the years 2000 and 2001 I conducted interviews with some ten individuals who had lived in Macau during the war.<sup>19</sup> The evidence produced by these interviews gave me a good sense of the nature of oral history, its potential and its problems. In particular, I quickly became aware of the sense of community – or, more precisely, as this thesis will show, of communities – existing among those I interviewed. I developed the belief that the resident Macanese and the diasporic Macanese communities each shared an understanding, peculiar to their particular experiences, of what the war had meant. Through each story, each anecdote, and each interview, each community's narrative began to emerge.

While the diasporic Macanese community has much in common culturally with the Macanese of Macau, their early life experiences in Chinese cities such as Hong Kong, Shanghai, Guangzhou, coupled with their post-war life experiences in Hong Kong and around the world, give them a different culture and perspective than those of their cousins in Macau. The Macanese community of Macau and members of the diasporic Macanese community of Vancouver each told a different facet of the way Macau experienced the war; in their turn, each demonstrated the ways in which their memory and the construction of their community's past had been shaped by their culture and by their post-war experiences.

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<sup>18</sup> Geoffrey C. Gunn, Encountering Macau: a Portuguese city-state on the periphery of China, 1557-1999 (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1996), and Porter, Macau.

Intriguingly, however, the most renowned living source on Macau's experience of the Second World War is not Macanese but Portuguese, and is both sufficiently idiosyncratic and sufficiently famous to warrant discussion as a precursor to exploring the Macanese experience. What I propose here is an exploration of Father Teixeira's Second World War stories, inasmuch as they are taken to be Portuguese metropolitan history of the war<sup>20</sup> – or, contrastingly, inasmuch as they represent the memory of one man, interpreted through his role in Macau before, during and after the war. This discussion provides a crucial background to the facets of Macau's Second World War history, as it is constructed by the resident and diasporic Macanese communities. These stories are so much a part of Macau, above and beyond the Macanese communities, and so widely accepted by the current Portuguese-speaking population of Macau (both Portuguese and Macanese) that they cannot but inform and influence both Macanese communities' understanding of the war. In my discussion of Father Teixeira and his memories of the Second World War, I propose that he fulfills an essential role not only for the Portuguese metropolitan community, but also for the general Macanese community, as a living link to Macau's colonial experience and to the colonial administration of the territory during the war.

#### Father Manuel Teixeira

Father Teixeira, a Portuguese national who has spent his life in Macau, has ultimately been the most widely-accepted authority, both verbally and in the form of a few short written pieces, on the Second World War in Macau. He is a Jesuit, born in Portugal, who moved to Macau at the age of nine or ten in 1920 and who returned to Portugal in 2001.<sup>21</sup> At first glance, Father Teixeira can be

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<sup>19</sup> See Appendix A for a complete list of those interviewed.

<sup>20</sup> By "metropolitan" I mean Portuguese colonial or expatriate, as distinct from Chinese or ethnically Macanese.

<sup>21</sup> This has come as a shock to all who know the man; he was famous for being adamant in his commitment to staying in the territory. When asked in 1998 if he intended to leave Macau after it returned to China, he replied, "I have lived here since before your mother, maybe your grandmother, was born! I will not leave now. Besides, they say that Macau will stay the same for the next fifty years, so maybe after fifty years I will think about leaving." It is extremely likely

taken as the voice of Macau's history, or as the voice of the Portuguese in Macau on the territory's past. Certainly, this is how the public in Macau views him.<sup>22</sup> However, there are several aspects of Father Teixeira's circumstances that must be taken as a caveat when interpreting his stories as Portuguese or Macanese history.

Father Teixeira feels that his identity is intrinsically linked to Macau. He has lived in the territory for eighty years, speaks Cantonese, and has for some time professed that Macau is in fact his only home. He is himself a monument to the Second World War in Macau. As a priest and a primary school teacher during the war, he was in an excellent position to observe and interpret the events around him – and to influence other people's perceptions of those events. A natural storyteller, Father Teixeira has developed a series of wartime anecdotes which comprise a dominant narrative of Macau's experience of the Second World War.<sup>23</sup> The first suggestion that Father Teixeira's stories may not in fact be representative is the very fact of his love of story telling, especially when he is the main character in the story. His style, and his subject matter, is calculated to shock and titillate his audience. Further, he is often the only one to tell certain stories – they are not reproduced in any form by other interviewees. Again, these stories tend to be extreme.<sup>24</sup> What follows is a selection of anecdotes Father Teixeira recounts, ones that he told to me both times I interviewed him. Each will be explored in terms both of Teixeira's idiosyncratic story telling and in terms of its meaning for a Portuguese metropolitan construction of Macau's history. Although I will later discuss in greater detail the memories of both groups of Macanese, I have included here excerpts from

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that he was moved back to Portugal at the behest of family, or of the Church, since he had been showing some signs of senility in the past year.

<sup>22</sup> This opinion is reflected not only in my interviews, wherein every interviewee mentioned Father Teixeira and acknowledged his scholarship and his role in the community, but also in innumerable newspaper and magazine articles on Macau's history (not necessarily its Second World War History).

<sup>23</sup> I base this conclusion on the fact that without exception I have been directed to him and to his (admittedly brief) writings about the war. Further, what few secondary documents exist on the war never fail to include him as a foundational source.



interviews with Macanese where they enlighten the discussion of Father Teixeira's own memories.

The first anecdote deals with the influx of refugees to Macau from all over Asia, and the death and starvation that accompanied their stay.

Well, the war. So many came here, so many refugees: from Hong Kong, 7,000. From Canton and Shanghai, so many Portuguese and Macanese who lived there. From China, half a million refugees came. They closed down all the clubs, the Club Militar to house them, and then, when we ran out of space they stayed in the streets. Then, what happened? They were starving, they had nowhere to stay, so they put themselves on the streets, sitting down, on the streets. They would not move at all, and in the wintertime, as you know winter is very very cold, they were frozen. Frozen entirely, you know? Well, I went out everyday and if I want to feed them, impossible. You could put the bread in their mouths, they would not take it. They could not chew. And they could not move their lips. And then, as it was very cold, in the morning they were frozen. Then the cars of the, of the municipal council, of the police, and of the firemen, they went every morning, to collect these bodies in the streets. Many of them were not dead, and they were frozen. Then they put them in a big, in these big boats, two or three boats, from here to be buried in Taipa, on the shore of Taipa. The black people, were the soldiers from Mozambique. These soldiers from Mozambique, they were there digging trenches. For them. So when they arrive at the shore, they were thrown into these trenches, and many of them opened their eyes! So the black soldiers said, 'Eh! The commander said that you are dead, you are dead! Finish!' And they cut up them. Because you see, from here to Taipa, the sun would rise and warm them up, and they would revive again. Some, arriving there, they could open their eyes then. When I wrote my book about that, I doubted about that. So I went to the parish priest of Taipa, asking him whether this was true or not. And he said, "I saw with my eyes." These things.<sup>25</sup>

Father Teixeira's extreme tale of overcrowding and starvation should not surprise those who are familiar with Macau's geography. Currently supporting a population of 450,000, it is densely populated. During the Second World War, Macau's population swelled to well over one million. The islands to the south

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<sup>24</sup> Although Father Teixeira has spoken to me twice about cannibalism, I choose not to discuss this admittedly fascinating disclosure here, because of the acutely complex and heated academic discussion that surrounds this perhaps most controversial of topics.

were virtually uninhabitable; most of the people of Macau lived in the peninsula. With supply routes cut off, and Macau's terrain unsuited to agriculture, shortages and hunger became a way of life.<sup>26</sup> The other interviewees also corroborate Father Teixeira's story of municipally owned vehicles being requisitioned in order to collect bodies off the streets. Although he was only a small child during the war, Dr. António Rodrigues Jr. offered the following recollection:

Doctor António: I remember there was a postal truck, not really a truck but one of those smaller ones, like a car, but all covered in the back, what are those called?

MC: (not knowing) A lorry?

DA: Yes, I think so. A lorry. And every morning it would drive around town picking up the dead off the streets, dead from hunger, you know, and throw them in the back of the lorry.

MC: It was the post office?

DA: No, well, the lorry had been ... it had post office markings. It was red, red all over, with black and white lettering. Hard times. There was a lot of sickness, too, from malnourishment and overcrowding. People in the streets would get beriberi.<sup>27</sup>

Father Teixeira's tale, while it shares some characteristics with Doctor António's, introduces a number of deeper issues of identity and experience. I have not been able to verify Teixeira's account of living, frozen refugees being disposed of by Mozambiquan soldiers in Taipa, and for him that is clearly the centrepiece of this anecdote. He quickly moves in his account from a discussion of easily verified facts about the refugee experience – the number of refugees, where they came from, how the clubs were closed to house them all, and that many of them were living and dying in the streets – to this horrifying, fascinating tale of mass graves and live burials. This account is replete with racial and social assumptions. Father Teixeira draws a solid line between the European community, which in his mind includes the Macanese, and the Chinese and African communities. The vast majority of those who ended up living on the streets were of Chinese rather than of Portuguese or Macanese descent, both

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<sup>25</sup> Interview with Father Teixeira, June 28, 2000. This interview was conducted in English.

<sup>26</sup> In fact, the Museum of Macau contains an extensive exhibition devoted to the refugees of the war.

<sup>27</sup> Interview with Dr. António Rodrigues, Jr., June 27, 2000. This interview was conducted in English.

because the Portuguese government invested energy in taking care of its own, and because there were far more Chinese refugees in the territory than European. In this story, Mozambiquan soldiers kill Chinese refugees – it is an event that is both linked to and firmly separated from the Portuguese or Macanese refugee experience. In distinguishing both the victims and the perpetrators of the act from himself and his community, Father Teixeira begins to construct the identity of the Mozambiquan soldiers as Other. These soldiers, black, are responsible for the vilest, most degrading step in the path the refugees follow: Portuguese, Macanese and international benefactors try to save as many refugees as they can, feeding them and caring for them through charitable organizations; Portuguese and Macanese authorities (the post office, the municipal office) perform the official duty of clearing up the bodies from the streets; and far from the eyes of Macau, Mozambiquan soldiers must dig trenches, bury corpses, and dispatch the not quite dead. Perhaps most disturbing and telling in this account is the lack of agency accorded the soldiers: “Eh! The commander said that you are dead, you are dead! Finish!” The statement suggests a childlike or primitive element in the soldiers’ minds; they are shocked to see a presumably dead corpse come to life, and their only possible response is to make the situation conform to the way they had been told that it already was, by their commanding officer. The soldiers only react – they do not act.

The distance Father Teixeira constructs between his community and this event is physical as well as metaphorical. The disposal of dying homeless Chinese occurs away from Macau proper, on the relatively uninhabited island of Taipa, in mass graves that clearly echo the concurrent events in the European Holocaust. Teixeira’s, as well as others’, anecdotes firmly link their own experience of the war with the events of the Second World War on the European continent, as when they compare their own post-war physiques to those of concentration camp survivors. Father Teixeira represents himself simultaneously as a detached observer and a benevolent actor within the narrative: he goes out in the streets to feed the starving homeless, and he does

not directly witness the horrors committed on Taipa. In fact, he closes the narrative with a statement that is almost essential for anecdotal testimony – he expresses his own doubt at the story, and turns for verification to another priest who “saw it with his own eyes.” In this way credibility is established without Father Teixeira having to be solely accountable for the narrative’s authenticity. Father Teixeira’s stories of the extremes to which the people of Macau were pushed because of overcrowding and starvation exceed those of other interviewees; he appears very conscious of the appeal of a horror-tinged tale.

The preceding anecdote can easily be taken as a straightforward example of Orientalism in the Portuguese metropolitan’s understanding not only of the war but also of Macau itself. And, indeed, this approach does offer valid insight into that understanding. However, there is more at work in Father Teixeira’s lurid stories. Here is a man, an individual, who has been indicated again and again by the people of Macau – both those currently living in the territory and those abroad – as the premier source on the Second World War in Macau; and he tells stories no one else does. Does Father Teixeira represent another community, the Portuguese metropolitans, or does he represent a link with the Portuguese government culture of the war? After all, unlike the majority of the interviewees, Father Teixeira was an adult during the Second World War. He was also a priest and a teacher, who had friendships with numerous powerful people in government and in the church. When people indicate Father Teixeira as “the man to talk to,” they may simply be acknowledging that he does have a unique insight into the war. Furthermore, since the Second World War Father Teixeira has been one of the few metropolitans to stay in the territory. Most colonial government officials, and many business people, would serve terms of five or ten years and then return to Portugal. Father Teixeira represents a living link to the Portuguese past in Macau, giving a sense of continuity to their presence.

The fact that Father Teixeira tells stories of gore and depravity in so much more detail than members of either of the Macanese communities may also mean that he serves as a pressure valve, and as a witness. Since he tells these

stories, they don't feel they have to, either because they did not see what he describes firsthand (it makes sense that a child in a state-run refugee camp would not see the same things as a young priest in the larger community), or because they are reluctant to revisit past horrors. Whatever the reason for Father Teixeira's role, it is a prominent one, and one that is essential to any discussion of the Second World War in Macau. In the following anecdote, he departs from his more gruesome tendencies, and tells a story that may give some insight into the way the Portuguese metropolitans represent their own part in the war.

While stories of starvation and deprivation tend to highlight the suffering of the interviewees because of circumstances beyond their control, stories of espionage and diplomacy in Macau emphasize the resourcefulness and inherent pragmatism that the Portuguese in Macau consider to be one of their greatest strengths. In these stories, the main players are invariably either groups rather than individuals ("the Japanese," or "the Americans") or are people who wielded some kind of power during the war – diplomats, consul-generals, the governor, the governor's assistant, gang leaders, et cetera.

Although the interviewees all described a number of political incidents, I am limiting my discussion here to the one that I feel is most problematic, and perhaps ultimately most rewarding in terms of dominant narrative and collective versus individual memory. I draw primarily on Father Teixeira's testimony, but supplement it with the accounts offered by Leonel Barros, who enlisted in the Portuguese army during the war.<sup>28</sup>

Given that Japan and Portugal had signed a non-aggression pact, the story that the colonial government of Macau managed, through diplomacy, to avoid being invaded by Japanese troops is one that strains credibility. In fact, only Father Teixeira and Leonel Barros told this story, and they did so in such markedly different ways that at first I didn't suspect that they were recounting the

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<sup>28</sup> And he must have been about fifteen, too, because he is only in his early seventies now.

same story.<sup>29</sup> It was only on deeper reflection that certain elements seemed so aligned that I began to feel I might be dealing with a collective myth. Although the details are very different, I believe that the themes cohere to a clear narrative about the Second World War in Macau.

From the time of the Portuguese arrival through the Opium Wars in the mid-nineteenth century and beyond, Macau as a city has been founded upon pragmatism, cooperation, and compromise. These are some of the strongest themes in a narrative which portrays a tiny, culturally unique enclave struggling to maintain both its identity and its relative autonomy. In the early 1930s the Portuguese Consul-General to Canton, Vasco Martins Morgado, remarked that in order to survive Macau had to behave like a reed in a tempest: to bend and not to break. The two versions of this diplomatic narrative that follow, I believe, exemplify the sense of self-preservation that has characterized Macau's international relations for over four hundred years. In each, the resourcefulness and diplomatic savvy of one of Macau's leaders averted disaster.

A recording malfunction deprived me of a record of Father Teixeira's oral narrative of this event, but my memory of his account corresponds closely to an article that he published on the subject in 1978.

The Japanese were piled up along the border, giving us all kinds of difficulties. Who solved the problem? The Wolf [O Lobo]. One day he told me, "Sometimes I don't even tell the Governor of the steps I take in unraveling a problem. Only after it's all resolved do I tell him of my actions." One day, the Japanese began artillery fire from Chin-San towards Lapa. The bombing went on through the night and we couldn't sleep. A rumor quickly spread that they were about to invade Macau. The Wolf gets into a car with a few dozen bottles of Port wine, passes along the Inner Harbour and goes off to ask the Japanese to cease firing, because Macau is terrified. The Wolf offered the Japanese Commander, who was new to his post, the bottles that he had brought. Then he escorted

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<sup>29</sup> In her master's thesis "Macau durante a Segunda Guerra Mundial: sociedade, educação física e desporto" (Universidade de Macau, 1999), Isabel Maria Braga outlines Father Teixeira's account of this event in a lengthy footnote discussing Pedro Lobo and his "diplomacia do Vinho do Porto", 69.

the man to his house, gave him a huge dinner, got him drunk, and the artillery fire drowned that night in Port wine.<sup>30</sup>

"O Lobo", or "The Wolf", was in fact Pedro Lobo, head of the rice rationing agency and right hand man to the governor. Pedro Lobo was renowned throughout Macau, according both to written sources and to all the interviewees, as the man who got things done. He wielded real power during the war in a way that the actual governor did not. According to Father Teixeira, Lobo was the son of a Portuguese man and a Timorese woman, and "he was a wonderful man, very clever, very clever. And actually, they called him the governor of Macau. Because the governor, anything that he needed, he would call Pedro Lobo."<sup>31</sup> Whether or not a new Japanese commander was actually firing artillery at Macau, the narrative serves to highlight the resourcefulness of The Wolf (where did he get a carload of Port wine in the middle of the war?) in maintaining peace with the Japanese and in preserving Macau's safety. Consider, however, Leonel Barros' recollection of the events, bearing in mind that he was a soldier at the time.

LB: We know that the Japanese don't want anything with us. Because we are neutral. So, but, sometimes some of the Japanese soldiers and officers, when they drink, they are terrific, you know?<sup>32</sup> They forget what is written in the paper, they just, once in a while, they want to come to Macau. So, we had this kind of problem. So we had to go to the border gate, you know where the border gate is, you've been there? We had tanks there, and machine guns, everything. So we prepared for their advance, but one of the officers said, "you know how many are there? Thirty thousand. We are one thousand five hundred men. Around Macau. And they have thirty thousand." Every time, anytime they can get thirty thousand men. Anytime, to come to Macau. The governor of Macau, he said, "Okay. I'm going to talk to the commander of the Japanese army over there." And what he did, he called for a driver, he put he, his wife, Gabriela, and one daughter and two sons all inside the car. Went straight to the

<sup>30</sup> Father Teixeira, "O Lobo," in Boletim Eclesiástico da Diocese de Macau (Macau, 76 (885) Oct. 1978), 520.

<sup>31</sup> Father Teixeira, June 28, 2000.

<sup>32</sup> I'm pretty sure that, when he first used the word "terrific", close to the beginning of the text, he meant "terrific" in the sense of "causing terror", that is "terrifying", rather than in the more current and colloquial sense of "great" (which is probably the meaning of "terrific" when used the second time).

border gate. Okay. And they came out of the car, and asked the commander of the Japanese, "What do you people want from Macau?" "We want to conquer Macau, we want to this, we want to that," "Okay. I won't say you cannot do it. I concede, you have a big army there. Okay. Our defenses are one thousand something. But, before you step over this line, you have to kill me, my wife, my daughter, and my two sons. Do it right now." They gave up. The Japanese gave up. They said, "sorry, sorry, sorry," and they went back. You have to kill my family, the whole family, then you can conquer, you can kill anybody you want.

MC: Amazing.

LB: They gave up. Terrific, huh?<sup>33</sup>

At first glance, these seem like distinct stories. However, each story deals with Japanese troops unilaterally deciding to advance on Macau, without orders from their superiors to do so (and indeed, in direct violation of the non-aggression pact). In each, the "governor" (either the real one or The Wolf) gets in a car and drives to the border to confront the commander of the Japanese. In one tale the governor offers a gift to the commander; in the other, he challenges the commander's sense of honour. In both, the governor uses diplomatic cunning to sway the belligerent Japanese. Neither of these stories is necessarily "truer" than the other – both appear to require a certain suspension of disbelief on the part of the listener. This story in particular underscores the fact that while Father Teixeira's role in Macau, and his wartime recollections, are essential to understanding narratives of the war, they are neither proscriptive nor do they take precedence over the memories of other less celebrated people who resided in Macau during the Second World War.

### Distinct Communities, Distinct Memories

Just as the stories that Father Teixeira tells may serve to narrate aspects of the war that others may not be capable of expressing, so does each Macanese community tell its construction of the war in the way that best reflects what the community wishes to remember – and to have others remember – about its past and its identity.

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<sup>33</sup> Interview with Leonel Barros, July 2, 2000. This interview was conducted in English.



An analysis of the different themes that emerged during the interview process reveals these constructions. One of the most dominant themes was that of deprivation, of doing without in the face of mass shortages and extreme rationing. A second theme highlighted the unique enjoyment that people were able to derive, even during war, from athletics, dances, and other recreational activities. Related to this theme is the contention that the diasporic Macanese changed the cultural atmosphere in Macau during the war: that they “shook things up”. In contrast to themes of enjoyment and recreation, incidents of violence and chronic fear comprised a third theme. Finally, actual military action, as in the case of the American bombing of Macau in January, 1945, forms a fourth distinct theme in the interviews. As becomes clear, each community’s casting of these themes reveals aspects of its self-perception as well as facets of Macau’s history.

The ability to endure, to survive, and to overcome is an essential thread in most of the stories that both Macanese communities tell of the war. The way they frame these stories, however, is markedly different. The diasporic Macanese, as refugees, were accustomed to the shortages and the uncertainties that had already plagued Hong Kong. As refugees, most of them lived in centres that were established by the government for their benefit, and under these circumstances their lives were largely regulated. This is not to suggest, however, that the diasporic Macanese did not experience hardships during the war. Even with rations, they often went hungry. With staples in short supply, they often made clothes out of old bed sheets, and used cardboard or discarded tire rubber to patch their old shoes. One interviewee recalled the hours that teenagers would spend discussing all the chocolate cake and other luxury foods that they would eat when the war ended.<sup>34</sup> The language the diasporic Macanese used to describe the hardships they experienced, however, bespeaks a sense of perseverance and optimism in the face of hardship. This is not evidenced specifically in what the interviewees said about deprivation, but

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<sup>34</sup> This interviewee requested to remain anonymous.

rather in the way they chose to focus their discussion on other aspects of their experience – professional development, for instance, or recreational activities.<sup>35</sup>

In contrast, the resident Macanese largely focus their recollection of the Second World War on shortages, rationing, and deprivation. Be it going without power one in three nights in order to conserve energy, painstakingly sorting through crushed, substandard rice to pick out the stones, or replacing the worn-out soles on a pair of shoes with old tire rubber, the resident Macanese experience tended to be one of surmounting obstacles. And yet, unlike the triumphant tone expressed by the diasporic Macanese, there is here an undercurrent in these stories of tolerating, of carrying on regardless, that speaks of exhaustion from and resignation to hardship. Where the diasporic Macanese tend to downplay the importance of suffering through shortages, the resident Macanese highlight it. In the words of Henrique de Senna Fernandes, who had just finished high school when the war broke out,

Macau was a sleepy city, a calm city. No one worried about much; we lived well. Goods in the markets and the stores were cheap, and we really did live well. Then, suddenly, something happened for which we were completely unprepared. We were taken by surprise, and in those months we didn't know what was happening, we were confused. All we knew was that there were shortages in the market: butter disappeared, rice disappeared, oil disappeared, flour – everything we needed for our daily life. And then the war brought many refugees from Hong Kong: English, and others.<sup>36</sup>

De Senna Fernandes also recalled that, while generally food could be obtained at exorbitant prices, there was a period in 1942 when Macau experienced famine and some foodstuffs simply could not be bought. Rations were distributed to families – each family received a certain amount of bread, rice, oil and sugar per day. According to Americo Cordeiro,<sup>37</sup> within a neighbourhood families that were doing well would share their rations, or what food they may have been able to come by, with their friends and neighbours. Cordeiro harks back frequently in his discussion of food shortages to the fact

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<sup>35</sup> These will be discussed in more detail below.

<sup>36</sup> Interview with Henrique de Senna Fernandes, June 26, 2000. Interview conducted in Portuguese.

that the people of Macau could do little but “agüentar,” or endure, in the face of deprivation. This attitude differs greatly from that of the diasporic Macanese, who see themselves not as enduring but rather as overcoming the obstacles they faced.

One of the best methods the diasporic Macanese had to maintain optimism was through personal development in work, recreation, and community. For some, the ardent athleticism that characterized the refugee centres is key. For others, doctors and policemen, the war was a time when they had the chance to face professional challenges and develop their careers. The story of Dr. Germano Ribeiro is an excellent case in point. Dr. Ribeiro moved to Macau in early 1942, following his newlywed bride and their families. He became a volunteer doctor for the refugees, and had time to open his own private practice at the same time. Dr. Ribeiro’s young family was growing, and he had the opportunity to provide the best medical care he could to Macau’s refugees under adverse circumstances, using techniques that he identified as primitive, yet ingenious.<sup>38</sup> Although there were shortages, most of the people with whom Dr. Ribeiro had contact were not starving, and in his opinion it was through the generosity and well-organized innovation of the colonial government of Macau that refugees and locals by and large received adequate food and shelter. He expressed his heartfelt gratitude to the government of Macau for so openly welcoming and providing for the masses.

The culture of the refugee communities in Macau through the war was one of making the best of a poor situation – of optimistic perseverance. The Macanese whom I interviewed indicated that within the centres, athletic teams, musical groups, and other recreational organizations were quickly established. In some ways, this was a concerted effort to stave off the boredom that might have come with life in the centres. Luis Souza, who spent the duration of the war living in the Hotel Bela Vista, remembers the sense of waiting and inactivity

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<sup>37</sup> Interview with Americo Cordeiro, June 28, 2000. Interview conducted in Portuguese.

<sup>38</sup> Interview with Dr. Ribeiro, July 23, 2001.

that sometimes accompanied life in a centre.<sup>39</sup> However, the desire to remain active was something that the diasporic Macanese held close. As mentioned above, their approach to life was decidedly different from that of the Macanese who had always lived in Macau; the diasporic Macanese considered themselves more active, more modern, and more positive-thinking than their local cousins. If the responses of the interviewees in Macau are an accurate reflection upon the situation, the locals too saw the influx of diasporic Macanese as shaking up the culture – for better or for worse. Every night after eating their sparse dinner rations, the people of the centres would go out and play volleyball, badminton, soccer, softball, and any number of sports. The local people, according to one interviewee, were shocked to see young women running around a sports field with bare arms and legs, but there was little they could do to stop it. According to the same interviewee, “before we came, the people of Macau were quite dull and conservative ... and we were quite different, always playing sports and music, organizing events, and not conservative in the same way.”<sup>40</sup> In his work History in the Bag: Chronicles of the Old Hotels of Macau, Luís Andrade de Sá remarks that “the Hong Kong refugees brought with them the style and worldliness of the grand metropolis. Most of them were rich, and accustomed to a life free of the social constraints still common in the conservative, rigidly Catholic Macau.”<sup>41</sup> Apparently, the Bishop of Macau published a “Regulations of Dress for Ladies Attending Religious Ceremonies” after a number of the Macanese refugees attended Mass in sleeveless, short dresses, devoid of hats or stockings.<sup>42</sup>

Some local people gradually became involved in the dances and other social activities organized by the diasporic Macanese, and indeed the local Macanese still remember with great fondness the good times that were had. Perhaps the best example of this positive thinking is the testimony of Alvaro Guterres, who came to Hong Kong from Shanghai as a teen and then moved to

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<sup>39</sup> Interview with Luis Souza, July 23 2001. Interview conducted in English.

<sup>40</sup> This interviewee requested to remain anonymous.

<sup>41</sup> Luís Andrade de Sá, A história na bagagem: crónicas dos velhos hotéis de Macau (Macau: Instituto Cultural, 1989), 113.

Macau when Hong Kong fell to the Japanese. Guterres and some friends farmed a patch of sandy reclaimed land in Macau, growing sweet potatoes and whatever else they could raise on the poor soil. For some time he lived on a boat, called a tung hoi, and then he eventually joined the police force, where he worked for three years during the war. When asked what life was like in Macau during the Second World War, Guterres replied simply, "it was quite a happy life there."<sup>43</sup>

The resident Macanese remember the enjoyment they found in wartime dances and social events as intrinsically linked to the diasporic Macanese and other refugees who sojourned in the territory. Many of the refugees who came to Macau from Manila, Shanghai, and Hong Kong were musicians who had played in the nightclubs of these cosmopolitan cities. When they arrived in Macau, they began to hold nightly concerts in many of the city's hotels. Even when people did not have enough money for food, they could go to the Hotel Central and dance the night away to the music of Art Carneiro and his ten-piece orchestra.<sup>44</sup> If the testimony given above is any indication, the people of Macau had hitherto not experienced much of a nightlife, and now the refugees had brought a new vitality and playfulness to the conservative and sleepy colony. Added to this is the fact that the entire experience was tinged with a sense that one might as well live in the moment, because of the complete uncertainty of the future.<sup>45</sup> Where the resident Macanese mentioned their positive experiences during the war as secondary to their suffering, the diasporic Macanese placed the good times they had far above the bad in their testimonies.<sup>46</sup>

Never is this difference more clear than in the interviewees' discussions of violence and crime in Macau during the Second World War. For the resident

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Interview with Alvaro Guterres, July 20 2001.

<sup>44</sup> Carneiro was a favourite. He also took it upon himself to conduct a girls' choir while in Macau, and his orchestra was routinely advertised in the papers of the time.

<sup>45</sup> This point was made by Henrique de Senna Fernandes, and echoed by the other interviewees.

<sup>46</sup> When asked to discuss the war, virtually all resident Macanese interviewees began by saying what a hard or bad time it was, while all diasporic Macanese interviewees said something akin to, "you may not believe it, but we had some very good times in Macau during the war."

Macanese, the fear of violence and crime, either within the territory or from without, was omnipresent. This was especially true in the later years of the war, as both the Japanese military situation and internal circumstances in Macau became more desperate. If we consider the following set of testimonies, a clear picture of the ambient violence becomes clear:

So, there were problems there once in a while, gangs, Guomindang, Chinese army, they have different groups here, and some of them are helping Japanese for information during wartime, spies, we call them, spies, right? War spies. And so, in the main street, Avenida Almeida Ribeiro, our main street, everyday there's shooting. You're not safe, if you go to the street. You cannot tell your wife, or tell your husband, "I'm coming home very soon." No. Once you are out of the house anytime, they can kill you. But their intention is not killing you. The shooting between gangs, and then you in the middle. This was happening everyday. You're never safe. And at nighttime, no light in Macau. No light, all dark.<sup>47</sup>

DA: And in the war, you know, we had to queue up for food all the time, there were always shortages. Guns were easy to come by and there were many armed robberies, for food. There were so many refugees. They came over in ferries from Hong Kong. (The phone rings and he talks for a bit. He hangs up looking very sober.)

DA: Two policemen were shot dead.

MC: When?! (Assuming he just got the news [or something])

DA: Here, in Macau, on the wharf, by the Japanese. (Oh, during the war, I think to myself). One was sleeping, and they shot him, and the other was running to phone for help, and he was shot too. The Japanese took a ferry full of refugees away. They were machine-gunning, from the boat, down the length of Avenida Almeida Ribeiro, to prevent the police from getting them. And they kept the ferry between their tugboat and the shore, so there was little the police could do. They did return fire, but they didn't want to hit any of the refugees who were on the boat.<sup>48</sup>

And there was so much hunger during the war. You couldn't wear earrings, like you have on now. They would be ripped out by beggars, desperate for food.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Interview with Leonel Barros, July 2, 2000.

<sup>48</sup> Interview with Dr. António Rodrigues Jr, June 27 2000.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

Oh yes, there were Japanese here, lots of them. You know, they took Hong Kong and Shanghai, and Singapore, but not Macau. But they came here. They used Macau as a base. One day I was at home looking out the window, and the Japanese came, and I went running. I was pregnant at the time, and I had a miscarriage from the fright.<sup>50</sup>

You know, there were so many out of work. Beggars everywhere. To buy a bottle of oil or a loaf of bread was an ordeal. Beggars would grab the bags right out of your hands and run with them; they were starving, of course.<sup>51</sup>

These stories reflect a strong fear that pervaded day-to-day life for the Macanese of Macau. According to Isabel Maria Braga, the violence escalated significantly throughout 1945: between Christmas Day 1944 and the second week of January, 1945, four police officers were shot (two fatally) in the line of duty; on February 2, 1945, the Japanese Consul was assassinated.<sup>52</sup> On July 9 of the same year Fernando Rodrigues, the President of the Red Cross in Macau, was assassinated by a crime syndicate over a rice rationing dispute.<sup>53</sup> What is most revealing about these memories, however, is not the violence inherent in the stories, or even the fact that when compared to Father Teixeira's they are rather tame. It is the fact that these stories, coupled with those of deprivation, form the centrepiece of the Macanese of Macau's stories of the war – in contrast to those of the diasporic Macanese, whose stories feature almost no crime or violence.

In light of the above facts regarding violence against the police, Alvaro Guterres' construction of his wartime experiences is remarkable. He served on the islands of Taipa and Coloane, and within the peninsula of Macau. Mr.

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<sup>50</sup> Interview with Aida de Jesus, June 25 2000. From the way she was talking, it sounded as if the Japanese were coming down the street; but then, if she was scared, why would she run out into the street? Were they coming into the house? Did she just turn to run from the window and fall? I couldn't figure out exactly what she meant, and it was clear she did not want to delve deeper into the story. This interview was conducted in Portuguese.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> And it is unclear as to who the assassin was, although many believe that it was a more belligerent faction of the Japanese military, which disagreed with the Consul's moderate views on diplomacy with the British.

Guterres remembers his time in Macau fondly, and when asked about the perils of his police duty, he simply replies, "Well, there were times when we encountered danger. There were times when people, robberies, and they called for help, you know, in the early hours of the morning." Although he briefly mentioned his visit to a leper colony on the island of Coloane, he quickly returned to a discussion of the challenges and rewards of his farming experience during the war, of the beauty of the old colonial houses in Macau, and of the wonderful guitar music that could be heard in the evenings at dances and parties.

Dr. Ribeiro spoke of the danger of being drafted by the Japanese to be a doctor with their army, which was badly in need of medical staff, and commented that on at least one occasion he pretended to be bedridden with malaria in order to avoid dealing with this threat. However, even in this discussion, Dr. Ribeiro stressed that overall his experience in Macau was personally and professionally rewarding.<sup>54</sup> Finally, when asked if Macau was dangerous during the war, Luis Souza stressed that it was a safe haven during a time when Hong Kong was dangerous, and its future unsure.<sup>55</sup>

Although Macau was officially neutral, its future was indeed uncertain. The territory had to balance its relationships with the belligerents, and often had to co-operate with them in ways that it might have preferred to avoid. The American bombing of Macau in January, 1945, saw Macau caught in an uncomfortable position between the Japanese and the Allies. Like the story of an averted Japanese invasion, this one may offer insight into the opinions and perspectives of the communities which witnessed them.

By 1945 the Japanese were fighting a defensive war. The United States had advanced across the Pacific, the Axis was flagging, and the tables had turned against Japan. With Japanese supply routes in danger, fuel and other essentials for the war effort were at a premium. In January it came to the

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<sup>53</sup> According to Isabel Maria Braga, "Macau durante a Segunda Guerra Mundial," 82, Rodrigues refused to pay the syndicate's "tax" on the rice he was importing – the case is quite a famous one, because of the highly public circumstances surrounding the assassination.

<sup>54</sup> Interview with Dr. Germano Ribeiro, July 23, 2001.



attention of the Allies that Japanese forces intended to avail themselves of the stockpiled airplane fuel that was housed in a hangar in the northern part of Macau. Different stories give different details on how the Allies found out about this (although it was always through some form of espionage), and on the circumstances surrounding the handover of the fuel to Japan. Was it a negotiated deal whereby Japan would exchange badly needed rice for fuel? Were the Japanese planning simply to walk right in and take the fuel, because they could have done? Although most accept that the latter was possible, they maintain that in fact out of desperation Macau had agreed to let Japan have the fuel in exchange for food.

This story, which would appear to be of great importance to those who were in Macau during the war, figures only sporadically and briefly in the narratives told by the diasporic Macanese. Luis Souza recalls that

we went up to the roof of the Bela Vista and we could see the American planes coming in to strafe their target, right across the bay, Praia Grande. In fact some shells, empty casings from the strafing bullets landed on the Bela Vista roof, and we kept them as souvenirs! But it was harrowing. We didn't like the bombing too much, because it was dangerous, but on the other hand we thought that this was, it meant that the war was turning around in favour of the Allies.<sup>56</sup>

This testimony, while succinct, is extremely brief when compared to the long, detailed stories that the resident Macanese told about the American bombing. Similarly, when asked about the bombing, then-police officer Guterres replied:

At that time, when they attacked, I was doing work together with another policeman at an outpost on the edge of Macau, where there was water, a lot of reservoir water, an isolated place quite far away. About forty-five minutes to one hour's walk from the police station. And we had to walk back to the police station when our time was up, you know? And this friend of mine was quite scared about the bombing, but I, being older than him I calmed him down and

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<sup>55</sup> Interview with Luis Souza, July 23, 2001.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

said, "now don't worry, everything will be all right."  
And then we finished our duty, we walked back to the  
station, reported in and returned our arms<sup>57</sup>

After establishing that he had not in fact witnessed the bombing, Guterres changed the subject of discussion without commenting further on the significance of the American attack. The other diasporic Macanese did not even mention the incident.

In contrast, all the resident Macanese can remember precisely where they were and what they were doing when the attack occurred. Many thought that the planes were Japanese and American pilots engaged in a dogfight, and actually went out to watch the action. Leonel Barros was stationed at the military installation near the hangar, and witnessed the attack:

So the Americans, on the sixteenth of January 1945, a Wednesday morning at nine something, we heard the sound of the planes. So, I was at the barracks, and my commander, from the window, he said, "Hey! Five-three!" My number in the army was five-three. "Hey! Five-three! What's that noise?" I said, "I don't know, I heard the planes coming from somewhere, I don't know where they are." So the planes started to shoot our barracks. Because our barracks are ... you don't mind? I have to, I like to, when I show people I like to write it down, just make a sketch. [He takes out some paper to draw on, while muttering] You see, our barracks are here, so the airfield is here. Quite near. It's the Oriental Hotel, now. The hangar was here, and the Japanese take the gas from here, they give us rice. So the planes came, here, starting to shoot our barracks first, and then after, because they didn't want to destroy the barracks. They tried not to let soldiers come out of the barracks. The fire was all here [indicating a semi-circle around the front of the barracks], concentrated in here. So the other plane started to shoot the hangar. In less than five minutes, a big explosion. Okay. They destroyed it. By eleven o'clock in the morning the same day, they left.

To make sure that everything was destroyed, at three o'clock in the afternoon on the same day they came and started to shoot again to make sure that everything was destroyed. But many people, I remember, many people went to see, here, to look at this. When they came, starting to shoot. But their intention was good. They didn't try to make any, to kill people or anything. The main point is this

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<sup>57</sup> Interview with Alvaro Guterres, July 20 2001.

[pounding his sketch of the hangar on his desk.] So, this was the sixteenth of January, 1945.<sup>58</sup>

Despite the planes' obvious attempt to deter local people from approaching the bombing site through firing warning shots, many were curious about what was happening and so went to investigate. Furthermore, after the bombing had ended, a great number (including Americo Cordeiro, Henrique de Senna Fernandes, Dr. António Rodrigues and others) went directly to where the bombing and shooting had occurred in order to collect bits of shrapnel and discarded shells as souvenirs. So, when the American planes returned a second time – many believe this was so that they could photograph the site, for verification that the target had indeed been destroyed – they again fired warning shots in a broad semi circle in the sand around the bomb site, frightening the people away.

Despite the obvious infringement that such an attack made on Portuguese sovereignty, by a power with whom Portugal ostensibly held a non-aggression pact, the Macanese of Macau do not appear angry or resentful. In the immediate aftermath, the Americans claimed that they had meant to bomb a Japanese target in mainland China and had missed. After the war, the United States agreed to pay reparations to Portugal – however, there is no evidence to suggest that such a payment in fact occurred. This willingness on the part of the people of Macau to accept the American attack should not be construed as mere passivity or apathy. Rather, it reflects acutely the fundamental paradox that Macau was experiencing in its tug-of-war between Japan and the Allies. According to the anecdotes given by the Macanese of Macau, the territory reluctantly agreed to give the Japanese fuel, only as a means to stave off widespread hunger. Being ideologically aligned with the Allies, however, they could not protest against an act of war which further weakened Japan.

It seems odd at first that the diasporic Macanese would place so little importance on what for the resident Macanese was so clearly a critical and a traumatic event. However, when taken in consideration with the other memories

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<sup>58</sup> Interview with Leonel Barros, July 2, 2000.

that members of each Macanese community shared, it begins to make sense that the diasporic Macanese would not place acute importance on the American attack. After all, this was not something that happened directly to them; it was in one sense an act of war by the American forces against Japan, and the fact that it happened on Macau's soil might be incidental. Furthermore, this incident does not fit well with the broader theme in the diasporic Macanese narrative of optimism and personal triumph over adversity. To more fully comprehend some of the reasons behind the distinct narratives told by the two communities, we must employ a more theoretical approach than has hitherto been undertaken.

### Theory and Method: Oral History and the Macau Interview

It is social groups which determine what is  
'memorable' and also how it will be remembered.  
Individuals identify with public events of importance  
to their group.<sup>59</sup>

These stories do not presume to tell the definitive history of Macau's the Second World War – only their social groups' memory thereof. Such group memories evolve after the fact, out of strings of events that communities choose to remember, presumably because these events now mean something to those communities. Chris Wickham and James Fentress, in Social Memory, discuss Frederick Bartlett's "effort after memory" in a way that should prove useful here.

Bartlett was interested to confirm his hypothesis that memory conforms to interpretation. When the memory was still fresh, subjects were frequently aware that there were possible discrepancies between the story as they remembered it and their interpretations. Later, though the memory of the interpretation remained, the memory of those parts of the story that did not fit this interpretation tended to fade. Subjects might still remember that the story had been ambiguous; they forgot, however, what, from their perspective, had been the discordant bits.<sup>60</sup>

In Living Through the Blitz, Tom Harrisson takes a slightly different, yet related, approach toward the issue of selective memory loss or even distortion in the

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<sup>59</sup> Peter Burke, "History as Social Memory" in Thomas Butler, ed. Memory: History, Culture and the Mind (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 98.

development of a dominant narrative: "Bartlett, the great pioneer of memory research, as psychology professor at Cambridge, has proven in twenty ways that memory is self-deception."<sup>61</sup> Harrison's vantage point in Living Through the Blitz is a remarkable one. He worked with the Mass Observation (M-O) project during the Blitz, and so was in an unparalleled position to compare contemporary, firsthand records of people's impressions and actions with their recollections of the Blitz recorded decades later. What he found was a frequently marked discrepancy between people's "on the spot" testimony and their subsequent adherence to tales of high morale and ingenuity in the face of mass attack. Harrison, who had been living outside of England in the years after the war, remarked in a typically self-referential passage, "It has been a greater advantage, however, that he [i.e. Harrison] has not been subject to the subsequent three decades of brain-washing ... he returned to the M-O papers fresh from the jungle and long-house, with a sense of shock."<sup>62</sup> Harrison believed that his removal from England had preserved in his mind the truth of what had happened, as corroborated by the written M-O documents, just as those who remained at home had their memories damaged and distorted by high morale propaganda. He quite forcefully asserted "the only valid information for this sort of social history of war is that recorded at the time on the spot."<sup>63</sup>

Harrison highlights both the fallibility and the mutability of memory, criticizing it because it conforms to subsequent interpretative frameworks in a highly subjective way. He does not, however, seem to adequately value the functional attributes that such a memory process might possess. While he may feel betrayed by the silencing of certain aspects of the Blitz – "there has been a massive, largely unconscious cover-up of the more disagreeable facts" – it must be acknowledged that these facts may not fit into the larger narrative of the Second World War which the English have created for themselves. After all, what has been eliminated from this narrative is predominantly apathy and

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<sup>60</sup> James Fentress and Chris Wickham, Social Memory (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 35.

<sup>61</sup> Tom Harrison, Living Through the Blitz (London: William Collins, 1976), 324.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, 13.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, 330.

confusion. People have also written themselves into socially important events; for example, in the early 1970s a woman who in 1939 remarked that she had not heard Chamberlain's speech because she was playing the piano now claimed that she had been sitting around the radio with her extended family. While these memories are clearly at odds with the contemporary testimony, Harrison dismisses them rather than looking more closely into what their construction may mean for the identity of the narrator.

For a contrasting approach to the alleged fallibility of memory, we need look no further than to Alessandro Portelli, author of The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History. Portelli is widely considered to be the most vocal advocate of studying oral history as it relates to collective myth. He would probably have treated the data that Harrison presents in a nearly opposite fashion. Portelli states, "Oral sources are credible but with a different credibility. The importance of oral testimony may lie not in its adherence to fact, but rather in its departure from it, as imagination, symbolism, and desire emerge. Therefore, there are no 'false' oral sources."<sup>64</sup> While some might find this an extreme assertion, it serves to show the range of opinions oral historians maintain regarding their sources.

According to Donald A. Ritchie, editor of Twayne's Oral History Series, "Historians are not the only ones who can benefit from hindsight. Sometimes only the passage of time enables people to make sense of earlier events in their lives. Actions take on new significance depending on their later consequences."<sup>65</sup> Ritchie is not suggesting that after the fact earlier events make more sense because we now have a fuller picture of the past, as in the case of a soldier who better understands his part of a battle when he later learns what was happening on other parts of the battlefield. What Ritchie proposes is better illustrated by a situation wherein the soldier's memory of being hit by shrapnel will differ depending on whether he enjoyed a full recovery from the

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<sup>64</sup> Alessandro Portelli, as quoted by Paul Thompson in "Believe it or Not: Rethinking the Historical Interpretation of Memory" in Glenace Edwall and Jaclyn Jeffrey, eds. Memory and History: Essays on Recalling and Interpreting Experience (Lanham MD: University Press of America, 1994), 8.

injury or had to have his leg amputated. This example, perhaps an extreme one, clearly illustrates what we all must recognize: we, communities as well as individuals, see past events through the lens of everything that has happened between those events and the present, thus imbuing them with meaning.

Over time, then, a community develops a story about its past that reflects something normative about that community. If “time ... is the range of disjointed moments, practices, and symbols that thread the historical relations between events and narrative,” the attributes of the time that elapses between events and the subsequent retelling of those events inform the eventual dominant narrative.<sup>66</sup> Without the dominant narrative, the events of the past might make sense to the people who experienced them, but those people would not be a cohesive community because they would lack a common past.

The case of Macau during the Second World War is, of course, markedly different from that of England during the Blitz. For one thing, it appears that there exists no dominant narrative of the Second World War for the entire territory, largely because the vast majority of people who now live in the territory did not live there – or anywhere – together during the war. Portugal, unlike England, was a non-combatant during the war and in any case held limited authority over Macau. By all accounts, the territory was a loose affiliation of consulates, organized crime syndicates, and charitable organizations, the most powerful of which was the Catholic Church.<sup>67</sup> The theories and conclusions of Trouillot, Ritchie, Portelli, and even Harrison may still apply, however, to our small sample of people who experienced the war. It would appear that these people have in fact constructed dominant narratives, collective myths, of Macau during the war. In so doing, they have doubtless silenced some events while highlighting others, interpreting them in ways that may or may not conform to the facts; were it ever possible to ascertain what those facts are. Ultimately, they

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<sup>65</sup> Donald A. Ritchie, “Forward” in Edwall and Jeffrey, eds. *Memory and History*, viii.

<sup>66</sup> Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston MA: Beacon Press, 1995), 146. By “dominant narrative” I mean simply the memory of events which the community shares, and which the community tells both within itself and to outside listeners.

<sup>67</sup> This assertion does not figure in one specific source, but is rather generally taken as accepted fact by interviewees and Macau scholars.

have constructed a past for Macau during the Second World War which reflects their own life experiences before, during and after the war, and the identity of the communities to which they belong.

If we believe the assertion made (in different ways) by Harrison, Ritchie, Portelli, and the others, Father Teixeira's stories about Macau during the Second World War may in fact not be "true". Unlike Harrison, however, I cannot believe that this robs them of significance. Everything that Father Teixeira chose to say, and the way in which he said it, makes a statement about Macau, about the Portuguese community's identity, and about the war. He makes it extremely clear that his community was distinct from the Chinese, from other ethnic groups in Macau, and that their commitment to helping refugees and maintaining some semblance of order in the face of adversity was in part what distinguished the Portuguese speakers from those around them. Unlike Harrison's interviewees, Father Teixeira seems to relish the exposure of the "more disagreeable facts" of the Second World War in Macau. This may be born of a concern that the rest of the world has not adequately acknowledged the gravity of Macau's experiences; further supporting this possibility is the preoccupation that so many interviewees had with likening their own experiences to those of the persecuted in Europe at the same time. Perhaps, as Donald Ritchie's approach to oral history suggests, it has taken over fifty years of reflection and experience for Father Teixeira to fix in his mind the experiences of deprivation, of horror, of perseverance and ultimately of survival, in such a way that they represent the resilience, honour, diplomatic savvy and resourcefulness that characterize the Portuguese of Macau.

For the two Macanese communities, other focal points form the centrepieces of their narratives. Where the resident Macanese put stories of deprivation and violence foremost in their accounts of the war, the diasporic Macanese concentrate immediately on the enjoyment that they experienced. They do not demean the suffering of the time, but they concentrate their anecdotes on the positive aspects of their experience. Mr. Guterres' and the others' anecdotes bespeak a will on the part of the diasporic Macanese to



emphasize their construction of the experience of the Second World War in Macau as a happy and a productive time. This positive approach to the past is in sharp contrast to the violence and war that form the centre of the local Macanese memory. Each group tells stories that highlight perseverance, hardships, good times, and major events – but the tone and focus differ.

Just as Father Teixeira's often unique anecdotes may be rooted in his experience before, during and after the war, so too may the different ways of remembering evidenced by the Macanese communities be a product of diverging life experiences. In the case of the local Macanese, this was a time when their home, tranquil and serene, exploded in chaos brought about by a war that did not directly concern them or their Portuguese government. In contrast, the diasporic Macanese had come from war-torn areas to their ancestral homeland – some had never been to Macau before the war broke out. For them, Macau represented a haven during the Second World War, and a time of community building through their many social and recreational clubs. At the same time, many of the young people living in refugee centres would have been spared first-hand knowledge of the atrocities that may have been going on in the territory; just as Macau was a haven in the war, so perhaps were the centres. Havens within Macau. It may speak to the success of the colonial government that for so many who came to Macau under arduous circumstances, as refugees, the experience was nevertheless a pleasantly memorable one overall.

Life experiences since the end of the war may also shape the way in which the Macanese communities remember the years from 1941 to 1945. For the local Macanese, while the end of the war meant the end of shortages, the territory continued to function as a refuge for those fleeing the Chinese civil war and eventually the People's Republic of China, which was formed in 1949. The territory, while it had changed greatly over the course of the war, continued to be home. To this day, the geography of the war continues to surround the local Macanese, in spite of the massive development that has overtaken the territory in the past twenty years. For the local Macanese who lived through it, the war is still omnipresent. By contrast, the diasporic Macanese left Macau as soon as

the war ended. Many of them secured work in Hong Kong with the government there, and lived there for decades before eventually deciding to move to Canada (or the United States, or Brazil, or Australia, or the many other places around the world where diasporic Macanese now live). There is a physical as well as a temporal distance between the diasporic Macanese and the events of the war. Looking back through the lens of the many and varied life experiences that they have had since the end of the Second World War, they frame their memories from points of reference that accentuate the nostalgic aspects of the experience, rather than the hardships endured.

Perhaps the clearest demonstration of the profound difference between the diasporic and resident Macanese constructions of the Second World War in Macau is revealed in the episode of O Lobo and the Japanese, discussed above. The diasporic Macanese would have had little exposure to the Portuguese administration of the colony, and limited knowledge of the larger events that were occurring around them. Furthermore, they had little need to identify with the colony's administration. The situation of the metropolitan Portuguese and the resident Macanese, however, was substantially different. Their anecdotes possess an allegorical quality that resonates with other diplomatic stories which grew out of Macau in the Second World War: the assassination of the Japanese consul-general, for instance, and the above-mentioned bombing of fuel stockpiles by American fighter planes in early 1945. The themes that inform these stories include diplomatic cunning; cooperation with belligerents on either the Japanese or the Allied side, or both; resourcefulness; and the all-encompassing knowledge that, being a tiny neutral territory in the middle of a war between huge powers, everything within their power must be done to keep the war as much as possible outside of Macau.

These values and assertions are perhaps intrinsic to an uneasy sense of guilt or duplicity felt in Macau during the war. Protestations of neutrality may have meant very little to a colonial government that desperately needed to placate the power that surrounded the territory. The territory also needed such essential supplies as rice, which for much of the time only the Japanese could

supply. At the same time, however, most of the refugees living in Macau were staunchly on the side of the Allies; many of them were either from Hong Kong or had fled coastal China to Hong Kong as the Japanese expanded westward. It was essential for the Portuguese colonial government of Macau to prove its own neutrality and integrity in the face of having had to acquiesce to the Japanese. In the words of João Pina de Cabral,

The symbolic humiliation to which the Japanese and their collaborators subjected the Portuguese authorities constitutes one of the themes of debasement to which our informants make only veiled reference, avoiding details.<sup>68</sup>

### Conclusion

Essential to any community's identity is its construction of a unified past. Surrounding the Second World War in Macau several different communities, some of them sharing ethnic and even cultural heritage, had distinct experiences and so constructed their memories of it accordingly. In the case of Father Teixeira and the Portuguese metropolitan community, what endures is the underbelly of the war experience. His is ultimately a story of violence and intrigue, and this story is acknowledged by the other communities who also experienced the war. For the local Macanese, such violence and intrigue is tempered by stories of endurance, of survival, and, to a lesser degree, of enjoyment and vitality. The diasporic Macanese carry with them throughout the world a history of joy and life in the midst of war, of activity and of community building that has endured through the miles and through the decades. Together, these memories constitute a Portuguese-speaking peoples' history of Macau during the Second World War. These memories, varied and contested as they are, may be the historian's best hope of understanding the experience of Macau during the war.

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<sup>68</sup> As quoted in Braga, "Macau durante a Segunda Guerra Mundial," 72. Isabel Maria Braga uses this quotation to express the impression which she also claims to have obtained while interviewing on the war.

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### Appendix A: The Interviews

#### *In Macau:*

Aida de Jesus, June 25, 2000. Interview conducted in Portuguese.

Americo Cordeiro, June 28, 2000. Interview conducted in Portuguese.

Dr. Antonio Rodrigues, Jr., June 27, 2000. Interview conducted in English.

Henrique de Senna Fernandes, June 28, 2000 and June 29, 2000. Interviews conducted in Portuguese.

Leonel Barros, July 2, 2000. Interview conducted in English.

Father Manuel Teixeira, July 13, 1998, and June 28, 2000. Interviews conducted in English.

#### *In Vancouver:*

Alvaro Guterres, July 20, 2001. Interview conducted in English.

Dr. Germano A. V. Ribeiro, July 23, 2001. Interview conducted in English.

Luis Souza, July 23, 2001. Interview conducted in English.

*All interviews conducted by Melania Cannon. Some interviewees requested to remain anonymous.*