THE RISE OF MACAO CHINESE CULTURAL NATIONALISM
DURING THE ANTI-JAPANESE WAR

by

Kaede, Zichang Chen

George Wei

Department of History

Master of Art in History

(Expected) Degree Award Date

Faculty of Social Science and Humanity

University of Macau

* * * * * * * * *
Copyright 2013 by

Chen, Zichang

University of Macau
THE RISE OF MACAO CHINESE CULTURAL NATIONALISM

DURING THE ANTI-JAPANESE WAR

by

Kaede, Zichang Chen

George Wei

Department of History

Master of Art in History

May 2013

Faculty of Social Science and Humanity

University of Macau
Acknowledgement

I would like to express my greatest gratitude to my advisor Professor George Wei for his supports and helpful guidance. His knowledge, personal morale and persistence in profession helped me to keep on track and work through this odyssey. My gratitude goes out as well to all the professors in the History Department of University of Macao for their advices and teachings which have honed my research and organizational skills. I am also grateful to my school colleagues who have shared the most enjoyable and beneficial study experiences from 2009 to 2010 and their friendships ever since with me. Special thanks go to Fivetfoot and Saul who kept encouraging me like comrades to march to the goal.

I wish to give thanks to my parents for their consistent support to my work and patience to my occasional willfulness. And I want to thank my grandparents, Uncle Sinn, Aunt Nuan and my cousin Lucinda for their encouragements and cares all the time.

Last but not least, a special thank goes to my beloved Erica, who had accompanied me through my hardest time and without whom I couldn’t have make it so far to pursue the dreams we share.
Abstract

The thesis mainly applies the theory of cultural nationalism and the paradigm of “ethno-symbolism” to examine the process in which Macao Chinese residents evolved from “members of an ethnic group” with little national consciousness and passively responding to nationalist movements initiated in the mainland, to “members of the Chinese nation” with strong nationalist emotions and actively participating in local nationalist movements. Meanwhile, after the repeated failures in political nationalist movements, Macao Chinese residents realized the significance of cultural nationalism in the particular context of Macao and soon adopted it. In the special background of the Anti-Japanese War, Macao Chinese residents overcame hardships and united under the call of cultural nationalism which was promoted in every aspect of the cultural domain in Macao. The cultural nationalist movement became a thorough nationalist baptism to the entire Chinese community and brought essential changes to the Macao society under colonialism.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT..................................................................................... I

ABSTRACT..................................................................................................... II

INTRODUCTION ............................................................................................. 5

Part 1. Research orientation ................................................................. 5
   1. The study object and time range: Macao Chinese community during
      the Anti-Japanese War................................................................. 5
   2. The arguments: the internal evolution of Macao Chinese community. .. 7

Part 2. Theories and definitions ............................................................. 10
   1. Theory of cultural nationalism and paradigm of “ethno-symbolism” . 11
   2. Political nationalism and Cultural nationalism .......................... 13

Part 3. Research Overview ................................................................. 16

Part 4. Methodology ................................................................. 19

Part 5. Innovations and deficiencies .................................................. 20

CHAPTER I GENERAL HISTORY OF THE BIRTH OF CHINESE
NATIONALISM OF MACAO CHINESE PUBLIC (LATE QING
PERIOD – 1920S) ................................................................................... 23

Part 1 Synopsis of mainland-originated Chinese political actions in Macao (late
Qing period -- early period of Republic of China) .......................... 23

Part 2. Birth of local Chinese nationalism in Macao after early
mainland-originated political activities ........................................... 38
   1. Embrace the “New Nation” -- birth of modern Chinese education in
      Macao and propagation of modern nationalist ideology ............ 39
   2. Revive the “Old Nation”-- idealization of traditional Confucian culture
      and awakening of national consciousness .............................. 50
   3. Antinomy and unity between the “old” nation and the “new” nation --
      Cultural base of Macao Chinese cultural nationalism ............ 59
CHAPTER II: PRELIMINARY STAGE OF MACAO CHINESE NATIONALISM AND SETBACKS FOR POLITICAL NATIONALISM (1920’S – 1937) .......................................................... 63

Part 1 Historical background .................................................. 64
1. Chinese immigration tide to Macao -- expansion of Chinese community’s influence in Macao (1920s – 1930s) ......................... 64
2. Boost of Macao Chinese education -- general establishment of pro-nationalist education among Chinese community (1920s) .................................................. 76
3. Conflict of interest between different classes of Macao Chinese community and its effects on the rise of Macao Chinese nationalism (1920s) .................................................. 84

Part 2. Frustration of Macao Chinese political nationalism in labor movements (1920s) 86
1. Chinese political nationalist movement in Macao before the “5-29 Incident” ................................................ 87
2. Problems of local originality and social popularity of political nationalism reflected in the “5-29 Incident” and following labor movements .................................................. 89
3. Last attempt of Macao Chinese political nationalism during the Hong Kong- Canton Strike ........................................... 96

Part 3. Preliminary summary I: two factors and six conditions for the development of Macao Chinese nationalism. .......................... 100
Question: Status of local originality and social popularity in Macao Chinese nationalist movement .......................... 100
Analysis and thoughts on factor of local originality ................. 102
Analysis and thoughts on factor of social popularity .............. 103
Analysis and thoughts of dominant circumstances of Macao government 104

CHAPTER III RISE OF MACAO CHINESE CULTURAL NATIONALISM (1937-1945) ............................................................... 106

Part 1 Conditions for the rise of Macao Chinese cultural nationalism 107
1. Burst of Chinese population and decline of Macao government’s authority .......................... 107
2. Depoliticalization and development of Chinese civil association network ................................................. 122
3. Enforcement of Macao Chinese people’s influence on Macao government ........................................... 124

Part 2 Synopsis and reflections: actions of disaster relief by Chinese civil associations (1937-1938) .................. 130

Part 3 Baptism of Macao Chinese cultural nationalism (1938-1945) ...................................................... 137
1. Pro-nationalist education for Chinese and upsurge of Guoxue study ......................................................... 138
2. Public media ................................................................................................................................. 166
3. Public entertainment ....................................................................................................................... 181
4. Literature and painting .................................................................................................................. 200
5. Last two arguments to be clarified concerning Macao Chinese nationalism during the Anti-Japanese War ........................................................... 224

Part 4. Preliminary summary II ............................................................................................................. 238
Increasing local originality: objective consequence of external isolation and subjective “reconstruction and projection of the main body” ........................................ 238
Increasing social popularity: internal evolution due to cultural nationalism’s function of social infiltration and unification ................................................................. 240
Continuity: Cultural nationalism’s power of self-construction and its target ......................................................................................................................... 251

CONCLUSION ................................................................................................................................. 254

REFERENCE ...................................................................................................................................... 258

Newspaper ........................................................................................................................................ 258
Memoir and oral history record ........................................................................................................ 258
Other primary source ...................................................................................................................... 259
Rare book ........................................................................................................................................ 260
Monograph ....................................................................................................................................... 261
Article ............................................................................................................................................... 265
Online information .......................................................................................................................... 270
APPENDIX 1. LIST OF CHINESE CIVIL ASSOCIATION OF DISASTER RELIEF DURING THE ANTI-JAPANESE WAR……272

APPENDIX 2. LIST OF SCHOOLS IN MACAO FROM 1938 TO 1945…………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………...278