Wartime Macau

Under the Japanese Shadow

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Contents

List of Illustrations vii
Acknowledgements viii
Abbreviations ix

Introduction 1
Geoffrey C. Gunn

Chapter 1
Wartime Macau in the Wider Diplomatic Sphere 25
Geoffrey C. Gunn

Chapter 2
Macau 1937–45: Living on the Edge: Economic Management over Military Defences 55
João F. O. Botas

Chapter 3
Hunger amidst Plenty: Rice Supply and Livelihood in Wartime Macau 72
Geoffrey C. Gunn

Chapter 4
The Macanese at War: Survival and Identity among Portuguese Eurasians during World War II 94
Roy Eric Xavier

Chapter 5
Nossa Gente (Our People): The Portuguese Refugee Community in Wartime Macau 116
Stuart Braga

Chapter 6
The British Army Aid Group (BAAG) and the Anti-Japanese Resistance Movement in Macau 141
Geoffrey C. Gunn

Epilogue 166
Geoffrey C. Gunn

Conclusion 178
Geoffrey C. Gunn

Appendices

I: English Version of Letter from Governor Teixeira to Consul Fukui re Military Ultimatum 185

II: Jack Braga's Notebook on the Price of Rice 186

III: Maria Broom's Letter Detailing Her Hong Kong–Macau Escape Experience 188

Glossary 191

Timeline 193

General Bibliography 201

Contributors 207

Index 208

Illustrations

Figures

Figure 0.1	Museum house of late war hero, General Ye Ting, with family statue at 76, Rua do Almirante Costa Cabral	21
Figure 2.1	Image of 10 avos banknote printed and issued by BNU in 1944	60
Figure 3.1	BNU Macau Head Office at 22, Avenida Almeida de Ribeiro	79
Figure 3.2	Report on rice crisis, *Macau Tribune* (15 August 1943)	87
Figure 4.1	Dr. Eddie Gosano (far right) with wife Hazel (to his left) and other Macanese, circa 1960	112
Figure 5.1	Refugee cottages at the Bairro Tamagnini Barbosa, circa 1944	122
Figure 5.2	Portuguese Red Cross Concert of 17 June 1944 organized by Artur Carneiro	133
Figure 5.3	Anticipating Japan's surrender (*Renascimento*, 11 August 1945)	139
Figure 7.1	Japanese Domei News Agency's account of US bombing of Macau (*Hong Kong News*, 18 January 1945)	168
Figure 7.2	Street sign in Macau memorializing Pedro José Lobo	177

Graphs

Graph 2.1	Population of Macau, 1927–50	57
Graph 2.2	Average prices of basic goods	67
Graph 2.3	Government expenditure on social assistance	68

Map

Map 6.1	Nationalist Chinese war zones in southern China	145

Introduction

Geoffrey C. Gunn

It has intrigued many that, unlike Hong Kong, the Portuguese-administered territory of Macau avoided direct Japanese wartime occupation albeit still being caught up in the vortex of the wider global conflict. In this respect, the experience of Macau differed from that of its Southeast Asian sister colony of Timor, which was invaded and occupied by Japan. But Macau's wartime status was also a reflection of Portugal's own declared neutrality alongside the major World War II belligerents. Hosting over a hundred thousand Chinese and European refugees, Macau remained hostage to the threat of direct Japanese military occupation should Portugal act contrary to Axis interests. In July 1944, Macau's vulnerability to a Japanese takeover came to the heart of major inter-Allied discussions that engaged Britain's wartime prime minister, Winston Churchill. While a façade of normalcy prevailed in Macau—at least in official circles and for those with money and connections—conditions deteriorated for the majority, just as food supply became critical as a result of the Japanese blockade upon maritime communications. The end of war in Europe did not end the drama in Macau; there was the assassination of the Japanese consul and other acts of violence, including—shocking at the time—the apparently mistaken American bombing of the city. Even the end of the war in the Pacific presented Macau with another crisis—the pretensions of the Chinese Nationalists to usurp control.

The bare facts raise a number of interrelated research questions explored in this collection: How did Macau and its population avoid direct Japanese invasion and occupation, a fate that most Chinese mainland and Southeast Asia shared? With both British and Japanese consular interests represented in Macau, alongside a range of international actors, what were the larger diplomatic stakes in preserving Macau's formal neutrality? How did distant Macau figure in the calculus of Portugal, who was anxious to maintain its neutrality vis-à-vis belligerents in the European war, but also determined to maintain its colonial empire intact? What role can be assigned to diplomacy engaging Tokyo/Berlin and Lisbon in preserving Macau's political status quo? Virtually surrounded by Japanese-occupied Guangdong and Hong Kong and with Japan in control of sea lanes, how does wartime Macau fold into China's Sino-Japanese

"war of resistance" narrative today especially relating to the actions of West River guerrillas, Nationalist Chinese agents, and their Allied collaborators? As an acknowledged neutral territory, what was the real importance of Macau (alongside Lisbon) as an intelligence collection centre and as an underground base for an evolving Allied war effort? In accordance with its reputation as a wartime "haven of refuge", how did the local Macau administration cope with a tripling of its population, alongside such key questions as food supply and even survival? But given the extreme pressures imposed upon the Portuguese authorities in Macau alongside evidence of secret negotiations with the Japanese, such as exposed in Chapter 1, we also wish to know the nature of "neutrality" in Macau—whether or not it was compromised—or even whether it was tantamount to official collaboration.

From an international diplomacy perspective, wartime Macau was connected to several key belligerent networks. These were the Tokyo-Berlin-Lisbon axis, premised upon a pro-Axis tilt by "neutral" Portugal, as well as the Washington-London-Lisbon axis, premised upon a pro-Allied tilt on the part of Portugal in line with the centuries-old Anglo-Portuguese alliance. Locally, Macau-based clandestine networks connected with Free China, and Nationalist Chinese agents were particularly active in recruiting and in organizing escape activities. Pro-communist agents likewise connected Macau with the West River anti-Japanese guerrilla forces. On the side of the Allies, the most important network by far was the British Army Aid Group (BAAG) run by former University of Hong Kong vice-chancellor, the Australian-born surgeon Lindsay Tasman Ride. The BAAG, in turn, linked Hong Kong and Macau with the French treaty port of Guangzhouwan, in communication with the Chinese Nationalist wartime capital of Chongqing, at least until the Japanese turned upon the Vichy French. At the same time, in the interests of appeasing Japan, officials within the Macau administration established a separate axis linking the military police of the two countries, allowing the use of violence inside Macau by pro-Japanese henchmen.

Along with the inrush of people escaping the war-torn and threatened Chinese interior for the relative safety of neutral Macau came financial resources, including gold, tungsten, and other commodities of permanent value. This gave Macau a short-lived economic boom, spurring the relocation of schools and banks there. Among the entrepreneurs who relocated to Macau was philanthropist Sir Robert Ho Tung, who transferred business and assets from Hong Kong even before the outbreak of war. Similarly, a small community of Japanese set down roots in the Portuguese colony and became the "fifth column". As a magnet for refugees and others fleeing ahead of the Japanese invasion of China, as well as a site of international intrigue and espionage, Macau doubtless lived up to its reputation as an oriental Casablanca, to draw a parallel with a better known wartime neutral zone.

To date, scholarship on this period of Macau's history has been entirely fragmentary and dissociated from global context. Never before attempted, this work brings

together an international group of authors with a view to providing a multi-archival approach to the subject. This is the first attempt to situate wartime Macau within an international diplomatic framework and to offer a global picture to local context on a little known historical interlude. Each of the contributors deals with a major facet of the wartime Macau experience in order to build up a composite picture. By adopting a general "truth-seeking" approach to a range of document collections and other sources, this book seeks to throw new light upon Macau's wartime experience while also opening up alternative pathways for investigation.[1]

The Japanese Invasion Turned Occupation

From circa 1932, US, British, French, and Portuguese authorities alike tracked with apprehension the rise of militarist Japan and its aggressive military actions in Shanghai and northeast China, especially with respect to their colonies, concessions, and spheres of influence. From Hong Kong, Britain also anxiously watched Japan exert economic and other pressures upon Macau—actions believed to be fronts for espionage activities and diplomatic offensive strategies possibly leading to the acquisition of base rights. Portugal went further than Britain, however, in seeking neutrality in Japan's war with China.

As the Sino-Japanese conflict flared on 5 March 1932, Portugal's minister of foreign affairs, Fernando Augusto Branco, offered an official declaration at the seat of the League of Nations to the effect that Portugal was "secular" friends with both China and Japan. The neutrality of Macau in that war was at the heart of this declaration, with António de Oliveira Salazar, the prime minister of Portugal clarifying Portugal's position to the international community. As the conflict progressed, the major quid pro quo demanded by Japan was that Portugal disallow its territory to be used as a conduit for military supplies to the Chinese Nationalists.[2] Unlike Hong Kong and French Indochina—which resisted Japanese blandishments—at least until the war closed in, the Portuguese authorities in Macau ostensibly fell in line. However, as shall be discussed in Chapter 1, in September 1941 when the Japanese military perceived Macau to be wavering, the Japanese served the Portuguese governor an ultimatum blocking access to vital food supply.

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1. Here the editor is guided by his own experience as an advisor in mid-2003 to the United Nations–backed Comissão de Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliação de Timor-Leste (CAVR) or East Timor "Truth Commission", where numerous individuals pooled their expertise to investigate, document, and report on otherwise obscure historical events relating to the twenty-four-year Indonesian invasion and occupation with a view to public exposure and discussion. The Japanese occupation of East Timor was not part of the CAVR remit.
2. Jin Guo Ping and Wu Zhiliang, "Tevio Havidia Acordos Secretos Entre Portugal e o Japão Durante a Secunda Guerra Mundiale?" *Administração* (Macau) 14, no. 51 (2001): 240.

A brief timeline of Japanese pressures upon Macau helps to frame the discussion. Commencing in 1929 with the acquisition of fishing rights, the pressures or overtures Japan exerted upon Macau included the anchoring of a Japanese gunboat in Macau's harbour (1931), the attempt to acquire the Macau water supply concession in 1934–35, a secret attempt to set up an airport in Macau (1935), the visit to Macau of the Japanese commander-in-chief of the 3rd Naval Squadron (1935), followed by the commander-in-chief of the Japanese 5th Torpedo Flotilla (1939), along with a separate visit the same year by a Japanese admiral. While Lisbon stood fast in resisting these provocations, it did offer an economic concession in Portuguese Timor (1937), and also sanctioning a Japanese air route to Timor via Palau. Even prior to the fall of Guangzhou to the Japanese in October 1938, Japanese pressures took a less benign form, as with aerial overflights (October 1937), harassment of Macau-registered fishing junks and shipping (1938), and the military occupation of points on Montanha (Hengqin) Island. By November 1937, the customs house on nearby Lapa Island (Wanzai) was under Japanese control, and with a number of incidents orchestrated at the Porto da Cerca (border gate). In April 1939, Japanese aircraft bombed the Portuguese Jesuit Mission at Shiuhing in the West River area of southern Guangdong. By 1940, Japanese agents—such as the Mandarin-speaking Sakata Seisho—escaped British detention in Hong Kong and entered Macau with a view to infiltrate triad groups and recruit members as agents in the way Japanese had hired triad gangsters in the past to assist them in the capture of Guangzhou.[3]

Macau people joined the wave of patriotic support for China against the Japanese invasion. They set up and joined "national salvation" organizations like overseas Chinese did in Indochina, Indonesia, Malaya, and—with even more immediacy—in Hong Kong.[4] Especially from 1937, in the wake of the 7 July Marco Polo Bridge (Lugouqiao) Incident, various business and civil society organizations in Macau also began to mobilize in defence of country, such as setting up the "Macau All Circles Disaster Relief Society"—which was backed by industrial and commercial groups—and the youth-oriented "Macau Four Circles Disaster Relief Association". Local Macau activities included fundraising, publicity work, mobilizing support for refugees, and

3. Philip Snow, *The Fall of Hong Kong: Britain, China, and the Japanese Occupation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 38. In Macau, Sakata enlisted the support of Fung Yung, a leader of the Wo Shing Wo Triad (whom the British had deported the previous year along with followers). Sakata's legacy was the creation of a "floating mass" of pro-Japanese triad members whose two-hundred-strong junk flotilla "hovered" on the edge of the Pearl River Delta in the waters around Hong Kong and Macau. Undoubtedly, as mentioned in Chapter 7, certain of these triad members reemerged during the war years as smugglers, gangsters and war profiteers alongside Japan. Also see Wong Cheuk-kin, "The Politics of Collaboration: A Comparative Study of the Dynamics and Interactions between the Japanese Military Administration and Local Chinese Communities in Hong Kong and Singapore during World War II" (PhD diss., Waseda University, 2010), 84, 211.

4. Christine Loh, *Underground Front: The Chinese Communist Party in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010), 58.

support and solidarity with troops fighting on the front, such as the organization of young compatriots entering the war zones in the interior of China to assist the wounded.[5]

From closer proximity, the Japanese advance westward across China was tracked by the Portuguese consul general in Guangzhou. This included the fall of the city and its aftermath,[6] and the game-changing Battle of Hong Kong in December 1941 leading to the British defeat. From the consul's reports, we learn of the intricate relations binding Portuguese Macau and the Japanese as well as Japan's new hand in the opium trade. Virtually an island surrounded by Japanese land and naval forces, and served with a series of ultimatums, Macau was utterly beholden to Japanese permissions for all its external needs, including the movement of goods as well as people—which included Portuguese and other "neutral" or third-country nationals, especially those arriving from Hong Kong. In contrast, in the East River zone—which included the New Territories of Hong Kong—the pro-communist "East River guerrillas" continued to harass Japanese forces until the end of the war. The situation in the West River region connected to Macau was more complex.[7] With the Japanese in control of major communication lines, bandit gangs, smuggler networks, communist guerrillas, and Nationalist Chinese all entered into sometimes deadly competition for influence and spoils, such as the rice trade and the lucrative traffic in tungsten financed and trafficked to Macau before dispatch to Hong Kong and shipment to Japan.

Macau survived under Japanese sufferance beginning with the seizure of the Portuguese-flagged ship *Guia* on 21 June 1941. By the end of the year, Japanese soldiers had taken up positions just outside of the border gate, and—short of armed trespass—*kempeitai* (military police) and officers were frequent visitors to Macau's gambling houses and restaurants. By mid-1943, the Japanese were in control of Macau's water police and all waterborne communications. However, as shall be discussed in Chapter 1, it was the "Macau incident" of 19 August 1943 that developed into a cause célèbre besetting Lisbon and Tokyo. In this affair, the British-flagged ship *Sian* (*Sai On*), hitherto protected by the Portuguese authorities, was forcefully commandeered by a combined fleet of Japanese and pro-Japanese Chinese ships which illegally entered Macau's Inner Harbour. As monitored by British Consul John Pownall Reeves, the incident suggested that Japanese military elements backed by local collaborators were plotting a coup.[8]

5. Fei Chengkang, *Macao 400 Years* (Shanghai: Publishing House of Shanghai/Academy of Social Science, 1996): 340–51; Anon., *Macau Durante a Guerra Sino-Japonesa* (Macau: Macau Museum, 2002), 103; João Botas, *Macau 1937–1945: Os anos da guerra* (Macau: Instituto Internacional de Macau, 2012).
6. António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, *A Guerra vista de Cantão. Os Relatórios de Vasco Martins Morgado, Cônsul-Geral de Portugal em Cantão, sobre a Guerra Sino-Japonesa* (Macau: Instituto Português do Oriente, 1998).
7. Loh, *Underground Front*, 60–62.
8. Geoffrey C. Gunn, *Encountering Macau: A Portuguese City-State on the Periphery of China, 1557–1999* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996), 122.

Portuguese relations with Japanese-controlled Guangdong province were tempered by the many incidents that beset the two sides, especially involving refugee relocation—not only that of the Chinese, but also "neutral" nationalities, including Portuguese and even civilian Japanese. The presence inside Macau of a Japanese consulate—installed in April 1941—made such exchanges and negotiations easier, at least alongside the obstructive and occasionally violent actions on the part of the *kempeitai*. Still, Macau's overall political neutrality was upheld and—unlike Timor coming under Japanese military occupation and with the entire Portuguese administration interned—Macau's colonial administration continued its daily operations largely intact down until the war ended.

The Tokyo-Berlin-Lisbon Axis

Why Portuguese Macau's neutral status was not completely compromised by the Japanese like the Vichy French-controlled Indochina—which was taken over in a *coup de force* on 11 March 1945—has been the subject of some speculation, a question to which we return in the conclusion. As the opening section in this book revealed, the answer is to be found in the larger diplomatic picture that takes into account Tokyo's relations with Lisbon, Madrid, and Berlin. With António de Oliveira Salazar holding the positions of Portugal's premier, foreign minister, and war minister during this era, his personal agency in this affair could not be discounted. Neither Japan nor Germany relished losing its listening post in Lisbon nor, for Germany, its privileged access to strategic resources, notably tungsten (wolfram ore) principally sourced from Spain and the Portuguese East African colony of Mozambique.

Salazarist accommodation of the Axis notwithstanding, Portugal would also be drawn into covert relations with the United States and its long-time ally, the United Kingdom. Salazar hoped to gain from the Allies support for the postwar retention of Portugal's overseas empire. These interests included having Portugal's most valuable overseas possessions—Angola and Mozambique—remain in its control as South Africa continued to back Britain. While Japanese-occupied Timor figured more strongly in Lisbon-Tokyo conversations than Macau, Portugal also drew the line with Japan, as with the "Macau Incident", threatening a breach in relations should the situation deteriorate. Well attuned to these nuances, the Japanese minister in Lisbon consistently warned Tokyo of the risks of a break with Portugal unless Salazar was appeased over both Timor and Macau. Still, this was a delicate balancing act as Salazar was also vulnerable to criticism that he was too acquiescent in Japanese demands, not only by domestic opponents but by the Allies.

Local Ramifications

To place Portugal into a global perspective, it should be acknowledged that, as a neutral standing between the wartime belligerents, Lisbon emerged as an important intelligence collection centre for both Axis and Allies, Japan included. The number of accredited embassies and legations hosted in wartime Portugal was impressive, their size out of all proportion to Portugal's minor status. As of 1943, the United States mission hosted a staff of 161, exactly matched by Nazi Germany; Italy, 103; (Vichy) France, 68; and Great Britain, 281. Japan also hosted an apparently overworked twenty-three-person legation in Lisbon, headed by Chiba Shin-ichi and Morishima Morito (subsequent Japanese ministers)—both active, able, and utterly loyal diplomats. China likewise hosted a fourteen-member legation.[9]

Portugal's Polícia de Vigilância e Defesa do Estado (PVDE)—reorganized in 1940 with help from Mussolini—closely monitored these missions.[10] They also spied upon foreign residents, including British, German, and Italian. The Portuguese authorities were in close contact with the German, Italian, and Japanese legations over a range of diplomatic issues. Displaced persons including persecuted people from Nazi-occupied Europe also hoped to pass through Portugal en route to North or South America, many arriving by clandestine routes through obscure mountain crossings and guided by agents once the legal visa route was closed. This situation was not exactly the same as Macau's, but the attraction of a truly neutral territory in Asia for people of passage heading to Free China offers a compelling comparison.

Portugal's wartime neutral status also offered the wartime belligerents an important bridge and point of contact. Lisbon was one such "exchange port", as were the colonies. On 13 December 1941, one week after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Washington proposed to Tokyo a mutual repatriation of each other's diplomatic corps, with both countries agreeing to guarantee safe passage across vast war zones and with the neutral port of Lourenço Marques (now Maputo) in Mozambique as the point of contact. Macau was not directly touched, but departing Yokohama on 25 June 1942 with US Ambassador Joseph Grew and other diplomats aboard, the Nippon Yusen Kaisha (NYK) liner *Asama Maru* picked up additional Americans and foreign nationals in Hong Kong and south-east Asian ports (totalling around eight hundred) before arriving at Lourenço Marques on 22 July. The *Asama Maru* was accompanied by the Italian repatriation vessel *Conte Verde*, with about six hundred passengers from Shanghai. Departing New York and taking on 417 Japanese passengers in Rio de Janeiro including Japanese embassy staff, the Swedish vessel *Gripsholm* arrived at Lourenço Marques later that day carrying 1,096 Japanese nationals, including Japan's ambassador

9. Arquivo Salazar (AS), PT/TT/AOS/D-G/8/4/17 "Informação da PVDE sobre o Corpo Diplomático acreditado em Portugal e seus familiares."
10. AS PT/TT/AOS/D-G/8/4/3, 1940 "Reorganização da polícia portuguesa, Vinda a Portugal de uma Missão Italiana de Polícia. Realização de acordo técnico entre a PVDE e a polícia italiana."

to the United States, Admiral Nomura Kichisaburo. From there, the *Gripsholm* carried the American (and Canadian) repatriates back to New York City. A week later, the first Japanese-British exchanges also transpired at Lourenço Marques. On 2 September 1943, another 1,340 Japanese civilians left New York on *Gripsholm* to be exchanged for Americans and Canadians at Mormugão port in Portuguese Goa on the west coast of India, the last of such "mercy" missions.[11]

The Macau-Tokyo Axis

Yet there was another axis of thinking within official Portuguese ministries and agencies—namely, the view that a resurgent militarist Japan provided certain solutions, such as arms procurement. Although there is no evidence that such a deal was made, in October 1940 the Portuguese Ministry of Colonies looked to Japan as a likely source of armaments for the defence of its Asian and African colonies—such as the Mormugão port—and proposed to send a military mission to Japan comprising two Portuguese from Lisbon and one member from Macau.[12] In comparison with the Japanese juggernaut, Macau's defences did not look impressive, but it was sufficient to impose internal control and order.

The view of cooperating with the Japanese also found local support in Macau, notably from Salazarist loyalist Captain (later Brigadier-General) Carlos de Souza Gorgulho, Macau's early wartime police chief.[13] Chapter 1 shall include a little known wartime episode involving José Joaquim Costa e Silva, vice governor of Macau (and future head of administration). He was dispatched to Timor in early 1944 to investigate matters at first hand.[14] Escorted by the Japanese Consul in Macau, Fukui Yasumitsu, as far as Tokyo from where he continued his voyage south, Costa e Silva perfunctorily fulfilled his mission but offering no diplomatic breakthrough for Salazar in his dealings with Japan.[15]

11. For a fuller enumeration on the repatriation program, see Greg Leck, *Captives of Empire: The Japanese Internment of Allied Civilians in China, 1941–1945* (Bangor, PA: Shandy Press, 2006). Also, Bob Hackett and Sander Kingsepp, "*KOKANSEN:* Stories of Diplomatic Exchange and Repatriation Ships", 27 March 2010. http://www.combinedfleet.com/Kokansen.htm, accessed 10 February 2015.
12. AS PT/TT/AOS/D-N/3/5/9 "Comprar de material de guerra ao Japão para defesa das Colonias", 1940.
13. Arquivo de Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros (MNE), 2 PA48, M217. "Relatório apresentado pelo Sr. Capitão Carlos de Souza Gorgulho, respeitante à sua missão ao Japão." See also AHM MO/AH/AC/SA/01/17117 1939/01/21 "Ida para Tóquio do Commandante de Polícia de Segurança Pública de Macau, capitão Carlos de Sousa Gorgulho, em missão especial do governo de Macau junto da Legação de Portugal naquela Cidade."
14. AS PT/TT/AOS/D-G/8/4/20 IN-8C, cx. 332, pt. 20 "Informação da PVDE sobre o caso Japão-Timor."
15. AHM MO/AH/AC/SA/01/18807 1944/03/10 – 1944/04/13 "Ida a Timor do ajudante de campo do governador e chefe da Repartição do Gabinete, capitão de artilharia, José Joaquim da Silva e Costa, em missão especial."

The Anglo-American-Portuguese Axis

As shall be elaborated in Chapter 1, through secret diplomacy Portugal's wartime premier gained Anglo-American support for the maintenance of the Portuguese overseas empire in exchange for Allied access to the mid-Atlantic Azores Islands bases. This was eventually formalized in an agreement signed on 17 August 1943.[16] Implicit in this arrangement was the recovery of Portuguese sovereignty of Timor following the defeat of Japan, along with postwar protection of the status quo of Macau. In the course of Anglo-American-Portuguese negotiations conducted between September-November 1944 over Allied planning for the "recapture" of Japanese-occupied Timor, the question of Macau's integrity also became a major issue. Notably, the British Foreign Office did not think it wise to bring Portugal into the war over Timor only to lose Macau "where there are several hundred thousand Chinese and European refugees". British negotiators also observed that Japan did not wish a diplomatic break with Portugal only to lose its listening posts in Lisbon (and Madrid). As London surmised, Washington was then more concerned with their access to the Azores bases than the future of Timor or Macau.[17] In any case, with the United States shifting its focus towards the liberation of the Philippines and invasion of the Japanese homeland, remote Timor Island, Indochina, and the China coast were bypassed in this planning.

Largely, the Americans appear to have watched Macau from a distance. As Japan commenced its invasion of China, the United States from both its military bases in the Philippines, Guam, and Hawaii also saw in Macau a window from which to observe southern China. Inaugurated in April 1937, Pan American Airway's China clipper service to Macau from San Francisco via Manila undoubtedly served US diplomatic-intelligence needs, such as the carrying and censorship of mail. This, we observe, was also the case with the Pan Am service linking the US mainland, South America, and Axis Europe on a web of routes from Brazil to Lisbon from December 1941 until the end of the war in Europe. No less, Lisbon along with Horta Airfield in the Azores was crucial to the overall US conduct of translantic air operations.[18] With the abrupt

16. Geoffrey C. Gunn, "Wartime Portuguese Timor: The Azores Connection" (Melbourne, Vic., Monash University Centre of Southeast Asian Studies Working Paper No. 50, 1988); Carlos Bessa, *A Libertação de Timor na II Guerra Mundial: Importância dos Açores para os Interesses dos Estados Unidos* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da Historia, 1992).
17. Carlos Teixeira da Mota, *O Caso de Timor na II Guerra Mundial: Documentos Britanicos* (Lisbon: Instituto Diplomático, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, 1997), 165–68.
18. See Pan Am archive, accessed 10 August 2014, http://www.wasc.org.uk/NewFiles/Pan-Am%20documents/02_Pan%20American%20files%20at%20Richter%20Library.pdf. Contrary to some speculation, Brazil did not seek to expel or constrain the Japanese community in Brazil as a reprisal or action linked with Japanese pressures upon Macau. See Jin and Wu, "Tevio Havidia Acordos Secretos", 241. These two authors found no evidence of such a link in Portuguese diplomatic archives. Likewise the Magic documents are also silent on this question. Unlike Japanese in the United States and in other Latin American countries, Japanese in Brazil were generally not subject to internment. An exception was Japanese fisherman on the Atlantic coast, dubiously suspected of supplying fuel to German submarines. Brazil only declared war on Japan on 6 June 1945, long after its declaration of war on Germany and Italy on 22 August 1942, although it had earlier expelled Japanese diplomats.

end of the Pan Am operation in Macau, its powerful radio was also sought out by the pro-Allied resistance.[19] While the wartime American connection with Macau remains understudied, Allied wartime intelligence under the US Army "Magic" programme—sweeping Japanese diplomatic radio and cable communications, including those related to Portugal, Timor, and Macau—offers historians a very special look into the big picture diplomacy plays.

Wartime Governance in Macau

Given the Salazar regime's practice of exiling political dissidents to distant colonies, Timor especially, it would not be surprising if Portuguese society in Macau mirrored Lisbon politics in terms of degrees of loyalty to the Salazar regime—something that was obviously severely tested through the war years. It would also not be surprising if bureaucratic factions did develop inside Macau (as they did with great acrimony in occupied Timor), especially with respect to relations with the Allies versus a conciliatory line towards the Japanese. It is not to say that the situation in Macau was comparable to Timor, where socialists and communists among the metropolitan *deportados* set up "Red Brigades" and launched guerrilla attacks upon the Japanese. That was hardly an option in Macau, and Macau may not have harboured so radical a cohort. Neither was the situation comparable to French Indochina including the "treaty port" of Guangzhouwan, where Gaullists and Vichy elements warily circled each other.

The key individual in the Portuguese colony through the war years was the Macau governor, Gabriel Maurício Teixeira (1897–1973), who served from 29 October 1940 to 1 September 1947. Born in Madeira and having entered a naval career, Teixeira had completed early postings including a stint as captain of the ports in Mozambique, also becoming local president of National Union Party—the only recognized political party of the Salazar era—and, in 1939, a deputy in the National Assembly in Lisbon. With Salazar himself running the Portuguese foreign ministry and with Marcello José das Neves Alves Caetano as minister of the colonies (1944–47), Teixeira was likely to have been well-vetted by Salazar himself and—from an official perspective—was a well-chosen official.

Notwithstanding the authoritarian character of the Salazar state, some media diversity existed alongside official censorship. News could be interpreted in different ways. Lisbon hosted a range of news agencies; it is inevitable that these agency's reports, like Reuters, found their way into local Macau newspapers. At least five Portuguese-English language newspapers circulated in Macau alongside the official paper *União*. These were *Journal de Notícias, Macau Herald, Renascimento,* the *Nippon Times* (1944), and *A Voz de Macau,* with its English language version, *Macao*

19. See British National Archives (NA) FO 371/32304 on deliberations relating to a planned takeover of the Pan Am radio to enable a secure communication with the outside world secure from Japanese censorship.

Tribune. Notably, long-time publisher of *A Voz de Macau*—First Portuguese Republic stalwart—Captain Domingos Gregório da Rosa Duque, faced down Japanese bluster and temporary closure alongside bomb attacks upon his premises during the war.[20] We can add to this list at least four Chinese language newspapers, including the pro-Japanese *See Nan Jeh Pao*. Allowing that certain individuals and cliques among the Portuguese residents in Macau responded differently to news of the ebb and flow of the war in Europe and Asia, it would not be surprising if the Chinese population and the Portuguese military and navy were also divided.

In mid-May 1942, the naval vessel *João de Lisboa* slipped out of Macau's Inner Harbour, heading for Portugal via the Panama Canal and crossing the Pacific via Honolulu just prior to the decisive Battle of Midway.[21] The daring and hazardous venture coincided with dissension within the ranks of the 1500-strong army in Macau—ostensibly over food but with political overtones—which resulted with the ringleader, Captain Vieira Branco, and his anti-Salazarist adjutant, Lieutenant Leal, being confined to Macau's formidable and then dominating Monte Forte. Backed by African troops and with nineteen of the military rebels dispatched on the *João de Lisboa,* the governor neutralized a major pole of dissatisfaction.[22] In January 1944, there were also defections from the lower ranks of the military and with deserters joining up with BAAG in China. These shall be discussed in Chapter 6.

Allied opinion could not really make up their mind about Governor Teixeira. In one account he was described as both a "Salazar man" and privately pro-Allied. However, the governor incurred the disapproval from some factions because his aide-de-camp was viewed as pro-Axis. While a number of Portuguese officials were similarly inclined, most Portuguese and Macanese were viewed by Allied intelligence agencies as anti-fascist and anti-Japanese, but they were also hoping that Portugal could keep out of the war. Nevertheless, as one British observer inside Macau wrote in 1942, attitudes towards the Allies were also influenced by such key events as the Japanese occupation of Timor and perceived American designs upon the Azores.[23] As with the Menezes Alves case discussed below, there was also defection from the official camp.

As evidenced by a number of violent incidents in Macau involving local Chinese, Macau society was also divided over support for the pro-Japanese protégé Wang Jingwei, with the majority secretly wishing to evict the Japanese invaders. Yet, there was no Chinese rebellion against Portuguese rule, no rice riots, and much stoicism. Although a number of "British-protected" Indians or South Asians in Macau—including an influential merchant and community leader—were enticed or bullied into

20. See Ricardo Pinto, "Guerra em Paz", *MacaU*, II Series, No. 43 (November 1995): 84.
21. António de Andrade da Silva, *Eu, Estive em Macau Durante a Guerra* (Macau: Museu e Centro de Estudos Maritimos de Macau, 1991), 119; see AS PT/TT/AOS/D-I/3/3/14.
22. Hong Kong Heritage Project (HKHP), "Ride Collection", AWM PF /82/068 Series; G. A. McCaskie, "Report on Conditions in Macao", 10/6/1942.
23. McCaskie, "Report on Conditions in Macao".

joining the Japanese-sponsored Indian Independence League or "support committee", nothing much apparently came out of this initiative,[24] though money in the form of donations may have been extracted. No doubt, as well, attitudes in Macau changed with the shifting fortunes of the Germans and Japanese as the war proceeded. For instance, seemingly alert to social divisions, rumour-mongering, and even challenges to the political orthodoxy set down by Lisbon, on 3 July 1945, Governor Teixeira issued a stern caution, duly conveyed by then loyalist head of administrative services, José Joaquim da Silva e Costa:

> Frequently the civil servants discuss or offer their opinions on international political matters, presenting the cases according to personal sympathies.
>
> Portugal is a neutral country and it is desirable on the part of all Portuguese, and most especially officials, to completely affirm neutrality in all acts, whether official or private.
>
> The special conditions faced by this colony in a difficult situation greatly influence the complicated problems of the times in which we live.
>
> It is expressly forbidden under strict disciplinary penalty to express opinions involving matters of international politics or on the warring countries.[25]

Undoubtedly this message was not misplaced if metropolitan trends are also considered. Notably, as discussed in a PVDE or Portuguese secret police report of mid-1945, with the Allied victory over Germany, Lisbon was roiled with political currents from liberals to democrats, independent intellectuals, communists, categories of youth influenced by Marxism and, no less seriously, former adherents to the old Republican Party (Partido Republican Português), all deemed enemies of the *Estado Novo* (or New State).[26]

Local Macau Impacts of the Wider War

Notwithstanding Japan's ostensible respect for Portugal's neutrality, the impacts of the war upon Macau and its people were enormous, whether in human terms, economically or socially. Under a rising population from one hundred and twenty thousand in 1936 to four hundred thousand in 1940, which had further increased as war closed in, Macau's social services were at bursting point with an initial influx of refugees from Guangdong and subsequently from Hong Kong, Shanghai, and elsewhere. Although the majority of the refugees were Chinese, the refugees also comprised different nationalities and social classes, and had different needs. There were even entire school cohorts relocated from Guangzhou to Macau. Sheltering and feeding these refugees placed an intolerable strain upon social institutions—whether governmental, private

24. McCaskie, "Report on Conditions in Macao".
25. AHM MO/AH/AC/SA/01/25700-A2271 (author's translation).
26. AS PT/TT/AOS/D-G/8/4/30 1945, "Informação da PVDE sobre a actividade política nos meios oposicionistas."

as with the church, or institutions supported by the British consulate—that provided for more than nine thousand Hong Kong refugees in Macau.

But the livelihood of locals was also under great stress, especially as many fell through the cracks of the social welfare system, prey to hunger, disease, lack of shelter, and clothing. While there are various accounts written by local Macau writers such as Monsignor Manuel Teixeira (1912–2003),[27] who lived through this period, oral historical accounts—especially in the Chinese language—are in short supply and demographic studies are also wanting. One attempt to "remember" the war is Cannon,[28] who interviewed Teixeira and a small sample of resident and diasporic Macanese with a view to investigating how these witnesses socially constructed dominant narratives (from Teixeira especially) alongside collective myths of wartime Macau (from the Macanese), notwithstanding the vagaries of experience and lapses of memory. Nevertheless to this end, as Gunn will elaborate in Chapter 3, new data at hand confirms the worst of Teixeira's descriptions, especially of starvation.

Macau's wartime economy was unique, not only for its austere condition of isolation from outside markets, but also for the number of currencies circulating in the colony, which included Japanese scrip and local promissory note-styled *pangtans*.[29] Related to this is the broader issue of financing and Macau's infamous black economy. Notwithstanding the local prohibition on the export of gold, silver, and copper introduced in September 1939 under Japanese prompting, the banking system still functioned, with the Banco Nacional Ultramarino (BNU) facilitating remittances alongside a number of highly creative banking arrangements such as securing loans and printing banknotes, as discussed by João F. O. Botas in Chapter 2.

Alongside a range of speculators, Macau also had its economic fixers—such as the Timor-born Macanese Pedro José Lobo, who could work with all sides at a high level. Head of the powerful Economic Services, he was also manager of the Macao Water Company (Melco). To expedite food procurement, Lobo was set up as head of the Companhia Cooperativa de Macau (CCM, or Macau Cooperative Company Limited), a joint Macau government–Japanese army private venture. According to journalist João Guedes, by pandering to Japanese political and military interests, this arrangement also allowed Colonel Sawa Eisaku, head of the Japanese Military Secret Service Office in Macau, to act as virtual *chefe sombra* (shadow chief) of the Macau Economic Services.[30]

To a large degree Macau's wartime survival depended upon the procurement of rice and fuel. Besides guns and gold, Macau had little leverage, but even these commodities

27. Manuel Teixeira, *Macau durante a guerra* (Macau: s.n., 1981).
28. Melania Dawn Cannon, "Experience, Memory and the Construction of the Past: Remembering Macau 1941–1945" (MA diss., University of British Columbia, 2001).
29. Gunn, *Encountering Macau*, 82–83.
30. João Guedes, "Guerra, Crime e Politica: Um 'western' de Macau (I)", *Jornal Tribuna de Macau* (30 de Novembro, de 2010).

were brought into play in the literal life-and-death struggle to procure supplies from places such as Vichy-controlled Indochina. For a time, Guangzhouwan served this role. There were risks as well, such as sinking by American submarines of both Vichy French–and Macau–based ships on vital rice supply runs.[31] These shall be discussed in Chapter 1. Small-time traders alongside contrabandists also made profit from rice supply, with the young Stanley Ho—future casino concessionaire—among them.

On reading through Macau newspapers and administrative files preserved in the Macau Historical Archives, one is struck by the ordinariness of daily life in a colonial city in the vortex of war. All administrative functions, services and departments from policing to finance, street sweeping and garbage collection, running schools, hospitals, the leprosarium at Ka Ho, along with island administration on Taipa and Coloane, were in operation. Seemingly, all officials reported to their desks. For example, entered in official correspondence on 8 June 1944, the rules of a newly formed "Clube de Bridge" were promulgated. In the same month the Museu Comercial e Ethografico "Luiz de Camões" was established. Also, as noted, on 10 July 1944, Governor Teixeira approved the creation of a Sociedade de Amadores de Teatro Tai Kông (theatre support group), suggesting some normalcy in the established Chinese communities. As embellished across the chapters of this collection, various social and sporting activities also continued. This was life unbelievable across Japanese-occupied east-southeast Asia. The contrast with occupied Hong Kong could hardly have been starker.

But where the administration was overstretched or simply could not cope, such as in refugee work, Macau's lively civil society kicked in. This is not only with reference to Macau's historically important Catholic church, but also to the civic-minded individuals and welfare organizations that survive even to this day—such as the Kiang Wu hospital, the Tung Sin Tong Charitable Society, the Santa Casa da Misericordia (the Holy House of Mercy), and the Portuguese (Macau) Red Cross.

Role of the Consuls and Other Foreign Agents

While wartime Macau is better known in the extant literature as a place of refuge or escape, including for those assisted by clandestine Allied networks to flee to interior zones of China under Nationalist control, it is possibly less well recalled that Macau hosted two foreign consulates—British and Japanese—respectively. There was no German consulate in Macau. Serving as contact points for local nationals and intermediaries with the Macau administration, both consulates combined more traditional activities with intelligence collection, just as both kept up independent radio contact with the outside. With the Japanese consulate located at No. 1 Calcada do Gaio—adjacent to Vasco da Gama Park and with its entrance facing Rua de Henrique de Macedo—and with the British consulate sharing next-door premises for a time,

31. AHM MO/AH/AC//SA/01//25700.

the two foreign consuls present in wartime Macau were by protocol obliged to direct their official correspondence to Luiz da Câmara Menezes Alves (1911–95), head of civilian administration. Down until his defection (and replacement by José Joaquim da Silva e Costa), Menezes Alves was the major administrative interlocutor with the governor, handling day-to-day correspondence such as issuing pistol permits, arranging laissez-passer for missionaries to visit Guangdong, facilitating refugee issues with the Portuguese consulate in Shanghai on behalf of the British, and numerous other concerns.

Still, this was a tense situation on the part of a consul in erstwhile neutral territory. Notably, as British Consul Reeves wrote to Menezes Alves on 18 September 1942: "As you are probably aware, this house and office is subject to considerable attention from people who are far from friendly. I have been approached by my staff for permission to carry or keep a pistol." Accordingly, he sought and gained permission for the necessary permits.[32] As a matter of fact, Reeves himself would survive more than one assassination attempt.[33]

Appointed vice consul for Macau by Emperor Hirohito on 20 April 1941 "with the function of consul", Fukui Yasumitsu undoubtedly stood out among the Japanese community in Macau.[34] Having served as consul in Xiamen prior to taking up his position in the Portuguese colony and prior to that in Shenyang, Fukui—we may assume—spoke or at least read Chinese. An English speaker, Fukui was also reported to be a sociable person who joined in "expatriate" society, even convivially engaging his British counterpart.[35] But as he did not speak Portuguese, his range of contacts might also have been constricted.[36] In the estimation of an Allied observer inside Macau, Fukui "appears to have little power, and was completely ignorant of what was going on in Hong Kong". Little power, undoubtedly, but also part of an intelligence network.[37] Tragically, as Gunn elaborates in Chapter 1, towards war's end in February 1945, Consul Fukui was assassinated, sparking yet another crisis between Tokyo and Lisbon.

Although Chiang Kai-shek sent a delegation to Macau on 23 January 1941,[38] this would be the last official Nationalist Chinese contact with Macau until the end of the war when, uninvited, a Nationalist army group entered Macau through the border gate. Denied an official presence in Macau, Nationalist China, as mentioned, nevertheless maintained a legation in Lisbon. Headed by Chinghum Frank Lee, China's wartime

32. AHM MO/AH/AS/SA/01/25446 [A2155].
33. Wilhelm Snyman, "Lifting the Veil on Wartime Macao", *Revista de Cultura*, no. 23 (2007): 41–55.
34. Japan Diplomatic Archives, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, "Macau 10–97".
35. Snyman, "Lifting the Veil".
36. This is revealed in a letter of 21 January 1943, addressed to Menezes Alves, complaining that "as we cannot understand Portuguese at all, please write [your letter] and send it again in English". AHM MO/AH/AC/SA/0125661 [A2266].
37. McCaskie, "Report on Conditions in Macao".
38. AS PT/TT/AOS/D-N/10/4/8 UL-10A1 cx. 767, pt. 7, n.º 2 "Delegadão de Chang Kai Chek em Macau. Relações com a China".

capital Chongqing undoubtedly kept abreast of events in Macau through this legation, as well as via underground networks inside the Portuguese colony.

Although it is hard to second-guess their true convictions, sections of the Chinese populations in Macau (and Hong Kong) also sided with the puppet Japanese government installed in Nanjing in March 1940 and headed by Wang Jingwei. Formerly an associate of Sun Yat-sen, Wang split from the Kuomintang, taking an anti-communist position before siding with Japan. Notably, on 17 September 1943, Macau was briefly visited by a high-power Wang delegation of two—namely, the Japanese puppet leader's wife, Chen Bijun, and the pro-Japanese Nanjing government minister of foreign affairs. Entering Macau clandestinely, the duo sought—unsuccessfully—to win support for Japan's "peace offensive" from Sun Yat-sen's widow, Madam Soong Ching-ling (Song Qingling), who was then staying with her elder daughter at what is now the Sun Yat-sen memorial house premises.[39]

Besides a Portuguese diplomatic presence in Japanese-occupied Guangzhou (and Tokyo), Portugal's diplomatic representative in Hong Kong, Francisco P. de Vasconcelos Soares, emerged as the key individual in issuing travel documents to persons claiming Portuguese nationality. As Roy Eric Xavier mentions in Chapter 4, such documentation was vital to ensure the freedom of the Macanese community in Hong Kong, and especially their ability to travel to Macau. Under high duress by the Japanese, as Stuart Braga elaborates in Chapter 5, Consul Soares pushed the envelope to the limit in issuing documents to people with only a vague Portuguese connection.

The British Army Aid Group (BAAG)–Hong Kong–Macau–Chongqing Axis

As Gunn describes in Chapter 6, wartime Macau served as a second escape route for individuals fleeing Japanese-occupied Hong Kong and comprised an intelligence base for more than one organization and nationality—the Chinese Nationalists, pro-Japanese Wang Jingwei factions, Chinese communists, the British Army Aid Group (BAAG), British Special Operations Executive (SOE) with links to the British consulate, alongside Japanese diplomatic, naval, and military services.[40] As better known, the BAAG helped prisoners-of-war in Hong Kong to escape from Japanese captivity and successfully organized a network of agents to collect military intelligence for the Allies. Macau and Guangzhouwan together formed part of this escape network.

In one BAAG operation, Menezes Alves—head of civilian administration—was himself spirited out of Macau, making his dramatic escape by junk on 2 April 1944

39. Pinto, "Guerra em Paz", 65. Grace Tai, then aged forty-seven, the daughter of Sun Yat-sen and Lou-Si, residing at no. 5 Avenida Coronel Mesquita, was also under police surveillance, although no political activities were recorded. AH/AS/SA/01/25700 "Consulado Portugues", 23 August 1943.

40. Edwin Ride, *British Army Aid Group (BAAG): Hong Kong Resistance, 1942–1945* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1981), 209.

assisted by Nationalist Chinese agent, A-Choi. As the British consulate in Chongqing learned, Menezes Alves had reached a BAAG forward post inside Free China by 17 April 1944. While Alves was still en route, the British authorities had already apprised that he wished to proceed to Portugal "to expose the actions of certain pro-Japanese Portuguese officials in Macau". Considered to be "a staunch supporter of the Allied cause", the ranking Portuguese official was given every facility upon his arrival in Kunming.[41] The tenor of this explanation was reported in some detail by Portuguese journalist Ricardo Pinto,[42] who interviewed Menezes Alves in Portugal in the 1990s and detailed his dramatic escape (or defection) in part organized by Y. C. Liang, a key BAAG operative.

We should not neglect to mention the role or presence of other foreign agents in Macau. Macau may not have been as valuable as Lisbon as a listening post, but owing to its maritime location in southern China, the colony served as a sieve through which British, French, Nationalist Chinese and Wang Jingwei agents could pass through belligerent areas. Although less prominent than the Nationalists, Chinese communist agents also used Macau as an intelligence collection centre or a place for procurements or even medical treatment for wounded guerrillas. The British and Japanese consulates undoubtedly facilitated some of these activities on behalf of their protégés. We have less information on American, German, or Soviet agents in Macau, but their presence is noted in the literature. One unusual arrival in Macau in 1944 via Harbin, Qingdao, and Hong Kong was the well-known painter of wartime Macau landscapes—the Russian émigré George Vitalievich Smirnov and family. In Macau, Smirnoff enjoyed the patronage of Pedro José Lobo—who commissioned Smirnov's now iconic watercolors for the Leal Senado—and friendship with Consul Reeves and businessman-writer-agent Jack Braga. One can only guess at the painter's true role.

As mentioned, Macau was also the venue of certain clandestine wartime meetings. For instance, under Project "Kiri Kosaku"—the failed Japanese attempt in early 1940 to negotiate peace with the Nationalist government in Chongqing just prior to the inauguration of the Wang Jingwei government—high ranking members of the Imperial Japanese Army General Staff Office held several highly confidential meetings with Nationalist Chinese agents secretly assigned by Dai Li, head of Chongqing's intelligence under Chiang Kai-shek. Besides well-documented meetings in Hong Kong, other meetings took place in Macau, one in the Bela Vista Hotel on 4 June 1940.[43]

41. HKHP Ride collection, FO 371/41620 from Chungking to Foreign Office, 27 April 1944.
42. Pinto, "Guerra em Paz", 90–97. Returning once to Macau after the war, Menezes Alves maintained a fifty-year silence concerning his activities there in the Pacific War.
43. Tetsuya Kataoka, *Resistance and Revolution in China: The Communists and the Second United Front* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1974), 190. See Chen Zichang, "The Rise of Macau Chinese Cultural Nationalism during the Anti-Japanese War" (MA diss., University of Macau, 2013), citing Chinese sources on the Macau meetings.

War and Memory in Macau

Studies on war frequently invoke topics such as suffering, separation, collaboration, and acts of bravery. These are not outside our consideration, as the question of shared memory and commemoration is elaborated below. The contrast between Macau on the one hand, and Hong Kong, Singapore, and other locations including cities in China on the other, stands out. Notably, in Hong Kong, war crime trials, war monuments, books, museum exhibits, veteran associations, press pieces, and so forth continue to resonate among an interested and often engaged public. Not a belligerent during the war, Portugal did not participate in Allied war crime trials, and the postwar Salazar state did not dwell upon the war years in Macau or at home. Although the experience was not as severe as in occupied Timor, Macau people did indeed suffer. No truth commission–style investigation or reckoning was ever mounted as to official conduct in Macau, the role of collaborators, or as to unnumbered victims including those who may have died of starvation. There were no official inquiries, no post-mortem, no excavation of graves and no war crime trials. The silence does not even appear to have been studied.

War memories in Macau thus appear to have been privately experienced. No public heroes emerged in the postwar years, at least outside of private conversation, and neither were victims individualized (though honours for Macau police heroes and victims might have been an exception). Rather, in Macau, the priorities were always upon getting on with business and the business of dealing with local realities—namely, handling the Nationalist Chinese and more crucially, the advent of communist China along with another inrush of refugees in 1949. Neither did the frenetic 1960s bookended by the disastrous Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution appear to offer much space or luxury for reflection upon the war years. Timor offers a contrast where a number of war memorials—both Portuguese and Australian—remain to this day, including an impressive officialized site in the mountain village of Aileu commemorating the victims of a Japanese massacre of Portuguese administrators. For Timor, the Japanese occupation and guerrilla conflict also spawned a shelf of books and articles alongside recriminations, a certain number of them appearing almost immediately after the war. Not so for Macau.[44]

Very few of the key wartime actors bequeathed memoirs or written accounts, except Ricardo Pinto's interview with wartime chief secretary, Menezes Alves, in the 1990s.[45]

44. An exception might be António de Andrade e Silva, *Eu Esteve em Macau Durante a Guerra* (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1991). First penned in 1946 this unfinished work by the naval officer and harbour master, Andrade e Silva, was only published in 1991. While evocative of events and atmosphere, including cholera, mortality, tense relations with the Japanese, city defences, smuggling, rice procurement, and the refugee issue, this account is also naïve as to broader political and diplomatic issues. Written in a popular narrative style for a metropolitan audience, the work also lacks documentation.

45. Ricardo Pinto, "A Grande Evasão", *MacaU*, II Series, No. 43 (November 1995): 90–97.

Another is the small but informative oral reconstruction by journalist José Ernesto de Carvalho e Rego Filho on the "heroic" figure of Macau police chief Captain Alberto Carlos Rodrigues Ribeiro da Cunha in standing down Japanese-fomented violence in the streets and waterways.[46] Yet another is the memoir by Eddie Gosano, medical practitioner and one-time undercover chief in Macau for the British resistance movement.[47] In the new century, our understanding of wartime Macau has taken a quantum leap forward with the discovery in South Africa of Consul Reeves's unpublished memoir, which became a Hong Kong University Press publication edited by Colin Day.[48] Just as a better educated audience grew in a more affluent postwar Macau, so a small group of Macanese writers have added their reminiscences. They include Leonel Barros, especially informative on the activities of pro-Japanese bandit groups in the struggle to control the rice trade, and Frederic (Jim) Silva, who tends to focus upon life of the Macanese refugee community.[49] On the Japanese side, only a few thin memoirs have come to light, virtually no histories, and only fragmentary archival information remains.

Oral history accounts also lagged in early postwar Macau, just as historical archives, universities, and publishing were undeveloped. By the 1990s when Portuguese journalists such as João Guedes and Ricardo Pinto began writing about the war years, the principals themselves were fading from the scene. At this writing, direct memory of the war years in Macau is the privilege of a shrinking few, and the prospect of oral history research is sadly diminishing (although still possible as Roy Eric Xavier demonstrates in Chapter 4). It might also be added that Macau has changed demographically in the postwar years with the China-born component of the population exceeding the locally born. Neither did the Portuguese state memorialize the Pacific War years in Macau as they did with World War I years in Europe. Portugal stood with the Allies in 1917–18 at great human cost, and this sacrifice is splendidly memorialized in Macau's lovely Jardim do São Francisco. In the absence of public acts of remembrance in Macau, a "collective" or social memory of the war years in Macau was slow to develop.

Nevertheless, in the post-1999 period under the Special Administrative Region, one can detect a new recall of the war years through selective acts of public education, more generally folding into Beijing's patriotic "war of national resistance". Undoubtedly, the pioneering Chinese-language history of Macau by Fei Chengkang published in

46. See José Ernesto de Carvalho e Rego Filho, *Os Feitos do Capitão Ribeiro da Cunha Durante o Período da Guerra do Pacífico, em Macau* (Macau: Network Marketing Corp., 1996).
47. Eddie Gosano, *Hong Kong Farewell* (Hong Kong: Greg England, 1997).
48. John Pownall Reeves, *The Lone Flag: Memoir of the British Consulate in Macao during World War II*, edited by Colin Day and Richard Garret (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2014).
49. See Leonel Barros, *Memórias do Oriente em guerra: Macau* (Macau: Associação Promotora da Instrução dos Macaenses, 2006); Frederic (Jim) Silva, *Things I Remember* (Macau: Instituto Internacional de Macau, 2010); and *Reminiscences of a Wartime Refugee: Macau and Hong Kong during World War II. How People Lived and Coped* (Macau: Instituto Internacional de Macau, 2013).

Shanghai in 1988—which included a section on "the war of resistance against Japan"—was a major stimulus.[50] Chinese-language scholarship on wartime Macau also began to develop in the early handover period, as with the important article by Jin Guo Ping and Wu Zhiliang on "secret" wartime negotiations between Portugal and Macau, in turn drawing upon Chinese and Portuguese diplomatic archives.[51] Another case in point was the Museu de Macau (Macau Museum) special exhibition on the war hosted in 2002, for which the work *Macau Durante a Guerra Sino-Japonesa* was produced.[52]

Another example of commemoration was the official opening in 2012 of the former residence from 1931 to 1937 at 76 Rua do Almirante Costa Cabral of General Ye Ting, commander of the New Fourth Army in the war against Japan, and who was subsequently named as one of the thirty-six military founders of the People's Republic.[53] While public acts of war denial in Japan on the part of revisionist politicians only help to fuel this trend towards memorialization in cities that had felt direct Japanese occupation, the resonance may be less in Macau, although time will tell.

In large part, the inspiration for this collection was the 2014 publication by Hong Kong University Press of Consul Reeves's memoir. It may well be that this collection compensates for the seeming lack of attention to this period of Macau's history especially in the regional and global context. Indeed, we would be flattered if it helps to convince locals that they should care—as with extra efforts to preserve remaining documents and to conduct oral history—if at all possible. We are thus hopeful that this work will inspire even more autonomous research on this broad theme by locals, especially where we have left gaps as in the area of social history of the local Chinese communities. We cannot gainsay whether or not such future research—as with documenting resistance activities—will be of a commemorative genre linked with the fostering of patriotism, or whether entering public discourse through journalism or academic research. Noting that one of the uses of history is to strengthen identity around shared experiences and memory then, we may expect even more retrospective depictions of and productions on this obviously understudied but vitally important period of Macau's modern history.

50. Fei, *Macao 400 Years*.
51. See Jin and Wu, "Tevio Havidia Acordos Secretos". This article also presents a full range of Chinese-language publications on wartime diplomacy over Macau, most published in China (and Taiwan), drawing respectively upon archives in China and Taiwan.
52. Anon., *Macau Durante a Guerra Sino-Japonesa*. The seventieth anniversary of the end of the war was also commemorated in Macau in 2015 with various public displays and activities. Unprecedentedly, on 10 July 2015, Macau lawmakers declared 3 September 2015 a mandatory one-off non-working public holiday to celebrate China's victory over Japan in World War II (Decree Law No. 32/2015 on Public Holidays).
53. See Anon., *Macau Durante a Guerra Sino-Japonesa*, 42–43, for a biographical sketch of General Ye Ting during his Macau years.

Figure 0.1
Museum house of late war hero, General Ye Ting, with family statue at 76, Rua do Almirante Costa Cabral (photograph by Geoffrey Gunn)

Sources

One distinguishing feature of this work that begs to be highlighted is the wide-ranging use of source materials or, at least, the individual contributor's ability to tap newly available (or otherwise yet-to-be-mined) materials from government archives, or hitherto ignored and often obscure sources bearing upon Macau. No single-authored study could do justice to this approach, hence our collection. As such, we have drawn upon our research strengths according to our respective locations, research languages, and information retrieval skills. Today, an increasing number of collections and archives have partially digitized their document collections. Locally, the Macau Historical Archives offers a digitized index keyed to wartime Portuguese administration records, intact on microfilm. This enumeration is not exhaustive of the full range of documentation

accessed by the authors, including family records and personal diaries of relatives who had played key roles in the period, along with newly released records or reports.

The Chapters

In the opening chapter, Geoffrey Gunn provides the background to the broader diplomatic setting, explaining that even prior to the outbreak of the Pacific War and continuing until Japan's surrender, a complex web of treaties, semi-secret alliances, and codes of understanding linked Lisbon-Tokyo-Berlin on the one hand, and Lisbon-London-Washington on the other. Portuguese Premier António de Oliveira Salazar was personally engaged in most of these top-level diplomatic plays, unwavering in his endeavour to protect Portugal's colonial empire along with wounded national dignity both in regard to Atlantic and Far Eastern interests. As this chapter develops, it was the Japanese invasion of Timor, Allied planning to retake Timor, and the feared Japanese encroachment upon Macau that animated many of these discussions that assigned disproportionate importance to both these outposts of empire. In particular, this chapter draws upon the Salazar Archive in the Torre do Tombo repository in Lisbon; the Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, and American intelligence intercepts of Japanese diplomatic communications (the "Magic" programme). While, to a limited extent, the diplomatic manoeuvring over the Azores and Timor along with the "secret" Japanese-Portuguese negotiations over Macau has been covered in the literature, undoubtedly this chapter has gone further in seeking to bring Macau into a global wartime framing.

Chapters 2 and 3, respectively by João F. O. Botas and Geoffrey Gunn, offer complementary albeit alternative takes upon wartime economic management. Both authors have drawn upon the recent report released by the wartime manager of the Macau branch of the BNU. In particular, Botas has drawn upon a range of published and archival Portuguese documentation. Inter alia, Gunn has drawn upon hitherto unused Japanese archival sources, especially relating to Macau's cholera epidemic, alongside unpublished witness accounts housed in the Elizabeth Ride collection.

In Chapter 2, as Botas argues, economic management more so than military defence was vital in securing the city's survival. As a virtual protectorate of the Japanese empire, Macau remained starkly isolated from the outside world, becoming a centre for smuggling and black market activities. As Macau was confronted with multiple crises in large part caused by a tripling of its population, it was only the proactive actions of the government in tandem with the BNU that rescued the colony from financial collapse. Government benevolence also protected the refugees. Nevertheless, survival involved a number of economic trade-offs with the Japanese, especially involving middlemen such as Stanley Ho and more importantly, the unofficial Macau governor, Pedro José Lobo. To be sure, the proactive nature of the Macau government in financial

management in particular cannot be ignored; it provides a counterpoint to arguments that Macau was somehow totally subordinate to Japanese whims, or that the government was ineffectual, corrupt, and in other versions, merely beholden to brokers and gangsters.

In Chapter 3, Gunn examines the conditions in wartime Macau which led to starvation and death (also reflecting upon how these grim facts have been remembered). Offering a more general discussion on war and famine, the chapter then links livelihood with rice supply and food distribution. As the chapter explains, rich and poor alike depended upon rice supply from the outside, but the ability to survive was unequal, with refugee or indigent Chinese as the main victims. As he argues, two views emerge as to crisis management in wartime Macau. One holds that the government was out of touch, lacking a plan, and reacting to events. The other view (also shared by Botas) was that the government—working with the BNU—responded positively and creatively to events, even if the means appeared to be unorthodox by the standards of the time.

Chapters 4 and 5, respectively by Roy Eric Xavier and Stuart Braga, examine the plight of two sections of the refugee community, both arriving from Hong Kong and surviving upon relief administered by the British consulate. Each, in turn, offers complementary depictions of life, social adjustment to new circumstances, and even identity formation arising out of the experience. In particular, Xavier's contribution is distinguished by oral research with diasporic Macanese who have directly experienced the war years in Macau. For his part, Braga has also accessed one of the richest collections on Macau—that of the (Jack) Braga Collection housed in the National Library of Australia. While searching through this and other private collections, he found rare printed records of church services, school prize-givings, musical recitals, concerts, plays, and so on. Apart from these printed ephemera mostly collected by Jack Braga, no other examples are known to have survived. Some reflect the activities of the refugee community; others record the life of the Macanese community. Separately, Xavier and Braga have also accessed diaries and obscure published accounts of those who have experienced the war years, respectively, Macanese and Portuguese arriving in Macau from Hong Kong.

In Chapter 4, "The Macanese at War: Experiences in Hong Kong and Macau during World War II", Xavier, himself a Macanese, turns to the wartime experience of one community across two colonial boundaries. As he explains, one of the least known narratives of the war in Asia was the experience of the Macanese. As the descendants of Portuguese traders and indigenous people, they carved out a unique place in history that has endured for almost five hundred years. Based on newly discovered diaries and other first-hand accounts, their experiences during World War II in Hong Kong and Macau provide a ground-level view of the Japanese invasion and refugee life in the Portuguese colony, especially tracking the subtle changes in attitudes of the Macanese in new circumstances surrounding the resounding defeat of the British armies by

the invading and occupying Japanese. As explained, such assertive new identity formation that crystallized among the Macanese during the war years also carried over into post-liberation Hong Kong and even into the diaspora. From Xavier we also learn of the particular agency of Macanese and other Eurasians on the side of the resistance or as economic brokers (Pedro José Lobo and Stanley Ho).

In Chapter 5, Braga discusses the trials and tribulations of the Hong Kong Portuguese refugee community in Macau. It recounts the arrival of the refugees, indicating the measures taken to grapple with the emergency, along with their various coping strategies. The steep rise in the price of rice is documented. Tensions within the refugee community and with the local Macanese are referred to. Living conditions, attempts at maintaining cultural life, and educational opportunity are all examined. Growing community tensions late in the war are then noted. The impending defeat of Japan as seen through the eyes of a refugee newspaper is discussed. Three services in the Morrison Chapel are mentioned. Finally, refugee return to Hong Kong is described—without a backward look—as it were. A brief conclusion follows, taking up Austin Coates's borrowing of Churchill's famous phrase: "This was Macau's finest hour."

Chapter 6 by Gunn focuses on the role of the Allies in the anti-Japanese resistance. Macau was a contested space between nests of spies and agents variously connected to the Nationalist Chinese wartime capital of Chongqing on the part of the Allies and with Tokyo on the part of the Japanese and their protégés. Specifically, this chapter exposes the modus operandi of covert Allied operations in wartime Macau, especially those linked to the BAAG, including the British consulate. This chapter also throws light on the dark operations of Japanese consular and military officials and their frequently violent henchmen in Macau. With its secret radio transmitters and escape operations virtually operating under the noses of the Japanese secret service, neutral Macau provided a vital listening post and escape route connecting to Hong Kong and Free China, valuable as well in the eventual British liberation of Hong Kong. In particular, this chapter exploits the little-known archives of the Elizabeth Ride collection relating to BAAG activities connecting up with a range of Macau-based agents.

An epilogue draws attention to the early postwar environment in Macau, particularly as reflected by the Hong Kong Public Record Office documents. Matters discussed include the perplexing repeated bombings of Macau by US aircraft towards the end of the war, postwar refugee return to Hong Kong, the status and identification of war criminals in Macau and the political challenges posed to the Portuguese colonial order in Macau by an increasingly assertive and nationalist Chinese government. Finally, the early postwar role of Macau as a gold trading centre is broached, bringing to focus certain wartime compradors and personalities, as life returned to "normal" in the then little-visited, little-reported sleepy colonial backwater–turned–casino capital. An overall concluding chapter offers afterthoughts on the major issues discussed in the collection as well as possible future lines of research.

Conclusion

Geoffrey C. Gunn

From the range of ideas and evidence presented in this work, it should be obvious that there was no single generalizable wartime Macau experience. While sharing the anxieties and uncertainties of the general population, the official class was undoubtedly privileged with their access to rationed food and other perks. Those receiving British relief in Macau—namely, Portuguese and Macanese arriving from Hong Kong with the requisite documentation—were also cocooned alongside those outside the official relief net. Put simply, the masses of the refugee population arriving from China—the least well-documented outside of mortality statistics—were the section of the population most vulnerable to disease, malnutrition, hunger, and/or starvation. Local Chinese may have been buffered by solidarity organizations as with charities and clan associations, but their survival also depended upon their social class and the ability to rely upon family and other connections. In other words, how one experienced the war in Macau was entirely dependent on ethnicity, legal as well as social status, connections, and relative wealth/poverty. Collaboration, however defined, may also have conferred thin advantages in the struggle for life. To be sure, the entire population was hostage to critical food supply, and not even the official class could be complacent in this area at the point where precious food stocks ran down.

As suggested in the Introduction, the question of Macau's true neutrality in the Pacific War required some special attention, just as Portugal's own neutrality was subject to intense pressure from the Allies, whatever Prime Minister Salazar's true regard vis-à-vis the Axis. As revealed in Chapter 1, though Portugal had declared its neutrality in the Sino-Japanese dispute back in 1932, the documentary record is very clear that Portugal in Macau acceded to Japanese demands at a number of levels. As mentioned, the Japanese request to establish a consulate in Macau offered Portugal its first guarantee that the neutrality of the territory would be honoured—at least technically, as Macau's waterways were indeed violated frequently as were its streets on occasions. Contrary to the unhappy experience of French Indochina, where—late in the war (March 1945)—the military overruled the diplomats and mounted a takeover, no such event occurred in Macau. In Macau, as in Lisbon, much owed to the diplomat

line hewed by Japanese foreign ministry officials in staying the military hardliners, although it was touch and go in the wake of Consul Fukui's assassination. It took two to tango in this standoff, and the picture that emerges is of an astute Governor Teixeira playing his diplomatic cards with the skill of a Macau poker player. While acceding to Japanese demands where he had no choice, and with the backing of Lisbon, Teixeira also staked out the diplomatic boundaries upon which Japan should not transgress, such as implied by Japan's recognition of Portugal's neutrality alongside other codes and protocols accompanying internationally recognized non-belligerent status. But by entering into a secret accord with Japan, as Jin Guo Ping and Wu Zhiliang point out, this was also a "*neutralidade collaborante*" (collaborating neutrality).[1]

The question may be asked, finally, as to the significance of Macau to the war as a whole? We are surprised that "hostage" Macau actually received such critical attention not only in metropolitan Portugal, where Salazar fretted over the future of the Far Eastern empire, but also from Britain's wartime prime minister, Winston Churchill. Notably, the threat of a Japanese occupation of Macau with its large British nationality refugee population also concerned London where planning for the liberation of Japanese-occupied Hong Kong was advanced and, as demonstrated, Portuguese Timor was also part of this equation. All told, given the success of escape operations mounted from Macau—whether by SOE, the BAAG, Nationalist Chinese, or communist agents—the Portuguese enclave proved to be a strategic asset to the Allied cause. As revealed, Macau also provided the Allies with a rich recruitment ground for reliable and dedicated intelligence agents, many of who risked their lives for the cause. With the Japanese capitulation a reality, Macau also served as a platform to assist in the liberation (and food relief) of Hong Kong, notwithstanding grave reservations offered by Chinese Nationalist rivals.

The significance to Japan of a neutral Macau is a cognate question. As well documented, Portugal served Japan as an intelligence collection centre, but the primary advantage to Japan of preserving Macau's neutrality may well have been the kind of financial services it offered in "hard" currencies, as with Hong Kong dollars still in circulation. Undoubtedly, under the Japanese blockade, the Portuguese colony lost its importance to the Allies as a source of war material, but significantly for Japan, it offered itself as a platform for the re-export of tungsten. Additionally, Japan might well have looked to Macau as a source of aviation gasoline alongside certain other war materials entering the barter trade for rice. Macau's opium stocks might also have served as wartime currency as well, with Japan taking over this business in all the coastal cities of China.

1. Jin Guo Ping and Wu Zhiliang, "Tevio Havidia Acordos Secretos Entre Portugal e o Japão Durante a Secunda Guerra Mundiale?", *Administração* (Macau), no. 51, vol. 14 (2001): 244.

One theme appearing in most of the chapters is that of the strategic compromises made by a range of actors trapped in Macau because of the boundaries imposed by war, and because of the sheer need to survive. Population or refugee flight to Hong Kong and Macau and elsewhere—as Japan's war machine tightened its grip on the eastern seaboard of China along with major land and sea communication lines—clearly revealed the agonizing choices confronting hundreds of thousands of people. How these waves of refugees arriving in Macau fared is the subject of two dedicated chapters (Xavier in the case of Macanese and Braga in the case of Portuguese). A similar concern is also expressed in chapters by Botas and Gunn as to larger demographic cohorts including the Chinese. While the refugee-as-victim or passive recipient of welfare is a parallel concern in these chapters, the agency of the refugees in coping with adversity has not been entirely neglected.

A striking leitmotif through all the chapters is the identification of enemies, the taking of sides, and the striking of alliances. Such comes to the heart of compromising wartime relationships forged in Macau, even though acts of collaboration were often masked by social circumstances and contingency. True neutrality of individuals may have been a kind of luxury, hence the theme of clandestinity involved a bewildering array of personalities, factions and tendencies. Some were distinguished by code names, others were cypher-carrying; some operated secret radios, others moved across frontiers and in and out of enemy-controlled territory, and we are full of admiration for their bravado and risk-taking. Lining them up, these agents included Nationalist Chinese, Chinese communists, "imperialist" Britons (as the BAAG was perceived in Nationalist circles), patriotic Chinese and youth, including Macanese or Portuguese youth. Certain gangsters and profiteers operating in and around Macau might also have been patriotic, although others—as with Wang Jingwei agents—were certainly in Japanese pay. Although united in their devotion to emperor and empire, the Japanese community in Macau was also riven by overlapping interests besetting the consulate, the navy, various military factions and associated intelligence operatives, business circles, alongside Taiwanese and Korean auxiliaries.

Even the formal and formalized relationship between the two consulates and Portuguese administration represented by the ostensibly pro-Allied Governor Teixeira requires careful deconstruction, especially given the role of personalities and political tendencies within that administration. This is all the more so in the light of the Gorgulho missions to Japanese-occupied Guangzhou and Tokyo, the escape-defection to Free China of the chief administrator Luiz da Câmara Menezes Alves, and the dubious success of the Costa e Silva voyage to Timor conducted under Japanese auspices. Revelations of the secret pact signed between Governor Teixiera and the Japanese as brokered by Consul Fukui also calls into question the notion of good "enemy" as eulogized by Consul Reeves.

Because such a range of collaborative relationships were struck across various levels, that makes it all the harder to assign black-and-white judgments about heroes and villains. The highest level "collaboration" of course might have been that of Governor Teixeira in his dialogue with Consul Fukui and with his many *pronunciamentos* delivered poker-faced. The parallel in Lisbon was a tremulous Japanese envoy suffering an audience with Prime Minister Salazar. Obviously, there were elements of high theatre and tensions in this relationship between the proud legacies of Portugal's sprawling seaborne empire and the no less resolute and haughty "knights of bushido"—to echo Lord Russell of Liverpool's turn of phrase.[2] Such recalls vain Japanese attempts to censor local Macau news of American victories in the Pacific and slights against the emperor but also the efforts made by Japan to promote its wartime propaganda through the Chinese-medium press. While the subject requires more research, rather than winning over the Chinese majority in Macau, Japan's invasion actually stirred the moral indignation of the local Macau population while rekindling a sense of Chinese identity and nationalism.

As a commercial hub, connected to Hong Kong, the Pearl River estuary and Guangzhou, it is not surprising that all kinds of unlikely transactions were pursued. Certain were of a collaborating nature and others strategic in the sense that the rice trade had to continue no matter the opprobrium of dealing with pirates and gangsters. To be sure, "collaborators" and "traitors" may have played double games. On the side of the Allies, individuals such as C. Y. Liang, Eddie Gosano, and Rogério Hyndman Lobo were major risk-takers on the side of the anti-Japanese resistance.. With the possible exception of the early postwar remembrance of Macau police victims sacrificed during the war, these names have been largely forgotten today. Certainly there was no postwar purge of Wangists in Macau as there was in China, albeit not for want of trying on the part of the Kuomintang.

Neither is there evidence of postwar recriminations in Macau or Portugal over wartime behaviour as there was, for example, in "post-liberation" French Indochina (where the disgraced governor general arrived back in France to face a judicial investigation), or even as in postwar Portuguese Timor where memoir and literature became a weapon between adversaries and where the landscape is still dotted with World War II memorials. Rather, as sketched in the epilogue, Governor Teixeira emerged postwar as a saviour of (British) souls. Nevertheless, as expressed in the Introduction, the war remembrance trope in Macau only kicked off in the early post-handover period, in turn fitting in with a broader China "war of resistance against Japan" narrative.

2. Edward Russell, Second Baron Russell of Liverpool, *Knights of Bushido: A Short History of Japanese War Crimes* (New York: Dutton, 1958).

A final question imposes itself: How did Macau manage to stay outside of direct Japanese military occupation in the end? We have laboured this point in two ways. First, we highlighted the store Tokyo placed upon maintaining its intelligence antenna in Lisbon—a sentiment shared by its Axis allies who also looked to Iberia, Portugal and its colonies as a source of tungsten supplies to feed its war industries. The Japanese occupation of Timor also served some military-strategic end, either as a springboard to Australia or as an act of denying an Allied base in the eastern archipelago. While the Japanese may have been aware of Allied intelligence activities in and around Macau, it was not to say that the isolated Portuguese colonial outpost threatened to challenge Japan's military stranglehold over the China coast. In any case, the Portuguese administration in Macau was pinned down by the secret agreements and protocols to the extent that it could be relied upon not to rock the boat. Though it cannot have rivaled Lisbon, Macau was indeed positioned as a Japanese military-navy-diplomatic listening post to monitor Allied activities. Second, and no less important, with its functioning banking system Macau also served Japan's immediate need to secure hard currency. Working through Macau's middlemen, Japan bartered and traded for the currency needed to move tungsten from the interior of China—including Nationalist Chinese zones—into its grasp. The test of the foregoing was the response by Japanese diplomats to the challenge posed by the military to Macau's integrity following the assassination of Consul Fukui. Happily for Macau, the message received in Tokyo was that any unravelling of the overall Portugal-Japan relationship stemming from an occupation of Macau was not in Japan's best interests.

To different degrees, our languages and sources have set the parameters of this book. We had no intention of being encyclopedic. One of our concerns was to adopt an overall diplomatic history approach. Another was to make sense of the role of Macau as an intelligence collection and escape centre serving Allied interests, alongside the role of the Japanese consulate and military-business interests. Other intriguing elements that beg further documentation include the role of triads in Macau, whether or not they facilitated Japanese interests. We also wish to know more about the crossover role between Nationalist guerrillas, smugglers, people traffickers and, indeed, the even deeper underground role of the Chinese communists in Macau and the West River zone, as opposed to their far better documented role in the East River and New Territories of Hong Kong. Undoubtedly, Chinese archival sources would add to the Portuguese and English language sources already consulted. Thin Japanese-language sources have added another layer of context. Still, in the absence of even deeper documentation, we know very little about Japanese military and navy activities in Macau, and how they dovetailed with Japanese-linked *kaisha*, as in the tungsten trade, for example—facts which puzzled British military intelligence at war's end as well. More generally, Macau's wartime opium business begs further examination. For that matter, Japanese propaganda in Macau and its reception are understudied, as is

the effectiveness of Japanese intelligence collection in Macau (and Lisbon) given active deception programs mounted by the Allies. The Morishima and Iwai diaries were consulted, but they lack the Macau focus which distinguishes the Consul Reeves memoir. Neither have we tracked in detail the postwar lives of individual actors, as with the Hong Kong Portuguese refugees—some of them having gone on to build careers in Hong Kong and others scattering to a worldwide Macanese diaspora.[3]

We trust we have avoided the worst pitfalls of a history-from-above approach, but on the other hand, the collection of raw data beyond the generic as it applies to the majority Chinese population is obviously wanting and this lacuna has not been adequately covered by local researchers, even with the requisite language skills. Undoubtedly, a range of themes remain to be explored, especially by those working in Chinese languages, as for example, in examining records of local Macau charitable organizations, hospitals, temples, and Buddhist organizations, to the extent that they kept records, or through the recovery of personal diaries, unpublished accounts, and, not least, oral history.[4] On the Portuguese-language side, we remain mostly ignorant of the role of the local Catholic church, otherwise not known for opening its World War II archives. This work has also highlighted the social gap between Chinese alongside Macanese and Portuguese, as with varieties of life experiences, mortality rates, and so on, but a deeper study from an even more rigorous collection of data undoubtedly awaits.

3. See Felicia Yap, "Portuguese Communities in East and Southeast Asia during the Japanese Occupation", in *The Making of the Luso-Asian World*, edited by Laura Jarnagin (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies 2011), 218, who offers a nuanced discussion on the contributions of Portuguese and Macanese to public service in Hong Kong, and the gradual disaggregation of the community especially in line with postwar emigration.

4. The Chan Tai Pak archive curated by the Macau Historical Archives from June 2012 is a good example of this work, with Chan (b. 1910) being a veteran Macau journalist and writer who survived the war years and remained active down until recent years "Witness to Macao History—Chan Tai Pak's Recollections of over Half a Century", accessed 15 December 2014, http://www.archives.gov.mo/events/exhibition2012b/defaultE.aspx.

Appendix I
English Version of Letter from Governor Teixeira to Consul Fukui re Military Ultimatum

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your official letter of even date, as well of the Memorandum referred to therein as Annex, and in reply I have the satisfaction to communicate with you my acceptance to the proposals that accompanied your official letter dated August 27th, and in accordance with the interpretation, as provided in the afore-said Memorandum.

I will be obliged if, besides informing your Government of the acceptance given to your proposals, you shall kindly impress the honest spirit of co-operation which animates me, which being certainly reciprocated by the Japanese authorities, will make our relations to be carried on in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and respect, thus strengthening the traditional friendship between our two countries.

I shall avail the opportunity to reiterate to you with particular and sincere esteem my most distinguished consideration.

Yours Faithfully
(signed)
Governor
Macau 5th September 1941

Mr. Y. Fukui, Esq.
Consul for H.I.J.K.
Macau

Source: JACAR, "Progress Report on Suggestion and Acceptance of Policies against Hostile Forces Including Promotion of Countermeasure against Macao (Aomen) Government's Attitude to Smuggling", C04123881900 Kato Rinpei, Chief of Staff, Nami Group, Ministry of Army, 1941.09.21.

Appendix II
Jack Braga's Notebook on the Price of Rice

Jack Braga kept a notebook in which he jotted down brief notes about events and circumstances he saw as important in wartime Macau. The following extracts from this notebook relate to the critical food shortage that gripped Macau almost from the beginning of the Pacific War. The absence of entries between September 1943 and July 1945 cannot be taken to mean that the problems experienced until that time had been solved. He did not set out to write a detailed essay on the chronic food shortage, but simply noted some major events.

28 June 1942	Seven men and two women arrested in Macao accused of cannibalism
3 May 1943	Macao was effectively blockaded to prevent smuggling by Jap gunboats and armed trawlers
19 June 1943	Rice shortage began to make itself felt, price rising from silver $160 to $180 and then $200 per picul [133 1/3 pounds, or approx. 60 kg.]
20 June	Rice continues to rise, being quoted $200 (silver) per picul
21 June	Rice quoted at $240 (silver) per picul
23 June	Rice sale stopped. Government pegged the price at $160. All shops ceased selling and began hiding rice.
24 June	Rice situation began to be acute. "Black market" sales $240 per picul. Prices of all commodities rising in sympathy.
25 June	No rice on sale, but "black market" price $300 per picul; but small quantities being smuggled from China to Macao. Crowd of beggars grabbed a police lorry full of rice. Armed police posted at important points. Further increase in market prices.

30 June	Rice situation serious, but no public demonstration. The poor suffering terribly. Market prices increase further still.
August 1943	1. Poor continue to suffer terribly, picking up crab and shrimp shells, etc. Price of rice rising. Deaths from starvation continue. Electricity rates increasing, water rates also increased.
	2. Chinese Community upset by publication of an order prohibiting smuggling of rice and grain into Macao, under severe penalties.
9 August	Meeting in Government House, when Fung Chuk Man undertook to lead Macao Chinese to settle the rice question, owing to Loo Huen Cheong's failure to obtain supplies.
September 1943	
1 September	Rice being smuggled into Macao reduces prices somewhat.
2 September	Precautions adopted in Macao due to rumours of impending attack by Chinese rowdies.
July 1945	
1 July	Rice prices soared in Macao.

(Source: Notebook held by the National Library of Australia, MS4300/7.4/3, as compiled by Stuart Braga)

Appendix III
Maria Broom's Letter Detailing Her Hong Kong–Macau Escape Experience

[Undated letter from Maria Broom, Portuguese national stranded in Hong Kong. Page 1 missing along with date. Addressee unknown. Written long after the events of July–August 1943, as described, she relates her exit from Hong Kong and escape from Macau to "Free China" to join her husband Vincent, who was then working for the BAAG. When initially contacted by a BAAG runner dispatched by Colonel Lindsay Ride, she was living in Happy Valley, Hong Kong.]

The instructions for the escape came from the first runner, while I was looking for shoes in a shoe shop, he came up and talked to me, and told me that I should apply through the Japanese Foreign Office to go to Macao with the children saying I would have family support there. Permission was eventually given and we made the night trip to Macao as the ferries were scared of Allied air attacks during the day.

We arrived in Macao at 2 a.m, and went to a flat arranged by Pauline Elarte. Next day a.m. went to church, outside a man approached me and asked me if I was Mrs Broom and used the code name Nosty. He was Dr. Gonzono [Gosano] whom I knew by sight and knew his family. He told me I was on no account to be seen anywhere near the British Consulate and that I must leave the flat and move into a Chinese hotel close to the waterfront used by those arranging the escape; he would send me the funds for daily use. I did not see this person again. I was to stay in the hotel and would be contacted—eventually someone told me to go to a Chinese teahouse where I was to sit down and wait until I saw someone in dark glasses and a dark Chinese suit going upstairs to the floor above. I sat waiting and it was surprising the number of people who arrived in dark glasses and dark suits but eventually one past [*sic*] upstairs and gave me a nod. I did not speak and that night a knock on my room door and was asked to another room where I met Leung—he told me Vincent [her husband and BAAG agent] was in Sanfu and taking us out—with Macao inside the Japanese perimeter, we still had to escape through their lines. We were to wait ready each morning at 5 a.m.

for him to come for us and must have waited 8 or 10 days when he did not appear. I went to church each morning and saw Pauline Elarte. I told her that if I did not turn up she would know I was on my way.

Another surprise was the British Consul who contacted me. I did not want to see him but with his staff finding me and saying he had funds for me finally arranged to see him at the old Pan Am flying boat base about midnight so as not to be seen. The Consul was known to drink too much and was under the weather when I met him. He was very nervous and [at] the least sound clapped his hands for his bodyguard who turned out to be Jim Woodier, Assistant Postmaster for Hong Kong, who I knew quite well. The Consul wanted details of how I was travelling but I did not enlighten him and returned to my quarters.

Finally, the moment of departure came. Leung and his second-in-command took us down to a sampan. Our very little luggage had gone ahead so as not to be a hindrance. We were rowed out towards Wanchai Island—about mid-way a Japanese patrol boat stopped us—it was manned by Koreans who were susceptible to receiving bribes. They already had been paid off but demanded more which made us very uneasy but Leung got the matter settled and we proceeded to Wanchai Island. The Koreans helped themselves to our small supply of food leaving us to make the best of nothing. On Wanchai were hired taxi-boats and rode the length of the island stopping for a lunch break, but little available at the small village.

Rode on after dark when we stopped at a river and waited until a boat was arranged late p.m. We boarded a snake boat (a smuggler's low in the water with a big crew rowing as fast as possible). The object was to pass two Japanese control points and to get into the river mouth past Kongmun before daylight. A small sampan went ahead keeping a quarter of a mile ahead in front of the snake boat to learn if Jap patrol boat was sighted. About 2 am passing a Jap control point, our youngest, Vincent Junior aged three, woke and decided to cry, the sound carried so well over the water that the small craft in advance heard it and came back to demand silence. This was easier said than done and the crew were becoming apprehensive and threatening. I was very worried and they suggested strangling him to save the rest of the party from capture or being shot. I remember that I had a small bag of minties hoarded from pre-war days—had a job finding them and just when things looked the worst, popped one into Junior's mouth, and he shut up at once.

Our snake boat crew carried on rowing fast and as we neared Kongmun and the river mouth it was getting near dawn. Unfortunately our crew ran past the river mouth and had to turn and come back to it just passing Kongmun at crack of dawn. Fortunately the local Japanese patrol was a bit late that morning and we rowed up river to mid-afternoon when Sanfu was reached. Soon we met China [Shiner] Wright

and I was told of Vincent Senior's trip to Toishan. Rested at China's flat and spoke to Vincent in the evening on the phone. He arrived back in Samfu around noon the next day and we rested to make ready for our trip to Kweilin to start after three days rest.

Signed, Maria Broom

PS. From Sanfu to Kweilin, we had Jackie Lau of BAAG as escort and all began to enjoy life again after months of strain.

[Source: (Elizabeth) Ride Collection, Hong Kong Heritage Project (China Light & Power), Kowloon.]

Timeline

1929	Japanese seek and gain fishing rights in Macau.
1930	Japanese seek salt monopoly.
1931	Anchoring of a Japanese gunboat in Macau harbour.
1931 (19 September)	Japanese invasion of Manchuria begins.
1932 (March)	As Japanese invasion of China looms, Portugal declares "secular" friendship with both China and Japan.
1934	Portugal opens Macau as a Chinese language training centre for British colonial administration cadets.
1934	Japanese seek wine and spirits monopoly in Macau.
1934–35	Japanese seek water works concession in Macau.
1935	Secret Japanese attempt to set up an airport in Macau.
1935	Visit to Macau of the Japanese commander-in-chief of the 3rd Naval Squadron.
1936	Japanese seek salt and sugar concessions in Timor.
1946 (23 October)	First Pan American Airways plane arrives in Macau on test flight.
1937	Japanese gain economic concession in Timor.
1937	Portugal sanctions Japanese air route to Timor via Palau.
1937 (11 April)	Artur Tamagnini de Sousa Barbosa arrives as incoming governor of Macau.

1937 (April)	Inauguration of Pan American Airway's service to Macau from San Francisco via Manila.
1937 (7 July)	Marco Polo Bridge Incident.
1937	"Macau All Circles Disaster Relief Society" and youth-oriented "Macau Four Circles Disaster Relief Association" mobilize in defence of China.
1937 (October)	Japanese overflights of Macau.
1937 (November)	Customs house on Lapa Island (Wanzai) under Japanese control and incidents at Porto da Cerca (border gate).
1937 (3 December)	Memorandum on boundaries of Macau relating to Lapa, Dom João and Vong Cam (Montanha) signed between consul for Portugal and consul for Japan in Hong Kong.
1937 (28 December)	Japanese bombing of Montanha (Hengqin) Island and Portuguese occupation of Man Lio Ho village.
1938 (April)	Japanese air attacks on Guangzhou precipitates a major ingress of refugees into Macau.
1938 (21 October)	Fall of Canton to the Japanese.
1938	Visit to Macau by commander-in-chief of the Japanese 5th torpedo flotilla.
1938	Pressures upon Macau-registered fishing junks and shipping.
1938	Military occupation of points on Montanha.
1938	Arrival in Macau of Carlos Eugénio de Vasconcelos, BNU Macau branch manager, staying on until 1946.
April 1939	Japanese aircraft bombs the Portuguese Jesuit Mission at Shiuhing in the West River area of southern Guangdong.
1939 (mid-February)	Macau police chief Captain Carlos de Souza Gorgulho visits Tokyo to meet Japanese military brass.
1940	Japanese agent Sakata Seisho enters Macau to recruit triad members.
1940	Census puts population of Macau at 321,629.

1940 (24 April)	Japanese (and Wang Jingwei forces) occupy Lapa, overcoming over armed Portuguese opposition.
1940 (24 June)	Inauguation of equestrian statue of Governor Ferreira do Amaral on the Praia Grande, along with a Nicolau de Mesquita statue on the Largo do Senado.
1940 (29 July)	Portugal cements relationship with Francoist Spain through the Iberian Pact.
1940 (September)	Creation of the Regulatory Imports Commission in charge of food supply and its distribution.
1940 (27 September)	Japan joins the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy.
1940 (1 October)	Possible opening date of Japanese consulate in Macau pending arrival of consul.
1940 (29 October)	Governor Artur Tamagnini Barbosa dies in office; Gabriel Maurício Teixeira takes up office.
1941 (23 January)	Chiang Kai-shek sends delegation to Macau.
1941 (February)	Outbreak of cholera epidemic in Macau with some seventy cases a day.
1941 (20 April)	Fukui Yasumitsu appointed vice consul for Macau by Emperor Hirohito.
1941 (mid)	Consul Fukui arrives in Macau.
1941 (7 June)	John Pownall Reeves appointed as British Vice-Consul Macau.
1941 (21 June)	Seizure of the Portuguese-flagged ship *Guia*.
1941 (27 August)	At Japanese military bidding, Consul Fukui delivers ultimatum to Governor Teixeira on pain of losing vital food supply.
1941 (5 September)	Governor Teixeira answers the ultimatum.
1941 (27 September)	Creation of Comissão Reguladora das Importações.
1941 (8 December)	Japanese attack on Hong Kong (Battle of Hong Kong) begins with air strike at Kai Tak Airport.

1941 (10 December)	First British refugee group depart Hong Kong for Macau on the SS *Perla*.
1941 (17 December)	Combined Australian-Dutch forces of around 300 men conduct a preemptive invasion of Portuguese Timor.
1941 (25 December)	Battle of Hong Kong concludes with British surrender to Japanese forces.
1942 (2 February)	Arrival of first wave of Portuguese evacuees/refugees from Hong Kong along with many other nationalities.
1942 (8 February)	Second wave of Portuguese evacuees from Hong Kong arrives in Macau
1942 (20 February)	Main force of Japanese invades Portuguese Timor.
1942 (mid-May)	Naval vessel *João de Lisboa* departs Macau for Portugal via the Pacific route, also repatriating anti-Salazarist military rebels.
1942 (June)	British military authority in New Delhi anoints the BAAG with Lieutenant Colonel Ride in charge.
1942 (June)	Consul Reeves also becomes part of the BAAG network.
1942 (June)	The BAAG formally appoints Joy Wilson as its official representative in Macau.
1942 (June–July)	Japanese-America "exchange" ships touch Hong Kong en route to Lourenço Marques (Mozambique).
1942	Peak year for mortality in Macau with an excess of over 25,000 deaths.
1943 (May)	Joy Wilson escapes and Eddie Gosano takes over leadership role of the BAAG in Macau.
1943 (25 April)	Portuguese governor visits Guangzhou.
1943 (June)	Japanese dispatch 50 police and reservists to Macau.
1943 (2 June)	Sinking by American submarine of the Macau-based SS *Wing Wah* en route to Haiphong.
1943 (mid)	Japanese in control of Macau's water police and all waterborne communications.

1943 (23 June)	Crowd of beggars seize police lorry full of rice.
1943 (18–19 August)	The "Macau incident" or Japanese seizure of British-flagged ship *Sian* (*Sai On*).
1943 (17–20 September)	Macau visited by Wang Jingwei's wife and pro-Japanese Nanjing government minister of foreign affairs.
1943 (23 December)	Japanese sanction conditional use of the ship *Masbate* renamed SS *Portugal*.
1944 (early)	Mission to Timor via Tokyo by Macau vice governor José Joaquim Costa e Silva.
1944 (19 January)	Colonel Ride of the BAAG advises Chongqing that "Macau must be drawn into the maze when things start in earnest in this area".
1944 (5 February 1944)	New locally minted 5, 10, 25, 50, 100 and 500 MOP denomination banknotes issued.
1944 (March–April)	The *Masbate* returns from Indochina with coal and beans.
1944 (2 April)	Escape from Macau of Luiz da Câmara Menezes Alves, head of civilian administration.
1944 (14 May)	Colonel Ride formally establishes the "P. L." resistance group under leadership of Y. C. Liang.
1944 (July)	Assassination of local head of Portuguese Red Cross by Japanese-backed gangsters.
1944 (July)	The Macau issue engages Britain's wartime prime minister, Winston Churchill.
1944 (September–November)	Anglo-American-Portuguese negotiations over planned Allied "recapture" of Timor and question of Macau's integrity.
1945 (16 January)	Naval hangar bombed by US planes.
1945 (20 January)	American apology for bombing Macau and offer of compensation.
1945 (17–20)	Daring rescue and escape from Macau of downed American fliers facilitated by Nationalist Chinese agents assisted by C. Y. Leung, Jack Braga, the British consul, and with the knowledge of the Portuguese governor.

1945 (25 February)	Second US bombing raid damages Catholic school and hits the *Masbate*.
1945 (February)	British Consul Reeves brought alongside as to organization of "executive committee" to "lay down proposals and plans for the coming reoccupation of Hong Kong".
1945 (2 February)	Japanese Consul Fukui assassinated.
1945 (February–March)	Arrival in Macau of Fukui's temporary replacement, Japanese spymaster Iwai Eiichi.
1945 (11 March)	Japanese *coup de force* in Vichy-controlled Indochina.
1945 (12 April)	Third US bombing raid kills 15 crew members of tugboat.
1945 (7 May)	End of war in Europe with defeat of Germany and signing of surrender document.
1945 (11 June)	*Masbate* again targeted by US bombs.
1945 (5 July 1945)	Coloane hit by US bombs but without damage.
1945 (6 August)	Hiroshima destroyed by atomic bomb.
1945 (9 August)	Nagasaki destroyed by atomic bomb.
1945 (15 August)	Japanese emperor announces Japan's surrender in radio broadcast.
1945 (21 August)	Y. C. Liang, Eddie Gusano, and Rogério Lobo depart Macau on secret mission to Hong Kong.
1945 (22 August)	Macau trio arrive in Hong Kong and deliver message to detained colonial secretary Franklin Gimson at Stanley camp.
1945 (22 August)	British naval arrival in Hong Kong.
1945 (23 August)	Moving quickly to head off prospective Nationalist Chinese challenge, Gimson takes over authority from Japanese in the colony.
1945 (31 August)	Rear Admiral Cecil Harcourt arrives in Hong Kong waters.
1945 (2 September)	British destroyer *Plym* arrives in Macau to arrange delivery of food supplies for Hong Kong.

1945 (3–4 September)	Two days of official holiday declared in Macau to celebrate Japanese surrender.
1945 (5 September)	Japan surrenders its forces to Portugal on Timor.
1945 (8 September)	Y. C. Liang again departs Macau with first food relief consignment for Hong Kong.
1945 (11 September)	British consular official arrives in Hong Kong to discuss (British) refugee repatriation.
1945 (11 September)	Nationalist Chinese forces take control of Zhongshan.
1945 (12 September)	Y. C. Liang delivers second consignment of food to Hong Kong on the *Fat Shan*.
1945 (16 September)	Nationalist China soldiers force brief entry into Macau through the border gate.
1945 (16 September)	Rear Admiral Harcourt accepts the surrender of Japanese forces in the Hong Kong area.
1945–47	Nationalist China campaigns for retrocession of Macau.
1945 (27 September)	Arrival in Macau of group of ex-(Portuguese) Volunteer Corps prisoners aboard the HMS *Parret*.
1945 (2 October)	Arrival in Macau via Timor of the *Gonçalo Velho*, the first Portuguese ship arrival since the start of the war.
1945 (7 October)	In an official note to the president of the Council of Ministers, Salazar justifies his policy of neutrality and avoidance of hostilities with Japan with respect to Macau and Timor.
1945 (16 October)	The Nationalist Chinese government orders the return to Lisbon of the Portuguese ambassador along with consular representatives owing to wartime collaboration with the Japanese.
1945 (28 October–22 December)	Twenty armed Nationalist Chinese soldiers force entry into Macau on the pretext of detaining Japanese prisoners of war, along with Chinese traitors and collaborators.
1945 (4 December)	Consul Reeves notifies Hong Kong Civil Affairs Department, "I am to take over Japanese archives."

1946 (January)	British Defence Security Office (Hong Kong) takes interest in Japanese civilians as well as remaining consular and military staff in Macau.
1946 (20 February)	Four members of Japanese consulate headed by Consul Yodogawa Masaseki sent to Hong Kong.
1946 (28 March)	First trial conducted by British War Crimes Court begins in Hong Kong.
1946 (June)	A 31-member Japanese group, including six women, transferred to Hong Kong.
1946 (1–4 August)	Governor Gabriel Mauricio Teixeira departs Macau for Lisbon via Hong Kong.
1946 (5 August)	Commander of the *Afonso de Albuquerque,* Samuel Conceição Vieira, appointed governor ad interim for a period of 13 months.
1947 (1 April)	Under Sino-Portuguese Accord, Portugal renounces all rights relative to diplomatic quarter in Beijing as well as international concessions in Shanghai and Xiamen.
1947 (late August)	Visit to Macau of Sun Fo (Sun Ke)—son of Sun Yat-sen—and vice president of the Republic of China.
1947 (1 September)	Commander Albano Rodrigues de Oliveira appointed Macau's first postwar governor.
1948 (January)	T. V. Sung, governor of Guangdong, agrees to supply Macau with its rice needs albeit prohibiting re-export.

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Index

A-Choi, 17
A Voz de Macau, 10–11, 132
A Voz do Povo, 169
Admiralty, 140
Afghanistan, 172n19
Afonso de Albuquerque, 174
Africa, 95, 115; African troops, 11, 42, 60; Portugal's empire in, 53
Age, The, 43
agriculture, 85–86
Aibo group, 112–13
Aileu, 18
Albuquerque, Afonso de, 95
Allies (Allied), 2, 6, 48, 53, 136n83, 179; agent, 74; attitudes towards, 11, 25; cause, 17; chiefs of staff, 47; deception operations, 37–38; intelligence, 11, 36, 85–86, 92, 109, 160, 182; interests, 47; legations, 7; and Lobo, 110; planning on Hong Kong, 98; planning on Timor, 10, 22, 40, 42, 48; report, 82; resistance, 90; seal on archives, 172n; subjects, 69; victory, 12; and World War I, 19
America (Americans), 1, 8; agents in Macau, 17; bombing, 1, 109, 165; bombing of Macau, 137–38; codebreakers, 25, 31, 36; communications, 109; connection with Macau, 166–69; Darwin fleet in, 38; emigration to, 134; flyers, 111; intelligence, 22; Pacific War strategy, 42–43; and Portuguese declaration of war call, 47; prisoners, 104; relief, 158; resistance activities, 142; submarines, 14, 28, 86, 167; victories, 181
Amoy (Xiamen), 85
Ando Rikichi (commander), 31
Andrade de Sá, Luís, 68
Andrade e Silva, António, 18n44, 56–58
Anglo-American-Portuguese axis, 9–10, 26, 45–47, 53
Anglo-Dutch forces, 40, 44, 53
Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, 2, 26, 45
Angola, 6
Anti-Comintern Pact, 26
Armacão, 107, 121–22, 133
arms, 84, 111, 165; arms supply to Guangzhouwan, 28; and Hong Kong defence, 99; procurement, 8, 13
Asahina Taiki (vice consul), 156–57, 171–72
Asama Maru, 7–8
Asia, 48, 115; Portugal's empire in, 53. *See also* Far East
assassination, 51, 53, 111; Consul Fukui case, 138
Association of the Portuguese of Hong Kong, 132
Atlantic, 9, 48; Allied interests in, 39; Portuguese interests, 22, 25; theatre, 48; war in, 45
Australia, 39–40, 182; archives, 142; and Azores pact, 45; codebreakers, 25; commandos, 40; continent, 44; and Dutch force, 38–39; and Japanese surrender, 43; Macanese diaspora, 115; military planners, 42; soldiers on Timor, 41; war crimes trials, 170; war memorial, 18
Austria, 157

Avenida da Republica, 154
Avenda de Sidónio Pais, 175
Axis, 1–2, 6, 40, 48, 53, 136n82; attitudes towards, 25; Europe, 9; interests, 1; legations, 7; and Lobo, 110; nationals, 157; partners, 38; Portugal attack scenario, 45; relations, 43
Ayock, Wilfred (consular official), 163
Azores bases, 9, 11, 27; diplomacy, 22, 39–40, 45–46, 169
Azores agreement of 17 August 1943, 45; German responses, 46; Japanese responses, 46

Bacteriological Institute, 77
Bairro Tamagnini Barbosa, 121
Baishaling, 137
Banco Nacional Ultramarino (BNU), 13, 22, 55, 59–61, 153, 174; crisis management, 62–64; manager, 56, 89, 92–93; McCaskie view, 92; and opium financing, 91; remittances, 89; report, 72–73, 79, 92; and rice purchase, 64–65; and silver market, 91; telegram to Lisbon, 64
bandits, 5. *See also* gangsters
Bank of Communications, 90
Bank of East Asia building, 118
banks, 97, 164; certificates/notes, 60; Chinese, 61; hoarding, 90; in Hong Kong, 97; notes production, 60; system, 13, 58–60, 89. *See also* economy; finance
Banque de l'Indochine, 91
Baptista, Marciano, 130
Baptista, "Naneli" Marciano, 130
Barbosa, Artur Tamagnini de Sousa (governor), 27, 29
Barnes, Joseph (Joe) William (medical doctor), 126
Barra fort, 137
Barros, Leonel, 19
Barry (rice official), 163
Battle of Hong Kong, 5
Battle of Midway, 11
beggars, 66, 72, 80, 83. *See also* scavenging
Beijing, 174
Bela Vista hotel, 17, 107, 121–22, 177n37; refugee centre, 134
Berlin, 1, 37, 41, 43, 46, 51, 53, 157; axis, 2, 6; Japanese diplomats in, 36. *See also* Germany
black market, 55, 84, 89, 109
black spring of 1942, 66, 78
blockade, 1, 179
Boletim Geral das Colónias, 57
Bolshevik revolution, 100
bombings of Macau, 24, 166–67
border gate, 58
Bosco, Correa, 119
Boxer, Charles (major), 143
Braga, Caroline, 130
Braga Collection, 23, 116n1
Braga, J. M. (Jack), 17, 74, 79, 125–26, 155; as agent, 143; diary, 83, 120n17, 128, 130–31, 133, 136n82, 140; and Hong Kong planning task force, 162
Braga, John V., 131–33
Braga, José Pedro, 97, 117, 128n57, 129
Braga, Olive, 117
Braga, Paul, 117
Branco, Fernando Augusto (minister), 3
Branco, Vieira (captain), 11
Brazão, Eduardo (consul), 175
Brazil, air route, 9; Japanese in, 9n18; Macanese diaspora, 115; Portuguese diplomat in, 37;
Bretton Woods Agreement of 1946, 176
Britain (British) 1, 3, 6, 40; agents in Macau, 17; alliance with Portugal, 26–27, 53–54; ambassador in China, 153; ambassador in Lisbon, 46; anthem, 123; archives, 142; colonial office, 98; colony, 160; defeat in Hong Kong, 5; Defence Security Office, 171; documents, 45; forces in Hong Kong, 99; Foreign Office, 135, 158, 172; government, 68; as imperialists, 180; and letter patent, 162; Macau massacre scenario, 48; Macau and occupation of Hong Kong, 161–62; military, 45; military intelligence, 142–44, 152, 173; nationals in Macau and concerns, 42, 46, 48; nationality/subjects, 67–68,

104–5, 119–20, 120n; navy, 45, 161; parliament, 98; prisoners, 104; refugee relief, 68, 75; sources, 46; and Timor, 40; Timor incident scenario, 48; and war crimes in Macau, 170–71; war planners, 43–44, 47; warships, 155. *See also* Churchill; Eden
Britain consul(ate), 1, 13, 14–15, 35, 36, 67–69, 87, 92, 112, 122, 125, 127, 151, 170; arrests/purges, 158–59; and BAAG, 145–46; in Chongqing, 160; clinic, 126; and Foreign Office, 9, 47; in Guangzhou, 136; history of, 136; implicated, 160; Japanese surveillance of, 158–59; observer in Macau, 11; postwar embargo on Macau, 91; and refugee repatriation to Hong Kong, 139–40; relief administration, 65
British Army Aid Group (BAAG), 2, 11, 85, 111–13, 179; escape operations, 16–17; food distribution, 86; and Macanese group, 112
British Army Aid Group (BAAG)-Hong Kong-Macau-Chongqing axis, 16–17, 24, 152
British Defence Security Office, 171
British Military Administration, 140
British Special Operations Executive (SOE), 16
Britto, Fred, 113
Broom, G. V. (Maria), 151, 188–90
Bryan, Derek (vice consul), 136
Buddhism, 183
Building Reconstruction Advisory Committee, 139–40
Burma, 92
business, 62, 90, 124; big, 92; Japanese, 155; partners, 64; rice barter, 179. *See also* comprador; middlemen

Caeiro da Malta, José, 175
Caetano, Marcello José das Neves Alves, 10
Caixa Escolar, 107
Campbell, Sir Ronald, 47
Canada (Canadians), 8; Macanese diaspora, 115; soldiers, 104; troops, 99
Canberra, 44. *See also* Australia
cannibalism, 74, 80–81, 83; Allied reports of, 81n21; myth-making by Teixeira, 81
Cannon, Melania Dawn, 13, 81–82
Canossians, 107–8
Canton, 66, 70, 84; Cantonese, 84, 148; language, 113. *See also* Guangzhou
Carneiro, Artur, 132
Carvalho, Manuel de Abreu Ferreira da (governor), 39, 44
Carvalho, Nuno, 59
Carvalho e Rego Filho, José Ernesto, 19, 49
Casablanca, 2, 94
casinos, 110. *See also* gambling
Cathay Pacific, 177
cathedral, 118, 137; and Macanese, 94n1; schools, 128
Catherine of Braganza, 95
Catholic (Catholicism) church, 14, 97, 105, 118, 124; archives, 183
cédulas, 64
censorship, 9, 10, 181
census, 74; Hong Kong, 120n18. *See also* demography; population
Central Bank of China, 90
Central Bureau for Economic Services, 62–63, 104
Central Bureau of Investigation and Statistics (CBIS), 172–74
Chácara Leitão, 121
Chan Sui-jeung, 159
Chan Tai Pak, 66, 183n4
Chan Yang Kwai, 156
Chang Wai Cheung (general and governor), 29, 30
charities, 69, 83, 178, 183
Charles II, 95
Chatham Road, 118
Chen Bijun, 16
Chen Kaede, 172
Cheng Kai-min (Zheng Jiemen), 38
Cheung Chau, 151
Chiang Kai-shek, 15, 17, 38, 163, 174; and British, 144n7; intelligence service, 17
Chiba Shin-ichi (minister), 7, 32, 37, 41
China (Chinese), 1, 43, 58, 63, 99, 104, 154; banknotes, 61; banks, 89; blockade of, 28; born in Macau, 42; British relief

for, 170; as cholera victims, 76; clan associations, 92; coast, 9, 51, 180, 182; coins, 60; collaborators, 37; communists guerrillas, 159–60, 180; communities, 14, 83; culinary history, 84; diplomatic archives, 20, 35; economic dependence, 57; high command, 153; language, 183; looters in Hong Kong, 101; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 175–76; Ming, 95; mission in Lisbon, 7; nationalism, 181; newspapers, 11; north, 175; population of Macau, 11; press, 181; refugees in Macau, 47, 72, 80; regiments in Hong Kong, 99; rice supply postwar, 91; society, 51; soldiers, 70; south, 160; students, 108; temple, 15; theatre, 38; victory of 1949, 170; war, 3. *See also* Nationalist China
China Light and Power Company, 132, 177n
Chinese Communist Party (CCP), 157
Chinese language, 134. *See also* Cantonese
Chinese Maritime Customs for Lapa and Districts, 143, 157
Chinese National Dollars (CND), 90
Chinese Nationalists, 1, 58, 159, 164, 169, 174, 179; agents, 2, 3, 17; dollar, 61; military, 172; national salvation organizations, 4; retrocession decision, 175. *See also* China; Free China
Chinese People's Political Council, 175
Chinese Revolution, 134
Chinnery, George, 130
cholera, 22, 58, 72; epidemic 75–78, 83, 126
Chong, William, 146
Chongqing, 2, 16, 24, 33, 86, 146, 152–53, 159, 162, 164, 169; agents, 35; Allied headquarters, 143; anti-Chongqing activities, 51; British consulate/embassy in, 17, 160; escape to, 151; intelligence 17. *See also* Chungking; Nationalist China
Chongsan, 89, 176. *See also* Zhongshan
Choy, Rudy (BAAG agent), 158
Chungking, 146, 159. *See also* Chongqing
church, 13, 83; Protestant, 135; state relations, 135. *See also* Catholic church
Churchill, Winston, 1, 23, 42, 48, 98, 113–14, 179; and British alliance with Portugal, 45; Macau refugee concerns, 48
Civil Administration Bureau, 104
civil society, 69–70
clan associations, 92, 178
Clark, Ashley, 39
Clark, George (ensign), 153
Club Lusitano, 103
Clube da Florinha, 129
Clube Militar, 127
clubs, 127
Coates, Austin, 23, 121, 140
"collaborating neutrality", 25–26, 35, 53, 179
collaborators, 18, 112, 156, 178, 180–81. *See also* traitors
Coloane, 14, 29, 30; bombing, 167
Comissão Executiva de Refugiados, 124
Comissão Reguladora das Importações (CRI), 62
commemoration, 18–20. *See also* memory
commodities, 66–67, 83
communist agents, 2, 17, 141; guerrillas, 5, 92; underground in Macau, 159–60
Companhia Cooperativa de Macau (CCM), 13, 64, 104–5, 107, 109
compradors, 58–59, 84. *See also* middlemen
Conceição, Samuel Vieira (interim governor), 174, 176
Conde de São Januário hospital, 49, 75, 77
consuls, role of, 14–16
Conte Verde (ship), 7
Cooney, Thomas, S. J., 128, 132
co-prosperity sphere, 120, 165
corruption, 84, 175
Costa e Silva, José Joaquim (vice governor), 8; mission to Timor, 43–45, 150
Costa e Silva Mission, 43–45, 180
cotton yarn, 88
creole, 94n; patois, 97
Cultural Revolution, 18, 137
currencies, 13, 55, 59–60, 179; controls, 89; exchange, 72, 107n37; fluctuations, 90; issue, 60–61; Portuguese, 63
cypher codes, 146, 180

d'Almada e Castro, Leonardo, 71, 97, 119, 121, 127, 131–32, 158; and Hong Kong reoccupation, 162
d'Aquino, Francis, 113
D'Aquino, Gastão, 131
d'Argenlieu, Thierry (high commissioner), 92
da Luz, Theresa, 124
da Silva, António Maria, 31
Dai Li, 17, 38
Darwin, 38. *See also* Australia
Day, Colin, 19
deaths, 75, 78, 93. *See also* mortality
deception, 160. *See also* propaganda
Decoux, Jean (governor general), 161
Defence Security Office, 171–72
defences, of Macau, 8, 56, 70, 98; of Hong Kong, 98, 124
democrats, 12
demography, 19, 55, 57, 72, 74; Hong Kong, 106, 120n18. *See also* population
deportados, 10. *See also* Timor
deserters, 152–53, 160
Des Voeux Road, 118
Deutsch Asiatische Bank, 63
Diário de Lisboa, 167
Diário de Manha, 168, 175
Diário de Notícias, 49
Diário Popular, 167
Dias, Pereira, S. J., 132
Dili, 38–39, 44; Japanese diplomats in, 40, 44. *See also* Timor
Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Japan), 22
diplomats, diplomatic repatriation, 7–8
Domei News Agency, 50, 154, 167
drought, 86
Duarte, Teófilo (minister), 175
Dutch, 95, 106; and Australian force, 38–39; nationality, 100
Dutch East Indies, 27. *See also* Indonesia

East Asia, 91, 135. *See also* Far East
East India Company, 95
East River Column (ERC), 111–12, 142, 182; guerrillas, 5; zone, 159, 164
East Timor, 3n1. *See also* Timor
economy, 13; black, 13; brokers, 56; crisis management, 62–64; hedging strategy, 25–26; Japanese pressure, 156; management, 55, 70; planning, 89
Eden, Anthony (secretary of state for war), 39, 48; Macau massacre scenario, 48
Edmonds, Robert L., 177
education, 127–28
England, 95; language, 123. *See also* Britain; United Kingdom
epidemics, 76–78. *See also* cholera
escapes, 164; from Macau, 147, 159–60; from Hong Kong, 159–60
Escola Luso-Chinesa, 107, 121
escudo, 63. *See also* currencies
espionage, 3, 141, 164. *See also* intelligence
Estado Novo, 12
Estrada do Repouso, 154
Ethiopia, 175
Eurasians, 24, 42, 94n, 110, 120; prisoners, 104; regiments, 99. *See also* Macanese
Europe, 36, 48, 57; communications, 109; end of war in, 134, 138; in Japanese strategy, 40
exchange ports, 7–8; ships, 37
Executive Committee (Commission) of Refugees, 71, 131
expenditure, 57, 68

famine, 23, 72, 78, 84–85, 89; in Vietnam, 88
Far East, 59, 175; Portugal's empire in, 48, 179; Portugal's interests, 22, 25, 42–43, 48. *See also* Asia
fascism: attitudes, 11; powers, 136; war in, 67
Fat Shan (ship), 163, 177n37
Fay, Jean (commissioner), 143, 157
Fei Chengkang, 19–20
finance, 90. *See also* economy
firecrackers, 57
fishing, 57, 79, 82; junks, 4; rights, 4
Fletcher, K. P., 143, 146
food supply, 2, 33, 62, 72, 74, 83–84, 178; Chinese, 124; and distribution, 82–89; from Guangzhouwan, 28, 87; Japanese-controlled, 84–85; price inflation, 66; rationing, 65–67; relief, 65; riots, 83;

situation in Hong Kong, 163; shortage, 36, 56, 65–67; subsidy, 124–25; supplies for Hong Kong, 163; urban, 84–85; from Vietnam, 86–87. *See also* rice
foreign agents in Macau, 17–18. *See also* intelligence
Forjaz, Jorge, 96
Former (German agent), 157
France (French), 92, 181; agents, 17; bank, 91; diplomatic sources, 167–68; family, 101; provisional government, 91; rice stocks, 89. *See also* Free French; Guangzhouwan; Indochina; Vichy
Franco, Francisco (general), 26
Free China, 2, 7, 24, 68, 82, 142–44, 153, 164, 180. *See also* China
Free French, 28, 142, 161; agents in Macau, 157; trade with, 57. *See also* France; Gaullists
French Indochina, 10, 27, 161, 178, 181. *See also* Guangzhouwan; Indochina; Vietnam
fuel supply, 88; from Guangzhouwan, 28
Fuji Seikou, 156
Fukui Yasumitsu (consul), 8, 15, 26, 33, 35, 44, 53, 141, 154, 174, 180–81; assassination crisis, 48–53, 111, 138, 156–57, 179, 182; and cholera crisis, 76–78; funeral, 50; intelligence collection, 164; and ultimatum, 51
Fukusako Tomio, 173
Fung Bay, 147, 150

gambling, 57, 70–71, 170, 175; houses, 82; taxes, 121. *See also* casinos
gangsters, 4, 4n3, 83–84, 89, 109, 152, 156, 180. *See also* bandits; triads
Gaullists, 10. *See also* France; Free French
Gellion, Frederick (honorary vice consul), 136
Germany (Germans), 14, 26, 41–42, 176; agents in Macau, 17; compromised over Azores, 46; compromised over Timor, 40; diplomatic archives, 172; diplomatic break with Portugal, 43; intelligence, 37; legation in Macau, 157; maritime contact with Japan, 45; military occupation of Portugal scenario, 39, 45; mission in Lisbon, 7, 41, 46; and Mozambique, 38; nationality, 147; neutrality, 1, 2, 33, 49, 51, 104; occupied Europe, 7; and Portuguese, 27; resource access, 6; responses to Azores agreement, 46; submarines, 9; surrender, 138, 161; threat scenarios, 27; war fortunes, 12; war industries, 43. *See also* Berlin; Nazi Germany
Gestapu, 157
Gimson, Franklin (colonial secretary), 162–64; and Governor Teixeira, 163
Gimson message, 162
Gin Drinkers Line, 99, 103
Ginoza Shinji, 156
Goa (Goans), 8, 105; and Macanese, 94n1, 95; migrations, 95
gold, 2, 84, 164; export prohibition, 13, 89; postwar gold trading, 24; secret, 173
Gonçalves, John, 113
Gorgulho, Carlos de Souza (Captain), 8, 30; missions, 31–32, 180; and São Tomé massacre, 31n22
Gosano, Eduardo (Eddie) Liberato (medical doctor), 19, 111–12, 126, 141, 143, 149, 151, 153, 181; family photo, 112; mission to Hong Kong, 162–64; profiled, 146
Gosano, Pam, 124
Grand Hotel, 174
Granelli (priest), 124
Gray, V. (bank manager), 153
Great Britain. *See* Britain; United Kingdom
Great Depression, 98
Great Leap Forward, 18
Greater East Asia office, 51
Grémio Militar, 121
Grew, Joseph (ambassador), 7
Gripsholm (ship), 7–8
Guam, 9
Guangdong, 1, 4, 33, 112, 143, 165; famine in, 74, 85; Japanese control of, 6; missionaries in, 15; refugees from, 12; rice supply from, 92; scavenging, 78

Guangzhou, 50–51, 58, 66, 73, 77, 82, 84, 87, 93, 98, 143–44, 154–55, 158, 159–60, 172–73, 180; British consulate in, 136; cholera control; 76–78; epidemic, 78; fall of, 4, 29, 99; Gorgulho mission, 31; Japanese bombing of, 27, 30, 74; Japanese consulate, 154; Japanese intelligence, 156–57; and Macanese, 97; Portuguese diplomatic presence, 16, 27, 30; refugees from, 154; and rice trade, 85; schools, 12; steamer service, 87. *See also* Canton
Guangxi, 88, 143, 158
Guangzhouwan, 2, 10, 14, 83–84, 143–44, 154, 164; escape network from Macau, 16, 28; food supplies, 88; Japan consul in, 154; Japanese opium monopoly, 28; shipping, 33, 86; Treaty Port, 27–28. *See also* French Indochina
Guedes, João, 13, 19
Guia (ship), 5
Guia, 154; Hill, 49
guilds, 75
Guilin, 143, 146, 149, 151, 155, 160
Guterres, António Paulo (medical doctor), 126

Hainan Island, 28
Haiphong, 33
Halsey, William (admiral), 153, 166
Hanoi, 85, 89; Japan consul general in, 154. *See also* Vietnam
Happy Valley Racecourse, 102–3
Harbin, 17
Harcourt, Cecil (rear admiral), 163
Harrop, Phyllis, 146
Hauser, Ernest O., 57
Hawaii, 9, 11
health, 72, 93. *See also* hospitals
Heenan, Ernest (Pat), 120n
Hengqin, 4. *See also* Montanha; Vong Cam
Hirohito (emperor), 15, 137, 156; surrender speech, 162. *See also* Japan
Hitler, Adolf, 26. *See also* Germany
Ho Lup, 112
Ho, Stanley (He Hung-sun), 14, 22, 24, 58, 64, 86, 106; interviewed, 64–65, 106, 109
Ho Tung, Sir Robert, 2, 64, 106, 126
hoarding, 89–90. *See also* economy
hockey, 127. *See also* sports
Hoiping, 82
Holt, Thaddeus, 38
Homantin, 100, 118
homeless, 78
Hong Kong, 1, 2, 3, 17, 47, 56–57, 63, 72, 74, 78, 82–84, 137, 154, 157, 160; air raids on, 74; authorities, 172; Battle of, 5; British in, 27; British liberation, 24; cholera control in, 78; contrast with Macau, 14; currency, 90; economy, 88; food relief, 179; Japanese invasion/occupation, 63, 66, 74, 154; Japanese purge/arrests, 158–59; Legislative Council, 97; liberation, 142, 160, 179; Macau and British occupation, 161–62; Macanese community in, 16, 97–98; New Territories, 5; planning task force, 162; population, 106; Portuguese diplomatic presence, 16, 27, 67; Portuguese population, 120n18, 135; postwar refugee return, 24, 69; postwar rice supply, 92; refugees from, 12–13; refugee influx, 98; resistance links with, 143; tycoons, 64; war crimes trials, 170–74
Hong Kong Civil Affairs Department, 172
Hong Kong dollars, 58–59, 61, 63, 179. *See also* currencies
Hong Kong–Guangzhou rail line, 27
Hong Kong–Macau ferry, 33
Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank Corporation (HSBC), 97, 101, 150, 153
Hong Kong Heritage Project (HKHP), 142
Hong Kong Island, 101–2, 119, 151
Hong Kong Public Record Office, 24; account, 68, 162
Hong Kong Rehabilitation Committee, 162
Hong Kong Sessional Papers, 120n
Hong Kong University Press, 19, 20
Hong Kong Volunteer Defence Corps (HKVDC), 99, 102, 124, 142
Hongkong News, 138, 167
Hong Mun, 174
Honolulu, 11

Horta airfield, 9, 45. *See also* Azores
hospitals, 14, 74, 76, 93, 152; archives, 183; data, 75. *See also* health
Hyndman, Eduardo (Eddie), 100

Iberia, 182; Iberian Peninsula, 45
Iberian Pact of 29 July 1940, 26
identity: Chinese, 181; Macanese, 24
India (Indians), 8, 11, 148; British relief recipients, 170; collaborators, 37; escapees, 144; soldiers, 99, 146; students, 108
Indian Independence League, 12
Indochina, 3, 4, 9, 28, 36; French authorities, 3; Japanese control, 88; rice supply, 91–92; treaty port, 2; Vichy, 2. *See also* France; Guangzhouwan; Vietnam
Indonesia, 3n, 4; and Macanese 94n1. *See also* Dutch East Indies
industry, 70; groups, 4
inequality, 85, 87
inflation, 61, 65. *See also* economy
Inner Harbour, 5, 11, 29, 35–36, 121, 124, 137, 159, 166
inoculations, 76; centres, 77; certificates, 77–78. *See also* cholera; hospitals
Institute of Pacific Relations, 48
intelligence, 2, 136, 164; Japan, 15, 35, 171; in Macau, 142, 179; reports, 72
International Red Cross, 37n37
international relations theory, 25
International War Crimes Commission, 170
Ireland (Irish), 108, 127, 129, 131, 134
iron scrap business, 110
Ishigaku Isoroku (*kempeitai*), 155
Italy (Italians), 26; ambassador in Portugal, 26; as Axis member, 108; Canossians, 107; consul, 37; families, 157; mission in Lisbon, 7; relations with Portugal, 41; ship, 7; surveillance of in Shanghai, 42; war against, 9n; war declaration scenario, 39
Iwai Eiichi (diplomat), 51, 156–57; diary, 183; messages, 159–60
Iwata (army agent), 155

Japan (Japanese), 1, 26; agents in Macau, 17; airforce, 43–44; archival source, 34; army, 5, 17, 43, 50–51, 64, 141, 155; army-navy rivalry, 155; attack on New Territories, 98–100; business, 154–55; capitulation, 138–89; carrier force, 38; community, 2, 180; consul general, 173; consul general in Hanoi, 154; consul in Dili, 44; consul in Guangzhou, 154; consul in Macau, 1, 6, 14–15, 31; consulate in Macau, 38, 141, 180, 182; consulates in Portugal and colonies, 47; contingency for break with Portugal, 42–43; dialogue on Timor and Macau, 40–41; diplomats, 7–8, 9n18, 35–37, 91; diplomatic archives, 172; emperor, 48–49, 156, 180; empire, 22, 98–99, 180; espionage, 36–37, 154–55; finance, 154–55; fishermen, 9n; foreign ministry/office, 25n2, 35–38, 43, 51, 76, 155; government, 6; Greater East Asia Ministry, 38; gunboat, 4; intelligence, 34, 44, 158, 171; invasion of China, 3–6, 9, 85; invasion of Hong Kong, 99–100; language institute, 156; legation in Afghanistan, 172n19; and Macanese, 94n1; Macau government joint venture, 64; massacre in Timor, 18; merchant marine, 86; military, 72, 76, 154, 180, 182; military and Fukui assassination, 50; military police (*kempeitai*), 154; military report, 82–83; military yen, 63; minister in Lisbon, 40, 46; navy, 5, 36, 43, 57–58, 141, 151, 154–55, 180, 182; and opium business, 91; population, 98n; and Portuguese of Shanghai, 42; pressure on banks, 90–91; propaganda, 98; provocations, 4; relations with Portugal, 35–36; reports, 85; residents in Portugal, 41; responses to Azores agreement, 46; rice stocks, 89; rice price control, 86; rivalry army-navy, 155; sources, 72; submarines, 39; surrender, 165; Timor occupation, 182. *See also* Tokyo
Japanese Alliance Association, 156

Jardim do São Francisco, 19
Jardine Matheson and Company, 97, 144
Jean Dupois (ship), 28
Jesuit mission, 4, 131; Irish, 107, 127, 131; teachers, 108
Jin Guo Ping, 20, 25, 31, 33, 53, 179
João de Lisboa (ship), 11, 38, 152
Journal de Notícias, 10
journalism, 17, 57, 66, 93. *See also* newspapers
Joy (priest), 131
junk trade, 85–86

Ka Ho leprosarium, 14, 74
Kai Butt, 150
Kai Tak Airport, 102, 116
Kaiping (Hoiping), 143
kaisha, 182. *See also* Japan
kempeitai, 5, 6, 49, 52, 111, 141, 154. *See also* Japan, military police
Keswick, John, 144
Khan, A. (captain), 160–61
Kiang Wu hospital, 14, 69, 75; resistance group, 141
kikan, 51. *See also* army; Japan
Kimura, M. 155
Kok, Hong, 150
Kong Chung, 146
Korea (Koreans), 49, 173; agents, 180; company 173
Kowloon, 97, 101–2, 116–17, 119; Bay, 116; docks, 103; farmland, 97; hospital, 117; peninsula, 99, 102
Kowloon Tong, 100, 118
Kubota Yasuyoshi (navy agent), 155, 171
Kukong, 144
Kunming, 17, 112, 144, 152, 164, 169; and OSS, 158
Kuomintang, 16, 181; detachment, 174. *See also* Nationalist China
Kwantung-Kwangsi-Fukien Enemy Property Disposal Bureau, 173

La Salle College for Boys, 100
Lagens field, 45. *See also* Azores
language, 123. *See also* Cantonese; English; Portuguese
Lantau, 62, 111
Lapa (Wanzai), 4, 29, 58; annexation proposal, 31; Japanese occupation of, 30
League of Nations, 3
Leal (Lieutenant), 11
Leal Senado, 17, 124
Lee, Chinghum Frank (head of legation), 15–16
Lee Seung-Joon, 73, 82, 84–85, 93
Lee Wai (Cyclone), 150
Legislative Council, 97, 114, 117, 119. *See also* Hong Kong
letter patent, 162
Leung (Kwok Tok?) (agent), 146
Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 94n
Liang, Yun-chang (Y. C.), 17, 141, 146, 149–50, 170, 177, 181; eulogy by Consul Rabbetts, 164; liberals, 12; mission to Hong Kong, 149, 162–64
Lisbon, 165, 167; air route, 9; archives, 22; as exchange port, 7; government, 1; as intelligence collection centre, 7, 9, 43, 47, 53; Japanese espionage in, 36–37; Japanese legations in, 7; Japanese minister in, 6, 51; radio contact with, 158. *See also* Portugal
Lisbon axis, 2, 6, 43, 45, 62, 70, 91–92. *See also* Portugal
Liu, Dr. Andrew, 29
Liu Chuanneng, 156
livelihood, 13, 66, 79
Lobo, Pedro José, 13, 17, 22, 24, 34, 49–50, 55, 59, 62–63, 84, 104, 107–9, 127, 138, 153, 162; and MATCO, 177
Lobo, Rogério (Roger) Hyndman, 109, 141, 181; mission to Hong Kong, 162–63
Loei, David, 158–59
Loh, Christine, 143
London, 9, 45, 60, 114, 135, 158, 162. *See also* Britain; United Kingdom
Lopes, Artur dos Anjos, 124–25, 131–32
Lourenço Marques, 7–8, 37. *See also* Mozambique
Lucas (German agent), 157
Lyceum Gymnasium, 132, 135

M-group, 158–59
Ma Nai-kwong (Nelson), 149, 150

Macau Air Transport Company, 177
Macanese, 13, 23, 42, 170; British citizenship, 104; contingent in Hong Kong, 99; definition, 94n; diaspora, 81, 183, 183n3; identity, 113–15; local, 82; loyalty to Britain, 98; refugees, 19; and resistance activities, 111–14, 141, 164; tension with Portuguese, 122; writers, 19
Macao Electricity Company (Melco), 31, 127, 136, 143
Macao Radio Club, 120, 136n
Macao Tribune, 10–11, 86–87, 138
Macao Water Company (Watco), 13, 125, 127, 143
Macassar, 44
Macau All Circles Disaster Relief Society, 4
Macau Four Circles Disaster Relief Association, 4
Macau Herald, 10
Macau Historical Archives, 14, 21, 81n20
Macau Hockey Club, 124
Macau Incident, 5, 6, 35–36, 46. See also *Sian*; *Sai On*
Macau Radio Club, 131
Macau Renraku, 171. *See also* Sawa-*kikan*
Macau Special Administrative Region of China, 19
Macau-Tokyo axis, 8–9, 43–45
Maciel, Fernando, 132
Madeira, 10, 27, 45
Madrid, 6, 9, 41; as intelligence centre, 47, 53; Japanese diplomats in, 36. *See also* Spain
Magazine Gap Road, 100
Magic documents, 9n, 10, 22, 36, 40–41, 50; analyst, 51
Malacca, 95
Malaya (Malaysia), 4, 27, 114, 155; civil service, 83; and Macanese, 94n1, 95, 97
Manchukuo, 31. *See also* Manchuria
Manchuria, 175; Japanese opium production, 91; Japanese takeover, 97; recognition issue, 31
malnutrition, 178. *See also* health; nutrition
Maltby, Christopher (general), 117
Manila, 9, 44
Maputo, 7, 37. *See also* Lourenço Marques
Maquista, 108
Marco Polo Bridge (Lugouqiao) Incident, 4
markets, 72, 74; dead, 82; free, 88
Marxism, 12
Masbate (ship), 36, 166–67
Mathews, Tony, 25
Matsu-*kikan*, 171
McCaskie, G. A., 83–84, 87, 89, 157; on BNU, 92; on economy, 90; on escape routes, 144–45
McEwen, C. M., 150
media, 10–11. *See also* journalism; newspapers
medical assistance, 124–25; medicines, 66, 88, 126; supplies for Hong Kong, 163. *See also* health; hospital
Melco Club, 127, 136
memory, 13, 93, 181; and commemoration, 18–20
Menezes Alves, Luiz da Câmara, 11, 15, 18, 28n11, 54, 125, 180; escape from Macau, 16–17
Mesquita, Vicente, 137; statue, 137
Middle East, 91
middlemen, 58–59, 87, 182; Stanley Ho as, 65. *See also* business; comprador
Miguel, Rui, 80
military bases, 9
Military Intelligence Section 9 (MI9), 143–44
Minimum Subsistence (MS) school, 127
Minoda Yoshio (consul general), 154
Mirs Bay, 143
missionaries, 158
Mitsubishi Bussan, 83
Mitsui Bussan, 83, 91
Mitter, Rana, 98n
moneychangers, 62. *See also* banks
Mong Ha, 65; asylum, 69
Monroe Doctrine, 32
Monte fortress, 11
Morgado, Vasco Martins (consul general), 27
Mormugão, port 8
Montanha, 4; dispute with Japan and China, 29–31. *See also* Vong Cam
Monteiro, Armindo (minister), 39

Morand (Free French agent), 157
Morishima Morito (minister), 7, 35–37, 41, 43, 49–50, 53, 174; diary, 183; diplomatic career, 37n; on Fukui assassination, 50; intelligence collection, 164
Morocco (Spanish), 26
Morrison Chapel, 24
mortality, 75, 80, 178, 183; from cholera, 76–78; excess, 77. *See also* deaths
Mozambique, 6, 7, 10, 37–38, 43, 60, 174; Japanese nationals in, 37; troops, 42, 81, 98. *See also* Lourenço Marques
Mukden, 50. *See also* Shenyang
Museu de Macau, 20
museums, 18, 20
music, 130; concerts, 131, 133–34; performances, 108, 130
Mussolini, Benito, 7, 41

Nai-kwong, 153. *See also* Nitram
Nakajima Takayoshi, 171
Nan Hing Tobacco Company, 173
Nanjing, 16, 106, 148, 174; French chargé, 175
Nanjing Central Reserve Bank, 63
Nar, N. K., 146
Nathan Road, 117
National Assembly, 10, 167. *See also* Portugal
nationalism, 181
Nationalist China, Chinese, 2, 5, 14–15, 18, 29, 33, 143–44, 160, 164, 179; agents, 17, 141, 151–52; army, 15, 99; delegation to Macau, 15; government, 163; guerrillas, 49, 142, 182; intelligence, 17, 38; legation in Lisbon, 15–16; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 29, 175–76; and postwar Macau, 174–75. *See also* China; Chinese Nationalists
National Library of Australia, 23, 116n1
National Union Party, 10
Naval Aviation Centre, 138, 166
Naval Special Affairs, 171
Nazis, 7, 98, 157; gold, 176; and Macau, 109n48, 157, 164. *See also* Germany
neutrality, "collaborating", 25–26, 35, 53, 179
New Delhi, 142
New Fourth Army, 20
New Territories, 5, 142, 182; guerrilla attacks, 159; Japanese attack on, 98–100, 102, 111. *See also* Hong Kong
New York, 7–8
New Zealand, 159
newspapers, 10–11, 48–49, 70, 72; and Japanese, 155; Portuguese, 167–69. *See also* journalism; media; press
Newton, Isaac, 117
Ng Fuk Tong, 177
Ningbo, 98
Nippon Times, 10
Nippon Yusen Kaisha (NYK), 7
Nitram, 153. *See also* Nai-kwong
Nomura Kichisaburo (ambassador), 7–8
North Africa, 45
North Point, 103
Northcote, Geoffrey (governor), 126–27
Norway (Norwegian), 166
nutrition, 79, 84; diet, 89, 107n42. *See also* malnutrition; food

O'Brian, Henry, 115
O Comércio de Porto, 167
Office of Strategic Services (OSS), 111, 158; and Reeves, 158n
Olsen, F. A. (captain), 143
Ogata, 173
Omachi, Rinzo, 173
Operation Fuji, 37
Operation Remorse, 144n8
opium, 91, 165, 179; addiction, 91; divans, 82, 109; Japanese trade in, 5, 28, 91, 182; Portuguese government monopoly, 63, 71
Opium War, 97
oral history, 13, 19, 23, 81, 94n2, 183
Order of the British Empire (OBE), 177
Ore, Harry, 131
Osaka Shosen Kaisha, 91
Oshima Hiroshi (envoy), 41
Outer Harbour, 138
Oxford University, 132
Ozório, Alberto, 111–13

Ozório, Horácio (medical doctor), 111, 126–27, 146
Ozório, Joseph, 113
Ozório brothers, 118
Ozório (medical doctor), 126

Pacheco, Marqués, 37n34
Pacific, 11; war in, 42, 48, 178
Palau, 4
Palmer, George (lieutenant), 100
Pan American Airways, 9–10, 157; hangar, 109–10, 166; radio, 158
Panama, 166; Canal, 11
pangtans, 13, 61–62, 90. *See also* bank; certificates; currencies
Paris, 91–92. *See also* France
Partido Republican Português, 12
pataca, 55, 59, 61, 90. *See also* currencies
Pau Tak (Japanese army agent), 155
Pearl Harbor attack on, 7, 39, 100
Pearl River, 31, 64, 76; Delta, 4n3, 82, 85–86, 181
Peninsula Hotel, 102
People's Republic of China (PRC), 20. *See also* Beijing; China
Perla (ship), 120
Persia, 175
Persian Opium Export Monopoly Company, 91
Philippines (Filipinos), 9, 48, 114, 158; Americans in, 27; Macanese business, 97; musicians, 132; radio broadcasts, 100, 102
Phoenix, 147, 149, 153. *See also* Gusano
Pinto, Guedes, 29
Pinto, Ricardo (journalist), 17, 18, 19, 28, 31
piracy, 28, 58. *See also* smuggling
Pires, Humberto, 102–3
Pires, Reggie, 102, 115
P. L., 149; group foundation, 149. *See also* Liang, Y. C.
Plym (destroyer), 163
police, 51, 89, 152; heroes, 18; in Hong Kong, 99, 117; intelligence, 7; and riots, 83; secret, 138; surveillance, 16n39
Polícia de Vigilância e Defesa do Estado (PVDE), 7, 12
Ponta Delgada, 45. *See also* Azores
population, of Hong Kong, 98n9, 106; of Macau 12, 57. *See also* demography
Portugal (ship), 87
Portugal (Portuguese), 1, 17; anthem, 123; army (Macau), 11, 152; army companies in Hong Kong, 124; authorities, 2, 4; colonies, 6, 8; community, 81; consul general (Bordeaux), 119; consul general (Guangzhou), 5, 30; consul in Timor, 6; consulate in Hong Kong, 67, 101, 103–4, 118–19, 175; deserters, 152–53; dialogue on Timor and Macau, 40–41; diplomatic archives, 20; diplomatic break with Germany, 43; doctors, 155; elite in Macau, 46; First Republic, 11; foreign minister/ministry, 10, 51, 175; government, 166; hypothetical declaration of war against Japan, 47–48; language, 123, 134; Macanese diaspora in, 115; massacre of administrators, 18; media, 166, 175; military, 11; military mission, 8; ministry of colonies, 8, 10, 33, 175; National Assembly, 10; nationality/citizenship, 100, 104, 118–19, 125, 151; nationals in Shanghai, 42; navy, 11; and Nazi gold, 176; neutrality, 166, 178; refugees from Hong Kong, 68; regiments in Hong Kong, 99; relations with Britain, 45–46; relations with Germany, 41; relations with Japan, 35–36, 38; relations with UK, 6; relations with US, 6; Republic of, 136; restoration of control in Timor, 43; tropical medicine, 76; US support for Portuguese sovereignty in Timor and Macau, 46; volunteers, 160; war memorial, 18; and World War I, 19. *See also* Lisbon
Portuguese Catholic Action, 134
Portuguese Red Cross, 14, 75, 132, 152, 162–63; concert, 133; and Hong Kong relief, 163
Portuguese Residents Association, 119
Portuguese Timor, 38–39; Japanese invasion of 38. *See also* Timor

poverty, 83–84, 87, 178
Praia Grande, 121, 123, 127, 129, 151; refugee centre, 134
press, 37, 43. *See also* journalism; media; newspapers
Prestage, Edgar, 95
prices, 72, 87. *See also* commodities; inflation
Prince Edward Road, 118
prisoners/incarceration, 127, 159; escape assistance, 142; Shamshuipo, 104, 124
Prisoners of War (POWs), 104, 124, 162
Proença, Eduardo Madureira, 133
profiteering, 89, 180. *See also* speculation
Project Kiri Kosaku, 17
propaganda, communist, 160; German, 157; Japanese, 156–57, 159, 182
prostitution, 28, 30, 57, 70–71, 82, 161
Protestant church, 138; churchyard, 139
Public Mutual Aid Association, 86
Pui Cheng (school), 132
purge/arrests in Hong Kong, 158–59

Qingdao, 17
quarantine, 76, 78

Rabbetts, Hugh Cecil (consul), 164
radio: communication 33; consulates use of, 14; Japanese 154, 157; Pan Am, 10, 10n, 158; secret transmitters, 24, 111, 150, 180; Timor contact, 43
Ramhalo (bishop), 131
Red River Delta, 88. *See also* Vietnam
Reed, John Amarao, 124
Reeves, John Pownall (British Consul), 5, 15, 17, 75, 111, 120, 123, 125, 127, 135, 140, 143, 152, 154, 157, 164–66, 180; and BAAG, 146–49; on cholera, 76; and Consul Fukui, 48; on currency, 61; diary/memoir, 19–20, 51, 66, 133, 147–48, 183; escapes, 145, 147; hockey, 127; and Japanese archives, 172; and Ride, 147–49; as *paterfamilias*, 135; praise for Teixeira, 70, 137; wife, 158. *See also* British consul
refugees, 1, 12, 47, 56, 105, 180; of 1949, 18; British concerns, 48; Chinese, 1, 6, 9; European, 1, 9, 47; from Guangzhou, 30; from Hong Kong, 67–68; as hostage, 48, 54; Japanese, 6, 30; Portuguese, 6; profile, 135–37; relief, 4; repatriation to Hong Kong, 163; on *Wing Wah* loss, 88
Regulatory Commission on Imports, 62–63
Relatório da Gerência 1938–1945, 62–63
Remedios, Alfredo, 134; family, 121
Renascimento, 10, 136n, 138–39, 155
Repartição Central dos Serviços Económicos, 59
Repartição Tecnica de Expediente Sinico, 32
retrocession decision, 175
Reuters, 10, 48, 155, 174
Ribeiro da Cunha, Alberto Carlos Rodrigues (captain), 19, 30, 49, 65, 152–53, 155, 171
Ribeiro, Germano António Vieira (medical doctor), 112, 126
rice, 36; barter trade, rice distribution, 87–88; BNU and rice purchases, 64–65; postwar rice supply to Macau, 91; price inflation, 66–67, 87; procurement, 58, 65; quality, 84, 107n42; riots, 83, 93; trade, 5, 13. *See also* food
Ride, Elizabeth, 142; collection, 24
Ride, Lindsay Tasman (colonel), 2, 111, 141–42, 144, 151, 152, 164; contacts with Reeves, 146; and endgame scenarios, 160–61; postwar rice supply to Hong Kong, 163
Rio de Janeiro, 7
Riviera Hotel, 113, 129
robbery, 83. *See also* bandits; gangsters
Robinson Road, 118
Rodrigues, Fernando, 152
Rome, 51; Japanese diplomats in, 36; Reeves posting, 140
Roosevelt, Franklin D. (president), 174
Rosa Duque, Domingos Gregório da (captain), 11
Royal Army Medical Corps, 112
Royal Scots Regiment, 99
Rua Bispo de Medeiros, 154
Rua Formosa, 121, 155
Rua da Gaio, 154, 156

Rua Hospital, 155
Rua Santa Sancha, 154
Russell (squadron leader), 144
Russell, Edward (Lord), 181
Russell-Wood, A. J. R., 96n5
Russia (Russians), 17; emigre, 134; women, 100–101

S-13 (agent), 161
Sai On (ship), 5, 46; Incident, 35–36, 137, 159. See also *Sian*
Saigon, 33, 91–92
St. Joseph's Seminary, 128, 131–32, 134; college in Hong Kong, 129
St. Paul's church, 121
Sakata Seisho, 4, 4n3
Salazar, António de Oliveira, 3, 6, 8, 22, 25, 35, 37, 38, 40–44, 46, 51, 53, 167, 178–79, 181; concerns over Macau, 42; diplomatic line with Japan, 47; factionalism over, 54; and Portuguese empire, 45; and United States, 48
Salazar Archive, 22
Salazarism, 89; pro and contra factions, 10; state postwar, 18
Saldanha, António Vasconcelos de (professor), 27
Sales, Arnaldo de Oliveira, 107, 127, 131
Salesian Brothers school, 107, 120; clandestine radio in, 111, 150n
Salvation Society of Macau, 66n, 67
Sam Wo Hong Company, 155
Samfu (Sanbu), 143, 146, 150; and snakeboat connection, 150–51
San Domingos church, 149
San Hing Company, 155
San Francisco, 9
San Luiz Gonzaga College, 107, 128–29, 131, 133–35
Santa Casa da Misericordia, 14, 75, 105
Santa Maria base, 46. *See also* Azores
Santa Rosa de Lima college/high school, 108, 128, 131
Santa Sancha Palace, 65, 176
Santana Field, 45. *See also* Azores
Sanyo Sugihara Company, 155
São Agostinho, 124
São António, 123
São Lourenço, 123
São Tomé massacre, 31
Sawa Eisaku (colonel), 13, 49–50, 52–53, 59, 110, 141, 151–53, 156, 164; execution, 174, 174n; and *kempeitai*, 155
Sawa-*kikan*, 171. *See also* Macau Renraku
Sawa Nobori (consul secretary), 154
scavenging, 89. *See also* beggars
Schindler, Oskar, 119
Scotland, soldiers, 104
See Nan Jeh Pao, 11, 156
Senate (Senado) Square, 104, 137, 149
Senna Fernandes, Henrique, 57, 67
Sequiera, Guido, 111
Shamshuipo, 104; POW camp, 129–30, 130n67; "Hippodrome", 130
Shanghai, 3, 7, 20, 32, 78, 98, 127, 156, 158, 170, 174; envoy to, 29; and Macanese, 94n1, 97; Portuguese consulate in, 15, 27; Portuguese residents in, 42, 134; postwar rice supply, 91; refugees from, 12, 15, 105n29
Shekki, 85, 88, 144
shelter, 12, 69, 72, 74, 78
Shenyang (Mukden), 15, 37, 50
Shigemitsu Mamoru (minister), 26, 34, 49–50
Shiqi district, 85
Shirogano Maru (ship), 119
Shiuhing, 4
Sian, ship, 5. See also *Sai On*
Silva, António M. Jorge de, 95n4
Silva, Armando da, 107–8
Silva, Frederic (Jim), 19, 120n
Silva e Costa, José Joaquim da, 12, 15, 49, 87
silver, 59, 165; export prohibition, 13, 89; as money, 61, 63; speculation, 91
Singapore, 18, 27, 91, 114
Sino-Japanese war, 1–2, 26, 27, 98, 106, 178. *See also* "war of national resistance"
Sino-Portuguese Accord of 1 April 1947, 174–75
Sino-Portuguese Treaty of Amity and Commerce of 1 December 1887, 29–30
Smirnoff, George Vitalievich, 17, 134

smuggling/smugglers, 4n3, 5, 14, 33, 82, 86, 92, 152, 182; Chinese, 58; goods, 58; networks, 85; people, 141
snakeboat, 150–51
Soares, F. A. (?) (bank staff), 162
Soares, Francisco P. de Vasconcelos (consul), 16, 101n, 104, 118–19, 125
social services, 12, 74; assistance, 68–69, 72, 78
Society of St. Vincent de Paul, 131
Soong Ching-ling (Song Qingling), 16
sources (for Macau history), 20–21
Sousa Mendes, Aristedes, 119
South Africa, 6, 19; and Azores pact, 45
South America, 7, 9, 95
South Asians, 11. *See also* Indians
South China Sea, 59
Southeast Asia, 84
Souza, Augusto Botelho de (naval commander), 49
Souza, Vicente de, 103
Soviet agents in Macau, 17
Spain (Spanish), 6, 40; under Franco, 26; in Latin America, 96; military action against Portugal scenario, 45; Morocco, 26; reactions to Azores agreement, 46; relations with Japan, 41
Special Intelligence Department in Macau, 171
Special Operations Executive (SOE), 143–44, 149, 179
speculation, 70, 72, 89–91. *See also* profiteering
sports, 108, 127. *See also* hockey
Stanley prison camp, 162–63
starvation, 13, 18, 40, 59, 66, 72, 74, 85, 89, 135, 178; and cholera 78–82; psychology, 78n; in Timor, 85; in Vietnam, 88
Suma Yakichiro (envoy), 41
Sun Fo (Sun Ke), 175–76
Sun Hing Hong Company, 173
Sun Wan (Grace), 175
Sun Yat-sen, 16, 174; Memorial House, 16, 175
Sung T. V. (governor), 92
Sunwei, 82
Supreme Command Allied Power (SCAP), 173
Supreme Court, 119
Sweden, ship, 7
Switzerland, 64; bank, 65, 176; money, 63–64
Sze Yup, 82, 86, 112

Tai, Grace, 16n39
Tai Hing, 177
Tai O, 82
Taipa, 14, 29, 80–81; "pit of 10,000 corpses", 78, 80
Taiwan (Taiwanese), 28, 43, 44, 49, 156–57; agents, 180
Takata Hiroshi (army agent), 155
Takuchi H. (navy agent), 155
Tamayi (*kempeitai* agent), 158
Tap Seac, 154
Teatro Dom Pedro V, 121–22
Teixeira, Gabriel Maurício (governor), 10, 11, 12, 14, 30, 33, 48–49, 50–51, 55–56, 60, 67, 70, 73, 86–87, 93, 121, 126, 131, 136–37, 152, 173, 179, 181; on cannibalism, 80–81; departure, 140, 153, 174; and liberation of Hong Kong, 161, 163
Teixeira, Manuel (monsignor), 13, 59, 81, 89; narrative, 92–93
Teixeira de Sampaio, Luís (secretary general), 39, 51
temples, 183
Three Principles of the Nationalist Revolution, 176
Tianjin, 98
Timor, 1, 8, 9, 18, 37n, 38, 114, 167, 175, 179; Allied planning over, 22; anti-Japanese guerrillas, 10, 18; Australian-staged surrender of Japanese, 43; communist in, 10; consul in Dili, 44; Costa e Silva mission, 150; *deportados* in, 10; diplomacy, 22; Japanese base proposal, 31; Japanese infrastructure projects, 26; Japanese military occupation, 6, 182; Japanese surrender to Portuguese, 43; and Macanese, 39, 94n, 97; as Portuguese

colony, 4; Portuguese community, 44; socialists in, 10; starvation, 85; US support for Portuguese sovereignty, 46; war crimes trials, 170
Timor Incident, 39
Timor-Tokyo-Macau challenge, 38–40
titanium, 43
To Fuk, 144
Togo Shigenori (foreign minister), 91
Toishan (Taishan), 82, 86
Tojo Hideki (premier), 40
Tokyo, 1, 6, 8, 44, 49, 50, 78, 159; Gorgulho mission, 31, 180; Portuguese diplomatic presence, 16. *See also* Japan
Tokyo-Berlin-Lisbon axis, 6–8
Tonegi (consul), 154; *kikan*, 154
Tonkin Gulf, 86
Torre do Tombo, 22
traitors, 112; in Macau, 172, 181
Trans Ocean News Service, 157
treasury, 59, 93
treaty ports, 175
triads, 4n3, 83, 182. *See also* bandits; gangsters
Truman, Harry S. (president), 174
truth commission, 18
Tsimshatsui, 118
Tsui Boon (Shizumoto), 156
Tung Hui (ship), 105n30, 107, 121
Tung Hui clinic, 68
Tung Sin Tong, 14, 69, 75
tungsten, 2, 5, 6, 35, 41, 82, 176, 179; smuggling in Macau, 58n8; trade, 58–59, 164, 182. *See also* wolfram

ultimatum, 3, 5; and Consul Fukui, 48, 51; Japanese military, 26, 33–35, 53
União, 10, 69, 69n38
União Nacional de Macau, 132
Union National, 127
United Kingdom, 6; military planners, 42; military support to Portugal, 46; relations with Portugal, 6; scenario of war on Spain, 46. *See also* Britain; England
United Nations, 3n1
United States, 3, 168; air force, 167; aircraft, 24; army, 10, 46; base rights in the Azores, 46; base rights in Macau scenario, 43; bombing of Macau, 166–69; dollar, 61; intelligence, 44; Macanese diaspora, 115; mainland, 9; mission in Lisbon, 7; naval intelligence, 169; and recognition of Portuguese colonies, 46; relations with Portugal, 6; and Salazar, 48; State Department, 158, 169; War Department, 40. *See also* Washington
University of Hong Kong, 2, 142; medical faculty 142, 146
USS *Enterprise*, 166

Vasconcelos, Carlos Eugénio (bank manager), 62–65, 70, 79, 89
Vichy, 2, 84, 161; in Guangzhouwan, 28; in Indochina, 6, 10, 14, 90; merchant marine, 86; mission in Lisbon, 7. *See also* France
Victoria Theatre, 131
Viet Minh, 89, 172n22
Vietnam, 87, 158; Great Famine, 89; scavenging, 78; starvation 74, 85; Tet, 88
volunteers, 160
von Ribbentrop, Joaquim (minister), 41
Vong Cam, 29. *See also* Hengqin; Montanha
Vong brothers, 152
Vong Cheong, 151
Vong Kam, 151
Vong Sam, 151

Wah Yan College, 107, 131
Waichow, 143
Wang Jingwei, 11, 16, 141, 148; agents in Macau, 17, 180–81; and bandits, 141; delegation to Macau, 16; government, 156; money, 61, 90; occupation of Lapa, 30
war crimes, 173; criminals, 24, 173; investigators, 155, 162, 170; trials, 18
war end, 169–70
war memorials, 18
"war of national resistance", 19, 93, 181

Washington, 53, 168–69; apology, 166; axis 2; and Azores bases, 9; proposal to Tokyo, 7. *See also* United States
Waterloo Road, 118
wealth, 97, 105, 178
West Africa, 31
West River, 2, 82; bombing, 4; communist activities, 159; guerrillas, 2, 5, 92; rice supply, 85; zone, 142, 164, 182
Whitehall, 161–62; and occupation of Hong Kong from Macau, 161–62. *See also* Britain
Wilson, Geoffrey (police chief), 143
Wilson, Joy, 143, 145–46, 149, 164
Wing Wah (ship), 28, 86, 88
wolfram, 6, 35; smuggling, 148. *See also* tungsten
women, 127, 167; Japanese, 172; Portuguese, 140; refugee, 129
Wong Kam Ling, 29
Wong Kan, 112
Wong Kau, 152
Wong Kong-kit, 142, 152, 152n35, 171
Wong Wai, 138
World War I, 19, 99
World War II, 94, 135; archives, 18; end, 134; memorials, 181
Wright, Frank (Shiner), 148, 151
Wu Teh Chen (general and governor), 29
Wu Zhiliang, 20, 25, 31, 33, 53, 179

Xavier, Alzira Alvares, 107
Xavier, A. G., 113
Xavier, Basilio (Basil), 100–101
Xavier, Vasco, 100–101
Xiamen, 15, 85, 174. *See also* Amoy
Xiao Min Bao (*Min Bao*), 156

Yamada Taro (naval attaché), 155
Yan'an, 159
Yanping, 112, 153
Yap, Felicia, 110–11, 114–15
Ye Ting (general), 20
Yodogawa Masaki (consul general), 51, 156, 172
Yokohama, 7
Young, Sir Mark (governor), 139–40, 173
youth, 4–5, 12, 180; Christian, 128; Macanese, 123
Yuan Fung Tobacco Company, 173
Yunnan, 144, 158

Zhang Fakui (Chang Fa-Kwei), 172–73
Zhongshan, 29, 82, 85, 89, 152, 160, 163, 176; cholera prevention, 77–78; food supply, 34; Japanese occupation of, 30; Macau route, 78. *See also* Chongsan