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**Wartime Education at the Crossroads of Empires:
The Relocation of Schools to Macao during the Second World
War, 1937-1945**

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Wartime Education at the Crossroads of Empires: The Relocation of Schools to Macau during the Second World War, 1937-1945

Abstract:

This article examines the relocation of schools from mainland China and Hong Kong to the neutral enclave of Macau during the Second World War in East Asia. It argues that the war brought about a new cosmopolitanism to the Portuguese-administered territory which was especially noticeable in the enhancement of educational opportunities. Moving to Macau allowed for the resumption of educational activities interrupted elsewhere as well as for linking teaching and learning with relief and resistance. The tens of thousands of student-refugees who ended up in Macau featured in different imperial and nationalist initiatives that coexisted in peculiar ways. Based on multilingual archival materials, newspapers, and memoirs, this study explores ambivalent experiences of refuge and exchange during the Second World War through the case study of the transfer of dozens of schools to a peripheral territory at the crossroads of different empires.

Keywords: Macau, Guangdong, Hong Kong, Second World War, schools, refugees

This article analyses the relocation of schools from mainland China and Hong Kong to Macau (澳門 *Aomen / Ou Mun*) during the Second World War, its local experience and global links. While the neutral enclave shared with other parts of China realities of displacement and deprivation, the war period was also one of unusual prosperity in its education sector. I argue that the conflict brought about a new cosmopolitanism in Macau which was especially noticeable in the presence of different communities of student-refugees and was translated into enhanced educational opportunities, although hunger and destitution did not leave the Portuguese-administered territory unscathed. This article situates the student-refugees who ended up in Macau at the centre of uncoordinated but coexisting imperialist and nationalist developmental projects. On the one hand, the Nationalist government saw students as an

important constituency for continuing resistance and nation-building efforts. On the other, Portuguese authorities regarded the arrival of so many educated youths as a key element in their projects of colonial development. For the students, their stay in Macau was an opportunity to survive and get on with their studies, regardless of how state(s) envisioned their role, though many students were active participants in relief and resistance activities.

Based on multilingual archival materials, newspapers, and memoirs, this article considers schools that moved from mainland China and Hong Kong, as well as new educational initiatives that sprung from wartime circumstances. It shows how student-refugees were significant for the Chinese government and the Portuguese authorities in Macau. It then discusses the new opportunities for English and Japanese language learning before focusing on education of student-refugees from Hong Kong after 1942. This case study of educational mobility in a territory at the crossroads of empires illustrates how China's wartime education was marked by an interplay of local and global dimensions. It also enhances our understanding of a connected South China frontier area during the conflict.

The ambiguities of neutrality in colonial territories in China, with transnational relief endeavours, often-entangled practices of resistance and collaboration, and mobilisation of youth and refugees have been noted in scholarship on other locales, particularly Shanghai during the so-called "lone island" (孤島 *gudao*) period (1937-1941). The *gudao* exceptionalism was, in fact, a reality in other neutral foreign-ruled territories, including Hong Kong before the Japanese occupation.¹ The Macau case is of particular interest because it was the longest-lasting *gudao* and it offers a perspective centred on a periphery, not just of China, but also of the foreign presence in the country.

¹ Helena F. S. Lopes, "Questioning Neutrality: Sino-Portuguese Relations during the War and the Post-War Periods, 1937-1949" (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2018), 157-158.

Historians have recognized the role of relocated schools as crucial to the Kuomintang (KMT) [國民黨 Guomindang]'s efforts of state building. Hundreds of schools relocated to unoccupied areas and re-opened with the support of the Nationalist government. Children became crucial to discourses on citizenship and the nation.² Educational institutions were also important in areas controlled by the Chinese Communist Party or by Wang Jingwei (汪精衛 1883-1944)'s collaborationist Reorganised National Government (RNG). Works on Hong Kong have addressed multiple links between educational institutions and wartime resistance³ but less attention was paid to Macau. Despite a few works on the war years in general,⁴ no work exists in English on wartime education in the enclave. Little has also been written in Chinese, with the exception of Chun Wai Cheng (Zheng Zhenwei)'s local history of Chinese education in the 1940s.⁵

The Macau case sheds light on the complexities of wartime education in East Asia. On the one hand, it was comparable to mainland China and Hong Kong, with the move of urban educated youth to unoccupied China which brought about what Zhang

² Hu Kuo-tai, "Disputes on the Question of Wartime Education and the Formation of an Educational Policy for the Guomindang in the War," *Republican China* 14, no. 1 (1989): 30-56; Jennifer Liu, "Defiant Retreat: The Relocation of Middle Schools to China's Interior, 1937-1945," *Frontiers of History in China* 8, no. 4 (2013): 558-584; M. Colette Plum, "Lost Childhoods in a New China: Child-Citizen-Workers at War, 1937-1945," *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 11, no. 2 (2012): 237-258; Laura De Giorgi, "Little Friends at War: Childhood in the Chinese Anti-Japanese War Propaganda Magazine *Kangzhan Ertong* 抗戰兒童 (*The Resistance Child*)," *Oriens Extremus* 53 (2014): 61-84; Margaret Mih Tillman, *Raising China's Revolutionaries: Modernizing Childhood for Cosmopolitan Nationalists and Liberated Comrades, 1920s-1950s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018).

³ E.g. Bernard Hung-kay Luk, "War, Schools, China, Hong Kong: 1937-49," in James Flath and Norman Smith, eds., *Beyond Suffering: Recounting War in Modern China* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 36-58.

⁴ E.g. Iok Lan Fu Barreto [Fu Yulan], ed., *Macau During the Sino-Japanese War / Kangzhan shiqi de Aomen / Macau Durante a Guerra Sino-Japonesa* (Macau: Culture Institute / Museum of Macau, 2002); João F. O. Botas, *Macau 1937-1945: Os Anos da Guerra* [Macau 1937-1945: The War Years] (Macau: Instituto Internacional de Macau, 2012); Lin Faqin and Wang Xi, eds., *Gudao yingxiang: Aomen yu kangri zhanzheng tuzhi* [Lone Island Images: Pictorial History of Macau and the War of Resistance against Japan] (Guangzhou: Guangdong jiaoyu chubanshe, 2015); Geoffrey C. Gunn, ed., *Wartime Macau: Under the Japanese Shadow* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016).

⁵ Chun Wai Cheng [Zheng Zhenwei], *1940 niandai de Aomen jiaoyu* [Macau Education in the 1940s] (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2016). Different aspects of educational policies in Macau, especially in the late twentieth century, have been studied by social scientists, notably Cathryn H. Clayton in *Sovereignty at the Edge: Macau & the Question of Chineseness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 133-175.

Jishun called “the migration of modernity”⁶ from the treaty ports and other coastal areas to the hinterland. On the other, it also points towards a more cosmopolitan experience of wartime displacement, which affected not just Chinese but also foreign communities in China.

Relocation of Chinese schools to Macau

During China’s War of Resistance, Macau saw the arrival of hundreds of thousands of refugees, which almost trebled its population to around half a million. The numbers are striking given the small size of the peninsula and its two outlying islands, which covered a mere 15 km². Their presence in Macau was evidence of the regional and global interconnections that framed the enclave’s wartime experience, vulnerable to shifting political and economic circumstances in East Asia, Southeast Asia, and Europe.

The first wave of wartime refugees arrived in Macau during the battle of Shanghai, in 1937. Many moved southwards in search of safety, including members of the Cantonese community and Portuguese Eurasians resident in the city. Soon after, the brutality of the war in Guangdong province, which included months of aerial bombing from February 1938 until the city’s occupation in October swelled the number of arrivals. Macau was not the only destination. Many people moved to the unoccupied parts of Guangdong, and to Hong Kong before late 1941.

Macau’s neutrality sprang from that of the colonial power administering it. When the war began, Portugal was ruled by a right-wing authoritarian regime intent on centralising colonial administration to suit metropolitan interests and to which colonial governors reported. In 1937, Macau’s governor was Artur Tamagnini de Barbosa (1880-

⁶ Zhang Jishun, “The Migration of Modernity: An Alternative Perspective on Everyday Life in Rural Communist Base Areas during Wartime, 1937-1949,” *Journal of Modern Chinese History* 11, no. 2 (2017): 288-302.

1940), who had been in charge of the territory twice in previous decades. Barbosa was relatively open to Japanese wooing strategies and sought to capitalise on China's weakness by trying to extend Portuguese authority over Chinese islands near Macau. Despite this, he still privileged good relations with British authorities in Hong Kong. When Barbosa died in 1940, Macau had been, and continued to be, the target of increasing Japanese pressure, especially as the occupation of nearby Zhongshan county was consolidated. The new governor, who arrived in October 1940 and remained in post until 1947, was Gabriel Maurício Teixeira (1897-1973), a naval commander who bowed to several Japanese demands, especially after the occupation of Hong Kong. He was more understanding towards Chinese resistance motivations than his predecessor and came to tolerate, at times even support, some Allied activities in Macau at the same time as he begrudgingly accommodated Japanese and RNG pressures.⁷ Chinese resistance in Macau was conditioned by changing circumstances around the enclave, which was largely imposed by the Japanese growing capacity to constrain life in Macau.

The refugees arriving in Macau included many students. Apart from Catholic clergy training, Macau was far from a renowned education centre. As Portuguese authorities sought to formalise colonial rule from the mid-nineteenth century, some attempts to set up and manage public schools – overseen by the Leal Senado (Municipal Council) – in the Macau peninsula and the islands of Taipa and Coloane were attempted, although these overwhelmingly privileged teaching in Portuguese, with Chinese language education limited to primary schools. Although there were voices in favour of greater government intervention in Chinese education in Macau,⁸ this was not a priority until the 1980s. Chinese residents of Macau mostly attended private schools

⁷ Lopes, “Questioning Neutrality”, chapters 2, 4, and 5.

⁸ Artur Tamagnini Barbosa, ‘O Governo de Macau’ [The Macau Government], *Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias* [Bulletin of the General Agency of the Colonies] 53 (1929): 16-30; Aureliano Barata, *O Ensino em Macau 1572-1979: Contributos para a sua História* [Teaching in Macau 1592-1979: Contributions to its History] (Macau: Direção dos Serviços de Educação e Juventude, 1999), 81.

or those run by the Catholic Church with Chinese as the main medium of instruction.⁹ Figures for 1933 – which may already reflect a rise in the number of students after the 1932 Sino-Japanese conflict in Shanghai – show around 7,600 students attending around 98 Chinese private schools in Macau.¹⁰ The war was significant in strengthening both Christian and secular private schools, enhancing the enclave's educational opportunities and blurring the lines between foreign and Chinese providers.

Initially, the schools that relocated to Macau hailed predominantly from different parts of Guangdong province, such as Jiangmen, Zhongshan, or Guangzhou.¹¹ Even before the latter was occupied, the transfer of schools was already being noted in official correspondence. In August 1938, Barbosa informed his superior, the Portuguese Minister of Colonies, of a rise in the number of Chinese schools transferred from Guangzhou.¹² A book on the history of teaching in Macau put that number at 15, although Chinese scholars estimated that middle schools alone were more than 30.¹³ By 1939 there were 36 middle and secondary schools in Macau with more than 30,000 students, and more than 140 primary schools with 30,000 to 40,000 students.¹⁴ Relocated Chinese schools reached more than 100. The number dropped after 1941, reaching about 50 (of which 35 were private) in 1943, and rose again in 1945.¹⁵ When

⁹ Yan Xi, "The Language Situation in Macao," *Current Issues in Language Planning* 18, no. 1 (2017): 18.

¹⁰ Cheng, *1940 niandai de Aomen jiaoyu*, 54.

¹¹ AH/EDU/3174 and AH/EDU/3187, Archives of Macau (AM), Macau.

¹² Governor of Macau to Minister of Colonies, 9 Aug. 1938, UL-10A1, cx. 767, Arquivo Oliveira Salazar (AOS), Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (ANTT), Lisbon, Portugal.

¹³ Barata, *O Ensino em Macau*, 74; Zhang Liang, "Aomen tongbao zhiyuan zuguo kangzhan chutan" [The Support of Compatriots in Macau to the Homeland's Resistance War], *Kangri zhanzheng yanjiu* [The Journal of Studies of China's Resistance War against Japan] 1 (2003): 111; Li Yinghui, "Lunxian qian guomin zhengfu zai Xianggang de wenjiao huodong" [Culture and Education activities by the National Government in Hong Kong before the occupation] in *GangAo yu jindai Zhongguo xueshu yanjiuhui lunwen ji* [A Summary of the Symposium on Hong Kong, Macao and Modern China] (Taipei: Academia Historica, 2000), 455.

¹⁴ Camões C. K. Tam [Tan Zhiqiang], *Aomen zhuquan wenti shimo: 1553~1993* [Disputes concerning Macau's sovereignty between China and Portugal (1553-1993)] (Taipei: Yong Ye, 1994), 223. Similar data is stated in Deng Kaisong, *Aomen lishi (1840-1949 nian)* [History of Macau (1840-1949)] (Macau: Macau Historical Society, 1995), 412-413, which includes a list of most of the relocated schools.

¹⁵ Chun Wai Cheng, "1941-1945 nianjian Aomen jiaoyujie dui jiaoshi he xuesheng de jiuji gongzuo" [Macau education circles' relief work for teachers and students in the 1941-1945 period], *Minguo dang'an* [Republican Archives] 3 (2013): 141.

the war ended, there were almost 90 schools, more than 900 staff, and around 15,800 students in Macau, most of whom attended middle school.¹⁶

The schools operating during the war grew, but there was fluctuation, reflecting wartime developments in surrounding areas. Some schools expanded, but others seemed to have decided to leave Macau, notably after the relative consolidation of the RNG, which made some in Macau consider the possibility of a safe return. The occupation of Hong Kong in late 1941 also affected the educational landscape as it disrupted the flow of remittances from Chinese overseas. Starved of funding, several Chinese schools closed.¹⁷ Still, other students and teachers continued to flee to Macau, notably from occupied Hong Kong. Overall numbers increased markedly in the final years of the war, when many left Guangdong and Hong Kong to flee allied bombing announcing the impending defeat of Japan and the RNG.

Files held at the Archives of Macau vividly demonstrate the similarities between the neutral enclave and wartime China's better known "lone islands," notably Shanghai's foreign concessions. Those include several authorisation requests for the (re)establishment of Chinese schools.¹⁸ These often start by noting that the school had come to flee the war. Reasons for fleeing included the material destruction of schools' premises, danger to students and staff, and disruption caused by cut off supplies, including remittances. The schools' relocation to Macau was often marked by financial instability and dependent on lengthy bureaucratic approvals. Archival records reveal a continuous increase in the number of students, especially through the late 1930s. This required flexible responses: the sharing of premises, delivery of some classes at night or the merger of different schools into a single institution, such as the Zhongshan Lianghe

¹⁶ Table "Huashi xuehui 1941-1945 nian Aomen xuexiao ziliao" [Inspectorate of Chinese Schools Materials on Schools in Macau, 1941-1945] in Cheng, *1940 niandai de Aomen jiaoyu*, 82.

¹⁷ Cheng lists a series of schools that ceased operating around 1943 (Cheng, *1940 niandai de Aomen jiaoyu*, 79)

¹⁸ AH/EDU/3174, AH/EDU/3180, and AH/EDU/3194, AM.

Middle School (中山聯合中學校 Zhongshan lianhe zhongxuexiao).¹⁹ Schools classified as “middle school” often offered several other teaching levels, including kindergarten (fig. 1). Some also set up free classes for poor children.

Schools with foreign missionary connections are particularly fitting examples to explore the multiple regional and international entanglements framing the relocation of schools to Macau. The Presbyterian Church of New Zealand (PCNZ) transferred two of the schools it supported in Guangdong. The first to move to Macau, in late 1937, was the Union Normal and High School for Women, known as the Union Normal School (廣州市協和中學 Guangzhou shi xiehe zhongxue). In the enclave, the school not only recovered from a sharp drop in enrolment, but saw a steady rise in the number of students attending its normal, middle, junior and primary schools, and kindergarten. In 1940 it had 801 pupils.²⁰ In a report written in September 1941, the school principal, Liao Fengling (廖奉靈 1903-1994), who had overseen the school’s relocation, mentioned the activities undertaken by the students to support Chinese resistance. They fundraised for relief and organised a performance of the patriotic play *Put Down Your Whip* (放下你的鞭子 *Fangxia ni de bianzi*), which was a major work in wartime popular culture.²¹ As Liao noted, when it became impossible “to raise money publicly for patriotic work” in 1939, students attempted to save privately for “soldiers and refugees.”²² The school engaged directly with charity work for the urban poor in Macau. Students assisted in a free school run by the Young Women Christian Association,

¹⁹ AH/EDU/3187, AM; Cheng, *1940 niandai de Aomen jiaoyu*, 77.

²⁰ “South China Mission of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand Annual General Report, 1939-1940” in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand* (Dunedin: Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers Co, Ltd., 1940), 112, Archives Research Centre of the Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand (ARC-PCANZ), Dunedin, New Zealand.

²¹ Chang-Tai Hung [Hong Changtai], *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 55-64; Xiaobing Tang, “Street Theater and Subject Formation in Wartime China: Toward a New Form of Public Art,” *Cross-Currents – East Asian History and Culture Review* 18 (2016): 30-35.

²² “Principal’s Report 1937-1941,” Sept. 1941, 2, AA11/6, Union Normal & Middle School Canton (1937-1948), Missions Committee-Subject Files, ARC-PCANZ.

about one hundred girls contributed to a “Women Laborers Night School,” and volunteers helped in refugee camps.²³ This case illustrates the similarities between the schools that moved to neutral Macau and unoccupied China, including a prominent role played by women and Christian institutions, and the mobilisation of students in support for the Chinese war effort.²⁴

The Tak Kei School (德基女校 Deji nǚxiao, fig. 2), the other girls’ school supported by the PCNZ which moved to Macau in 1938, clearly evidences the transnational connections around the relocation. To negotiate the move, the Secretary of the New Zealand Presbyterian Mission Council contacted the British and Japanese consuls in Guangzhou, the Portuguese governor of Macau, and the abovementioned Chinese principal of the Union Normal School.²⁵ The Tak Kei School also saw its student numbers rise. Starting from 10 pupils in 1939, it reached 94 the following year, which was, according to the 1940 report, “the largest enrolment the school has ever had.”²⁶ The great majority of the students were refugees.²⁷ These Protestant schools attest to different dimensions of the wartime relocation of students to Macau. An important one was the interlinked coexistence – also noted in other studies focused on mainland China²⁸ – of Christianity and nationalism. Newfound cooperation also existed

²³ “Principal’s Report 1937-1941,” 4.

²⁴ Yi Fang Wu [Wu Yifang], “Women in the War,” *The Chinese Recorder and Educational Review* LXXI, no. 6 (1940): 369-373; Helen M. Schneider, “Mobilising Women: The Women Advisory Council, Resistance and Reconstruction during China’s War with Japan,” *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 11 (2012): 213-236; Tillman, *Raising China’s Revolutionaries*, 79-130; Aaron William Moore, “Kunming Dreaming: Hope, Change, and War in the Autobiographies of Youth in China’s Southwest,” in Toby Lincoln and Xu Tao, eds., *The Habitable City in China: Urban History in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 43-70.

²⁵ Chairman of the New Zealand Presbyterian Mission to Miss Liu [Liao Fengling], 1 Aug. 1938; Chairman of the New Zealand Presbyterian Mission to Governor of Macau, 1 Aug. 1938, AA16/2, ARC-PCANZ; Secretary Mission Council to British Consul-General at Guangzhou, 4 July 1938, AA16/2, Mission Council Secretary’s Outward Correspondence 1938-1941, South China Mission, ARC-PCANZ.

²⁶ “South China Mission of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand Annual General Report, 1939-1940,” 110-111.

²⁷ “South China Mission of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand Annual General Report, 1938-1939” in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand* (Dunedin: Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers Co, Ltd., 1939), 119, ARC-PCANZ.

²⁸ Jennifer Bond, “Foreign Puppets, Christian Mothers or Revolutionary Martyrs? The Multiple Identities of Missionary School Girls in East China, 1917-1952” (PhD thesis, SOAS-University of London, 2018).

between Roman Catholic and Protestant communities, a religious dimension of Macau's wartime cosmopolitanism.²⁹

Wartime education in Macau was dependent on the unpredictable developments of a global war. The maintenance of these schools was partly ensured through voluntarism. In October 1938 it was noted that the Tak Kei School teachers had "received no salary payments"³⁰; in 1939 they were described as "content to take very low salaries so as to help the school financially."³¹ As people kept coming to Macau, rents went on rising. An observation by the Canton Villages Mission representative on the Tak Kei School staff, A. N. Yansen (1892-1961) that their Portuguese landlady had agreed not to increase the rent, indicates that the war brought opportunities for some women and that locals with property could harness obvious benefits from the relocation of schools. The Tak Kei School, like others, was funded by transnational networks. The Guangdong Synod of the Church of Christ in China (中華基督教會 Zhonghua jidujiao hui) pledged support, including subsidies from war relief funds to "be used to alleviate the hardships of the teaching staff."³² The occupation of Hong Kong in late 1941 and New Zealand's entry into the war disrupted these channels. The Tak Kei School ended up leaving Macau in 1942. The school principal, Wong Sau K'an (dates unknown), organised the move to her hometown in unoccupied China, where the school was run until 1946, when it returned to its original location in Kong Chuen [Jiang cun 江村].³³

²⁹ "South China Mission of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand Annual General Report, 1939-1940," 113.

³⁰ "Minutes of Quarterly Meeting of Council Held at Kong Chuen," 8 Oct. 1938, CVM & South China Mission Council Minutes 1936-1941, Missions Committee, ARC-PCANZ.

³¹ Agnete N. Yansen to Mr and Mrs MacDiarmid, 1 Oct. 1939, AA11/2, Miss A.N. Yansen (1922-1953), Canton Villages Mission – Staff Files, ARC-PCANZ.

³² "Minutes of Quarterly Meeting of Council Held at Kong Chuen," 8 Apr. 1939. CVM & South China Mission Council Minutes 1936-1941, ARC-PCANZ.

³³ "WONG, Miss Sau K'an" in "Register (Fasti) of New Zealand Presbyterian Ministers, Deaconesses & Missionaries 1840 to 2015", *Presbyterian Research Centre* website, accessed 2 Aug. 2019, <https://www.presbyterian.org.nz/archives/Page211.htm>.

Personal links, therefore, also played a role in the process of transferring schools. Sometimes, family ties connected different institutions. The Union Middle School principal, Liao Fengling, was one of the daughters of Liao Deshan (廖德山 1866-1923), an associate of Sun Yat-sen who had founded the Pui Ching Middle School (培正中學校 Peizheng zhongxuexiao) in Guangzhou, which also relocated to Macau. The number of students increased considerably, with dormitories spreading over different locations, including in the Jardim de Lou Lim Ioc (Lou Lim Ieoc Garden / 盧廉若公園 Lu Lianruo gongyuan), next to the present-day school buildings (fig. 3).³⁴ Initially the school expected to enrol 250 students but it ended up with some 450.³⁵ As the war went on, the Pui Ching Middle School played an important role in securing relief for its most vulnerable pupils. For example, in 1944 the school directors undertook a fundraising campaign with the support of governor Teixeira to assist poor children attending the school.³⁶

Archival files on Pui Ching and other schools, containing requests for expanding their premises, highlight the growth of the student population in Macau, fuelled by the continuous arrival of refugees. Their presence was quite visible in the everyday life of the city, as attested by the recollections written by the British consul, John Pownall Reeves (1909-1978), and by the Portuguese missionary and local historian Manuel Teixeira (1912-2003).³⁷ The refugees included not only students, but also education

³⁴ “Guangzhou Pei Zheng zhongxuexiao wen” [Guangzhou Pui Ching Middle School News], *Jiaoyu jikan* [Education Quarterly] 14, no. 4 (1938): 84 (the garden is mentioned here as Lu jia huayuan). The Lou Lim Ieoc Garden is named after Lu Lianrou [Lou Lim Ieoc] (1878-1927), a Macau philanthropist, supporter of Sun Yat-sen.

³⁵ Cheng, *1940 niandai de Aomen jiaoyu*, 62.

³⁶ “Campaign to Raise Funds for Free Education”, *Macau Tribune*, March 26, 1944, 6.

³⁷ Reeves estimated that the number of Chinese students relocated to Macau was 20,000 (John Pownall Reeves, *The Lone Flag: Memoir of the British Consul in Macao during World War II*, ed. Colin Day and Richard Garrett [Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2014], 44); Teixeira put the number at 30,000 (Manuel Teixeira, “Macau Durante a Guerra: Doce Visão de Paz!” [Macau During the War: Sweet Vision of Peace!], *Boletim Eclesiástico da Diocese de Macau* [Macau Diocese Ecclesiastic Bulletin], 885 [1978]: 515).

professionals such as teachers and administrators. Pre-existing institutions hired some of them and expanded their activities due to rising demand. For example, Colégio de São José (St Joseph's College / 聖若瑟中學 Shengruose zhongxue), a Catholic school set up in Macau in 1931, hired many refugee teachers from China.³⁸ Another Catholic school, the Yuet Wah College (粵華中學 Yuehua zhongxue) – which had moved from Guangzhou in 1928 – set up free classes for around 300 poor refugees. In 1942, facing an economic crisis due to disruption of its overseas funding and the growing number of students, one of the school's founders, Liao Fengji (廖奉基 1894-1957) – elder sister of Liao Fengling – asked for the assistance of the Salesians (a Catholic institute with a significant international presence), who took over the school. Yuet Wah's wartime expansion also included a women's branch.³⁹ The Liao family's connections to different schools further exemplifies the importance of personal relations to the making of wartime cosmopolitanism.

The expansion of education in Macau benefited the student-refugees and the children of pre-existing residents. In fact, scholars have argued that this period witnessed an unprecedented flourishing of Chinese education in Macau.⁴⁰ The arrival of the relocated students and teachers brought an influx of expertise. Theatre performances became relatively frequent, echoing developments in mainland China where children's theatre experienced a spectacular growth during the war.⁴¹ A 1940 report on a drama competition by the Pui Ying Middle School (培英中學 Peiying zhongxue) notes the

³⁸ Manuel Teixeira, *A Educação em Macau* [Education in Macau] (Macau: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Cultura, 1982), 262.

³⁹ Teixeira, *A Educação em Macau*, 377. Similar data is reproduced in the Yuet Wah College website, accessed 7 May, 2018, <http://www.yuetwah.edu.mo/86/yw.php?read=int&lang=CHT&type=history>.

⁴⁰ Li, "Lunxian qian guomin zhengfu zai Xianggang," 455; Tam, *Aomen zhuquan wenti shimo*, 223; Deng, *Aomen lishi*, 413.

⁴¹ Xu Lanjun, "Little Teachers: Children's Drama, Travelling, and Ruptured Childhoods in 1930s and 1940s China," *Twentieth-Century China* 42, no. 2 (2016): 182.

successful public performance of Gogol's *Marriage*,⁴² a surprising choice in an enclave ruled by a colonial power with no diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Physical education also expanded, leading to a lively period for sports competitions of various kinds in the enclave.⁴³

Linked to physical education was scouting and leading figures of the Scouts of China (中華民國童軍 Zhonghuaminguo tongjun) also arrived in Macau.⁴⁴ The scouts had been a key institution in the KMT's project of controlling youth activism since the 1920s. From 1934 onwards government policy mandated that all lower middle schools have a required class on scouting.⁴⁵ By the start of the war, scouts had become powerful symbols of a strong new China in the making, easily recognised by international audiences.⁴⁶ Scouting activities in China were clearly linked with mobilisation for the War of Resistance, including the gathering of international support.⁴⁷ The Scouts of China set up wartime service corps (戰時服務團 zhanshi fuwutuan) in different provinces⁴⁸ and Macau and Hong Kong were also important locations of this wartime drive. The number of Chinese scouts there grew strong in the 1930s.⁴⁹

In Macau, scouts engaged in fundraising activities, relief provision, and propaganda work for the resistance, especially prior to the occupation of Hong Kong. In

⁴² "Aomen Peiying zhongxue xiju bisai" [Macau Pui Ying Middle School's drama competition], *Xiju za* [Drama Magazine] 4, no. 6 (1940): 174. The Pui Ying School was founded in Guangzhou in 1879 and moved to Hong Kong in 1937, with part of the school then transferring to Macau.

⁴³ Tang Kaijian, "Os Desportos Modernos de Macau no Período Republicano: Formação e Desenvolvimento" [Macau's Modern Sports in the Republican Period: Formation and Development], *Administração* [Administration] 68 (2005): 783.

⁴⁴ Tang, "Os Desportos Modernos de Macau", 783.

⁴⁵ Robert Culp, *Articulating Citizenship: Civic Education and Student Politics in Southeastern China, 1912-1940* (Harvard: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), 183.

⁴⁶ Evident, for example, in the prominent image of boy scouts which opens a *National Geographic Magazine* article on Guangzhou, captioned "Boy Scout standard bearers of young China raise their country's colors at a Canton athletic meet" (Siukee Mack, Alfred T. Palmer, and Kinchue Wong, "Changing Canton," *The National Geographic Magazine*, LXXII, December [1937]: 711).

⁴⁷ Margaret Mih Tillman, "Engendering Children of the Resistance: Models for Gender and Scouting in China, 1919-1937," *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* 13 (2014): 149-159.

⁴⁸ Brian Tsui, *China's Conservative Revolution: The Quest for a New Order, 1927-1949* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 107.

⁴⁹ Paul Kua, *Scouting in Hong Kong, 1910-2010* (Kowloon: Scout Association of Hong Kong, 2011), 194.

February 1938, the Scouts Wartime Service Corps First Propaganda Team (中國童子軍戰時服務團第一團宣傳隊 Zhongguo tongzijun zhanshi fuwutuan diyi tuan xuanchuandui) came to Macau in the midst of a tour of South China, holding mass rallies, visiting local Chinese schools, and holding an event at the Teatro Apollo (Apollo Theatre / 平安劇院 Ping'an juyuan). These were reportedly attended by hundreds of people.⁵⁰

The presence and activities of the Scouts of China in Macau impressed some contemporaries.⁵¹ A drawing of one of their camps was even used as a template cover in a series of school workbooks celebrating “Sino-Portuguese friendship,” which the local authorities sought to implement in the enclave’s Chinese schools.⁵² The Portuguese consul in Guangzhou had already remarked upon the scouts’ patriotism in support of the Chinese government’s war work.⁵³ This was not the first time Chinese scouts operated in colonial settings, but it is reasonable to venture that part of the reason why they impressed Portuguese observers was the striking transnational parallel: they were also living under an authoritarian regime that demanded discipline and obedience from its youngsters. Under Portugal’s Estado Novo [New State] regime, a mandatory national youth organisation, Mocidade Portuguesa [Portuguese Youth], replaced the Boy Scouts. Established in 1936, the Mocidade Portuguesa aimed at promoting physical prowess and fostering “devotion to the fatherland” through discipline and respect for military

⁵⁰ Chun Wai Cheng, “Ershi shiji qianqi Aomen tongzijun huodong cilüe” [A Brief Account of the Boy Scouts Activities in Macau in the Early Twentieth Century], *Aomen yanjiu* [Journal of Macau Studies] 3 (2017): 51.

⁵¹ Teixeira, “Macau Durante a Guerra,” 515.

⁵² Isabel Maria Peixoto Braga, *Macau Durante a II Guerra Mundial: Sociedade, Educação Física e Desporto* [Macau during the II World War: Society, Physical Education and Sport] (Macau: Centro de Publicações da Universidade de Macau, 2003), 47, 170, 259.

⁵³ Consul in Guangzhou to Minister of Foreign Affairs, 15 June 1938, in António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, ed., *A Guerra vista de Cantão: Os relatórios de Vasco Martins Morgado, Cônsul-Geral de Portugal em Cantão, sobre a Guerra Sino-Japonesa* [The War Seen from Canton: The Reports of Vasco Martins Morgado, Portugal’s Consul-General in Canton, About the Sino-Japanese War] (Macau: Instituto Português do Oriente, 1998), 109.

duty in young boys and, through a sister organisation, girls.⁵⁴ Inspired by models from Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, the Mocidade Portuguesa perhaps had more in common with the Three People's Principles Youth Corps (三民主義青年團 Sanminzhuyi qingniantuan), which followed the same fascistic ideals, than with the Scouts of China.⁵⁵ Still, the similarities in their militaristic purposes and outlook became evident in Macau when members of the Scouts of China were invited to join Mocidade Portuguesa troops on some festive days.⁵⁶

Despite their obvious transnational links to the Boy Scouts movement, the Scouts of China were also a nationalist institution and remained associated with the KMT in Macau long after the war with Japan ended, with celebrations linked to the Republic of China gathering some 800 participants in the late 1950s.⁵⁷ Scouting appears to have been, both during the war with Japan and after the Chinese Civil War, an activity used to express political allegiance even when open support for the Nationalists was not particularly welcome by the Macau authorities.

Colonial development dreams and anti-imperialist resistance

The student-refugees were regarded as important to Chinese resistance to Japan and also featured in Portuguese ideas of colonial prestige, two concerns which were not necessarily compatible as they had very different rationales regarding imperial power. Governor Teixeira in particular, sought to convey to authorities in Lisbon that the influx

⁵⁴ Simon Kuin, "Mocidade Portuguesa," in Fernando Rosas and J. M. Brandão de Brito, eds., *Dicionário de História do Estado Novo* [Estado Novo History Dictionary], Vol. II (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1996), 607.

⁵⁵ On the founding of the *Sanqingtuan* in 1938 see Kristin Mulready-Stone, *Mobilizing Shanghai Youth: CCP Internationalism, GMD Nationalism and Japanese Collaboration* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 62-85.

⁵⁶ Cheng, "Ershi shiji qianqi Aomen tongzijun huodong cilüe," 52

⁵⁷ Kua, *Scouting in Hong Kong*, 257.

of Chinese students could hold the key to the territory's future development. The model for this reasoning was likely Hong Kong, whose prosperity under British rule was a permanent source of anxiety for the Portuguese authorities, who partly resented how Hong Kong had overtaken Macau as a major node for maritime trade between China, Southeast Asia and Europe. Teixeira remarked on the overseas connections of some of the schools' staff and students and was no doubt aware that assisting them meant, implicitly, closer links to affluent people. According to Robert Culp, most students attending secondary schools in pre-war Nationalist China hailed from families with an income at the top 10-15% of the urban national average.⁵⁸ The Portuguese authorities believed that their willingness to host these students who required relief could lead to future partnerships beneficial for the territory. Their knowledge and family connections would bring social and human capital to develop Macau as had happened in neighbouring Hong Kong.

Even though Teixeira noted the political advantages of refugee relief, he was conscious of Portugal's limited capacity to do so and suggested transnational solutions. In early 1942, he reported to Lisbon on a meeting with the directors of Chinese schools in Macau. They had explained that more than one third of the students were children of Chinese residents abroad affected by the lack of communications with Hong Kong, through where their family's allowances had been remitted.⁵⁹ The governor recommended notifying the Chinese ambassadors in Britain, the US, Canada, and Australia so that the students' parents would be instructed to transfer their funds to the National Overseas Bank (BNU) in Lisbon, which would then send them to the bank's Macau branch.⁶⁰ Strategies for funding schools in Macau, therefore, highlight an often overlooked global dimension of the conflict.

⁵⁸ Culp, *Articulating Citizenship*, 26-27.

⁵⁹ Governor of Macau to Minister of Colonies, 23 Jan. 1942, UL-10A1, cx. 767, AOS, ANTT.

⁶⁰ Governor of Macau to Minister of Colonies, 23 Jan. 1942, UL-10A1, cx. 767, AOS, ANTT.

Like in Shanghai's French Concession and International Settlement before 1941, relief to the most destitute refugees in Macau owed much to non-state actors and local elites. Colonial authorities allowed their activities as they helped ensure a semblance of public order.⁶¹ By allowing Chinese schools to operate in Macau, local authorities could boost colonial prestige by presenting themselves as generous protectors to distraught Chinese at a time of crisis. This image was essential to placate critiques of Portuguese rule over Macau. The supposed benevolence of colonial authorities offered an argument against probes into Portuguese collaboration with Japan by Chiang's representatives as well as against moves by the RNG to increase control over Macau. Incoming students were dealt with minimum governmental supervision and were only occasionally involved in joint activities intent on highlighting vague notions of "Sino-Portuguese friendship." In general, apart from granting authorisation for the running of the schools and inspecting their premises, the Portuguese authorities do not appear to have had any influence over the relocated Chinese schools' curriculum.⁶² This relative lack of oversight had advantages for all those involved: for the many teachers and students who moved to Macau, the enclave tended to guarantee them enough freedom to continue their activities, including the fostering of nationalist and revolutionary ideas. The fact that their major target was Japan and not, at the time, Portuguese colonialism, was important but so was the Portuguese authorities' lack of means to fully control resistance activities. These circumstances allowed, inadvertently, for Chinese resistance to develop in Macau.

In this unregulated and diverse environment, Chinese nationalism and Portuguese imperial nationalism managed to coexist and sometimes even collaborate.

⁶¹ Rana Mitter, *China's War with Japan 1937-1945: The Struggle for Survival* (London: Allen Lane, 2013), 184-185.

⁶² The extent to which schools in Macau were able to implement directives from the Chinese Ministry of Education during the war would require further research in archives of specific schools.

The presence of so many Chinese students led to new joint initiatives. In April 1940 a local paper reported on the activities on the Chinese Student-Refugees in Macau Relief Association, which provided lodging (including on boats), food, and medical care to these Chinese student-refugees. Like similar institutions set up during the war, this was a transnational endeavour, counting on the support of both Chinese and Portuguese benefactors, including the governor.⁶³

If Sino-foreign cooperation was present in other cases of colonialism in China, that was particularly evident in Macau, where Chinese actors were essential in all sectors, given Portugal's relative economic weakness.⁶⁴ For the Portuguese authorities, granting refuge to Chinese schools provided an opportunity to foster good relations with elite figures, as shown by the unrealised plan to set up a university in Macau during the war. The transfer of institutions of higher education to unoccupied locations is usually associated with its most famous case, the National Southwestern Associated University or Lianda (聯大), in Kunming.⁶⁵ A lesser known case is Lingnan University (嶺南大學 Lingnan daxue), which moved from Guangzhou to Hong Kong and, after Hong Kong was occupied, to the capital of "free" Guangdong, Shaoguan. Its affiliated middle and primary schools moved to Macau in late 1937.⁶⁶ At that time, Macau did not have an institution of higher education but Chinese elite figures found both wartime governors receptive to their suggestions of opening one. In July 1939 Dai Ensai (戴恩賽 1892-

⁶³ "Socorros aos estudantes chineses refugiados" [Relief to Chinese Student-Refugees], *A Voz de Macau*, April 24, 1940, 5; "Festa de Caridade" [Charity Fête], *A Voz de Macau*, August 7, 1944, 4.

⁶⁴ On the peculiarities of Portuguese colonialism in twentieth-century Macau see Cathryn Clayton, "The Hapless Imperialist? Portuguese rule in 1960s Macau," in Bryna Goodman and David S. G. Goodman, eds., *Twentieth Century Colonialism and China: Localities, the Everyday and the World* (London: Routledge, 2012), 213-215.

⁶⁵ John Israel, *Lianda: A Chinese University in War and Revolution* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).

⁶⁶ Luk, "War, Schools, China, Hong Kong...", 42; Barata, *O Ensino em Macau*, 202; Cheng, *1940 niandai de Aomen jiaoyu*, 64. In its early years, Lingnan, that had been founded in 1898 as Christian College of China, relocated from Guangzhou to Macau during the Boxer uprising until 1904. It was in Macau that it changed its name to Lingnan College (*Lingnan xuetang*). Lee Sui-ming [Li Ruiming], *A Phoenix of South China: The Story of Lingnan (University) College, Sun Yat-sen University* (Hong Kong: The Commercial Press, 2005), 20-23

1955), Sun Yat-sen's brother-in-law and a Macau resident, made a request to establish a university. He told the Macau inspector of Chinese schools that he "could get great monetary support from North American sponsors of education in China" as long as he could prove to them that "he had the protection of the Macau government."⁶⁷ In December 1940, shortly after taking office, Teixeira telegraphed Lisbon that he had been sought by "a group of influential Chinese educated in America, accompanied by the delegate of the Chongqing government in Hong Kong, to enquire about the possibilities of ceding them land on the islands to build a university campus." He asked the Ministry of Colonies for further instructions but thought favourably of the idea "because of the political advantages of having a direct contact with Chinese university elements."⁶⁸ A few months later he insisted on the "convenience [of a] University [in] creating [a] centre [for] educated Chinese like there is [in] Hong Kong who have contributed greatly [to the] prosperity [of] that colony."⁶⁹ Naturally, Chinese proposals to expand educational provision in Macau had more to do with escaping Japanese occupation than with active support for Portuguese colonialism but they could be promoted as such by the colonial authorities. Although it came to naught, the university project is significant. It attests to the ambitious possibilities envisioned for education in Macau because of the war, as well as the array of transnational networks sustaining these. Macau came to be regarded as a site with potential to host modern and internationalised Chinese higher education institutions which until then had been hallmarks of metropolis like Shanghai.

The Japanese occupation of Hong Kong in late 1941 left many Chinese students in Macau in a vulnerable situation, as many of their families' allowances were remitted

⁶⁷ Head of Technical Bureau of Chinese Affairs and Inspector of Chinese Schools to Director of Public Works, 28 June 1939, AH/EDU/3181, AM.

⁶⁸ Governor of Macau to Minister of Colonies, 13 Dec. 1940, UL-10A1, cx. 767, AOS, ANTT.

⁶⁹ Governor of Macau to Minister of Colonies, 17 Mar. 1941, UL-10A1, cx. 767, AOS, ANTT.

via the British colony. The situation of teachers was no less complicated, with many facing unemployment or salaries too low to keep up with rising food prices and a flawed rationing system. Educational associations, notably the Macau Chinese Education Association (澳門中華教育會 Aomen Zhonghua jiaoyuhui), joined efforts to petition both the Portuguese authorities and the Chiang government to guarantee allocation of rationed foodstuffs to local schools and dispatch emergency relief.⁷⁰ Although evidence of increasing destitution can already be grasped from 1930s records, it was after the fall of Hong Kong that Macau's society experienced its most acute wartime crisis, with widespread hunger and a peak of mortality resulting from food shortages. These were especially due to the impact of Japanese blockades combined with a particularly cold 1942 winter.⁷¹

Educational circles in Macau were not passive receivers of charity. They mobilised for action and interacted with different international actors involved in local relief. School representatives put together grassroots initiatives, as exemplified by the Macau Chinese Education Association All-Macau Teachers' Food Assistance Association (澳門中華教育會全澳教師糧食協助會 Aomen Zhonghua jiaoyuhui quan Ao jiaoshi liangshi xiezhuhui). They also sought help at the local government level by seeking to guarantee improvements in rationing. At the same time, the Macau Chinese Education Association wrote the Chinese national government in 1943 to request the dispatch of emergency funds.⁷² As this illustrates, at least some refugees in Macau continued to count on the Nationalist government for support.

⁷⁰ Cheng, "1941-1945 nianjian Aomen jiaoyujie...", 136.

⁷¹ On hunger and mortality in early 1940s Macau see, for example, Lopes, "Questioning Neutrality", 195-199 and *passim*; Barreto, *Macau During the Sino-Japanese War*, 52-60; Geoffrey Gunn, "Hunger amidst Plenty: Rice Supply and Livelihood in Wartime Macau" in Gunn, ed., *Wartime Macau*, 72-93.

⁷² Cheng, "1941-1945 nianjian Aomen jiaoyujie...", 136.

Regardless of Portuguese designs, Chinese schools in Macau were, as elsewhere in China, linked to the nurture and spread of nationalistic and revolutionary ideas and wartime education pursued a dual goal: “support the war and prepare for national reconstruction.”⁷³ Indeed, support for the war effort and relief activities for victims was part of schools’ wartime experience in Macau.⁷⁴ Some of the relocated schools “advocated enthusiastically anti-Japanese patriotic education,” teaching students “to sing anti-aggression songs” and printing “patriotic slogans [...] on students’ stationery.”⁷⁵ Liu Xianbing, a Zhongshan native born in 1934, daughter of an overseas Chinese from Peru who fled with her family to Macau during the war, remembered that resistance against Japan was a common feature of education in the enclave. Her recollections also revealed the politicisation of children in Macau. She noted that when her elder siblings’ classmates came to their house, “everyone discussed national matters” and she listened and discussed contemporary events with them.⁷⁶ Whilst one can query accounts of widespread youth patriotism emphasised in recent Chinese publications, corroborating evidence can be found in contemporaneous sources including some written by non-Chinese, such as the British consul.⁷⁷

Macau was not the final destination for all and it remained connected to other educational centres in unoccupied China. For example, Liu and part of her family kept moving during the war. They left Macau to escape starvation, seeking shelter in Guangxi.⁷⁸ Guilin during the war experienced the massive arrival of Chinese refugees as

⁷³ Ou Tsuin-Chen [Wu Junsheng], “Education in Wartime China”, in Paul K.T. Sih [Xue Guangqian], ed, *Nationalist China During the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945* (Hicksville: Exposition Press, 1977), 90.

⁷⁴ On Hong Kong, see Luk, 45-46.

⁷⁵ Barreto, *Macau During the Sino-Japanese War*, 75.

⁷⁶ Liu Xianbing, “Wo de tongnian zai taonan zhong duguo” [“My childhood spent in flight”], in Lin Faqin and Jiang Chun, eds., *Pingmin shengyin: Aomen yu kangri zhanzheng koushu lishi* [Civillian Voices: Oral History of Macau in the War of Resistance] (Guangzhou: Guangdong jiaoyu chubanshe, 2015), 45.

⁷⁷ Reeves, *The Lone Flag*, 44.

⁷⁸ Liu Xianbing, “Wo de tongnian zai taonan zhong duguo”, 47.

well as an important international presence.⁷⁹ The city was reported in 1943 as “the centre to which the majority of refugees from Macao make their way.”⁸⁰ The connections between Macau and unoccupied China, often absent in official Portuguese records, can be reconstructed through other sources, that also reveal the role of young people in resistance activities. That is the case of one of the articles from Sister Cloud (雲姊姊 Yun zizi), pen name of Huang Qingyun (黃慶雲 1920-2018), published in the children’s magazine *Xin ertong* 新兒童 [Modern Children], which moved from Hong Kong to Guilin during the Japanese occupation. In a letter to Macau girls, she mentions the result of the funds the “little Macau sisters” had sent her – along with a letter lost in the invasion – to donate to British and Soviet soldiers in the war of resistance (英蘇抗戰將士 *YingSu kangzhan jiangshi*).⁸¹ This Soviet connection again suggests that Macau’s youth endeavours operated outside of the control of the Portuguese authorities to a considerable extent. Whether or not at school, young resistance activists were part of Macau’s wartime life, with some evidence suggesting connections with violent acts. For example, information intercepted by the British in 1942 noted that Chinese “patriotic youths” were attempting to “clean up” alleged traitors in Macau.⁸²

The links between schools and resistance are also clear in Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs files pertaining to Macau. For example, in September 1939, under increasing Japanese pressure to curb resistance activities, the local Portuguese authorities sent the police to search offices, houses, and schools. Amongst the raided locations was the Chong Tak Middle School (中德中學 *Zhongde zhongxue*) which was

⁷⁹ Zhu Pingchao, *Wartime Culture in Guilin, 1938-1944: A City at War* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2015).

⁸⁰ P. C. M. Sedgwick, Refugee Relief Department of the British Embassy in Chongqing, “Report on Refugee Relief Department Organisation in South China,” 15 Oct. 1943, 10, FO 371/41562, The National Archives (TNA), Kew, UK.

⁸¹ “Gei Aomen nütong gongyou de xin” [A letter to Macau young girl workers] *Xin ertong* [Modern Children] 2, no. 5 (1942): 26-27.

⁸² “The Portuguese Colony of Macao,” 5 Mar., 1942, HS 1/176, TNA.

closely linked to the KMT.⁸³ This private school from Guangzhou was founded in 1914 as a Sino-German School and in 1938 KMT luminaries such as Wu Tiecheng (吳鐵城 1893-1953) initiated its Macau branch. Wu had been mayor of Shanghai and governor of Guangdong and later head of the Macau-Hong Kong KMT branch. Student numbers increased considerably and by September 1943 the school had more than 400 students starting from kindergarten. Like other relocated schools, it also ran classes for refugee children.⁸⁴ Despite the rise in student numbers, overt actions supporting the Chinese resistance were toned down under tightening Japanese controls and were, after 1941, largely confined to refugee relief.

The KMT links to some of the relocated schools are further attested by the cases of two important figures who met a tragic fate. Liang Yanming (梁彥明 1884-1942), the principal of Chongshi Middle School (崇實中學 Chongshi zhongxue) and head of the Macau Chinese Education Association was assassinated in December 1942 and Lin Zhuofu (林卓夫 1897-1943), a member of the board of Sun Yat-sen Memorial Middle School (孫逸仙紀念中學校 Sun Yixian jinian zhongxuexiao) and principal of Zhongshan County Middle School, was killed in February 1943.⁸⁵ Liang had been involved in a variety of “national salvation” and refugee relief activities, including the provision of free classes to refugee children.⁸⁶ Before coming to Macau, Lin had worked for the educational department of the Guangdong provincial government, having served as secretary for the Zhongshan county KMT branch and, later, as a

⁸³ Military Affairs Commission to Minister of Foreign Affairs, 20 Sept. 1939, Waijiaobu, 312.8/0001, Academia Sinica-Institute of Modern History Archives. Later reports dating from Barbosa’s governorship indicate that schools continued to be searched by Portuguese authorities in order to curb anti-Japanese activities in Macau (“Japanese Threats to Macao,” *The North China Herald*, April 3, 1940, 8).

⁸⁴ Cheng, *1940 niandai de Aomen jiaoyu*, 71-72.

⁸⁵ Li, “Lunxian qian guomin zhengfu zai Xianggang”, 461, Deng, *Aomen lishi*, 88; Kuomintang Branch in Hong Kong and Macau, *GangAo kangzhan xunguo lieshi jiniance* [Album of Martyrs from Hong Kong and Macau during the War of Resistance] (Hong Kong: Kuomintang, 1946), 1-2.

⁸⁶ Kuomintang, *GangAo kangzhan xunguo lieshi jiniance*, 2.

committee member of the Macau party branch.⁸⁷ These examples confirm the connections between the relocation of schools and resistance efforts in South China. Indeed, personalities such as Liang merited a commemorative volume celebrating his achievements and sacrifice published shortly after the war, which included a message by Chiang Kai-shek.⁸⁸

Despite the setback caused by their deaths, Chiang's government continued to monitor education in Macau, including any links to the Wang Jingwei government. As the war entered its final years, the increasingly difficult circumstances of students and teachers in Macau were deemed vulnerabilities easily exploitable by the competing RNG. The RNG's Guangdong provincial department of education had sent envoys to Macau in 1943 and 1944 to assess conditions. Nationalist agents in Macau – including Guo Bingqi (郭秉琦 dates unknown), the principal of the Chong Tak Middle School – kept the central government informed of their moves and tried to coordinate a relief programme to some of the major schools to counter them.⁸⁹ Regime competition to oversee schools in Macau would continue, with old and new players, after World War Two and the Nationalists would retain connections to some of Macau's schools until the 1960s.

Learning “useful” languages

It would be reductive to interpret the wartime expansion of education in Macau as only connected to Chinese-language schools. The greater offer of foreign language

⁸⁷ Kuomintang, *Gang'ao kangzhan xunguo lieshi jiniance*, 1.

⁸⁸ Guo Huitang and Luo Zhizhi, eds., *Liang Yanming lieshi jinianji* [Martyr Liang Yanming Memorial Collection] (Beijing, 1946).

⁸⁹ Jiang Mei, ed., “Guomin zhengfu jiaoyubu deng banli zhanshi Gang'ao diqu qiaomin jiaoyu xiangguan shiliao” [Historical Materials on the Handling of the Education of Overseas Citizens in the Hong Kong and Macau Areas during the War by the National Government's Ministry of Education and others], *Minguo dang'an* [Republican Archives] 3 (2008): 21

classes epitomised the contradictions of the enclave's wartime circumstances, with new constraints and new opportunities. Language teaching was relatively cheap due to the presence of many native or fluent tutors, either formally trained or not, without other employment in Macau. The climate of displacement, uncertainty about the future and, in some cases, plans for future migration, were stimuli to learn potentially useful languages, as was the desire to continue education in the language of instruction used elsewhere before moving. The war was a period when the plurality of the educational offer and the expansion of languages other than Chinese (Mandarin, Cantonese or other) and Portuguese was particularly evident. Notably, the conflict saw the expansion of teaching in English and in Japanese.

The expansion of Japanese-language education in Macau was no doubt a spill-over effect from the more overt promotion of Japanese in occupied areas, including Hong Kong.⁹⁰ After the occupation of Guangzhou, Japanese schools were opened, with the Portuguese consul in the city noticing that Chinese students were subtly coerced to attend, while Chinese schools in poor conditions were closed and others replaced by Japanese schools.⁹¹ The consolidation of Japanese influence over Macau after the occupation of Hong Kong was reflected in educational initiatives. According to Shinji Ginoza, the sale of a "teach-yourself" Japanese textbook designed for Cantonese speakers in Macau in 1942 demonstrates the links between the enclave and Guangzhou in terms of Japanese language learning.⁹² He noted that in just 10 months in 1942, more than 360 advertisements promoting Japanese learning in Macau were published in the Chinese daily *Huaqiao bao* 華僑報 (*Jornal Va Kio*).⁹³

⁹⁰ Luk, "War, Schools, China, Hong Kong...", 47.

⁹¹ Consul in Guangzhou to Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1 Mar., 1939, in Saldanha, ed. *A Guerra vista de Cantão*, 294.

⁹² Shinji Ginoza, "Japanese Language Teaching and Learning in Macau, 1942," in Rufino Ramos, et al., eds., *Population and Development in Macau* (Macau: Fundação Macau, 1994), 477.

⁹³ Ginoza, "Japanese Language Teaching and Learning in Macau," 470.

Portuguese authorities had little choice but to authorise schools teaching Japanese. The growth in education in this idiom was not only tightly linked to the increasing control Japan exerted on Macau, but also had a connection to professional opportunities for a particular group of Japanese subjects: the Taiwanese. In January 1941 a man surnamed Lau asked the government for permission to establish a Japanese language school in the building where he resided. A few months later, another document in the same archival file in Macau contains a dispatch from the interim commander of police alluding to a man with the same surname (with a different given name but likely the same person): a Taiwanese Japanese-subject who directed a newspaper and ran a Japanese school in the same compound. He was described as a truculent character who had been called to the police on different occasions, including in an incident between local students and students in the Japanese school.⁹⁴ This was almost certainly the *Nanwan Riyu suchengke* (南灣日語速成科), considered the largest Japanese language school in Macau, which operated near a pro-Japanese newspaper, the *Xi Nan ribao* (西南日報). Japanese courses were usually offered on a short-term basis and Ginoza suggests teachers were both Japanese and Chinese who had studied in Japan, and that a key motivation for learning the language was pursuit of work opportunities.⁹⁵ Reasons for attending Japanese schools included other personal and professional needs. Intelligence provided to the British Acting Consul-General in Chongqing by a missionary who had escaped from Macau in 1943 noted that a Japanese language school “was very well attended as the students were paid to attend.”⁹⁶ It is unclear who paid and what the payment was, but a reference to a Japanese school in one of Governor Teixeira’s telegrams to Lisbon suggests that attendance may have been

⁹⁴ Administração Civil, N° P-18030, Cx. 337, AM.

⁹⁵ Ginoza, “Japanese Language Teaching and Learning in Macau,” 473, 476.

⁹⁶ Ronald Hall, Acting Consul-General in Chongqing to Horace Seymour, British Ambassador to China, 9 Apr. 1943, FO 371/35733, TNA.

rewarded with food, making survival a likely motivation.⁹⁷ Schools were also arenas for intelligence gathering and the British consul stated in one dispatch that he had received information on Japanese and collaborators from an agent who was a student in the local Japanese school.⁹⁸ Students attending Japanese schools did so for a variety of reasons though these were often closely related to wartime circumstances.

If Japanese-language learning was primarily motivated by wartime conditions, the offer of English classes served longer-term goals linked with employment opportunities in Hong Kong and treaty-port China, and with Cantonese migration to North America. For example, in February 1940 permission was requested for the establishment of the Qichang English Night School (其昌英文夜校 Qichang yingwen yexiao / Escola Nocturna de Língua Inglesa K'ei Ch'eóng) to teach “students from the lands in the interior that after the fall of Guangzhou have been seeking refuge in Macau in growing numbers.”⁹⁹ The following year the school asked to start running day classes as well, and later sought to establish another branch.

The war years also saw attempts to expand Portuguese language teaching to new constituencies. Newspapers reported on Portuguese lessons, from night courses for Chinese speakers to lessons catering to refugees from Hong Kong – some of them Portuguese citizens who did not speak the language.¹⁰⁰ Languages were particularly coveted skills among refugees to facilitate integration in their host societies. Mastering a few basic sentences in the language of the colonial authorities in Macau could not but be of advantage, especially at a time when personal connections were vitally important and often maintained orally for security reasons.

⁹⁷ Governor of Macau to Minister of Colonies, 23 July 1943, NE-10A2, cx. 768, AOS, ANTT.

⁹⁸ Extract from Macau letter to Guilin, 14 June 1943 sent with dispatch from the British Embassy in Chongqing to Foreign Office, 8 Sept. 1943, FO 371/35736, TNA.

⁹⁹ AH/EDU/3186, AM.

¹⁰⁰ “Aula nocturna de português” [Portuguese night class], *A Voz de Macau*, September 25, 1940, 8; “Escola S. Luiz” [St Louis School], *A Voz de Macau*, March 31, 1943, 3; “Let us Learn Portuguese,” *Macau Tribune*, February 27, 1944, 3.

Educating the Hong Kong refugees

The Japanese occupation of Hong Kong in December 1941 brought about a new exodus. Some students and educators moved to unoccupied China, while others headed for Macau. For the Portuguese authorities, the priority was to guarantee the safe arrival and accommodation of Hong Kong's Portuguese community but they were not the only newcomers. Chinese, British, Indian, Filipinos, Latin Americans and many others left the British colony from early 1942 – when maritime travel between the two colonies was resumed – in ad hoc organised evacuations or illegally. Amongst those who arrived were many school-age children. Their numbers were surveyed to guarantee they would all attend local schools, the teaching staffs of which were increased with qualified refugees.¹⁰¹ Later, new schools were set up to cater to English-speaking youth.¹⁰² The British consulate played an important role supporting Hong Kong refugees in Macau.

The Hong Kong refugees were perhaps even more diverse in terms of background, contributing significantly to the cosmopolitanism of everyday life. One of the students who relocated from Kowloon to Macau, Armando da Silva, described the environment in a private English-language school for refugee children, Escola Particular Idalia da Luz: “Most teachers were fellow Hong Kong Eurasian refugees. [...] Among us there were also some Hong Kong Eurasians, Indians, Jews, and local Macanese enrolled “particularly” for English language instruction and exposure.”¹⁰³ Later, the same student moved to a new institution, the Colégio de S. Luíz Gonzaga (St Luiz

¹⁰¹ Governor of Macau to Minister of Colonies, 18 Feb. 1942, ANTT, AOS, UL-10A1, cx. 767.

¹⁰² Reeves, *The Lone Flag*, 37-8; Luís Andrade de Sá, *The Boys from Macau: Portuguese em Hong Kong* [The Boys from Macau: Portuguese in Hong Kong] (Macau: Fundação Oriente, 1999), 161-2; Armando “Pinky” da Silva, “Life and Learning in Wartime Macau,” *UMA News Bulletin* (2009), 9, accessed November 23, 2012, http://www.uma-casademacau.com/files/9212/9669/0353/UMA_News_Bulletin__All_Summer_2009.pdf

¹⁰³ Silva, “Life and Learning in Wartime Macau,” 9.

Gonzaga School), which catered to English-speaking secondary pupils, and had been set up in Macau after the arrival of four Irish Jesuit priests from the Wah Yan College (華仁書院 *Huaren shuyuan*) in Hong Kong in late 1942.¹⁰⁴ Tuition was in English but there were Portuguese language classes for those who wished to attend.¹⁰⁵ Those enrolled were equally diverse: “The student body consistent mainly of Hong Kong Macanese, Hong Kong Eurasians, Hong Kong Malaysians, and English-language Overseas Chinese.”¹⁰⁶ This might not have been that different from pre-war Hong Kong – whose curriculum was followed in this school – but it was unheard of in Macau. From 1943 to 1945, an average of 150 students were enrolled at this school. Their final exam was equivalent to what had been recognised by the Hong Kong Department of Education before the war.¹⁰⁷ The institutional framework of the education sector did not just combine elements of Chinese and Portuguese systems but included British ones as well. Education was one of the areas in which neutral Macau allowed for a degree of continuity between pre and post-war Hong Kong.

The British consul also set up a free school in Macau, which included an English and a Chinese section. It opened in June 1944 in premises rented from a Chinese school. The joint headmasters and all the teachers but one were Chinese, hailing from Hong Kong and different parts of Guangdong.¹⁰⁸ Teachers were also involved in relief activities and a post-war report noted that some “offered many kinds of voluntary services in connection with the Christmas Fund for Poor Children.”¹⁰⁹ Enrolment peaked at 481 and admission numbers reached 642. A boy scout troop was formed in

¹⁰⁴ Teixeira, *A Educação em Macau*, 350.

¹⁰⁵ Teixeira, *A Educação em Macau*, 172.

¹⁰⁶ Silva, “Life and Learning in Wartime Macau,” 10.

¹⁰⁷ Teixeira, *A Educação em Macau*, 351.

¹⁰⁸ “Joint-Headmasters’ Report on H.B.M. Consulate Free School (M. S. Free School) Macao - June, 1944-December, 1945”, 10-5. FO 370/1676, TNA.

¹⁰⁹ “Joint-Headmasters’ Report,” 2.

the summer of 1945. When the school received orders to close in December 1945 due to repatriation to Hong Kong there were still many applicants waiting for a place.¹¹⁰

As with the Chinese schools, the arrival of the Hong Kong refugees gave way to new educational initiatives designed to prepare the groundwork for post-war rehabilitation. One of these was the Macau Technical School, a project of José Pedro Braga (1871-1944), a prominent member of the Portuguese Eurasian community in Hong Kong, who died in 1944 shortly before the school's opening. Having sought refuge in Macau after the occupation of Hong Kong, Braga proposed a "Macao Cultural & Industrial School." The initial project included courses in electrical and motor engineering, chemistry, accountancy, languages (Portuguese, Chinese, and English), and home economics, amongst others. By mid-1944 the school was ready to offer training in architectural design, electricity, air-conditioning and refrigeration, telegraphy and telephony, mechanical engineering, industrial chemistry, secretarial practice, accountancy, shorthand, and Portuguese language.¹¹¹

Although the support of the Portuguese colonial authorities was sought and Portuguese tutors were co-opted, the main goal of the school was to provide vocational education to a future generation of clerks and civil servants in Hong Kong until further studies and professional opportunities were possible. Even before the school started to run it was clear that it was unlikely to be needed in Macau after the war, with the minutes of the responsible committee noting that "since the instructors would [be] nearly all the persons who are only temporarily resident in Macau the School would close down when these persons left."¹¹² That was indeed what happened when the conflict ended. This school has been described as aiming to broaden the prospects of the

¹¹⁰ "Joint-Headmasters' Report," 3, 16.

¹¹¹ José Maria Braga, "Prospectus of the Macao Cultural & Industrial School," undated; José Maria Braga to Pedro José Lobo, 19 July 1944. MS 4300, Box 20, 4.3/1, Papers of J.M. Braga, National Library of Australia (NLA), Canberra, Australia.

¹¹² Minutes No. 3, 19 Sept. 1944. MS 4300, Box 20, 4.3/1, NLA.

Hong Kong “Portuguese clerk class,”¹¹³ but it is evident from lists of students (either registered or prospective) that the technical school appealed to others as well, as a significant number of Chinese names attest, including a former student of the Lingnan Middle School in Guangzhou. Importantly, the main financial backer of the Macau Technical School was the British consulate in Macau.¹¹⁴ The overlap of different national, imperial, and personal interests is evident. The interregnum of the war years in Macau was, therefore, important in maintaining connections between pre- and post-war Hong Kong and South China, where most of the relocated schools returned when the war ended.

Conclusion

Different and sometimes opposing actors engaged with the student-refugees in Macau, including the Chinese central government, the Portuguese colonial government, and the British consulate. For the Nationalists, Portuguese neutrality in Macau was convenient, as it provided them with a space to continue their teaching activities and foster politically conscious youth for patriotic mobilisation. For the Macau Portuguese authorities, the influx of educated and potentially influential Chinese figures added prestige to the enclave and provided favourable connections considered useful for the future. For the British, Macau was a place where maintaining a degree of continuity with pre-war Hong Kong was possible; it was also a space for training refugees, preparing them for the future reconstruction of a British Hong Kong. Regardless of the limits to the realisation of these developmental dreams in the post-war period, the war experience prepared Macau for future refugee waves, notably during the Chinese civil

¹¹³ Stuart Braga, “Nossa Gente (Our People): The Portuguese Refugee Community in Wartime Macau”, in Gunn, ed., *Wartime Macau*, 129.

¹¹⁴ Macau Technical School balance sheet, 1945. MS 4300, Box 20, 4.3/1, NLA.

war. While many schools returned to mainland China in 1945-1946, some, such as the Pui Ching school, went back to the enclave soon after. Post-war responses to refugee flight to or via Macau had significant parallels with wartime ones, although that is a topic vast enough to merit a separate study.

Whilst Macau was not dissimilar to other colonial territories in China in the late 1930s, the fact that it remained unoccupied until the end of the war made it distinctive. Even though schools' staff and students endured trying living conditions, especially after the occupation of Hong Kong, Macau's continuous neutrality allowed for a "golden era" of cosmopolitanism and educational variety to emerge in dark times. It permitted the provision of different forms of schooling and training to diverse communities of students and the enhancement of educational opportunities through the arrival of qualified teaching staff from mainland China and Hong Kong. Language learning – important and relatively easy to provide for refugees – was particularly prominent. This was the case with the offer of Chinese, English, and Portuguese classes although the expansion of Japanese language learning in Macau during the war indicates that the student-refugees mattered for another competitive empire-building project as well. An unassuming crossroads in the strategic Pearl River Delta, neutral Macau facilitated the maintenance of connections between China and the world at a time of global disruption.

The experience of relocated schools in Macau both expands and complicates the narrative of the Second World War in China, highlighting the intersection of different imperial and nationalist interests, relief providers, and transnational encounters. It also provides a window into the wartime ambivalences that allowed for expressions of Chinese anti-imperialist nationalism in neutral territories under foreign (semi-)colonial rule in China beyond the better known case of Shanghai.

List of figures

Fig. 1 Union Normal School children in Macau, c. 1938

(Courtesy of Archives Research Centre of the Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand)

Fig. 2 Staff and children of the Tak Kei Primary School in Macau, June 1941.

(Courtesy of Archives Research Centre of the Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand)

Fig. 3 The Pui Ching School nowadays, seen from the Jardim de Lou Lim Ioc (Lou Lim Ieoc Garden).

(Photo by the author, Feb. 2015)