

Inter-imperial humanitarianism: The Macau Delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross during the Second World War

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Abstract

Focusing on the history of the wartime Macau Delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross (1943-1946), this article aims to shed light on interactions between Macau and the occupied British colony of Hong Kong during the Second World War. It argues that the Macau Red Cross branch was a concrete example of Portuguese collaborative neutrality with the Allies, most particularly the British. In coordination with the International Committee of the Red Cross, this local branch played an important role in humanitarian assistance to many victims of the war, particularly refugees and POW dependants, in Hong Kong and Shanghai when British authorities were unable to negotiate an exchange with Japan or provide direct assistance in those occupied cities. The wartime Red Cross in Macau was a small scale and temporary endeavour but, nevertheless, a multi-dimensional one: it was a local creation, a delegation integrated in a national and colonial context, an inter-imperial institution, and part of a transnational organisation with global reach.

Keywords: Macau, Red Cross, Hong Kong, Second World War, Portugal, neutrality, POW, refugees

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Introduction

The historiography of the Second World War has only in recent years begun to seriously take into account one of the main belligerents – the Republic of China¹ – so it is unsurprising that the study of neutrality in Asia during the conflict has been largely overlooked. Even the study of neutral countries in the Second World War has been unequally covered by the English-language scholarship, with cases such as Portugal meriting much less attention than Switzerland or the Republic of Ireland.² The present article is a case study pertaining to Portuguese neutrality, not in Europe, but in the much less analysed theatre of East Asia. By focusing on a short-lived delegation³ of the Portuguese Red Cross Society in Macau, this article looks into humanitarian assistance to shed light on the ambiguities of the practice of Portuguese neutrality in East Asia and the international links of the Macau wartime experience, while also interrogating inter-imperial connections between Portuguese-administered Macau and the occupied British colony of Hong Kong. It argues that this Red Cross branch was a concrete example of Portuguese collaborative neutrality with the Allies, most particularly the British, playing an important role in humanitarian assistance to many in Hong Kong and Shanghai in coordination with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) when the British authorities were unable to negotiate an exchange with Japan or provide direct assistance in those occupied cities.

Before detailing the case of the Macau Red Cross during World War Two, this article will start by addressing the context of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance during the Second

World War in East Asia in which it came about, will allude to the Portuguese Red Cross during the war and the uses of Portuguese neutrality for Red Cross activities related to the conflict in Asia, and briefly explain the origins of the Macau Red Cross. The bulk of this study will address the activities of this wartime branch and the various dimensions (local, national, colonial, inter-imperial, transnational) in which they can be understood, detailing its links to ICRC activities in Hong Kong. Finally, it will cover the abrupt ending and legacy of this Red Cross delegation.

This article sheds light on the complicated practice of humanitarian relief during the Second World War in East Asia through the analysis of an overlooked case study of transnational connections and cooperation that is relevant for the history of the activities of the Red Cross not just in Portugal and Macau but also in Hong Kong, China, Britain, and beyond. This is, as far as could be ascertained, not only the first study of the history of the Macau Red Cross but also one of the first academic articles on any aspect of the history of the Portuguese Red Cross Society.⁴ It is mostly based on previously unused and unpublished archival sources collected at the ICRC Archives in Geneva and the Historical Archives of the Portuguese Red Cross Society in Lisbon, and complemented by research in other archives and libraries in Lisbon, Kew, Macau, and Hong Kong. One of the aims of this article is to draw attention to the imperial dimension of the history of the Portuguese Red Cross while paving the way to future studies on different geographical and chronological aspects of this national society. Furthermore, this article aims to contribute to the historiography of inter-imperial interactions in East Asia and of the Second World War in the region by focusing on a largely forgotten actor that linked the key belligerents in significant ways.

The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance and the war in East Asia

Portugal's neutrality during the Second World War has been analysed by several historians as a manifestation of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance. This diplomatic alliance, dating from the 14th century and considered to be the oldest in the world still in force, was of key importance in several moments of Portuguese history. By the late 19th and until the mid-20th century, Portugal's connections to Britain – including in the imperial sphere – were unavoidable to the point that scholars have viewed it in terms of a 'structural dependency'.⁵ The alliance was kept intact even when the nature of the Portuguese political regime changed because it was perceived as 'nothing short [of] essential for Portugal's survival as a state'.⁶ For the British, the alliance was maintained in the first decades of the twentieth century particularly for strategic purposes, because it was understood that 'the alliance alone [...] prevented Portugal's possessions, and especially the Atlantic islands [the archipelagos of Madeira and the Azores] from falling into other hands'.⁷ In 1916, Portugal became a belligerent in the European theatre of the First World War when Britain suggested the detention of German ships anchored in Lisbon. Portugal's participation was enacted in the context of the alliance and had as a key objective of defending the maintenance of its colonial empire.⁸ The motives for neutrality in the Second World War were roughly the same, with the country's belligerence not being asked for and neutrality being linked to the preservation of the country's colonial possessions – a goal that was paramount to Portugal's alliance with Britain. It was also perceived as advantageous for the authoritarian *Estado Novo* (New State) regime to retain its grip on power.⁹ Neutrality was maintained even in the face of the occupation of one of the country's colonies, Timor, that remained under Japanese control from 1942 until the end of the war in 1945.¹⁰

In another of Portugal's colonial outposts, the enclave of Macau, in South China, pro-British attitudes were prevalent even before the occupation of neighbouring Hong Kong in

December 1941. In the early stages of the Sino-Japanese War, when all foreign powers in China remained neutral, Macau found itself the object of repeated wooing by the Japanese military authorities operating in Guangdong province but the Portuguese colonial authorities – albeit far from absolutely neutral – still privileged contacts and attempts of cooperation with the British in Hong Kong. After the war erupted in Europe, pro-British articles, images and cartoons filled the pages of the main Portuguese daily newspaper in Macau, *A Voz de Macau* [The Voice of Macau].¹¹ Censorship targeted mostly anti-Japanese pieces in the Chinese language press.¹² Even after the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong, when pressure on Macau was at its height, veiled assistance continued to be dispensed to the British in the enclave, albeit not without tense moments. A significant proportion of the local population was pro-Allied – supporting Chinese or/and British resistance. This is unsurprising given the fact that the great majority of the local population was Chinese and that the key influx of refugees into Macau during the war was of those fleeing the effects of the Japanese invasion in mainland China and Hong Kong. Open manifestations of support for the Allies were sometimes hushed by the local Portuguese authorities. For example, in January 1945, after Macau itself was bombed by Allied planes, the enclave's governor suspended the publication of the English-language supplement of that newspaper for reporting the event without condemnation, having informed Lisbon that 'the Hong Kong Portuguese could barely hide their satisfaction, supposing [the] attack [was a] prelude [to an] Allied landing [in] Hong Kong.'¹³ However, it was clear from the onset of the Pacific War that it was in the interest of the Portuguese authorities that the British were not irreversibly ousted from China. As the governor, Gabriel Maurício Teixeira, wrote to Lisbon in early 1941: 'If England loses the war I don't believe we will stay in Macau.'¹⁴

Despite the frequent mentions in diplomatic correspondence of Portugal's strict neutrality, its practice was highly ambiguous and changed as the conflict progressed. It is

understood that it only became ‘clearly pro-Allied from 1943,’¹⁵ with the ceding of basing rights in the Azores to Britain, and later to the United States, when Germany’s defeat in Europe became likely and the dreaded possibility of a Spanish invasion of Portugal with German backing crumbled. This chronology is crucial for this case study, as it was precisely in 1943 that the Macau Delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross (*Cruz Vermelha Portuguesa – Delegação de Macau*) was re-established, functioning as a wartime branch devoted to ‘Prisoners of War [POW] Service’ (*Serviço de Prisioneiros de Guerra*). How could a neutral country have POWs? Indeed, many of the POWs with whom the Macau Red Cross was concerned were Portuguese. The story of the Portuguese POWs captured by Japan remains almost completely unknown in Portugal to this day, perhaps because they were fighting for another empire, in which they were as much integrated if not more than in the Portuguese one – the British. ‘Portuguese’ here meant not necessarily Portuguese citizenship or birth in Portugal but rather alluded to the ancestral links to Portuguese-administered Macau of the, then, called Portuguese (now often referred to as Macanese) community in Hong Kong and different treaty ports in China, particularly Shanghai. As will be addressed later, the wartime Macau Red Cross provided a crucial relief channel to distressed Portuguese in occupied China.

The Portuguese Red Cross Society during the Second World War

Portuguese neutrality in the Second World War was never declared.¹⁶ Still, it was extended to all the country’s overseas colonial outposts, of which Macau was the smallest and the second most distant from Lisbon. Portugal’s case is relevant to the study of neutrality in the war from a global perspective, since the country had a strategic position and overseas territories in the Atlantic, Africa, East and Southeast Asia. One way to assess the

transnational use of Portuguese neutrality is the study of Red Cross activities. The Portuguese Red Cross had been founded in 1865¹⁷ but it is fair to say that the Second World War was one of the key moments in its history. During the war, it also interacted with the ICRC and other national Red Cross societies.

During the Second World War there were eighteen foreign representatives of Red Cross societies stationed in Lisbon.¹⁸ The city played an important role as a centre for distribution of correspondence and parcels to war-ridden places and POWs across Europe and even beyond it.¹⁹ Portugal was also a stopover for tens of thousands of people fleeing war and persecution, notably many Jewish refugees.²⁰ In Asia, the relevance of Portuguese neutrality for humanitarian endeavours was also significant. For example, it was by using places under Portuguese rule that some relief supplies reached those in Japanese occupied Asia.²¹ These endeavours included three high-profile civilian exchanges: The only Anglo-Japanese exchange, which occurred in Lourenço Marques (now Maputo) in the then Portuguese colony of Mozambique in August 1942, and two organised between the Americans and Japan, one in July 1942 that also took place in Lourenço Marques, and one in September 1943 in Mormugão, Goa, then part of so-called 'Portuguese India.'²² The first exchange included the United States ambassador to Japan, Joseph Grew, and the Japanese ambassador to the US, Kichisaburo Nomura, and the second included the famous American journalist resident in China Emily Hahn.²³ These exchanges provided the only opportunities for Red Cross parcels to be handed over for delivery to camps in Japanese occupied areas, although it was difficult to know how many of these reached their intended destinations since the Japanese refused to sign receipts for individual parcels.²⁴ Lourenço Marques also seems to have been a postal stopover for Red Cross messages to China.²⁵ Red Cross uses of this colonial city were also advertised under the banner of Portuguese 'national prestige,'²⁶ which, as will be seen later, was one of the key goals of this national society's activities.

The truly global challenges of the conflict and the high stakes for Portugal in maintaining its neutrality policy – and boosting its authoritarian regime’s international reputation – led to the creation of a number of branches of the Portuguese Red Cross during the Second World War, not only in Portugal itself but also in its overseas colonies. The Macau delegation was one of them and, according to a report compiled by the Lisbon headquarters of the Portuguese Red Cross at the end of the war, it was one of its most important wartime branches.²⁷ The fact that its activities have remained so sparsely known is, therefore, quite surprising.

The Macau Delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross

The history of the Portuguese Red Cross Society had been from its inception curiously intertwined with that of the so-called Third Portuguese Empire (1825-1999).²⁸ It is reasonable to affirm that, for Portugal’s elites, the Red Cross played a similar role to the one they associated with the country’s colonial possessions: it was a tool for international affirmation and national prestige – albeit, naturally, of a very different nature. This was not unique to Portugal. For example, in the origins of the Chinese Red Cross was the goal to ‘boost China’s image in the international community.’²⁹ Neither was the Portuguese Red Cross alone in its connection to an imperial project. Although this has not merited extensive research for all European colonial powers, a few case studies on the Netherlands and Spain confirm the links between national Red Cross societies and imperial designs.³⁰

It is partly in this colonial context that the genesis of the Macau Delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross needs to be understood. Macau is a small territory bordering the Chinese province of Guangdong. During the Second World War it had an area of around 15 Km². The enclave was administered as a Portuguese colony until returned to full Chinese

sovereignty in 1999. Its Red Cross delegation was created as a delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross because Macau was regarded as part of the Portuguese colonial world. However, during its wartime existence it was also a peculiar inter-imperial institution, being linked to the occupied British colony of Hong Kong in significant ways. If we bear in mind the strand in Portuguese historiography that regards Portuguese neutrality in the Second World War as an expression of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance³¹ and if we recognise that Portugal's neutrality became more openly pro-Allied in the last years of the conflict then the establishment of the Macau Red Cross in 1943 is a clear manifestation of the imperial connections between the Portuguese and the British imperial presence in East Asia.

The Second World War was not the first time a Red Cross delegation had existed in Macau. In fact, there were not one, but three founding dates of the Macau Red Cross. The first, in the early 1920s in the aftermath of the First World War, with the delegation closing down soon afterwards for lack of engagement by its members in the setting up of a health centre;³² the second, in 1943 – lasting until 1946 – which is the topic of this article; and the third, in 1949, after which it has remained in operation until the present, now as an autonomous branch of the Red Cross Society of China.³³

Despite having had a brief presence in Macau in the early 1920s, by the time the Second Sino-Japanese War began in July 1937 – a date some scholars now see as the beginning of the Second World War – the local Red Cross had long ceased to operate. But the need for a new branch was obvious. Hundreds of thousands of refugees, most of them Chinese, poured into neutral Macau from 1937 onwards, being assisted by other relief providers. It is estimated that, due to the refugee influx during the war, the population of Macau rose from around 120,000 to half a million people,³⁴ which, given the small area of the enclave, was quite significant.

The arrival of refugees to Macau became particularly acute after the occupation of the neighbouring British colony of Hong Kong in December 1941. Many in Hong Kong left for Macau, either in officially organised evacuation drives or illegally. Archival sources in Hong Kong dating from the period immediately after the end of the war attest to the scale of the movement.³⁵ Thousands of British, Chinese, Portuguese, and a multitude of people from various nationalities sought refuge in Macau until 1945. Many of those who came from Hong Kong had relatives in the Japanese POW and civilian internment camps. Being able to communicate with them was, therefore, a clear priority. A telling example is the one of more than 200 Portuguese who fought in the Hong Kong Volunteer Defence Corps captured by the Japanese,³⁶ most of whom had family members in Macau.

The terrible conditions of those interned in Hong Kong, as well as the overall difficulty in the activities of the Red Cross in Japanese-occupied areas have been alluded to in many works on the war.³⁷ The Japanese authorities refused to allow a regular functioning of Red Cross activities such as camp inspections and parcel deliveries. The only delegates Japan authorised to operate in China were Edouard Egle in Shanghai and, later, Rudolf Zindel in Hong Kong³⁸ (it should also be noted that both of these delegations had staff members who were Portuguese, notably women with multilingual skills³⁹). Delegates were constantly under surveillance and subject to different forms of harassment, and some unofficial delegates elsewhere in Asia met tragic fates.⁴⁰ In this context, the completely overlooked case of the Macau Red Cross gains a new importance. In practice, it could be seen as an unofficial ICRC branch but the Macau delegation was sheltered by being under the umbrella of the national Red Cross society of a neutral country, with which Japan maintained ambiguous relations throughout the war. Portugal's historical alliance with Britain and the intertwined nature of Macau's relations with Hong Kong, the strong presence of well connected Chinese elites in the territory – with links to the Chinese government, overseas

Chinese networks and also Chinese collaborationists –, and the ambivalent contacts between the Macau administration and Japanese military forces during the war, all contributed to allowing the local Red Cross delegation to operate along the blurred lines of Portuguese neutrality in East Asia. Despite being subject to substantial levels of informal Japanese control, the enclave was also an important grey area where some breakthroughs could be achieved by liaising with more moderate figures such as the Japanese consul in Macau, Fukui Yasumitsu.

It was precisely in its articulation with the Red Cross in Hong Kong that the first discussions about establishing a branch in Macau took place in 1942, its necessity being pushed by the Portuguese colonial authorities in Macau and the British consul in the enclave, John P. Reeves. In a telegram to the Portuguese minister of colonies, Francisco José Vieira Machado, the governor of Macau stated that he had told Reeves that any ‘action of the Red Cross will only be effective with a permanent delegate’ in Macau. The governor suggested that the Red Cross delegate in Hong Kong could come for a visit to exchange views on the subject, and to ‘get to know the situation in Macau,’ such as supplies and the ‘problem of over one hundred and fifty thousand absolutely destitute Chinese refugees.’ He cited as a good testimony to the enclave’s humanitarian assistance the positive impressions expressed by the former delegate of the American Red Cross in South China who had visited the territory’s Chinese hospital [Kiang Wu Hospital] shortly before the war and who had said that ‘no Chinese hospital including Hong Kong’s could compare to Macau’s in terms of organisation and cleanliness’ – a reference that reveals a typical anxiety about colonial comparison that often plagued the Portuguese. The governor also made a recommendation that attests to the complex relation Portugal (including the Macau authorities) maintained with Japan during the war: that if ‘allowed by international conventions, the delegate to nominate should be a subject of the South American republics which maintain relations with

Japan.’⁴¹ While these initial ideas for a Red Cross presence in Macau did not materialise as envisioned, they are nonetheless informative of the colonial and international dimensions of its project.

In January 1943 the Macau Delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross initiated its activities under the presidency of Fernando de Senna Fernandes Rodrigues, a local merchant, with the approval of the Macau government. Rodrigues informed the ICRC delegate in Shanghai in a letter that he had been appointed by the Red Cross ‘Central Committee of Portugal’⁴² although it is highly likely that the creation of the Macau delegation was partly due to his own efforts. James Crossland’s description of the ICRC representative in occupied Singapore during the war as a ‘humanitarian private contractor’⁴³ is perhaps also applicable to Rodrigues in Macau. He was head of a commercial house that sold a variety of products, being the agent of several foreign and Portuguese import-export and insurance firms, as can be attested by numerous advertisements in the annual directories of Macau.⁴⁴ In 1940 his name appeared in Portuguese diplomatic correspondence as an agent of a Japanese shipping company in Macau, having denounced some problematic practices to the governor.⁴⁵ His local and international contacts,⁴⁶ financial means and, possibly, his storage facilities were likely to have been advantageous for starting a Red Cross branch, given that its activities would need all of those to succeed.

The Red Cross in Macau was, therefore, simultaneously a local entity (springing from the personal efforts of its president), a national/colonial body (belonging to the Portuguese Red Cross Society), an inter-imperial structure (due to its close links to the British authorities), an organisation with international connections (linking those in Macau to their relatives, employers, and acquaintances all over the world) and, naturally, given the Red Cross label, a transnational institution.

The branch was partly an association for the local elite. The president, the secretary, the treasurer, and the board members were all Portuguese and Macanese men living in the enclave, including officers.⁴⁷ The delegation was funded by its president, its members' (some of whom were Chinese) life-membership fees, specific payments for services rendered such as the translation of messages or the dispatch of telegrams, and fundraising events.⁴⁸ The participation of Chinese businessmen in the local Red Cross had been a feature of the institution since its earlier founding in the 1920s and continued to mark it in its post-war reestablishment. Amongst the philanthropists was Gao Kening (Ko Ho Neng), a gambling business magnate who was one of the major charity donors in Macau during the Second World War.⁴⁹

The Macau Red Cross case shows how private and public dimensions were tightly interlocked in relief provision in the enclave during the war. Its headquarters were established in the commercial house of its president. Having received many information requests about POWs he set his company staff to do some work for the Red Cross as well.⁵⁰ Therefore, the figure of Rodrigues was central to the delegation's functioning. But this was not solely a private enterprise. In fact, the Macau Red Cross also reveals aspects of the reach of the colonial state. From the beginning, the Macau government sought to guarantee that it was informed of the relevant Red Cross correspondence, asking the president to remit copies of replies to Red Cross enquiries forwarded by the government to keep in its archives.⁵¹ This instance of government involvement in Red Cross affairs was by no means unique since national Red Cross societies were often linked to a state's military and have been regarded as agents for the militarisation of society.⁵² For example, studies on the Chinese Red Cross in the same period reveal how it came under the control of the Nationalist government, with Chiang Kai-shek himself serving as honorary president.⁵³

The public emphasis on the Macau delegation as part of the Portuguese Red Cross Society is, however, somewhat paradoxical. Its nationalistic outward presentation contrasted with the fact that a significant part of its activities benefited citizens of other nations and that some of its key local donors were Chinese. Even so, the fact that the Macau delegation belonged to a national branch was often stressed when the institution needed to interact with a wider public. The institution was never presented as the Macau Red Cross but as the Portuguese one. This is observable, for example, in announcements or small reports of its fundraising activities published in the daily *A Voz de Macau*.⁵⁴ In 1944 this paper ran a longer series of articles about the Portuguese Red Cross and some of its presidents that emphasised the relevance of the organisation's activities during the war, the international prestige it brought Portugal and the imperial context in which the Portuguese Red Cross had operated from early times.⁵⁵

Despite this nationalist presentation, the activities of Macau Delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross were firmly embedded in the East Asian region. The branch dealt mainly with communications between Macau, Hong Kong and Shanghai from citizens of different nationalities who happened to be (or were thought to be) in these cities during the war. This was significant because it permitted the flow of information, particularly amongst Allied nationals, at a time of great disruption of communications due to the Japanese occupation. In fact, this circulation was not just regional, but global. Several messages, transmitted to Macau via the ICRC in Geneva or the Portuguese Red Cross headquarters in Lisbon, came from all corners of the world. Its postal services even ran via the wartime capital of China, Chongqing, to where not even the Portuguese minister to China had relocated (he stayed in occupied Shanghai although not recognising the collaborationist government of Wang Jingwei).⁵⁶ The Macau Red Cross made use of the ambiguities of postal communications in wartime China. The ICRC delegate in Shanghai noted in one of his

reports that regular postal services ran between occupied and unoccupied China, the postal service ‘apparently being tolerated by some kind of tacit consent between the Nanking [Nanjing] Government, the Japanese Authorities and the Chungking [Chongqing] Government.’ Egle speculated this might be ‘for the sake of expediting a re-union [sic.] between Nanking and Chungking and bring[ing] the entire country within one fold’ but it was likely that it did not apply to Hong Kong, considered ‘strictly ex enemy-territory’.⁵⁷ Unlike Shanghai, Hong Kong was kept under direct Japanese rule. Macau appears to have been the only part of unoccupied China to which POWs and internees in Hong Kong were allowed to send messages through the Red Cross channels. One telegram from June 1943 stated: ‘Prisoners [of] War and Internees can write to anyone in Japan, Manchukuo, Occupied China and Macau.’⁵⁸ At the end of the conflict, Macau also provided an important link to Hong Kong. Even ‘when the Japanese were still in control of the Cable-Services, dispatches cabled to the Portuguese Red Cross in Macau, giving details of the most urgent requirements of Food, Fuel and Medicines, required by the Camps, as well as by the Colony as a whole’ were sent.⁵⁹ Consequently, the Red Cross connection between Hong Kong and Macau was also relevant in the immediate post-war period when the British reoccupation of the territory unfolded.

If the Macau Red Cross sheds light on ignored channels of communication, archival files also reveal how disruptions affected even a supposedly neutral haven such as Macau. However, despite delays, information did manage to flow through the enclave. Some people had had no news of family members for many months or even years and the Red Cross played an important role in tracking down distant relatives. For example, one lady writing in May 1944 said she had heard no news from her sister for two years and a man (a British subject), writing from Macau in June, stated he knew nothing of his son (a Portuguese citizen) in Shanghai since December 1941 (he replied he was doing ‘fairly well’ earning his

living as a musician).⁶⁰ Occasionally the people being enquired about proved impossible to find, demonstrating how wartime displacement was felt even in a small enclave that was nominally outside the conflict.

The articulation of the Macau Red Cross and the ICRC in Hong Kong is evident in the transmission of correspondence and parcels to and from Japanese POW and civilian camps. This is particularly significant since Britain was unable to negotiate an exchange of the Hong Kong internees during the war.⁶¹ The fact that several of the internees' dependants were refugees in Macau also sheds light on the family connections that probably propelled the establishment of the Macau delegation in the first place. The importance of this Macau-Hong Kong link was recognised at the time. In April 1944 the ICRC delegate in Hong Kong informed Geneva of the close links to the Red Cross in the neighbouring enclave: 'Our intercourse with the Portuguese Red Cross in Macau is quite active and still expanding; we are receiving regular remittances from them, for transmission to Prisoners-of-War and Civilian Internees in Hongkong and Japan. Moreover, we are also handling, to the extent permitted by the Camp-Authorities, comfort-parcels to Civilian Internees.'⁶² In October Zindel telegraphed the ICRC in Tokyo listing as the second largest source of remittances (35%) between January and September those received through the Portuguese Red Cross in Macau.⁶³

Apart from transmitting messages – more than 1,000 telegrams from refugees were relayed by Macau to the Lisbon headquarters⁶⁴ – and liaising with Hong Kong, the Red Cross also handed money transfers and comfort parcels to those in civilian assembly centres (Japanese internment camps) in Shanghai whenever possible. The living conditions in these became increasingly critical during the war.⁶⁵ Regulations on what could be sent could change rapidly. If in January 1944 the ICRC delegate in Shanghai wrote to Rodrigues informing that 'it is now possible for us to send in cash donations to the inmates of the Civil

Assembly Centers at Shanghai,'⁶⁶ in July he noted that 'all the donations for inmates of Civil Assembly Centers are used to increase the size of the comfort parcels which are sent to them every month as it is no longer permitted to send cash to inmates.'⁶⁷ Fundraising appeals to those in Shanghai were often present in the Macau press, notably in 1945.⁶⁸ These were particularly aimed at providing relief to the Portuguese community.⁶⁹ Composed mostly by anglicised Eurasians, the Portuguese was one of the most numerous foreign communities in the city, albeit one of the most economically deprived.⁷⁰ Their circumstances were worsened by the war, with many Portuguese losing their means of livelihood with the closure of British companies which had employed them before the Japanese take-over. Unlike in Hong Kong, where in the absence of a functioning Portuguese consulate during the Pacific War the ICRC played a considerable role in providing relief to some members of the Portuguese community, in Shanghai the ICRC was not directly involved in alleviating their plight.⁷¹ As a result, the Macau Red Cross played a distinctive part in this arena, providing much needed relief to the Shanghai Portuguese.

Channels of relief provision employed during the Second World War by the Macau Red Cross for the Portuguese in Shanghai were later resumed in the early 1950s, when the community once again faced extreme deprivation. The communist victory in the Chinese Civil War that culminated in the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 led to the closing of many foreign businesses in the mainland. Most of the Portuguese who had staffed them also left, many returning temporarily to Macau. The Portuguese Red Cross played a determinant role in assisting them.⁷²

Rosary Hill and its Macau connection

As mentioned before, the Macau Red Cross worked in close contact with the ICRC in Hong Kong. In September 1943 the ICRC delegate, Rudolf Zindel, started to run a centre of POW and civilian internees dependants in Hong Kong, the Rosary Hill Red Cross Home, housed in a rented Dominican convent in Stubbs Road that had been completed in 1936.⁷³ The decision to establish the Home was made by Zindel. Estimating that half of the 1,100 dependants receiving support from the Red Cross still possessed ‘means of support of their own’, with living costs rising and local authorities not allowing an increase in monthly maintenance allowances, he approached the Japanese for ‘permission to provide accommodation and food [...] instead of a cash-allowance [sic.]’ to those ‘completely dependent’ on the Red Cross. They agreed, under the condition that ‘those not participating [in joining the new centre] would have to forfeit all future assistance from British funds through the Redcross [sic.]’.⁷⁴ The goal was to gather dependants under one roof to better manage relief provision. In practice, however, the ICRC continued to support some civilians outside the centre and also ran a section in the French Hospital on Caseway Bay. But Rosary Hill was probably the most comprehensive Red Cross endeavour undertaken in Hong Kong during the war. It ran continuously and without the number of restrictions imposed on Zindel’s visits to the camps. During and after the war, the delegate always stressed the importance of the work he had done with Rosary Hill, saving many people and the building itself from more serious consequences.⁷⁵

Initially the Rosary Hill Red Cross Home housed 670 people, most of whom were women and children.⁷⁶ It was a multinational community, amongst which the Portuguese were prominent. This is not surprising, given that they formed the largest community of ‘Third Nationals’ in Hong Kong after the Indians.⁷⁷ However, the number of residents declined, particularly in later stages of the war when escalating living costs and the

suspension of rice rations forced Zindel to encourage the relocation of many occupants to balance costs, appealing particularly to the Chinese to move to their native places and to the Portuguese to head over to Macau. The latter transfer was coordinated with the Macau Red Cross. People started to be moved in mid-1944, over several trips. Between January and November 1944, more than 200 dependants left Rosary Hill,⁷⁸ and not all of them were Portuguese.⁷⁹ Macau was considered a feasible option because, according to Zindel, ‘maintenance costs in Swiss Francs [there] [were] much lower,’⁸⁰ although the presence of a functioning British consulate might also have been a key factor. In May 1945 alone 281 dependants left for Macau. The trip ‘was effected by means of Motor-Junks.’ Eight boats in three days transferred people and baggage. Zindel reported that: ‘All persons reached Macau safely and were received there by Representatives of the Portuguese Red Cross, who had very kindly arranged for the temporary accommodation and feeding.’ This had been accomplished ‘thanks to the extremely valuable assistance from the local Japanese authorities.’⁸¹ British Foreign Office correspondence with the consul in Macau adds the information that some of those evacuated from Rosary Hill to Macau were moved following British requests.⁸² The British consulate funded most of the Rosary Hill evacuees,⁸³ the money being sent by British agents in Lisbon to the governor of Macau via the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁸⁴ Those who were not initially deemed ‘legitimate dependants of the British prisoners of war or internees’ were taken care of by the Macau Delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross, to whom expenses were later reimbursed by the British authorities.⁸⁵ As this case reveals, the Macau Red Cross played a key role in linking an occupied territory to a neutral one, with some involvement of the belligerents: the Japanese authorities facilitated the move of the Rosary Hill dependants while the British consulate in Macau took care of their assistance once they arrived, with funds sent via diplomatic channels in Europe.

After so many of its residents had moved to Macau, Rosary Hill seems to have largely lost its usefulness to the ICRC. Following their reoccupation of Hong Kong, British military authorities requisitioned the premises in late October 1945 in order to house former civilian internees, dependants of former POWs and internees, and destitute people awaiting repatriation.⁸⁶ In December Zindel wrote to Geneva that he had decided to transfer the Rosary Hill Home to the British authorities due to lack of funds and deteriorating discipline among residents and staff since the Japanese surrender. He concluded that: ““Rosary Hill” has become a Landmark in the History of this Colony; thanks to its existence many families have been able to celebrate a Happy Reunion at the termination of the War, instead of standing sorrowful at graves. Whenever there are discussions of the Hongkong Occupation in future, “Rosary Hill” is likely to be one of the topics [...]’.⁸⁷ Little could he have guessed that the wartime existence of Rosary Hill would fall into almost complete oblivion. Although one may argue it has still been more remembered than the short-lived Macau Delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross, with which Rosary Hill had had such a strong connection.

The wartime Macau Red Cross operated in between war and peace. It had a fraught position that sprang from how Portuguese neutrality was experienced in the South China enclave. Macau was a place of liminality, flexibility, and opportunity. It was also one of compromise and accommodation, partly because its Portuguese rulers could not directly challenge any of the key belligerents. These ambiguities are somewhat incompatible with post-war binary narratives of good and evil and so tend to be easily forgotten. Nevertheless, small intermediary countries, territories and figures, such as Portugal, Macau and Rodrigues, are essential to understand many aspects of how the Second World War played out on regional and global scales and how transnational institutions such as the ICRC operated under circumstances of great external constraint, as in Japanese-occupied Hong Kong.

Closure and legacy

The activities of the Macau Delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross were greatly undermined when its president was shot dead in a Macau street after returning from a funeral on 10 July 1945 for reasons still to be fully understood, although probably linked with Rodrigues' connections and involvement with smuggling networks.⁸⁸ The Macau Red Cross ceased its operations the following year. Its brief life span is explained by the personal nature of the endeavour – with a key role played by its president, not easily replaced – and by the wartime character of this branch, its *raison d'être* weakened after the conflict ended.

In 1946, several people involved in the activities of the Macau Red Cross were decorated by the Portuguese Red Cross Society for good services rendered, including the award of a posthumous medal to its president.⁸⁹ This shows that the efforts made by this delegation were acknowledged at the time. Additionally, its wartime experience was determinant to the future activities of the Macau Red Cross after it was re-established in 1949 under one of its wartime members, Alberto Pacheco Jorge, who remained as president until 1971. The 'third' Macau Red Cross also had to deal with considerable numbers of refugees, notably those fleeing Mao's China or the Vietnam War. The know-how acquired during the Second World War was seen as a valuable precedent.⁹⁰

The extraordinary – and extraordinarily brief – history of the wartime Macau delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross clearly encapsulates certain aspects of the largely unknown experience of this neutral enclave. In Macau as in Portugal, neutrality in the war provided business opportunities and shadow contacts that sometimes bordered the edges of collaboration. However, the ambiguous practice of neutrality had other examples, of which humanitarian relief was a significant one. In the case of Macau, charitable assistance was so important that it contributed to preventing serious enquiries about collaboration in the post-war and was one of the factors allowing for the maintenance of the Portuguese colonial

administration in the enclave after China emerged from the war recognised as a major power. The Portuguese authorities claimed that their neutrality had allowed for the safety of hundreds of thousands of refugees during the war, most of whom were Chinese and a considerable number of whom were British subjects, often overlooking the role played by civil society – with key individual initiatives such as those of Rodrigues, local associations and even representatives of other states. If one looks beyond the limitations of a nationalistic interpretation, rather than as an instrument for national prestige, the Macau Delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross emerges as a prime example of the international and inter-imperial connections linking those in wartime Macau to other countries, territories, and empires that made a tiny enclave into a global intersection during the Second World War.

Notes

¹ The most comprehensive single author volume on the war in English is Mitter, *China's War with Japan*.

² E.g. Cole, *Propaganda, censorship*; O'Halpin, *Spying on Ireland*; Wylie, *Britain, Switzerland*.

³ This is a direct translation from the Portuguese term (*delegação*) but it means the same as 'branch' or 'chapter' in other Red Cross societies.

⁴ The only existing monographs on the history of the Portuguese Red Cross Society are official publications dating from the 1920s and the 1940s (*Cruz Vermelha Portuguesa 1865 a 1925*; *A Cruz Vermelha Portuguesa*).

⁵ E.g. Rosas, *O Salazarismo*, 14.

⁶ Rosas, 'Portuguese Neutrality,' 269.

⁷ Stone, 'The Official British Attitude,' 743.

⁸ Fighting between Portuguese and German troops had been taking place in Angola and Mozambique since 1914. There is a growing number of works on the Portuguese participation in the First

World War. A good overview in English that takes into account the imperial dimension is Meneses, 'The Portuguese Empire at War.'

⁹ Rosas, 'Portuguese Neutrality,' 277-278.

¹⁰ Although neutrality was never broken, it is worth noting that in 1944, when negotiating an agreement to cede rights for an airbase in Santa Maria island, in the Azores, with the United States, the Portuguese government asked to participate in military operations to 'recover' Timor, 'which would be equivalent to entering in the war against Japan' (Telo, *A Neutralidade Portuguesa*, 74 [my translation]).

¹¹ There are some similarities with the situation in Europe, where Germany protested to the Portuguese censorship commission about the negative treatment it was receiving from the press compared to Britain (Telo, *A Neutralidade Portuguesa*, 40).

¹² For example, from August to October 1940 the Macau censorship commission forbade the publication of 102 articles in the local Chinese press for containing entries 'offensive to Japan and the Japanese army,' 65 for 'alarming the population or damaging neutrality,' and 38 for 'other reasons' (Ministry of Colonies to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 17 Jan. 1941. AHD [Arquivo Histórico Diplomático-Historical Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Portugal], 2P, A48, M217 [my translation]).

¹³ Governor of Macau to Ministry of Colonies, 15 Jan. 1945. ANTT [Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo-National Archives, Portugal], Arquivo Salazar, NE-10A2, cx. 768.

¹⁴ Governor of Macau to Minister of Colonies, 10 Dec. 1941. ANTT, Arquivo Salazar, UL-10A1, cx. 767 (my translation).

¹⁵ Telo, 'Segunda Guerra Mundial,' 900.

¹⁶ Telo, *A Neutralidade Portuguesa*, 19.

¹⁷ It was first set up as the Portuguese Commission for Assistance to the Military Wounded and Sick in Times of War (*Comissão Portuguesa de Socorros a Feridos e Doentes Militares em Tempos de Guerra*) and was later, in 1887, replaced by the Portuguese Red Cross Society.

¹⁸ They represented Red Cross societies from Belgium, Brazil, Finland, France, French North Africa, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Sweden, Thailand, the United States of America, Yugoslavia, and the ICRC. Interestingly, there were no representatives of the Japanese and the Chinese Red Cross, although the Chinese minister in Lisbon asked to be given a list of countries with representatives to the Portuguese Red Cross (Chinese Minister in Lisbon to President of the Portuguese Red Cross, 10 April 1944. AHCVP [Arquivo Histórico da Cruz Vermelha Portuguesa-Historical Archives of the Portuguese Red Cross Society], Legações Estrangeiras, China).

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- ¹⁹ One historian stated that Lisbon was ‘the key neutral European port during the war.’ (Crossland, *Britain and the International Committee*, 70).
- ²⁰ Pimentel and Ninhos, *Salazar, Portugal e o Holocausto*.
- ²¹ See, for example, the reference in an American Red Cross publication: ‘The only method in which agreement has so far been reached for the transportation of relief supplies was by diplomatic exchange ships, which went from various United Nations ports to Lourenço Marques, in Portuguese East Africa, and there met the Japanese exchange ships’ (‘Relief to Prisoners of War in the Far East,’ 4).
- ²² On the American-Japanese exchanges see: Corbett, *Quiet Passages*, 56-95. Correspondence about the exchange involving the Portuguese Red Cross in AHCVP, CV/3213-3465, Proc. N° 3322.
- ²³ Hotta, *Japan 1941*, 283-284; Cuthberston, *Nobody said not to go*, 275-277.
- ²⁴ Crossland, *Britain and the International Committee*, 89.
- ²⁵ See, for example, a letter from Egle to the Geneva headquarters about the exchange of correspondence to ‘Chinese parties in Canton’ that had been sent from the Portuguese Red Cross in Lourenço Marques (ICRC Delegate in Shanghai to ICRC, 9[?] Dec. 1942. ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross Archives], B G 017 07-015). Lourenço Marques hosted one of the largest Chinese communities in the Portuguese empire.
- ²⁶ See, for example, an excerpt of the press release (Noticiário) no. 93 from 1943 intitled ‘Vai realizar-se na Índia Portuguesa uma Troca de Civis Americanos e Japoneses’ [An exchange of American and Japanese civilians will take place in Portuguese India] that read: ‘The Lourenço Marques Delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross has striven for the best outcomes for the Nation’s prestige and the good of mankind resulting from this other great service which will be provided by Portugal to the World.’ AHCVP, II Guerra, Serviço de Imprensa, 1941-1944, my translation.
- ²⁷ ‘Elementos estatísticos da acção da Cruz Vermelha Portuguesa durante a Guerra de 1939-1945’ [Statistical elements of the actions of the Portuguese Red Cross during the 1939-1945 War]. AHCVP, CV/4742-4805
- ²⁸ For example, one of the first Portuguese Red Cross delegations was set up in Luanda, Angola’s capital, and it established blood-bank hospitals at several points in Mozambique in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (*Cruz Vermelha Portuguesa 1865 a 1925*, 301-302; *A Cruz Vermelha Portuguesa*, 25). One of its Presidents, General Joaquim José Machado, had been governor of Mozambique and another, Henrique José Monteiro Mendonça, had been a plantation owner in São Tomé and Príncipe.
- ²⁹ Reeves, ‘The Red Cross Society,’ p. 218.

³⁰ E.g. van Bergen, 'On "War Task"'; van Bergen, 'Medical care as the carrot'; Martínez, 'Estado de necesidad.'

³¹ E.g. Telo, *Portugal na Segunda Guerra*; Rosas, 'Portuguese Neutrality.'

³² E.g. Minutes of the Macau Delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross, 23 April 1922. AHCVP, Delegação de Macau, 1ª Pasta (1915-1974).

³³ 'History,' Macau Red Cross: https://www.redcross.org.mo/en/rc_history.htm.

³⁴ See for example, Teixeira, 'Macau durante a Guerra,' 498.

³⁵ E.g. HKPRO [Hong Kong Public Records Office], HKRS 170-1-359.

³⁶ AHCVP, CV/3563-3821.

³⁷ E.g. Crossland, *Britain and the International Committee*, 90-97; Totani, 'The Prisoner of War,' 79-80; Edgar, "'The necessary boldness'" in <https://brianedgar.wordpress.com/2016/05/26/the-necessary-boldness-rudolf-zindels-red-cross-work/>. For a negative assessment of Zindel's work, which is contradicted by the archival sources seen for this article, see Auden, *Charles R. Boxer*, 214-215. A post-war report listing Zindel's courageous actions noted that he had wanted to resign but, knowing that his replacement might not be permitted, he stayed on in the post (Article in *The Hong Kong Sunday Herald* reproduced in letter from ICRC Delegate in London to ICRC, 2 Nov. 1945. ICRC, B G 017 07-073).

³⁸ Even before the appointment of Zindel to Hong Kong, Egle informed the ICRC that he had been told by Fritz Paravicini, the delegate in Tokyo, that 'the Japanese Authorities look askance at any suggestions on our part to appoint other delegates or even sub-delegates of the International Red Cross Committee, and that the Japanese Authorities feel that the two existing delegates are sufficient to cover the Far East.' (ICRC Delegate in Shanghai to ICRC, 16 May 1942. ICRC, B G 017 07-012).

³⁹ Four Portuguese women worked at the ICRC Main Office in Shanghai: Miss H. da Costa was responsible for the civilian mail section, Portuguese correspondence, 'attending partly to Japanese telephone calls,' and also spoke Chinese; Miss Marie Rozario worked at the section for enquiries and civilian mail; Miss Virginia M. Oliveira was an assistant in the civilian mail section; and Miss L. Oliveira worked in handling parcel and mail for POWs in Shanghai. Two Portuguese, Mr. Thomas Kabelitz and Mrs. Lyna Ritter, worked for the Service to Civilian Interned at the ICRC Branch Office on Sichuan Rd (ICRC Shanghai Office, List of Staff, 28 Feb. 1943. ICRC, B G 017 07-017). The ICRC staff in Hong Kong included two Portuguese women, Miss Jacinta Castilho, who was receptionist and steno-typist in the General Office, and Miss Constance Mary Basto, who was typist and receptionist in the Relief Department (Particulars of Staff sent with letter from ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong to ICRC, 6 Apr. 1943. ICRC, B G 017 07-061). In November of the same year Miss Basto was listed as working for

the General Office, Miss Angela Teresa Alves, a steno-typist, was working for the Purchasing Department, and Miss Castilho was working and living at Rosary Hill (Particulars of Staff sent with letter from ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong to ICRC, 23 Nov. 1943. ICRC, B G 017 07-066). Several dependants held key positions in the running of the Rosary Hill Red Cross Home and certain surnames also point out to a probable Portuguese nationality or origin, such as that of the school headmistress, Miss Delminda L. Lopes (Report on the Rosary Hill Red Cross Home from ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong to ICRC, 30 Apr. 1944. ICRC, B G 017 07-067).

⁴⁰ Egle explained to Geneva that ‘generally speaking the Japanese authorities don’t feel obliged to allow the International Red Cross Committee Delegates to perform their tasks [...] under these circumstances we often need a lot of tact and a great patience’ (ICRC Delegate in Shanghai to the ICRC, 20 Jan. 1943. ICRC, B G 017 07-017 [my translation from the French]). The most extreme treatment of Red Cross personnel was perhaps the execution in 1943 of the couple of Swiss missionaries who acted as unofficial delegates in Borneo (‘60 Prison Camps Concealed,’ *The South China Morning Post*, 23 Nov. 1945, sent with letter from ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong to ICRC, 30 Nov. 1945. ICRC, B G 017 07-071).

⁴¹ Governor of Macau to Minister of Colonies, 12 Aug. 1942. AHU [Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino-Overseas Historical Archives, Portugal], 236, 1E, MU, GM, 1942 (my translation).

⁴² President of the Macau Delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross to ICRC Delegate in Shanghai, February 27 1943. ICRC, D AO CHINE1 01-086.

⁴³ Crossland, *Britain and the International Committee*, 92.

⁴⁴ E.g. *Directório de Macau 1937*, 1, 3, 5; *Anuário de Macau 1938*, 22, 37-38; *Anuário de Macau 1939*, 3, 5, 9, 10, 12-19.

⁴⁵ Portuguese Consul at Guangzhou to Portuguese Minister to China, 19 March 1940. AHD, 3P, A9, M135.

⁴⁶ In addition to his professional contacts, Rodrigues also had international connections of a more personal nature. For example, his second wife, Neeltje Adriana van Woerkom, was Dutch.

⁴⁷ Respectively, Fernando de Senna Fernandes Rodrigues, First Lieutenant of the Navy José Peixoto de Lima, Infantry Lieutenant Manuel Gedeão, Captain José Joaquim da Silva e Costa, Alberto Pacheco Jorge, João Correia Pais Assunção, and retired Lieutenant Augusto Teixeira. *Boletim Oficial 1943*, 23; ‘Delegação da Cruz Vermelha Portuguesa’ [Portuguese Red Cross Delegation], *A Voz de Macau*, 29 Feb. 1943, 3.

⁴⁸ See the balance sheets in AHCVP, CV/3513-3514.

⁴⁹ When Gao died in Hong Kong in 1955, the President of the Macau Delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross conveyed his condolences to the family in name of the Portuguese Red Cross, noting how he had been a ‘distinguished member and benefactor.’ (Macau Delegation to Secretary

General of the Portuguese Red Cross, 12 May 1955. AHCVP, Delegação de Macau, 1ª Pasta [1915-1974]).

- ⁵⁰ President of the Macau Delegation to the Secretary General of the Portuguese Red Cross, 5 June 1943. AHCVP, CV/3513-3514.
- ⁵¹ Head of the Macau Civil Administration Services to President of the Macau Delegation, 12 Mar. 1943. AM [Arquivo de Macau-Archives of Macau], Administração Civil, N°P-18492, Cx. 350 (my translation).
- ⁵² Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity*.
- ⁵³ Watt, *Saving lives in wartime China*, 137-138.
- ⁵⁴ E.g. Advertisement for a charitable billiards show in *A Voz de Macau* 14 June 1943, 3; small report on a flower sale fundraising event in ‘Cruz Vermelha Portuguesa’ [Portuguese Red Cross], *A Voz de Macau*, 24 April 1944, 2. The latter event included the participation of several Chinese schools in the territory (‘Festa da flor’ [Flower fete], *A Voz de Macau*, 28 June 1944, 4). Microfilm copies of this Macau periodical were read at the library of Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau [Macau Scientific and Cultural Centre] in Lisbon, an institution housed in a building that formerly belonged to the Portuguese Red Cross (‘História do Edifício’ [The building’s history], CCCM:<http://www.cccm.pt/page.php?conteudo=&tarefa=ver&id=34&item=Hist%F3ria%20do%20edif%EDcio>).
- ⁵⁵ ‘Cruz Vermelha Portuguesa’ [Portuguese Red Cross], *A Voz de Macau*, 13 Feb. 1944, 2; ‘Cruz Vermelha Portuguesa’ [Portuguese Red Cross], *A Voz de Macau*, 25 and 26 Apr. 1944, 2; ‘Henrique José Monteiro de Mendonça, 11º Presidente da Cruz Vermelha Portuguesa’ [Henrique José Monteiro de Mendonça, 11th President of the Portuguese Red Cross], *A Voz de Macau*, 9 May 1944, 2 and 4; ‘Vice-Almirante Guilherme Ivens Ferraz, 12º Presidente da Cruz Vermelha Portuguesa’ [Vice Admiral Guilherme Ivens Ferraz, 12th President of the Portuguese Red Cross], *A Voz de Macau*, 10 and 11 May 1944, 2.
- ⁵⁶ An announcement in a local daily informed the readers that from then onwards the Macau delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross was ‘able to receive correspondence to be sent via plane to Europe, Australia, and the United States, via Chungking.’ (*A Voz de Macau*, 1 Apr. 1944, 3).
- ⁵⁷ ICRC Delegate in Shanghai to ICRC Delegate in Chongqing, 25 May 1943. ICRC, B G 017 07-018.
- ⁵⁸ ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong to ICRC Delegate in Yokohama for ICRC in Geneva, 21 June 1943. ICRC, D AO CHINE1 01-024; also ICRC, B G 017 07-061.
- ⁵⁹ ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong to ICRC, 29 Sept. 1945. ICRC, B G 017 07-063.

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- ⁶⁰ President of the Macau Delegation to ICRC Delegate in Shanghai, 10 May and 26 June 1944; Assistant Delegate of the ICRC in Shanghai to President of the Macau Delegation, 25 Sept. 1944. ICRC, D AO CHINE1 01-086.
- ⁶¹ On the failed negotiations for an exchange that lasted until 1945 see Fedorowich, ‘Doomed from the outset?;’ and Ward, ‘The Asia-Pacific War.’
- ⁶² ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong to ICRC, 28 April 1944. ICRC, B G 017 07-065.
- ⁶³ ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong to ICRC Tokyo Office for ICRC in Geneva, 19 Oct. 1944. ICRC, B G 017 07-068. However, later that same month he asked Geneva for assistance because the Hong Kong authorities had stipulated that ‘future Macau remittances to us must pass via Geneva/Tokyo.’ (ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong to ICRC Tokyo Office for ICRC in Geneva, 24 Oct. 1944. ICRC, B G 017 07-068).
- ⁶⁴ ‘Elementos estatísticos da acção da Cruz Vermelha Portuguesa durante a Guerra de 1939-1945’ [Statistical elements of the actions of the Portuguese Red Cross during the 1939-1945 War]. AHCVP, CV/4742-4805.
- ⁶⁵ This is vividly illustrated by J. G. Ballard’s memoir of childhood life in the Longhua Camp (Ballard, *Empire of the Sun*).
- ⁶⁶ ICRC Delegate in Shanghai to President of the Macau Delegation, 24 Jan. 1944. ICRC, D AO CHINE1 01-086.
- ⁶⁷ ICRC Delegate in Shanghai to President of the Macau Delegation, 12 July 1944. ICRC, D AO CHINE1 01-086.
- ⁶⁸ E.g. ‘Como socorrer os portugueses de Shanghai, vítimas da guerra?’ [How to help the Shanghai Portuguese, victims of war?], *Renascimento*, 23 Mar. 1945, 6; ‘Portugueses! Centenas de Famílias Portuguesas estão destruídas em Shanghai! Assinem, conforme a sua posse, a subscrição pública!’ [Portuguese! Hundreds of Portuguese families are destroyed in Shanghai! Sign the public subscription according to your means!], *Renascimento*, 29 Mar. 1945, 6.
- ⁶⁹ ‘Para os Portugueses de Xangai’ [To the Shanghai Portuguese], *Renascimento*, 26 June 1945, 4.
- ⁷⁰ Among the very few studies published about the Portuguese community in Shanghai are Dias, ‘The Origins;’ Dias, *Diáspora Macaense*; Silva, *The Portuguese Community in Shanghai*.
- ⁷¹ Reporting to Geneva at the end of 1942, Egle stated: ‘As to the Portuguese Community, although there is a considerable number of needy people, I do not consider this is our problem, and the duty to look after its nationals devolves on the Portuguese Consulate General at Shanghai.’ (ICRC Delegate in Shanghai to ICRC, 3 Dec. 1942. ICRC ICRC, B G 017 07-015).
- ⁷² On the Macau Delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross activities linked to the Portuguese community in Shanghai during the 1950s see the correspondence in AHCVP, Delegação de Macau, 1ª Pasta (1915-1974).

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- ⁷³ Curiously, some of the original religious residents of the monastery also sought refuge in Macau, as attested by a letter from Father Alberto Santamaria, Prior of the Community in Rosary Hill, to the Colonial Secretary asking for them to be repatriated to Hong Kong in November 1945. HKPRO, HKRS 170-1-377(3).
- ⁷⁴ From ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong to ICRC, 20 Sept. 1942. ICRC, B G 017 07-060.
- ⁷⁵ At a time when the Spanish Dominican Fathers who owned Rosary Hill were contesting the settlement payment for the building's wartime use, Zindel informed that in the summer of 1944, 'after the Allied landing on Saipan Island, the Japanese Military had included the "Rosary Hill" property in their fortified "Military-Zone", and had requested its immediate evacuation' and it was only due to his 'personal efforts that we were finally permitted to remain at "Rosary Hill", thereby protecting the property from complete looting and serious structural damage [...]' (Zindel quoted in letter from ICRC to British Red Cross Society and Order of St. John of Jerusalem, 27 May 1947. ICRC, B G 017 07-076).
- ⁷⁶ When the first transfer of dependants to the Rosary Hill Red Cross Home was completed on 27 October 1943, there were 667 people in total, with 'about 300 children below 14 years, whilst the remainder consists of a preponderance of women' (ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong to ICRC, 16 Nov. 1943. ICRC, B G 017 07-063). At the end of November the total number was 670. The Portuguese formed the second largest group (182) after the Eurasian (215). The residents had diverse origins, nationalities listed being: Eurasian, Portuguese, British by marriage, Chinese, Russian, Indian and West Indian, Czechoslovak, Iranian, French, Estonian, Swiss, Irish, American Chinese, Latvian, Colombian, and stateless (ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong to ICRC, 20 Dec. 1943, *ibid.*). At the end of June 1944 the number of dependants living in the Red Cross Home was 503 (ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong to ICRC, 30 May 1944. ICRC, B G 017 07-067). By October the number was reduced too 477 (ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong to ICRC, 18 Oct. 1944. ICRC, B G 017 07-068). In late April 1945 there were 459 people in Rosary Hill (ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong to ICRC, 25 May 1945. ICRC, B G 017 07-063). At the end of July there were only 142 people (ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong to ICRC, 16 Aug. 1945, *ibid.*).
- ⁷⁷ A report stated that, of the almost 7,000 'Third Nationals' in Hong Kong at the end of January 1943, 1,203 were Portuguese while 3,371 were Indian (*Rapport de Mr. Zindel sur l'activité de la Délégation du CICR à Hong Kong au 28 février 1943* [Mr Zindel's Report on the activities of the ICRC Delegation at Hong Kong on the 28th of February 1943], 8-9, ICRC, ICRC, B G 017 07-060).
- ⁷⁸ 'Memorandum on Proposed Measures to ensure the future maintenance of the "Rosary Hill" Red Cross Home,' written by the ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong, 30 Apr. 1945. ICRC, B G 017 07-063.

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- ⁷⁹ For example, a list of departures from the Rosary Hill Red Cross Home during July 1944 counts amongst those who left for Macau a number of Portuguese, Eurasians, and Indians (ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong to ICRC, 1 Aug. 1944. ICRC, B G 017 07-067). A similar list pertaining to May 1945 also includes British by marriage, British by birth, Chinese, Latvians, a Russian emigrant and a stateless German (ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong to ICRC, 29 May 1945. ICRC, B G 017 07-068).
- ⁸⁰ To ICRC Tokyo Office from ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong for ICRC in Geneva, 2 Aug. 1944. ICRC, D AO CHINE1 01-028. Almost at the end of the war, in June 1945, the ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong was still trying to get more people to leave Rosary Hill as it was unable to meet the rising costs of living.
- ⁸¹ ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong to ICRC, 20 June 1945. ICRC, B G 017 07-063.
- ⁸² Foreign Office to British Consul in Macau, 20 June 1945. TNA [The National Archives, UK], FO 369/3267.
- ⁸³ The British Vice Consul at Geneva informed the ICRC that ‘concerning transfer of dependants to Macao, we have now received from London a telegram stating that His Majesty’s Consul at Macao has authority to assume financial responsibility for these people’ (British Vice Consul at Geneva to ICRC, 28 May 1945. ICRC, B G 017 07-077).
- ⁸⁴ Foreign Office to Colonial Office, 16 Aug. 1945. TNA, FO 369/3267.
- ⁸⁵ J. Cellérier (London Delegation of the ICRC Central Agency for POW) to Colonial Office, 5 July 1945; Colonial Office to Cellérier, 9 July 1945. TNA, FO 369/3267.
- ⁸⁶ The 241 persons of 16 nationalities still living in Rosary Hill were transferred to the care of the British authorities in November (ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong to ICRC, 29 Oct. 1945. ICRC, B G 017 07-073).
- ⁸⁷ From ICRC Delegate in Hong Kong to ICRC, 7 Dec. 1945. ICRC, B G 017 07-071.
- ⁸⁸ Governor of Macau to Minister of Colonies, 14 July 1945. ANTT, Arquivo Salazar, NE-10A2, cx. 768; Teixeira, ‘Rescaldo da Guerra,’ 530-531; Teixeira, ‘The Bonnie and Clyde,’ 5-7; Pinto, ‘Guerra em Paz,’ 86. According to British sources the reasons had been ‘non-cooperation [with the enemy] and some financial issue’ (TNA, FO 371/46199).
- ⁸⁹ Mr Rodrigues was awarded three decorations by the Portuguese Red Cross, one for Dedication (*Dedicação*) in 1920, one for Merit (*Mérito*) in 1943, and a posthumous for Praise (*Louvor*) in 1946.
- ⁹⁰ President of the Portuguese Red Cross to Governor of Macau, 17 Mar. 1949, stating that: ‘During the last war a delegation of the Portuguese Red Cross was created in that city that rendered very relevant services, notably concerning the material and moral assistance to refugees and other victims of the world conflagration.’ He then suggested the reestablishment of a Portuguese Red

Cross delegation in Macau to serve as intermediary between the Lisbon headquarters and the Chinese Red Cross, which had made requests for help to attend to the ‘needed population of China.’ AHCVP, Delegação de Macau, 1ª Pasta (1915-1974), my translation.

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