

Macau Chinese Raising Funds for the 1941 Portugal Windstorm Reconstruction during WWII: Perspective of Public Choice

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Abstract

A rare extreme windstorm struck Portugal in 1941 when Macau was suffering from the complex Second Sino-Japanese War (WWII). Macau Chinese raised funds for Portuguese windstorm reconstruction—a little-known international diplomatic charity event relevant to Luso-Chinese relations. This article reviewed the Letters of Credit (in Chinese and Portuguese) and Chinese newspapers to provide a historical overview of the charity event across geographies, nationalities, and ethnicities and uses public choice theory to explore the motivation and underlying logic of events. Following more than two months of intensive fund-raise efforts, an active fundraising process by the Chinese elite and the public culminated in a donation of HK\$ 31,075.23 (equivalent

to HK\$ 310,752.3 today compared to the salary level at that time) to Portugal on behalf of the Macau government to assist those affected by the storm there. Initially, it conveyed the assistance and humanitarianism of the Macau Chinese for Portugal's natural disaster. Furthermore, this episode illustrates the Chinese elite and Macau government's willingness to seek political capital and power in response to the war crisis. This research allows us better understand international diplomatic relations patterns and rethink political and social history.

Keywords: Windstorm; disaster relief; Luso-Chinese relations; public choice; World War II / WWII.

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Introduction

A windstorm slammed Portugal on February 15, 1941, causing one of the worst natural disasters in the previous 200 years¹. At 15 hours, the barometer reached 962hPa, and the wind speed was estimated to be 127 km/h (35.28 m/s), equivalent to a wind force of 12 on the Beaufort scale². The devastating windstorm hit the entire Iberian Peninsula, mainly passing from Portugal to the north of Spain, especially in the countryside and coastal zones³. It resulted in substantial human and material losses, with people dying, vessels lost, homes and electricity destroyed, industries and farms damaged, trees uprooted, and cut off communications. For example, the regional economy of the Algarve (the southernmost region of mainland Portugal), with damage costs of around 150,000 euros, is equivalent to 15 million euros at current prices⁴. The sea invaded even part of the residential area, accompanied by downpours and hail. The losses were catastrophic and continuous for the fishing and merchant fleets because its inhabitants were devoted mainly to fishing and exploiting the lagoon resources⁵. The sailors lost their boats and most of their fishing equipment, leaving them unemployed and unable to support their families.

Moreover, the social and economic consequences of the storm were significant and seriously damaged the resilience capacity of the inhabitants. The destruction after the storm was followed by misery and hunger. Recuperation was only possible with the support of the community and the government⁶.

¹ Emmanuel Garnier, et al., “Historical analysis of storm events: Case studies in France, England, Portugal and Italy”, *Coastal Engineering*, 134 (2018), p. 10-23.

² Mário de Mesquita Lopes, “Relatório da acção desenvolvida pela Corporação de Bombeiros Voluntários de Sesimbra, por motivo do ciclone de 15 de Fevereiro de 1941”, *Arquivo Municipal de Sesimbra*, 5p (1941).

³ It is a peninsula in southwestern Europe, principally divided between Spain and Portugal, comprising most of their territory, as well as a small area of Southern France, Andorra, and Gibraltar, (https://rsmag.org/en/Iberian_Peninsula-6606062464).

⁴ Wood Robert Muir, et al., “Catastrophe loss modelling of storm-surge flood risk in eastern England”, *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society A: Mathematical, Physical and Engineering Sciences*, 363, 1831 (2005), p. 1407-1422.

⁵ Luis Filipe Rosa Santos, *A pesca do atum no Algarve*, Olhão, Edição do Parque Natural da ria Formosa, 1989. P. Bernardo and João Alveirinho Dias, “História da ocupação das Ilhas-Barreira da Ria Formosa” in F. Vilas, B. Rubio, JB Diez, G. Frances, MA Bernabeu, E. Fernandez, D. Rey, G. Rosón (eds.), *Special Volume on the 4th Symposium on the Atlantic Iberian Continental Margin*, 2003.

⁶ Joana Gaspar de Freitas and João Alveirinho Dias, “Enterrar Os Mortos E Cuidar Dos Vivos”. Desastres Naturais, Respostas Culturais: Sesimbra e o Ciclone de 1941” in *Ressacas do Mar / Temporais e Gestão Costeira*, 2015, p. 121.

Even though it was the most challenging time of the Second Sino-Japanese War, the Macau Chinese elite mobilized social forces and raised relief funds to help rebuild the Portuguese storm, which was widely supported and cooperated by the Macau Chinese public. In essence, this is a civil political activity that constitutes the public's behavior and process of choice in providing and distributing public goods and developing matching regulations to influence public choice and maximize societal utility. However, It appears that the extraordinary historical event of international diplomatic of Luso-Chinese relations during wartime has been inadvertently forgotten if not for significant records, which are an effective way of verifying public decision-making through historical sources⁷. Fortunately, the most evidential basis that provided us with the study of this event has been preserved: the Chinese and Portuguese bilingual book *Letter of Credit for Chinese in Macau to Raise Funds for 1941 Portugal windstorm reconstruction*, published in July 1941⁸. The source and destination of every relief fund donated for the Portugal storm are meticulously documented, regardless of the amount. In addition, the official newspapers covering the event have also been preserved.

Being in the social background of the time, the contradictions of the events make it intriguing: Why should the Macau Chinese elite spare no effort to encourage donations among the public who were still suffering in the war? Although Macau was neutral under Portuguese authority, it could not avoid Japan's military and economic blockade during WWII. Why is the donation only for Portugal when the storm also ravaged Spain? In the face of such unusual and even sensitive behavior, we must think more deeply based on the actual situation and theoretical analysis of historical occurrences. Can it simply be regarded as promoting the humanitarianism spirit? What is the background? What is the purpose of Chinese elites attempting to raise funds to aid Portugal in its recovery from the disaster? Exist political considerations?

Therefore, historical data analysis may constitute a practical and valuable initial approach to public policy verification. We aim to interpret history, learn from it, and uncover the underlying causes of the trend in Luso-Chinese relations by restoring as much of the original history of donation activities as we can.

⁷ Ana Rilo, et al., "The contribution of historical information to flood risk management in the Tagus estuary", *International journal of disaster risk reduction*, 25 (2017), p. 22-35.

⁸ This vital document is from Mr. Luo Jing Xin, the Macao Nostalgia Collection Society collector. The first part is in Chinese and has a total of 52 pages. The second half is a Portuguese record with 36 pages. The scanned copy of this Letter of Credit is currently in the Centre of Sino-Western Cultural Studies, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Macao Polytechnic University. It was for the first published time in our research with permission from Mr. Luo, and we would like to express our sincere thanks to Mr. Luo.

1. The fundamental public choice methodology

The three pillars of the public choice methodology, as put forth by Wicksell and summed up by Buchanan, are politics as exchange, the rational man hypothesis, and individualism⁹.

1) *Politics as exchange*. The principle views politics as similar to the market economy, complying with the rules of market exchange paradigm to shape the remediation process¹⁰. And the various decisions made are essentially an exchange behavior, resulting from mutual transactions and compromises between politicians regarding the rights, status, honor, interests, or anything else they desire. This discourse refutes the traditional idea that politics is a pure and collective benefit and explains the nature of behavior and decision-making from the perspective of economics and interests¹¹.

2) *The rational man hypothesis*. Politicians have a way of thinking similar to that of the rational man. They possess the traits of "self-interest" and "rationality"; that is, every politician is prone to be driven by his behavioral decisions by supremacy of interests; not only that, he also considers the cost-effectiveness of behavioral decisions and seeks to maximize the interests. Or minimize the cost by selecting the optimal solution after accurately calculating the outcomes of each option based on sufficient information. This discourse effectively explains the motivation of individuals to engage in political behaviors and decisions and, thus, the problems that arise throughout the process of government institutional reform. However, pursuing personal interests does not inevitably contradict public ones. Personal and public interests may be somewhat balanced over the long run.

3) *Individualism*. Traditional analysis considered that the collective is the basic unit for political and economic behaviors that the nation and society should consider. In Buchanan's view, individual behavior will inevitably lead to the development of collective behavior, and the role of the individual is vital¹². In other words, in the "political market", individuals who make political actions should be taken as the research objects, and the thoughts and activities of individuals should be thoroughly examined. This feature provides

⁹ Bernd Hansjürgens, "The influence of Knut Wicksell on Richard Musgrave and James Buchanan", *Public Choice*, 103.1 (2000), p. 95-116.

¹⁰ Knut Wicksell, *The world war: An economist's view. The Theoretical Contributions of Knut Wicksell*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 1979, p. 108-121.

¹¹ James M Buchanan, "Public choice: politics without romance. [Article reprinted from *Imprimus*, Mar 2003.]", *Policy: A Journal of Public Policy and Ideas*, 19, 3 (2003), p. 13-18.

¹² James M Buchanan, "Individual choice in voting and the market", *Journal of Political Economy*, 62, 4 (1954), p. 334-343.

a new interpretation of political behavior and political decision-making from a micro perspective, which helps analyze the impact of individual elements on government institution reform and function transformation.

2. Wartime Context Conflict and Uncertainty

2.1 External environment: Japan preempted the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere during WWII

The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was conceived and implemented by idealists, most Japanese, who intended to ‘free’ Asia from the white man¹³. However, militarists and nationalists use it to bolster Japan’s dominance in Asia as an effective policy tool. In fact, their concepts run as opposed to practical activities.

Japanese forces consecutively captured China’s southern coast, and the area where they went shrouded in terror. In February 1938, Zhongshan was bombed by Japanese aircraft and warships, causing the influx of refugees to Macau¹⁴, from Lappa island to the west side of Macau¹⁵. After Japanese forces landed on the island of ‘Sanzaodao’ in February, massacres began¹⁶.

The Japanese army besieged Macau on March 31, 1940. The siege resulted in the interference of maritime traffic, and the tense situation caused daily increases in food prices in Macau. Macau government was forced to enact wartime administration measures, severely restrict the export of food and living things, implement an import-only policy, and prohibit merchants from bidding up prices. For instance, on April 15, the Municipal Council of Macau¹⁷ re-defined the price of rice, warning merchants not to monopolize the price; otherwise, they would impose a 10-fold fine. Macau gambling mogul Ko Ho Ning also donated HK\$5,000 to the governor for charitable purposes. The Japanese forces also controlled public opinion of newspapers press in

¹³ John Toland, *The Rising Sun: The Decline and Fall of the Japanese Empire, 1936-1945*, 2 vols, New York, Random House, 1970, p. 447-448.

¹⁴ *Tribune representative nearly arrested while in Portuguese colony – Macao and its relations to the Sino-Jap War*, Malaya Tribune, November 23, 1938, p. 18.

¹⁵ *Modern town destroyed*, China Press (CP), Feb 8, 1938, p. 1. *Clash near Macao*, North China Herald (NCH), May11, 1938, p. 226.

¹⁶ *Big refugee group arrives in Macao from Sancho Island*, CP, June 4, 1938, p. 10.

¹⁷ Formerly the Leal Senado formed by 1583, in Portuguese Loyal Senado; renamed as Municipal Council of Macau in 1940; now called Instituto para os Assuntos Municipais.

Macau. The Imprensa Official (Macau) banned 25 articles from Chinese newspapers on April 16 that were critical of Japan. By April 25, the Wang Jing Wei Puppet Regime (Japanese control) and the Japanese Secret Service established the pro-Japanese newspaper ‘*Southwest Daily*’ ‘*Min Bao*’ in Macau. These publications served as the mouthpiece of Japan and advocated the “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere”¹⁸. On April 28, a small boat loaded with heavily armed Japanese troops landed at the Macau pier and sailed into the central area. When Macau citizens saw this, they closed all the shops and banks and sought refuge. The situation in the city was tense and chaotic; fortunately, the boat left in hours. On May 13, the Japanese army abruptly prohibited boats between Macau and Wan Chai (Hong Kong); On the 15th, the Japanese army increased the traffic blockade between Macau and mainland China, temporarily blocked Qi Guan Road, and dispatched additional troops to perform blockade missions in Bei Ling Shi Shan, Qian Shan River, and Gong Bei. Only vehicles transporting goods were permitted to pass. Since then, all the land and sea between Macau and Port of Sanbu (Kai Ping), Xin Hui, Tai Shan, En Ping, and Zhong Shan have been blocked, resulting in a worsening shortage of fish, meat, and vegetables in Macau, and prices have soared. If villagers ventured to smuggle, they were all executed by the Japanese troops¹⁹.

In May, the Japanese deputy consul from Guangzhou visited Macau and forced Governor of Macau -Artur Tamagnini de Sousa Barbosa (Governor Barbosa)²⁰ to cooperate loyally with the Japanese forces. In June, Governor Barbosa was dismissed for violating international conventions that permit the smuggling and selling of opium. On July 10, he died of illness at the Palacete de Santa Sancha in Macau. José Rodrigues Moutinho²¹ temporarily served as acting Governor.

In mid-September, Rikichi Andō, the Japanese Southern Dispatching Army Headquarters representative, along with the representatives of Southern Supreme Secret Service Department, forced Macau Acting Governor Moutinho to sign the “Japan and Portuguese-Macau Agreement”, which will go into effect on October 1; the agreement contains 28 clauses and 120 attachments;

¹⁸ Lo Sonny Shiu-Hing, “*The Society and Governance of Wartime Macau*”, *Macau in the Second World War, 1937-1945*, Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2022, p. 81-134.

¹⁹ Wu Zhi Liang, Tang Kai Jian, and Jin Guo Ping, *The fifth volume of Macao Chronicles: Republic of China*, Guangdong People’s Publishing House, 1st edition, 2009, p. 2617-2622.

²⁰ Artur Tamagnini de Sousa Barbosa, served as Governor of Macau 3 times (1st time: Oct 12 1918-1919; 2nd time: Dec 8 1926- Nov 19 1930; 3rd time: Apr 1937-Jul 10 1940), (https://www.worldstatesmen.org/China_Foreign_colonies.html#Macau).

²¹ José Rodrigues Moutinho, acting Governor of Macao (Jul 10 1940- Aug 17 1940), navy captain, Chief of Works, and engineer.

the ostensible content is that the Japanese army maintains the status quo of neutrality of Macau, but the real intent is to coerce Macau to keep away from the Chong Qing Government and cooperate with the Wang Jing Wei Puppet regime. Among the five main requirements that the Macau government required to sign with the Japanese forces are as follows²²:

- Sent Japanese puppet agents to Macau to strengthen surveillance of the Macau government;
- forced Macau government to expel anti-Japanese elements out;
- prompted Macau to cooperate with Wang Jing Wei Puppet Regime on economics and permit the use of Japanese military currency;
- cessation of Macau ties with the United Kingdom and Hong Kong;
- cancellation of all Macau Indian police instead appointed police in Wang Jing Wei Puppet Regime.

On October 1, Japan set up a consulate in Macau and appointed the first consul Fukui Yasumitsu. On October 29, Gabriel Mauricio Teixeira (Governor Teixeira)²³ appointed by Portugal, arrived in Macau and assumed the post of Governor. That is to say, this new Governor of Macau was facing a challenging situation, wartime Macau with context conflict and uncertainty.

2.2 Internal environment: Macau Neutral Zone

A neutral zone was initially proposed by Elizabeth Sinn's conceptualization of Hong Kong as an 'in-between place', where multi-layered transborder flows developed of neutrality—information, letters, goods, and remittances²⁴. Macau is

²² Franco David Macri, *Clash of Empires in South China: The Allied Nations' Proxy War with Japan, 1935-1941*, Lawrence, University Press of Kansas, 2012. Geoffrey C. Gunn (ed.), *Wartime Macau: Under the Japanese Shadow*, Hong Kong University Press, 2016. Wu Zhi Liang, Tang Kai Jian, and Jin Guo Ping, *A secret telegram reported to Chong Qing by the Hong Kong Kuomintang branch in the intelligence organization of the Central Bureau of Investigation and Statistics*, The fifth volume of Macao Chronicles: Republic of China, Guangdong People's Publishing House, 1st edition, 2009, p. 2603-2615.

²³ Gabriel Mauricio Teixeira, Militar e político português, Governor of Macau (Oct 29 1940-Aug 31 1947), (<https://nenotavaiconsta.wordpress.com/tag/gabriel-mauricio-teixeira>).

²⁴ Sinn Elizabeth, "Hong Kong as an in-between place in the Chinese diaspora, 1849-1939, Connecting seas and connected ocean rims" in Donna R Gabaccia. and Hoerder Dirk, *Connecting Seas and Connected Ocean Rims: Indian, Atlantic, and Pacific oceans and China seas migrations from the 1830s to the 1930s*, Brill, 2011, p. 225.

a neutral zone because it was similarly framed by these overlapping networks, which offered a relatively safe refuge to diasporic communities at a time when other connections were cut off²⁵. This was a fragile time that might end at any moment, neither at war nor really at peace; the neutral status was fragile and could suddenly be terminated, as happened in Hong Kong's occupation by Japan in December 1941²⁶. And there was no guarantee that Macau would stay neutral at all times. During the 1940s, Portugal was considered possible to enter the war since Britain became involved in the war in Europe after 1939²⁷. Neutrality did not mean complete isolation from the dynamics of the war being fought in China; neither inseparable from the supplies of labor and living materials from mainland China. That is to say, maintaining neutrality is related to the fragility of this external and internal balance.

As a result of the Japanese occupation of Shanghai and Guangzhou during the battle, Macau-the neutral zone is inundated with refugees seeking safety. Macau's population saw a tripling of its population, reaching around half a million²⁸. Macau was described as having unending numbers of refugees of all nationalities²⁹.

Reflecting on the housing crisis, a piece in a Macau newspaper expressed the conviction of 'living in the city with the highest population density in the world'³⁰. This undoubtedly increases the difficulty of internal governance. But humanitarian of assisting refugees may be presented as a way to give back for the prosperity the neutral zone enjoyed during the conflict³¹.

Refugees seem like a "trouble" on several levels: they were blamed for housing shortages and increasing costs, regarded as a nuisance, feared as

²⁵ A case of Chinese Americans, Charlotte Brooks, *American Exodus: Second-Generation Chinese Americans in China, 1901–1949*, Univ of California Press, 2019, p. 176-9, 184.

²⁶ Helena FS Lopes, "The Impact of Refugees in Neutral Hong Kong and Macau, 1937–1945", *The Historical Journal*, 2022, p. 1-27.

²⁷ *Clash near Macao*, NCH, May 11 1938, p. 226.

²⁸ Saw Swee-Hock, and Chiu Wing Kin, "Population Growth and Redistribution in Hong Kong, 1841-1975", *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 4,1 (1976), p. 123-130. Manuel Teixeira, *Macau durante a guerra: doce visão de paz!* Macau during the war: sweet vision of peace, 1978, p. 498; Barreto Iok Lan Fu, *Macau during the Sino-Japanese War*, Kangzhan shiqi de Aomen/Macau durante a guerra Sino-Japonesa, 2002, p. 30-31.

²⁹ Braga Jack M, *Hong Kong and Macao: A Record of Good Fellowship*, Hong Kong, Graphic Press Limited, 1960, p. 123.

³⁰ *A crise de habitações*, Renascimento, March 2 1945, p. 2

³¹ *Refugee camp sites – reasons for choice explained by medical director*, South China Morning Post (SCMP), Aug 2, 1938, p. 8.

a health concern, and endangered social security³². A report about Macau stated categorically: Refugees from China have brought cholera to Macau³³. Hygiene concerns also plagued the swollen population. Those unable to live in camps remained on the streets, subsisting on charitable donations or whatever nourishment they could find and suffering heavy mortality from hunger or disease.

Both Hong Kong and Macau were characterized as paradoxes, where extremes of wealth and poverty were visible and where nationalistic fervor with effort to support the war and individualism for pleasure, profit, or simply indifference coexisted³⁴. As concluded in the 1939 *Shen Bao* report, Macau was simultaneously a place of infinite happiness and infinite sadness³⁵. The wartimes in Macau were terrible, but strangely, there has never been such a happy time like this period when every night there were parties with no food, no smart clothes to wear, just dancing and having fun under the wonderful orchestras, which had come across from Hong Kong from the cabarets and night-clubs there³⁶.

Macau's neutrality also came to see a flourished era of Cantonese opera. Almost all Cantonese opera troupes previously active in Canton and Hong Kong relocated to Macau. Given Macau's small size, their intense competition led them to write 'thousands of new scripts'³⁷.

Refugees in Macau also revitalized commercial and financial services (especially pawnshop businesses), industries (notably fishing and match manufacturing), culture and entertainment (including art exhibitions and music), healthcare, and education³⁸.

³² *Hongkong and refugees*, NCH, August 10 1938, p. 227; *A carestia de vida*, A Voz de Macau, July 19 1940, p. 1.

³³ *Cortar o mal pela Raiz*, A Voz de Macau, Sept 21 1940, p. 7; *Higiene e salubridade da cidade*, A Voz de Macau, April 23 1942, p. 4; *A limpeza de Macau*, A Voz de Macau, May 11 1942, p. 3.

³⁴ Barreto Iok Lan Fu, *Macau during the Sino-Japanese War*, Kangzhan shiqi de Aomen/ Macau durante a guerra Sino-Japonesa, 2002, p. 52-5.

³⁵ Luo Xia, *Aomen jiyou* (Record of journey to Macau), Shenbao, January 6 1939.

³⁶ Jill McGivering, *Macao remembers*, USA, Oxford University Press, 1999.

³⁷ May Bo Ching, "Itinerant singers: triangulating the Canton-Hong Kong-Macau soundscape" in Eric Tagliacozzo, Helen F. Siu and Peter C. Perdue, *Asia Inside Out-Itinerant People*, Harvard University Press, 2019, p. 261.

³⁸ Macao said thriving as war goes on, CP, October 4 1938, p. 13; *Chinese doctors*, SCMP, February 13 1949, p. 5.

Even more inspiring, Macau appears to have rallied to assist refugees³⁹. Diverse and influx of refugees affected several aspects of urban appearance, resulting in an active cross-social and international collaboration for relief based on the joint efforts of state and non-state actors⁴⁰, and generating various social gatherings and activities that brought together middle and upper-class Chinese and international community members⁴¹. Neutrality enabled the emergence of close interactions between the Chinese state and Macau authorities in humanitarian, relief, and resistance initiatives. In late 1938 and 1939, Macau, or more precisely, Qianshan, was envisioned as a refugee safety zone for an area outside the enclave's borders to safeguard civilians from the brutality committed by Japanese troops⁴². Moreover, Neutral 'in-between places' were crucial to transborder relief and resistance efforts that were often entangled. It played a prominent role as a hub for producing and transshipment materials necessary for sustaining the Chinese war effort, including weapons, ammunition, and fuel, amongst other goods, and linking transborder activities⁴³.

Macau adopted and maintained neutrality in dealing with the military conflicts between China and Japan. Relatively, the Sino-Japanese war severely strained Portuguese Macau's neutrality. In this neutral zone, people living in there, both official and private, created a new state of 'wartime daily life' at that time⁴⁴.

It is noteworthy, however, that some Portuguese officials under Barbosa's governorship deviated slightly from the neutrality principle to take a more pro-Japanese stance. Yet, Governor Teixeira immediately corrected the pro-Japanese trend, seeking a careful balance between Japan and China while fending excessive Japanese military demands⁴⁵.

³⁹ Refugees' plight, SCMP, March 9 1940, p. 13.

⁴⁰ Dillon Nara, and Jean C Oi, "The politics of philanthropy: social networks and refugee relief in Shanghai, 1932–1949", *At the crossroads of empires: middlemen, social networks, and state-building in republican Shanghai*, (2008), p. 179-205.

⁴¹ *To assist refugees*, SCMP, August 24 1938, p. 9; *Socorros aos estudantes Chineses refugiados*, VM, 24 Apr. 1940, p. 5; *Charity function*, SCMP, 25 Nov. 1940, p. 9.

⁴² Helena Ferreira Santos Lopes, *Questioning neutrality: Sino-Portuguese relations during the war and the post-war periods, 1937-1949*, Diss. University of Oxford, 2017, p. 140-143.

⁴³ Chan-Yeung, Moira MW, *The Practical Prophet: Bishop Ronald O. Hall of Hong Kong and His Legacies*, Vol. 1, Hong Kong University Press, 2015, p. 61.

⁴⁴ Van de Ven Hans, "Wartime everydayness: beyond the battlefield in China's Second World War", *Journal of Modern Chinese History*, 13,1 (2019), p. 3.

⁴⁵ Lo Sonny Shiu-Hing, *The Triangular Relations Between Portugal, Japan, and China, Macau in the Second World War, 1937-1945*, Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2022, p. 19-79.

3. Subject goals: dynamic subjects pursuing personal and political benefits

Macau Chinese Raising Funds for the 1941 Portugal Windstorm Reconstruction, mainly led by civil relief organizations, backed the Macau government and positive public response. Each of these subjects developed distinct goals for shaping diverse communities' multiple dimensions of urban life and focusing on spatial order, social control, and coexistence with humanitarian cooperation at several different but intersecting scales (local, national, imperial, and transnational)⁴⁶.

3.1 Meet the Portuguese-Macau authority's performance requirements

The Macau Governor is directly appointed by the Portuguese State to implement Portuguese policy in the territory. As the second longest-serving governor in Macau, Teixeira was appointed in 1940 and reappointed in 1944, but the war's outcome required his early return to Portugal in 1946⁴⁷. No Portuguese soldiers went to Macau without a solid national mission, the most distant overseas governance. For example, the Portuguese pilots arrived in Macau by 'PÁTRIA' after 80 days flight in 1924. And in a speech he gave in June in Macau, Brito Paes, the accompanier and a superb traveler, referred to its spirit:

... A nossa viagem tinha dois fins.

Primeiro: sendo nós oficiais do Exército e patriotas, precisávamos de vir a Macau, terra portuguesa entre as terras portuguesas, onde Camões se inspirou para escrever *Os Lusíadas*.

Aqui estamos.

Segundo: sabendose que todas as nações se empenhavam na realização de grandes viagens aéreas, a Aviação Portuguesa não podia permanecer apática e indiferente e cumprialhe não deixar de participar condignamente na grande competição.

Atingimolo também⁴⁸.

⁴⁶ Helena FS Lopes, "The Impact of Refugees in Neutral Hong Kong and Macau, 1937-1945", *The Historical Journal*, (2022), p. 1-27.

⁴⁷ Jorge Santos Alves and António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, *Governadores de Macau*, 2013.

⁴⁸ José Manuel Sarmiento de Beires, *De Portugal a Macau: a viagem do "Patria"*, Seara Nova, 1925.

Unlike the then-Governor of Hong Kong, Sir Geoffrey Alexander Stafford Northcote, Governor Teixeira served as Governor of Macau from 1940 in the most turbulent period of Macau's history (WWII, the Pacific War). Throughout WWII, he had to negotiate Portugal's neutrality on a stage involving Britain, China, and Japan. During the last tenure of Governor Geoffrey, he was not in Hong Kong for a long time due to illness shortly after returning to Hong Kong; he resigned after claiming his illness in September 1941 and returned to Britain to recuperate when Yang Muqi took over the post as Hong Kong governor. Governor Geoffrey escaped the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong three months later and did not become a prisoner of war like other British officials in Hong Kong⁴⁹.

When hearing about the windstorm disaster in Portugal, the Chinese elite representatives said to Governor Teixeira: On the one hand, they call condolences to the victims to show sympathy on behalf of the Chinese people; on the other hand, they expressed to the Governor that the relief of the disaster had always been regardless of geographical and ethnic, national, and religious beliefs. At present, the urgent task is to organize rescuing immediately and provide necessary and timely support, which is an international practice and a kind of morality and responsibility. They offered and promised the Governor that the Chinese in Macau were willing to assist the homeless who had been attacked by windstorms so that they could feel the warmth and concern of Chinese society across the ocean⁵⁰. Why they unsolicited proposed raising money for the restoration of Portugal is properly comprehended by Governor Teixeira, so he approved the fundraising activities and provided them with public security and safety protection. The fundraising will benefit the suffering Portuguese compatriots and provide the Macau authorities with an opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty and governance skills to the Portuguese government.

3.2 The rationality and legitimacy of the donation Cater to the value needs of contemporary social public

Many view philanthropy as a bargain for tangible benefits, tempted by less well-defined attractions like the value of gentry culture and the broader picture of building a well-ordered society. In social networks, decisions about whom people make charitable donations to are critical, and few people's actions are

⁴⁹ Russell Spurr, *Excellency: the governors of Hong Kong*, FormAsia, 1995.

⁵⁰ Jornal Va Kio, 7th edition (March 26, 1941).

entirely individual, regardless of how differently they may express their choice to others. All donations operate within an elaborate network of social interaction that largely determines what is and is not acceptable.

On March 27, the Committee Notice was published in the *Jornal Va Kio*⁵¹, describing the enormous losses caused by the windstorm in Portugal and people's living situations as follows:

The windstorm swept across the entire territory of Portugal. Wherever it went, there were tiles and trees and houses destroyed to ruins, and then it went straight to neighboring Spain. The disaster area is vast and unheard of before; rivers are skyrocketing, no livestock has drowned, and corpses are strewn across the sea. The disaster survivors have no permanent homes, mostly living on rocks or sleeping in the wind without any means of subsistence. Victims are everywhere, waiting for assistance. This issue has aroused widespread concern and international support. The American Red Cross donated \$10,000, and then British gentlemen and businessmen-initiated donations⁵².

The notice sincerely earnestly seeks to arise the Chinese Great Traditional Spirits called “仁義” (Ren Yi), which denotes benevolence and righteousness. Through public appeals, the Committee hoped to amass enough donations to provide necessary help and support for the suffering.

Additional notice also clarified the purpose of the fundraising, the sponsor, and the rules of fundraising activities. However, whether it is an individual or group donation, the Committee will issue a receipt and submit it to the government for approval in batches. As for the total amount of donations, after the donation and disaster relief activities are over, the detailed income and expenditure accounts will be published in the newspaper and made available to the public. Letters of Credit utilized for the fundraising list are restricted to elected members⁵³.

There has always been a chasm between fundraising and positive response, and the only effective way to bridge the gap is through personal relationships among the donors to attract people to support the fundraising projects. Personal connections often make the difference between the success and failure of a fundraising project.

⁵¹ It was and is a newspaper closely linked to the interests of overseas Chinese, from Guangdong Province, mostly in diaspora through Southeast Asia, which began publication in 1937 and is still in circulation today.

⁵² *Jornal Va Kio*, 7th edition (March 27, 1941).

⁵³ *Jornal Va Kio*, 7th edition (March 27, 1941).

In modern societies, even in western society, goods and services are not as wholly commoditized as in the past, where invisible networks of social relationships still shape our thinking, acceptance, beliefs, and resource allocation, which depends on social networks than on responsible public procedures⁵⁴.

Charitable giving is an identity gentry, and it is public. Fundraisers use the link between giving and gentry status to attract indecisive or fringe donors within the elite. This was accomplished by offering the gentry's grand-sounding title as a reward for donations, either in a formal memorial article or on a stele or notice board erected in memory of the donor. This status or title is determined by the amount of donation rather than the donor's social status, and any gentleman who values his public reputation hopes that his reputation will be engraved on a more prestigious stele⁵⁵.

3.3 The political demands of Chinese elite groups

And while the title of the elite may no longer appeal to them, what matters is that their donations are made public, their acts of kindness are done as the gentry work, and to some extent, each elite must make himself public attention in order to maintain and strengthen its dominance. Identity and status will be manifested through other more intangible signs, such as polite manners, literary elegance, and cultural sensitivity, after a certain development of gentry culture and identity. This cultural stereotype calls for a new fundraising form. In elite groups, it may be an opportunity for individuals to show their talents to other members while also expressing social distance from those outside the circle who need a place where they can be publicly communicated. The whole society regards them as a site and activity representing social highest interests, and the fundraising activity this time provided such an opportunity.

Historically, Macau authorities manage refugees by delegating a substantial portion of their responsibility for refugee relief to civil society or non-state actors. However, civil society or non-state actors did not operate in isolation but in tandem with agents of different states, especially Portuguese Macau authorities and the Chinese government, for whom both refugees and neutral

⁵⁴ Stephen David Berkowitz, *An introduction to structural analysis: The network approach to social research*, Elsevier, 2013.

⁵⁵ Timothy Brook, *Praying for power: Buddhism and the formation of gentry society in late-Ming China*, Brill, 2020.

territories assumed unprecedented relevance during the Sino-Japanese War. Two major refugee relief organizations were the Refugee Relief Commission and the Charity and Relief Commission, that, like the Emergency Refugee Council, were founded in 1938. The Charity and Relief Commission organized the funds allocated to various charities in Portugal and China, as well as to urban poor and refugee groups, most of which were for Portuguese refugees fleeing from Shanghai and Hong Kong, revealing the relief priorities of the government⁵⁶.

Moreover, local Catholic bishops were involved in transnational relief efforts in and around the colonial borders. In addition, some affluent individuals will also actively do charity to gain prestige. To provide one notable example, in the 1940s, “the grand old man of Hong Kong”, Sir Robert Ho Tung, along with his family, sought refuge in Macau and financially supported several local charities to assist poorer refugee families⁵⁷. Another case was Pedro José Lobo, Macanese, who ran an empire that engaged in most of the lucrative wartime profitable trade in Macau. His business extends to Hong Kong and other parts of the Far East. And his wealth is incalculable, and so is his philanthropy. No institution in charity-prone Macau can be separated from Lobo handout⁵⁸. Also, some charitable organizations were involved, including Macau Chinese Commercial Association (i.e., Chamber of Commerce), the Kiang Wu Hospital (Kiang Wu), the Tung Sin Tong Charitable Society (Tung Sin Tong), the Macau Chinese Education Association, etc⁵⁹.

The Chinese in Macau raised funds for the rebuilding work after the 1941 Portuguese wind disaster and collaborated with several charitable organizations, demonstrating exceptional attention to this fundraising activity. However, it was insufficient to rely solely on conventional voluntary fundraising efforts of a few individuals or by the major existing local private charities such as Chamber of Commerce, Kiang Wu, and Tung Sin Tong.

On March 22, 1941, the first meeting was held to discuss how to raise donations to help those affected by the Portuguese windstorm. It was convened

⁵⁶ The balance sheets for the Charity and Relief Commission activities in 1943 and 1944 in Arquivo de Macau/Aomen dang'an guan (Archives of Macao) (AM), MO/AH/AC/SA/01/25738, Correspondência recebida da Comissão de Assistência e Beneficência de Macau (Correspondence received from the Macau Charity and Relief Commission).

⁵⁷ *Sir Robert Ho Tung*, *A Voz de Macau*, August 17 1942, p. 3.

⁵⁸ Koo Barnabas Hon Mun, *The survival of an endangered species: The Macanese in contemporary Macau*, Diss. University of Western Sydney (Australia), 2004.

⁵⁹ Lou Shenghua, “Acerca das características do corporativismo de Macau” (On the characteristics of Macau’s corporatism), *Administração (Administration)*, 17 (2004), p. 800-1; *On the Four Circles Disaster Relief Association, Aomen lishi (1840–1949) (History of Macau (1840–1949))*, Macau, 1995, p. 90-6.

by the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Ko Ho Ning. Represent attendees include representatives from Chamber of Commerce, Kiang Wu, and Tung Sin Tong. Macau Chinese Relief Committee for Portuguese Windstorm Disaster was established at the meeting. Ko Ho Ning was elected as Committee's Chairman. The meeting also decided to set a temporary office address in the Chamber of Commerce in front of the Macau Council Chamber, with two departments of general affairs and finance, with Loc Tin Meng as general director, Lao You Chee, and Wu Wei Jia as general deputy directors. Fu Hau Chen was elected as the Chief Director of the financial department and Liang Lau as the financial deputy director. Other issues would be arranged and deployed at the second meeting⁶⁰.

On March 25, the second meeting was organized and convened at Chamber of Commerce. The meeting reached a consensus on the organizational structure, operation, and fundraising implementation issues: First, it established a fundraising committee and chose its members (Table 2)⁶¹. En Tsai Tai and Leong Hao Iün were added as Vice-Presidents of the Society (Figure 1). Second, the conference organized impromptu donations, including daily office expenses and disaster relief donations proposed by the Committee, Choi Man Hin. Daily office expenses were 200 Shuāng Háo (“雙毫”, SH¥, currency by Guangdong Province); 5,000 HK\$ were pledged for disaster relief during the meeting (Table 2 for details). Third, Tang Yue was appointed to write a notice of disaster relief donations to all walks of life in Chinese society. Finally, the Bank of Canton on Rua de Cinco de Outubro and Tung Tak Bank on Avenida de Almeida Ribeiro were identified as the two major donation-collecting agencies in early October⁶².

So far, “Macau Chinese Raising Funds for the Portuguese Windstorm” has officially begun under the promotion of the three major institutions and local gentry and businessmen. After adequate preparations, the Macau Chinese society devoted two months to fundraising for Portugal, from March 22 to May 23, 1941. This large-scale fundraising activity was mainly initiated and organized by the Chamber of Commerce and supported by Kiang Wu and Tung Sin Tong. And Macau Chinese showed tremendous philanthropic fervor.

⁶⁰ Jornal Va Kio, 7th edition (March 26, 1941).

⁶¹ Letter of Credit of the Macao Chinese Raising Funds for the Portuguese Typhoon Disaster (July 1941, p5).

⁶² Jornal Va Kio, 7th edition (March 26, 1941).

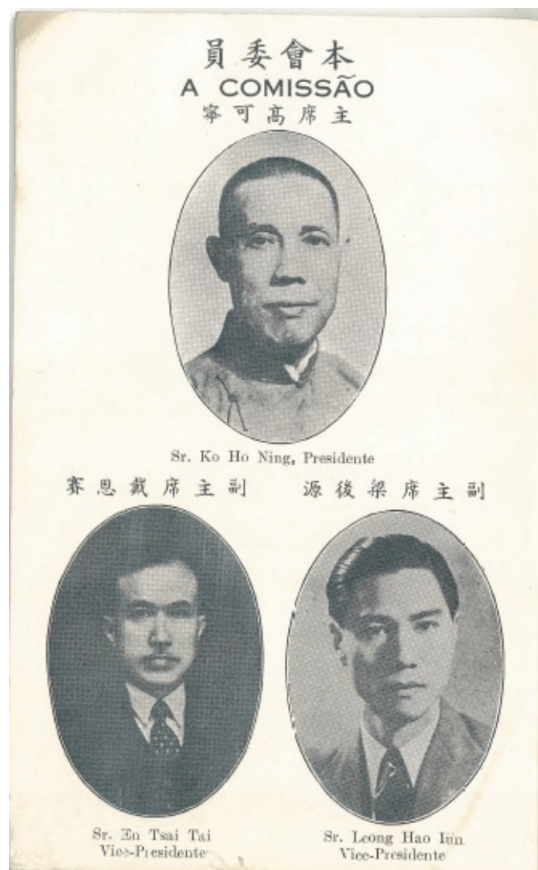


Fig. 1 – The chief leader of the Macau Chinese Relief Committee for the Portuguese Windstorm Disaster.

4. Public choice and benefits: to realize from individual to collective benefits

Arising widespread social attention is the most effective way to increase donations. The procedure of raising funds is intricate and time-consuming. Macau was going through a rough patch, making it harder to raise considerable funds. The organizers and implementers racked their brains, mainly focusing on the social elite groups, and combined them with drama entertainment, sports competitions, and charity bazaars, as the following aspects:

- Strive to persuade Chinese elites, business people from various industries, and gentry merchants to donate and make a social appeal on their own.
- Combining the charitable Cantonese Opera show with the people's entertainment life. The Tai Ping Theatre Crew, well-known in Hong Kong and Macau, was hired specially to perform popular Cantonese operas at the theatre. Ma Shi Zeng and Tan Lan Qing, the troupe's celebrities, will perform the most recent Cantonese opera rehearsal. In reality, the shows are conducive to further activities such as charity bazaars, donations, and drama entertainment⁶³.
- Donating through Tesco's Audience Reputation Coupons achieved the dual goal of enriching entertainment life while also donating.
- Tickets for the Cantonese opera were sold at Qing Ping Theater, day and night. One of the primary funds' sources is ticket revenue for four consecutive days and five nights⁶⁴.
- When watching Cantonese opera at the charity venue, many items and donations were donated in the form of Tesco.
- Funds are raised through the organization of small-scale football matches in Macau.
- Chinese manufacturers donated soda, wine, cigarettes, matches, and other items for charity bazaars at Qing Ping Theater⁶⁵.
- Donation of the charity donation box was set at the customs gate.

Methods for raising funds for disaster relief were listed above. A detailed classification record of the "Letter of Credit of the Macau Chinese Raising Funds for the Portuguese Windstorm Disaster" was published in July 1941 for the total number of donations raised. After two months of fundraising activities, the Chinese community raised HK\$31,075.23 for disaster-affected Portugal (Table 1, Figure 2, and Figure 3 for more details).

⁶³ Jornal Va Kio, 5th edition (April 8, 1941).

⁶⁴ Jornal Va Kio, 4th edition (May 1, 1941).

⁶⁵ Jornal Va Kio, 4th edition (April 28, 1941).

Table 1 – Summary of receipts and expenditures of donations by Macau Chinese Relief Committee for Portuguese Windstorm Disaster (HK\$)

Income	Currency	Converted into HK\$	Total	Expenditure	Currency	Converted into HK\$	Total
Donate	HK\$13924	13924	14156.94	The first dismantling of the HK\$ of the Macao Government		5030	
	SH¥230 @1265	181.82		The Second		21575.06	
	FM¥250 @2045	51.12		The third		10	26615.06
Charity performance	HK\$101.3	101.3	11057.98	Drama fundraising full-time expenditure	HK\$	364.75	4460.17
	(Tickets) SH¥5169.1 @1265	4086.24			SH¥5180.71 @1265	4095.42	
	(Honorary Vouchers) SH¥8691.1 @1265	6870.44					
Charity bazaar	HK\$5510	5510					
Donate at the scene	HK\$30	30					
	SH¥179 @1265	141.5					
	FM¥100 @2045	20.45					
Custom Gate Charity Box	SH¥179.84 @1265	142.16	5860.31				
Scattered goods in the theatre	SH¥20.49 @1265	16.2					
total			31075.23				31075.23

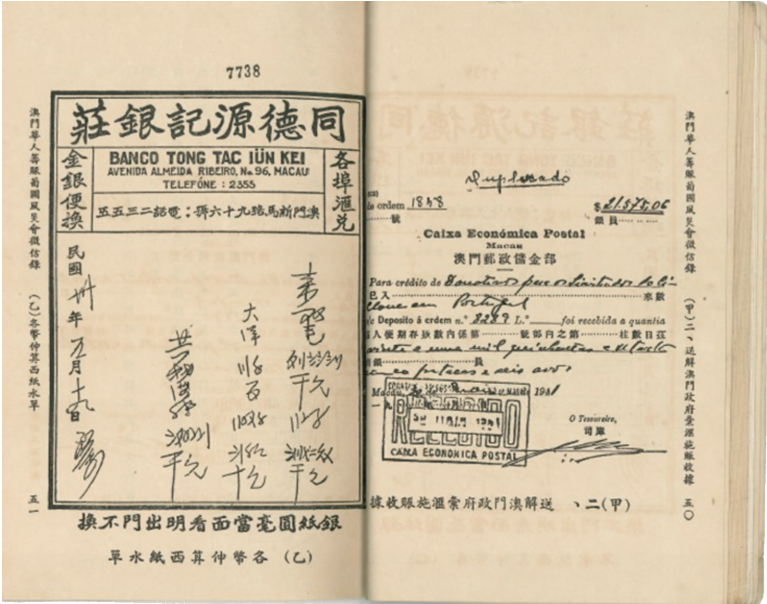


Fig. 2 – Receipt of disaster relief funds remitted from Tung Tak Bank (HK\$).

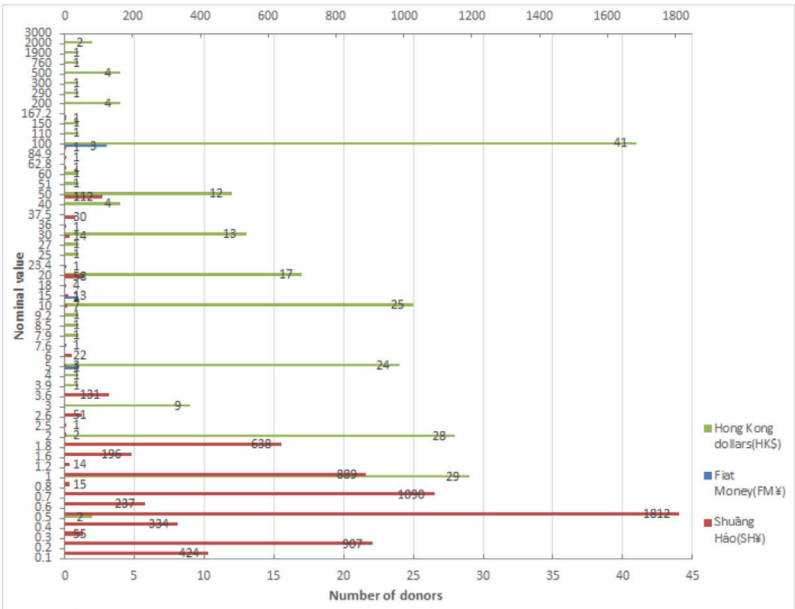


Fig. 3 – Statistics of the number of donors of each denomination.

From the source of donations, Macau Chinese elite groups from all walks of life are the primary source of donations. Their contributions were HK\$14,156.94, accounting for roughly one-half of the total donations. Macau implemented a multi-currency system then, so some donations were in HK\$, some were in SH¥, and some were in FM¥. The direct donations in HK\$ total 13,924. In terms of social status, the heads and members of institutions such as the Chamber of Commerce, Kiang Wu, and Tung Sin Tong, celebrities and famous gentry merchants who lived and sought refuge in Macau during the Second Sino-Japanese War, as well as the Macau governor and government officials participated the donation activities. For example, Zhou Yong Neng, the chief of the Macau branch of Kuomintang of China, donated 50 Fiat Money (FM¥, by the National Government of the Republic of China)⁶⁶; Sir Robert Ho Tung donated HK\$500⁶⁷. The amount of donation (HK\$) varies from a maximum of HK\$2,000 to a minimum of HK\$0.5 (Table 2 for details). From the perspective of currency type, 5 people donated a total of SH¥230 (equivalent to HK\$181.82); 3 people donated FM¥250 (equivalent to HK\$51.12)⁶⁸. Regardless of their abilities, poverty, or wealth, donors are eager to show the righteousness of humanity and charity.

Regarding the effect of the charity show, the Cantonese opera show held at Qing Ping Theater also received support from the Macau government, various agencies, and all facets of society. The Macau government waived all stamp taxes for the charity show. The Police Agency dispatched officers to provide police force for charitable shows and to maintain law and order. The Fire Department sent personnel to the scene to assist with firefighting services. The Macau Electric Light Company provided free power protection, and Sun Moon Star Store donated free electric lighting materials for the show. Charity shows were advertised for free in the “Macau Times,” “Jornal Va Kio,” “Xin Sheng Daily,” “Chao Yang Daily,” “Jornal Tai Chung Pou,” and other newspapers.

Moreover, the Macau Bao Wen Lou Photo Studio printed and posted 40 Portuguese- language street advertisements. During the charity show at Qing Ping Theater, local community leaders and celebrities donated by purchasing theatre tickets and provided them to the theater owners and staff for free, including Li Deng (lawyer), Li Ji Tang, Mrs. Lou Lim Ioc, Wang Wen Chao, Huang Fu Long, Wang Yu Qing Tang, The Xiao family, and the Ke family, among others.

⁶⁶ Jornal Va Kio, 4th edition (April 27, 1941).

⁶⁷ Jornal Va Kio, 4th edition (April 30, 1941).

⁶⁸ Letter of Credit of the Macao Chinese Raising Funds for the Portuguese Typhoon Disaster (July 1941, p. 7-14).

The Macau You Cheng Head office lent various flags to decorate the theater's surroundings⁶⁹. The combination of charity shows, charity bazaars, and donations is prevalent in Macau's historical donation activities, ubiquitous. During the charity show, charity bazaars and donation activities were also held concurrently. The items were supplied by local manufacturers or shops (Table 2 for details). To facilitate the charity bazaar, the Ji Xian Company used its address as a temporary office, and the Civilian Free School lent chairs and other equipment needed for fundraising. Four girls from Tung Sin Tong Free School helped sell goods at the theater. This indicates that in preparing for the charity show of Cantonese opera in Qing Ping Theater, for the charity bazaar and donation, all sectors of Macau have made relatively sufficient preparations in advance, creating favorable conditions for the success of charity show, charity bazaar, and the theater charity donation⁷⁰.

It is the original intention of the organizers of the charity show to obtain more donations through the Cantonese Opera charity show. Therefore, they have carefully designed and arranged all aspects of the charity show to raise more donations. The charity show organizer divides the different kinds of seats of Qing Ping Theater into "honorary flower seats", "honorary super seats", and "honorary horizontal beds" (that is, private rooms with horizontal beds when watching the show), "honorary middle seats", "honorary western style chairs", "honorary Lou Hua chairs", and "honorary Di Hua chairs". The unit cost of the seats varies from SH¥50 to SH¥3. Different grades and prices are set according to their location and seating, and the audiences can freely subscribe to them for a donation. Over the course of 4 days and 5 nights (from the evening of April 26 to April 30), Qing Ping Theater hosted 9 shows in turn, each with 10 plays presented. Almost all gentry merchants and business people from all walks of life actively purchased different seats at varying prices. According to the "Letter of Credit of the Macau Chinese Raising Funds for the Portuguese Windstorm Disaster", as indicated in Table 2, a total of HK\$101.3 and SH¥8691.1 (equivalent to HK\$6870.44) were raised⁷¹. People with social status choose honorary seats that match their status when donating. Pricing and seat classification are designed to meet the psychological needs of different social levels, optimize flow and communication. The ticket income of the charity show (Cantonese opera) is also the second largest source of

⁶⁹ Letter of Credit of the Macao Chinese Raising Funds for the Portuguese Typhoon Disaster (July 1941, p. 15).

⁷⁰ Letter of Credit of the Macao Chinese Raising Funds for the Portuguese Typhoon Disaster (July 1941, p. 16).

⁷¹ Letter of Credit of the Macao Chinese Raising Funds for the Portuguese Typhoon Disaster (July 1941, p. 17-28).

donations. Matinee and evening shows were set to attract as many audiences as possible. The income of each show is shown in table 2. In total, tickets sold SH¥5169.1 (equivalent to HK\$4086.24), and all benefit show income is equivalent to HK\$11057.98⁷².

Bazaar items in charity bazaars were given a symbolic meaning, so subscribers often purchase the bazaar items at a price that exceeds their value several times or even dozens of times. On April 26, 1941, Governor Teixeira was invited to watch the first charity show, accompanied by the chiefs of the Macau Chinese elite. The audience was highly crowded that night, and the scene was vivacious. Tung Sin Tong Free School sold charity items before the charity show. Governor Teixeira ordered Watson's soda for HK\$300. Then other gentry merchants or companies who watched the drama responded positively, subscribing to charity items and concerted efforts to help the affected by the Portuguese windstorm. The donation amount at the theater varies by person, as shown in Table 2⁷³. For the above charity bazaar, a total of HK\$5510 was raised. This is the third primary source of donations. Furthermore, on-site donations during the show were HK\$30, SH¥179 (equivalent to HK\$141.5), and FM¥100 (equivalent to HK\$20.45), totally equivalent to HK\$191.95 (Table 2 for details). The income of the items sold in the theater was HK\$9.2, SH¥7.6, and FM¥5, a total of SH¥29.49 (equivalent to HK\$16.2). The total number of subscriptions and donations for charity bazaars and donations during the Qing Ping Theater's charity show was equivalent to HK\$5,860.31⁷⁴.

Funds from mini-soccer matches are another alternative. On March 25, 1941, in response to the demand for fundraising, Liang Jian Bo, Macau Small Football Association general minister, managed to organize charitable match to enrich the people's sports life and raise funds. Then he went to Hong Kong to invite Guanghua Football Team (Guanghua) to hold six charity matches for three days during the Easter holiday⁷⁵. To prepare for the charity match and promote ticket sales, the Macau Small Football Association established a Charity Match Principal's Committee on April 5, with Lin Yao Hua as its director. Then on April 10, Minister Liang and consultant Feng Hua met with

⁷² Letter of Credit of the Macao Chinese Raising Funds for the Portuguese Typhoon Disaster (July 1941, p. 29-38).

⁷³ Letter of Credit of the Macao Chinese Raising Funds for the Portuguese Typhoon Disaster (July 1941, p. 38-42).

⁷⁴ Letter of Credit of the Macao Chinese Raising Funds for the Portuguese Typhoon Disaster (July 1941, p. 42-43).

⁷⁵ Jornal Va Kio, 4th edition (March 28, 1941).

Governor Teixeira to report on the preparations for the charity match and invited him to preside over the 12th kick-off ceremony. And they decided unanimously to donate all ticket fees to relief in the name of the Police Department⁷⁶. This part of the funds is not included in the donations by the Macau Chinese. Sha Gang, Zhong Lian, and Gong Jue represented Macau and competed against Guanghua. On April 11, two football matches were hosted at the Lian Feng Stadium. Guanghua won 3:1 against the minor football team. On the morning of April 12, Governor Teixeira presided over the kick-off ceremony, accompanied by Chief Inspector Yee, Zheng Yu Fen (President of the Small Football Association), and the Immaculate Conception Bronze Band played some music for entertainment. Due to bad weather during the first two days, the ticket revenue was not as expected. In addition, the Macau sports coaching team specially invited Hong Kong's well-known Sing Tao women's basketball team to Macau for a charity match. On the afternoon of April 25, Sing Tao triumphed 13-10, but few audiences watched. A match was held with the Xie He Team at Mong-Há Peiying Middle School on the 26th and with the League Team of Provincial School Girls on the 27th. It costs only two cents per ticket and 50% off for school groups⁷⁷.

Although the charity match failed to achieve financial results, it did produce particular outcomes with active involvement from all sectors of Macau. The members of the Football Association beat up to sell tickets, and people were also enthusiastic. The charity football match raised a total of HK\$846 and SH¥272.4. Most revenues are pre-sold credit coupons, while the tickets sold during the three-day football match account for just HK\$40 and SH272.4. Minister Liang submitted all the charity funds to the Police Department. Personally, Police Chief Bu Ying Sha paid the expenses, a total of HK\$132, and SH¥265 incurred for this match. There are also detailed records in the Letter of Credit about the purchase of tickets (Table 2 for details)⁷⁸.

Custom Gate Charity Box donations raised a fund of HK\$5, SH¥167.2, FM¥15, and 550 dragon cents. The above four currencies were total equivalent to SH¥179.84 (HK\$142.15). There are not many, but each copper plate is soaked in love and blessings for people of Portugal affected by the disaster.

On the expenditure side, the total amount of donations raised by the "Macau Chinese Relief Committee for Portuguese Windstorm Disaster" is equivalent to HK\$31,075.23, but the expenses for raising donations and

⁷⁶ Jornal Va Kio, 6th edition (April 11, 1941).

⁷⁷ Jornal Va Kio, 5th edition (May 3, 1941).

⁷⁸ Jornal Va Kio, 4th edition (May 23, 1941).

benefit shows are equivalent to HK\$4,460.17. The specific breakdown of these expenditures includes, as shown in Table 2. And the total expenditure for the above items is HK\$364.75. SH 5180.71 is equivalent to HK\$4095.42. The total two expenses are HK\$4,460.17. Excluding the above expenditures, the entire fund-raising activity donated HK\$ 26615.06. These donations were submitted to the Macau government for remittance to Lisboa to help the affected people in Portugal⁷⁹.

Table 2 – Records of donation subjects for significant events

Item	Detail
First meeting delegate	Representatives of Macao Chamber of Commerce included Ko Ho Ning, Choi Man Hin, Choi Sok Chi, Loc Tin Meng, Lei U Kai, Ip Chi U, Lao You Chee, Leong Hung Fan, Fu Hau Chen; representatives of Kiang Wu included En Tsai Tai, Wong So, Ng Wai Kai, Liang Lau, Cao Wei Cong, Yao Man, Cao Zi Guang; representatives of Tung Sin Tong included Lu Yi Nan, Yu Da Hong, Huang Zhong Liang, Li Zhuo Bin, Ch'an Pac Iong, Xu Qing Cheng, Huang Jie Yuan; and Chinese representative Leong Hao Iün.
The second meeting	Committee members: Choi Suo Chi, Choi Man Hin, Lao You Chee, En Tsai Tai, Wong So, Liang Lau, Wu Wei Jia, Leong Hao Iün, Ko Ho Ning, Loc Tin Meng, Fu Hau Chen, Leong Hung Fan, and other 12 members. Li Ji Tang, Fu Tak Iam, Zhou Yong Neng, Bi Lian Jian, Yao Bo Quan, and other 9 members were hired as consultants of the Committee. Lu Ting Guang, Guo Bing Qi, Li Bao Lin, Tan Zhi, and other 19 officers were selected as specific implementers ⁵ . Pledge of dues: President Ko Ho Ning took SH¥50, Vice-Presidents En Tsai Tai and Leong Hao Iün took SH¥50, and the remaining SH¥100 was borne by the members on average.
The members of the second meeting and pledged donations for the Portuguese typhoon	Donated HK\$2000: Ko Ho Ning; Donated HK\$500: Leong Hao Iün, Companhia Iêc Cheong; Donated HK\$200: Cambista Fu Hang; Donated HK\$150: Kou Fôc Io; Donated HK\$100: En Tsai Tai, Wong So, Choi Sok Chi, Fu Hau Chen, Guo Bing Qi, Loc Tin Meng, Leong Hung Fan, Choi Man Hin, Liang Lau, Huang Zhao Hong, Casa de Penhores Kou Seng(pawnshop), Casa De Penhores Tak Seng On(pawnshop), De Sheng pawnshop, Sheng Chang Shipping Company, Tong An Shipping Company; Donated 51: Deng Xiang; Donated 30: Lei U Kai, Lao You Chee, Huang Zhong Liang, Ye Zi Ru, Lu Yi Nan, Yu Da Hong.

⁷⁹ Letter of Credit of the Macao Chinese Raising Funds for the Portuguese Typhoon Disaster (July 1941, p. 43-45).

Charity foot- ball match Pre-sales honorary voucher	<p>Donated HK\$20: Central Hotel Tesco Voucher;</p> <p>Donated HK\$10: Macao celebrities, gentry merchants, and business shops, such as Li Ji Tang, Hin Kee Bakery, Wuzhou Hotel, Fu De Yin, Zheng Yu Fen, En Tsai Tai, Bi Lu Jian, Yao Jun Shi, Bi Yi Jiao, You Cheng Company, Ko Ho Ning, Chang Ming Factory, Dancing Girls included Chu Ji, Cai Yun Girl, Hua Fei Hua, Jiao Mei;</p> <p>Donated HK\$5: Dai Wen Wei, East Asia Hotel, Xu Bao Zhong, Hexing Company, Zhao Ban Lan, Sum Heung Lam, Rui Chang Shop, Chinese Hotel, Li Zi Nong, Wen Yuan Restaurant, Da Qun Hotel, De Lai Restaurant, Tao Xiang Yuan(shop), Huang Zhen Ji(shop), Tong An Company, Tian Bao Gold Shop, Hua Yang Company, Tong Chang Company, Chen Zhi Sheng, Liu Guo Restaurant, American Building, Yi Qun Pharmacy, Dr. Xu Song, Ou Wen Gui, Dai Wen Hao, Chen Box Xiang, Liu Luo Chuan, Huang Shu Ping, Ruan Yu Hua, Nan Yuan Winery, Huang Zhao Hong, Xie Zai Sheng, Xian Jin Company, Brand New Weaving Factory, Li Hai Zhao, Li Kuan, Zhu Ge, Kee Kwan Company, Victoria Theater, Li Bao Lin, Huang Hui Hua, Doctor Li Duo, Li Song Jiang, and Dancing Girls Hua Shao Yu and Yan Nǚ;</p> <p>Donated HK\$4: New Guest Hotel, International Hotel, Yang Pu Xi, Dancing Girls included Mei Li, Shao Ping, Yue E, Ai Li, Hua Die Er, Yin Xing Girl, Qiu Sheng Hen, Bing Bing, Ying Ying, Qi Nian, Wan Qing, Jing Xian, Pan Pan, Ling Yan, Yue Xian, Yi Zhi Hua, Jing Hong, Yi Zhi Mei, Ai Er, Sai Bi Xia, Fei Ling, Ru Meng, Xiao Hong;</p> <p>Donated HK\$3: Dancing Girl included Xiao Yan, Yin He Girl, Hua Yun Lan, Da Guang Match Factory;</p> <p>Donated HK\$2: Leong Hung Fan, Jiao Jiao Shoe Factory, Choi Man Hin, National Products Company, China Bakery, The Commercial Press, Ye Zi Ru, Ying Kee Bakery, Huang Rong Ji, Yuan Lai Restaurant, Wu Wei Jia, Chang Xing Hao(shop), Su Han Qing, Zhao Qi, Fu Hau Chen, Xing Chang Hang(shop), Liang Yong Xin, Loc Tin Meng, Fu You Yin Hao(shop), Hu Gong Wu, Ou Ya Shoe Factory, Zhou He, a Russian company and Dancing Girl Xiao Piao Yan;</p> <p>Donated HK\$1: Yao Ying Guang, Jie Sheng Pharmacy, Di Yi Lou(eatery), Chen Liu Gen, Da Sheng Li(shop), He Tai(shop), Hong Tai(shop), Nan Yue Company, Liang Yan Ming, Fu Chang Cheng, and Dancing Girls Jin Xia, Ou Zi Yan, Hua Li Er, Juan Juan, Qian Hong, Fei Xu.</p>
Charity sale item sponsor	<p>The general manager of Macao Xie He Company donated Watsons-brand soda; the general manager of Dong Fang Yang Hang donated a box of beer(72 bottles); Nanyang Tobacco Company donated 24 cans of Red Golden Dragon and 50 cans of Platinum Dragon cigarettes; The general manager of Wan Fa Xiang Hang donated 25 boxes of Nan Yang Bank-brand cigarettes; the National Tobacco Company donated six boxes(20 sticks/box) and four boxes(10 sticks/box)of beauty-brand cigarettes; He Zhong Tobacco Company donated two boxes(10 sticks/box) of Guohua-brand cigarettes; Nan Yue Tobacco Company donated two boxes of Ming Deng-brand and two boxes of '813-brand' cigarettes; Dong Xing Match Factory donated two cages of Peony-brand matches; Chang Ming Match Factory donated a cage of Triangle-marked brand matches; Qian Yuan Firecracker Company donated firecrackers(20,000 sticks).</p>
Charity per- formance price level and number of subscribers	<p>SH¥50 flower seat: 109 people; Honorary flower seat of SH¥37.5: 30 people;</p> <p>SH¥30 prestigious premium seat: 14 people; SH¥20 honorary horizontal bed: 22 people;</p> <p>SH¥20 honorary center: 30 people; Western-style chair for SH¥18: 4 people;</p> <p>SH¥15 honorary off-plan chair: 13 people; SH¥6 honorary flower chair: 22 people;</p> <p>In addition, there is a reputation income of HK\$101.3 and SH¥257.1.</p>

Charity sale	During the Cantonese Opera performance at Qing Ping Theater, Fu De Yin subscribed for a stick of Watsons soda for HK\$3,000; Ko Ho Ning subscribed for a stick of soda for HK\$290; Fu Yin Zhao subscribed for a beer for HK\$100; and Fu Yin Chi subscribed for a pack of beauty-brand cigarettes; Fu Yin Quan subscribed for a beer for HK\$100, Fu Yin Qi subscribed for a pack of bank-brand cigarettes for HK\$100; Fu Yin Gang subscribed for a box of Dong Xing Match Factory matches for HK\$100; Fu Yin Cuo subscribed for a pack of Nan Yue Company's '813-brand' cigarettes for HK\$100; Fu Yin Xing subscribed for a pack of Nan Yang Company's Red Golden Dragon cigarettes for HK\$100; Fu Yinquan subscribed for a pack of He Zhong Company's Guo Hua cigarettes for HK\$100; Huang Shu Ping, Leong Hao Iün, Dong Qing Tang, and Zheng Chang subscribed for Watsons soda for a total of HK\$400; Xie He Company and Ya Xi Ya Cheng Xing Hang(shop) subscribed for a box of matches from Dong Xing Match Factory for a total of HK\$200; and the Portuguese lawyer Zuo Mei Gu, Gao Fu Yao, Leong Hung Fan, Liang Lau, and Ruan Yu Hua each subscribed for a box of Watsons soda for a total of HK\$250; Zhong Zi Guang, Mrs. Huo, Mrs. Zhou , Mrs. Yu subscribed for a pack of Nan Yang Company's Red Golden Dragon-brand and bank-brand cigarettes for a total of HK\$170; Zheng Wen Ying(Hong Kong) subscribed for a box of Dong Xing Match Factory matches for HK\$50; and Xing Fa Long Hao(shop) subscribed for a box of Watsons soda for HK\$50.
Charity on-side donation in the charity show	For example, Liang Bi donated FM¥100; Qing Ping Theater donated SH¥50; Chen Sheng Shi donated HK\$30; Feng Yang, Huang She Chuan, Fo Xiao Lou Bao Hao, Dong Xing Match Factory, and Xian Ji Bakery each donated SH¥20; Liang Yan Ming and Huang Yu Qiao each donated SH¥10, Wenxin Printing Bureau donated SH¥5; Fu Wen Lou Bao Hao, Mei Chong Printing Bureau each donated SH¥2.
Details of expenditures	Tai Ping Opera Troupe's Quan Tai Xi Gold cost SH¥4200; Tai Ping Opera Troupe Artists' Boat Fee and Carrying Feet Fee cost HK\$164.75; Taiping Opera Troupe Artists Immigration Card Fee cost SH¥101.68; Street tricks and publicity from Wen Xin cost SH¥73.1; Ticket documents from Mei Chang cost SH¥39.4; Paper seal stationery from Mei Hua Xing cost SH¥21.68; Paper documents from Tian Cheng Shop cost SH¥18.79; Qing Ping Opera five days courtyard rent cost SH¥500; White rolls and flags from Fu Wen Lou cost SH¥44.4; Materials for making paper flowers from the Li Nuo Ji cost SH¥34.4; Receipt and wooden seal From Hu Qiu Ji cost SH¥14; Four Shao Yi Wen carved wooden seals cost SH¥3.04; Three steam lamps from Chang Guang rent for five nights cost SH¥9; Three Jiu Ji-brand electric fan rent for five days cost SH¥2.33; Printed floor mat from Huang Qiu Ji cost SH¥5.4; White cloth pigment from Pan Nian cost SH¥2; Pigment from Wang Bao Guang Shou Ju He Hao(shop) cost SH¥2.8; Opera suitcase loading and unloading fee from Li Ping cost SH¥28; Wages of workers who were carrying water from A Pei cost SH¥3; Pigment from Liang Qiu Shou Ju He Hao(shop) cost SH¥1.28; Hand silk thread nail flour car fare from Lǚ Ting Guang cost SH¥5.6; Qing Lian pencil from Guang Ming Bookstore cost SH¥0.55; And SH¥21.05 for cashier's meal fee; SH¥24 for casual workers from Ao Ji; SH¥10 for casual workers from Liang Qiu; and SH¥15.2 for copper and silver; HK\$200 for a credit record from performance fundraising.

Conclusion

An ordinary social activity seems to have a deeper motivation, depending on the historical context or social environment in which it is carried out. This, of course, is founded on humanitarian cooperation and exemplifies, across nations and cultures, a genuine concern for those in need. However, combined with the particular period of governance and survival crisis in Macau at that time, Chinese elites could raise funds to help Portuguese victims. This was not a pure charitable relief activity but a deliberate act with specific political requirements. The Chinese elite got news of the windstorm disaster in Portugal from the newspapers. The initiative to donate money to the disaster-stricken people in Portugal was also proposed by Chinese social elites to the Governor of Macau. Subsequently, the Macau Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Dongxin Church, Jianghu Hospital, and representatives from China jointly hosted the Macau China-Portugal Windstorm Disaster Relief Association. As the leader and organization of fundraising, it is responsible for mobilizing Chinese social forces. How long did it take? At that time, the Chinese Association of Macau donated 31,075.23 Hong Kong dollars to disaster relief in Portugal (if you compare the salary level at that time, it is equivalent to 310,752.3 Hong Kong dollars today).

The political implications of this fundraiser are varied and profound:

At that time, the social relations between Portugal and Macau were inseparable, and they had a common goal of protecting Macau. Although Portugal is far from the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, it is quite different from the Chinese community in Macau regarding race, religion, and culture. However, as early as the middle of the 16th century, Macau Portuguese and Macau Chinese formed a pattern of “foreign mixing, dividing and ruling” after Macau was opened up. Especially after the modern Portuguese ruled Macau, the relationship between Macau and Portugal became closer. When natural disasters hit Portugal, the Chinese society in Macau has the responsibility and obligation to help. Chinese elites believe that China and Portugal are a common destiny linked to historical development and reality. The Macau government and the Chinese society are facing an existential crisis simultaneously - the brutal Japanese army and the worsening war situation. The two sides are not only partners facing the existential crisis but also a vital force in protecting their common homeland- Macau. This strong belief supports this challenging fundraising event going well and brings together more social contributions to this decision. When Portugal was suffering and Macau was facing an existential crisis, it became both sides’ joint responsibility and mission to transcend national borders, face it together, and lend a helping hand.

But more importantly, they convey the urgent desire of China and Portugal to cope with the crisis, tide over the difficulties jointly, and find a way to survive through this behavioral language. The world-renowned Macau Chief Executive and prominent officials of government agencies have naturally clarified the inherent demands of Chinese elites and society. When government affairs become complicated and society faces an unprecedented existential crisis, Chinese elites and a society with a broad social foundation are willing to share their responsibilities and obligations.

While times have changed since the 1940s, it is still there, silently telling us the entire narrative even after all those changes have occurred.

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Disclosure statement

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