



The Tradition of “Bandas de Música” in Macao

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The “Passeio Publico”, Lisbon, photo ca. 1870
(private collection of António Barreto, in Maria Filomena Mónica, *Eça de Queirós*,
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INTRODUCTION

Though little-researched, wind bands were a phenomenon of great importance in nineteenth-century Europe. Portugal was no exception to this, and such bands played, and continue to play, an important role in Macanese musical culture. Besides the military band, whose origins date back to the early nineteenth century, and which continues to exist today,¹ various school bands are also found today, continuing a tradition begun at St. Joseph's Seminary in the late nineteenth century.²

As a European phenomenon, the musical band reached its apogee in the nineteenth century. The term, of controversial origins, probably signifies “troop” (from medieval French “bande”)³ or “banner” (from the medieval Latin “bandum”, related to the Germanic “bandwa”, “sign”),⁴ an allusion to the instrumental groups that used to announce the arrival of civil or military retinues. These groups consisted of trumpet and kettledrum players, and their music was originally very simple. The expression first came into use towards the end of the eighteenth century to designate military groups of woodwind, brass and percussion instruments. In the following century, the designation “band” was also applied to civil groups.

The great European monarchies of the nineteenth century typically displayed military bands as a symbol of their superiority and power. In the nineteenth century, a type of repertoire encountered in cavalry regiments (“chasseurs” in France, “Jäger” in Germany), which was played only on brass instruments (mainly horns and bugles) became extremely popular.⁵ Compared to woodwind ensemble, this new type of military band had many practical advantages: the instruments could withstand bad weather, they could be played while wearing gloves (a compulsory part of military dress), and they were relatively easy to learn, so that one person could play several instruments from the same family. In mid-nineteenth century France, a highly versatile type of civilian musical band developed out of this military prototype which would soon be imitated in Italy (“banda municipale”), Spain (“banda del ayuntamiento”), Portugal (“banda de música”, “filarmónica” or “banda municipal”), and also in Macao (“banda municipal”). The French concert band of the late nineteenth century was much more versatile than its English and German predecessors, possessing a full

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and equally smooth sound thanks to the presence of woodwind instruments and saxophones which replaced the traditional brass instruments in some passages, softening the shrill and sometimes coarse sound of military bands until then.⁶ In Portugal, by the end of the nineteenth century, such bands acquired (and maintain until this day) a significant tradition and popularity. References from the late eighteenth century demonstrate the existence, in the Portuguese fleet, of a “música marcial” called “charamela”.⁷ In 1807, this band accompanied the Portuguese royal family on their enforced trip to Brazil.⁸ One of the most important exemplars of the Portuguese tradition⁹ of “bandas de música”, or civic bands (“filarmónicas”),¹⁰ which spread throughout the country and played a key role in local musical education, was the military elite Banda da Guarda Nacional Republicana (actually an emulation of the French Garde Républicaine). Its origin dates to the Banda da Guarda Municipal, comprised of 45 players, established in 1838 by decree of Dona Maria II (r. 1834-1853).¹¹

The secondary literature consulted for the present paper, including the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, fails to approach the subject of wind bands in Portugal in any detail.¹² However, I assume it is possible to explain the introduction of military and municipal bands in Portugal with reference to the cultural influence that France had on the country, especially from the late eighteenth century onward. In spite of Portugal's political-military alliance with Great Britain, which was aimed at restraining French and Spanish attacks during the Peninsular War (1808-1814), France remained the great cultural model, which deeply influenced the political, social and cultural reforms that came about in Portugal well into the twentieth century.

With the death of Dona Maria I (r. 1777-1816), her son, the prince regent, was proclaimed king as Dom João VI (r. 1816-1826). In spite of the fact that Portugal was now at peace with France, Dom João VI decided to remain in Brazil. Furthermore, the British General William Carr Beresford, to whom the military command of the Portuguese army was granted between 1809 and 1819, exerted enormous influence on Dom João VI—and, by extension, on the destiny of the entire country, triggering unfavourable reactions from significant sectors of Portuguese society. The war against France had brought Portugal to the brink of

bankruptcy and state revenues were being consumed at a lavish rate by the Court, now living in Brazil. Popular dissatisfaction with the British presence in Portugal was increasing quickly, as was the acceptance of French revolutionary ideals, *liberté, égalité, fraternité*. On August 24, 1820, a group of military and liberal supporters instigated a revolt in the city of Oporto which quickly spread throughout the country. Temporarily, the government was placed in the hands of a “Junta Governativa” [Ruling Committee], whose task was to organise elections and prepare a new Constitution; this latter ended up being enacted in 1822 by Dom Pedro IV, a son of Dom João VI who had returned to Portugal in 1821. The Constitution instituted a constitutional monarchy, representing the first great victory of Liberalism in Portugal. However, the same liberal ideals also led Dom Pedro to grant independence to Brazil on September 7, 1822. The loss of that important colony—which had been for many years the seat of the kingdom—caused many problems; supporters of absolutism, led by Dom Miguel (1802-1866), Dom Pedro's brother, started a civil war that would come to an end only in 1834, with the victory of the Liberals and the capitulation of Dom Miguel.¹³

The Liberal victory on the battlefield also represented a triumph of liberal ideas and, consequently, of the culture that embodied them. In the second half of the nineteenth century, French culture—mostly through works of Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850), Victor Hugo (1802-1885), Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865), Alfred de Musset (1810-1857), Gustave Flaubert (1821-1880), Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867) and Émile Zola (1840-1902)—was considered the cultural model to emulate: a trend which writer Eça de Queirós (1845-1900), the one Portuguese intellectual who best understood Portuguese society at the time, came to nickname somewhat disparagingly as “francesismo”.¹⁴ The liberalisation of customs, the democratisation of public spaces such as Lisbon's “Passeio Público” (to which I shall return later), the adoption of republican ideals (which culminated with the proclamation of the Republic in 1910), and the principles of politico-administrative organization which resulted in strong municipal traditions, were all nourished by this “francesismo”. The French Revolution had profoundly changed expectations about social order in Europe, and its reverberations were felt throughout the continent.

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Among the rights and benefits henceforth offered to citizens were public musical performances, a phenomenon in which bands, due to their above-mentioned characteristics, played a fundamental role.¹⁵ Therefore, it would be reasonable to suggest that this may have been the main pathway by which the tradition of musical bands entered Portugal.

MILITARY BANDS IN MACAO (1818 TO 1912)

The history of military bands in Macao is, of course, linked to the successive changes in the military and political structure of Portugal. Thus, with each political restructuring at home we see a change in the band's name, its headquarters, even its military unit. Despite these superficial changes, however, everything would seem to suggest a high degree of continuity, at least until 1912, when the military band was abolished, giving rise to the first municipal band. Although in my research it was not possible to find a complete list containing the names of every musician, it seems reasonable to assume, given the small number of people involved, that the personnel of the military bands in Macao were transferred from one ensemble to another, at least as far as the vast majority of players was concerned.

On July 28 1784, on the instructions of Dona Maria I (r. 1777-1816), a battalion of regular troops (Batalhão de Macau) numbering 150 men arrived from Goa with the aim of relieving the existing garrison and police force, charged with defending the city and keeping the peace. On May 13, 1810, these troops were combined with a reinforcement of 400 soldiers from Goa to form the Batalhão Príncipe Regente.¹⁶ Divided into four companies, the battalion was, from 1816 onward, quartered in the "former Barracks and (...) in the Monte Fortress".¹⁷ Subsequently, in 1829, due to the fact that few friars occupied the extensive premises of the Convento de Sto. Agostinho,¹⁸ the then 400-strong battalion was transferred there. In a communication dated April 13, 1831, to the Vicar Capitular, the Leal Senado determined that the Battalion should be housed in the abandoned College of St. Paul's, where it remained until the 1835 fire.¹⁹

This military detachment possessed a band, a fact that is recorded in a document dated 1818 which recounts in great detail the ceremonies organised by the Leal Senado for the acclamation of King Dom João

VI of Portugal. There is every reason to believe that this is the first surviving record of the performance of a military band in Macao:

The Body of the Leal Senado, composed of its members (...) all went to the great gala dressed with capes and white sashes, richly embroidered (...). Before the Senate were the officials of Justice and other servants of the said Senate. Behind them was a company of 40 men commanded by a captain, lieutenant and junior officer; at its front was the Music Band of the Batalhão Príncipe Regente. (...) [On the way to the Cathedral] went His Excellency the Governor and his Staff and before them the Senate Flag (...) and behind all was the Battalion composed of its officers, in the centre of which was the flag of same (...) surrounded by the Music Band, which resounded with its echoes the most sonorous and melodious voices.²⁰

The diary of Harriet Low (1809-1877), which is a record of her stay in the territory between 1829 and 1833, contains several references to bands. This young American woman, the niece of William Low, a partner in the trading firm Russell & Co. working in Canton, arrived on September 30, 1829, in order to keep the company of her Aunt Abigail in Macao during the latter's husband's prolonged absences:

February 28 [1830], Seven o'clock, Sunday Eve. (...) I have just returned from seeing a procession (...) In the first place came six or seven men with muffed drums, and black silk drawn over their faces. They were all dressed in black robes. I do not know what they represented. Then followed others, bearing a banner with the cross and other banners with Latin inscriptions. One of the men in front was blowing a trumpet. (...) The military, with a band of music, then citizens, in the ordinary dress.²¹

Although we cannot say for sure, it is likely, based on the available data, that the "band" mentioned above and on several other occasions by Harriet Low was that of the Batalhão Príncipe Regente. Low makes further references to musical bands when she describes a vow-taking ceremony at the Church of Santa Clara, and a wedding, though without allowing us the certainty that we are dealing with the band of the Batalhão Príncipe Regente or simply one formed *ad hoc* by musicians hired especially for the occasion:

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March 18 [1833]. This morning soon after breakfast I dressed the bride in white satin, with a lace handkerchief over her neck, and veil on her head. (...) Mr. Latimer sent a band of music to play as we returned from church and during the repast. Everything went off very well.²²

However, on Saturday, October 24, 1829, Low describes in her diary a view from her summer-house. Historian Gonzaga Gomes has located her address, giving us a valuable indication about where the concerts were in all likelihood being held: "(...) where she lived, at the Russel & Co. residence, which to judge by the author's description must have been a splendid residence on the Largo da Sé [Cathedral Square], on the other side of Travessa de São João opposite the Cathedral."²³ Harriet Low, in the following excerpt, makes an important reference to the regular public performances of the band:

(...) From the front of the summer-house we have a fine view of the fort on one high hill. (...) Below we have a view of the town and the beach, the Franciscan Church, and the green where the ladies walk; and every Saturday evening a band plays there, which is pleasant. I can hear them from the summer-house.

A news item about the band appeared in 1843 in the newspaper *A Aurora Macaense* with regard to a curious incident that occurred on the night of May 15. A sergeant of the guard²⁴ arrested the military musicians who were performing outside at a party hosted by the battalion commander himself, Caetano António de Lemos. The editor of the newspaper protested vehemently against this disruption of a private musical event: "It [the military band] has, as all Macao knows, always and at all hours of the night played music at the Campo de São Francisco²⁵ and we cannot therefore understand why the battalion band would be found guilty and deserve to be arrested while it was quietly entertaining the public and obliging the family of its commander."²⁶

On November 13, 1845, the Batalhão Príncipe Regente was replaced by the Batalhão de Artilharia de 1.^a Linha [Frontline Artillery Battalion].²⁷ On several occasions in the following years, the *Boletim Oficial*²⁸ printed what were called "Ordens à Força Armada" [Orders to the Armed Forces, henceforth OFA] which ensured that the "música do Batalhão de Artilharia"²⁹ would play "reveille and the sounding of the retreat"³⁰

at various commemoration ceremonies such as that held for the birthday of the king³¹ or of some other member of the royal family. In addition to these duties, these documents also mention the participation of the "música"³² in other events, for example, at the funeral procession of the Macao Harbour Captain, First Naval Lieutenant Pedro José da Silva Loureiro: "(...) a large number of people amongst whom could be seen the province's most eminent figures, both local and foreign, accompanying the coffin to the São Miguel Cemetery, and a guard from the Batalhão de Artilharia with the musical band from the same corps led by an officer of similar rank to that of the deceased performed the funeral honours in style."³³

On February 28, 1857, a royal decree³⁴ was issued, changing the Batalhão de Artilharia into the Batalhão de Infantaria de Macau [Macao Infantry Battalion]. The band was renamed accordingly, as the Banda do Batalhão de Macau. From August 1863 to October 1866, the programmes of the public performances of the Banda do Batalhão de Macau appeared weekly in the *Boletim Oficial*.

Regular performances were held on Thursdays and Sundays at what was then called the Campo de São Francisco (presently the Jardim de São Francisco), though the articles mention neither the time nor name of the conductor nor of any the composers whose works were performed. The absence of this information in the BO could lead us to conclude that the time of the performances was already a matter of public knowledge, whereas the other points were probably considered of too "little importance" to merit publication. It has not been possible to find any concrete references regarding the artistic level of this band and its musicians. But it is known that Portugal's first conservatory of music was established in Lisbon in the year 1835 at the initiative of composer and pianist Domingos Bomtempo (1775-1842). The teaching of music until then (outside of private tuition for the more well-heeled) had been limited to religious or charity institutions, most noteworthy among which were the Seminário da Sé Patriarcal de Lisboa [Seminary of the Patriarchal See of Lisbon] which, besides teaching music theory, called "preparatórios e rudimentos", also offered classes in brass instruments, reed instruments, bowed string instruments, orchestral playing, and singing.³⁵ As this tradition by no means came to a halt after the opening of the Lisbon Conservatory, it is likely

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that most musicians who were members of military bands at the time had in fact been trained in religious institutions.

Regarding the constitution of the band, Sinzig³⁶ asserts that since 1814 the Portuguese Army had organised in each infantry regiment a band of eight musicians and one master, called “músicos de praça”. The commander of each regiment, depending on the importance he gave to music, had the privilege of adding extra musicians to the skeleton group, called “músicos de contrata” [contract musicians]. When such additional contracting was forbidden in 1815, the standard number of soldiers in the group was increased to eleven, including the master (this is likely to have been the structure of the band of the Batalhão Príncipe Regente founded in Macao in 1818). From then on apprentices began to be contracted,³⁷ with the total number of musicians rising to seventeen. The 1815 regulation cited by Sinzig mentions the choice of instruments: one “requinta” [E♭ clarinet], two clarinets [probably in B♭], two French horns, one cornet (“clarim”), one bassoon, one serpent (“trombão” or “serpentão”), a bass drum and a snare drum. The enlistment of apprentices enabled the addition of one piccolo, two clarinets, one cornet, one bassoon and one serpent. Although it has not been possible to confirm with absolute certainty that the Macao battalion had these particular instruments, I believe it is reasonable to surmise that in the first half of the nineteenth century the band would have been equipped with at least the bulk of such a complement of instruments. It is also likely that the Banda do Batalhão de Macau was so composed when it performed before the French Captain Auguste Montfort during his visit to the territory in the 1850s. Given the ironic tone of his commentary, however, the technical level of the musicians in all likelihood was not very high:

(...) The music corps of [the Macao] garrison does not give much care or *esprit de corps* to the pieces which are performed twice a week under the windows of the governor's residence, and if the governor is endowed with a musical ear of any sensitivity at all, he must have a heroic patience for not sending to all the Chinese and Portuguese devils the musicians that deliver, only to honour him, those horrible sounds (...) ³⁸

Between October 1866 and July 1875 the band continued to be active, as confirmed by the OFAs

published in the *Boletim Oficial* (henceforth BO). However, the BO stopped providing regular listings of the programmes of the public performances, as had been the practice since 1863. This does not mean, however, that the band stopped performing publicly during those nine years, but rather that for some undetermined reason the programmes were not published. The instructions present in the published OFAs are limited during these years to the routine military functions performed by the band, such as participating in official ceremonies.

Through the military regulations published in 1867 we can gain an insight into the duties of military musicians at the time: the band was permitted to perform “under private contract” (Art. 51, paragraph 3 of the regulations), but it was forbidden for military bands to accompany “processions, flag-raising ceremonies and public money-raising activities, or to take part in festivals and fairs, except if playing on the bandstand” (Art. 53 of the regulations); in addition, “those musicians for whom permission has been given to perform in theatre orchestras, or in church festivities, may, in these two cases, wear civilian clothing” (Art. 55 of the regulations).³⁹ Among other responsibilities, the “mestre” [conductor] had to

prepare the score, if this has been given, and extract the parts for each instrument; compose or present a varied repertoire of pieces “de harmonia” [for woodwinds and brass], marches, one-steps and other minor compositions.⁴⁰ Every month, he should debut at least one piece “de harmonia”, two one-steps and two other lighter compositions (Art. 51, paragraph 4 of the regulations).⁴¹

By the royal decree of December 2, 1869, the overseas military units were reorganised:

The plan to reorganise the colonial military was approved. In accordance with Article 9, only the Angola, Mozambique and Nova Goa battalions and the Macao infantry are conceded the right to form bands, and each is permitted 12 apprentices. The Macao (Infantry) Battalion has 1 conductor, 8 musicians, 1 chief bugler, 1 corporal bugler and 8 buglers.⁴²

The *Boletim da Província de Macau e Timor* of 1872 listed the programme of performances of the Banda do Batalhão de Infantaria de Macau⁴³ for July 7 and 11,⁴⁴ and printed the news of its participation in the

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commemorative ceremonies for the King of Portugal's birthday on October 31,⁴⁵ to be hosted by the Viscount S. Januário, then governor of the province. One year later, in the BO of July 12, 1873, the government's secretary-general announced that the “band of the infantry battalion will play on alternate Thursdays at the Flora Macaense park and in public at the usual hour, beginning next Thursday at the Flora.”⁴⁶

Unfortunately, no information could be found about the programmes for these performances. It was only in 1875 (from July 3 to September 25) that the programmes for the Banda de Música do Batalhão de Infantaria were once again published in the BO, this time on Thursdays and Sundays. After an eight-month interruption (between October 1875 and June 1876) the programmes of the Banda do Batalhão de Infantaria again appeared regularly in the BO every week until the end of the century.

In a charter (“Carta de Lei”) of February 3, 1876,⁴⁷ the Batalhão de Infantaria de Macau was abolished and replaced by a battalion⁴⁸ drawn from the Regimento de Infantaria do Ultramar (or Batalhão do Ultramar), a new colonial infantry regiment with permanent headquarters in Lisbon.

Apparently, between October 1875 and June 1876 the band interrupted its activities, as the BO stopped providing regular listings of the programmes of the public performances. This fact is, probably, associated with the abolition of the Batalhão de Infantaria to which the band was attached. One month after the 1.º Batalhão do Regimento de Infantaria do Ultramar arrived in Macao in May 1876, the programmes of the bands' public performances again began to appear in the BO. The band was then renamed as the Banda de Música ‘adida’ ao 1.º Batalhão de Infantaria do Ultramar [*adjoined* to the Overseas Infantry Battalion]. In December 1877, the 3rd Battalion arrived in Macao with the aim of relieving the existing 1st Battalion. The band accordingly changed its name once again, now to the Banda de Música ‘adida’ ao 3.º Batalhão de Infantaria do Ultramar. However, a few days later, for some undetermined reason, the band's name changed yet another time to Banda de Música ‘destacada’ no 3.º Batalhão de Infantaria do Ultramar [*seconded* to the 3rd Overseas Infantry Battalion]. These alterations did not affect the frequency of performances which, since June 1876, had been taking place twice a week, a habit

that would continue for many years, despite, as we shall see, the imminent approach of yet another adjustment.

In October 1879, the band changed home and name: in accordance with OFA No. 40, of October 2, 1879, the “Banda passa a adir à Guarda Policial” [Band shall be adjoined to the Police Guard]⁴⁹; the designation that appeared in the BO of October 4⁵⁰ revealed its new name: the Banda de Música da Guarnição adida à Guarda Policial de Macau [Garrison Musical Band adjoined to the Macao Police Guard]. A few days earlier, on September 13, 1879, an announcement had been posted advertising for the acquisition of new musical instruments, and on the 20th of the same month it was decided that the funeral processions of commissioned officers and top civil servants would be accompanied by music from the Banda da Guarnição. In the following years, the band performed regularly twice a week: Sundays in the Jardim Público de São Francisco, and Thursdays “in front of the Headquarters;” and, between June 1893 and January 1894, it went so far as to perform three times a week—on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays. These performances lasted no more than two hours each, and as they were held outdoors the schedule was relatively flexible and adjusted to the climatic conditions of Macao: in the summer the concerts were held later in the evening to avoid the heat, while in the winter they were held earlier. From November 1892 the published programmes began to include the composers' names. Even though it had changed its name to Banda de Música da Guarda Policial in April 1885, the composition of the band remained unchanged until November 8, 1895. The fact that the Banda da Guarda Policial held regular concerts, however, did not prevent counter-initiatives from taking place, as can be seen by the following citation, which describes the farewell dance held for Counsellor Custódio Miguel de Borja, held in the Paços do Concelho (Leal Senado) on the night of January 20. On this occasion, the official band performed alongside another group (of unspecified name). The repertoire included quadrilles, waltzes, lancers,⁵¹ polkas, mazurkas and gallops:

At 9:45, his Excellency Counsellor Borja entered, accompanied by his esteemed wife and family, and was welcomed at the entrance with the hymn to his Excellency played by the young amateurs' band. His Excellency was received on the first

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landing of the staircase by the Leal Senado and the entire assembly (...) for the occasion, the “banda da guarda policial” played the national anthem. (...) The dance was throughout very lively, because the two musical bands played alternately and did not let the enthusiasm wane.⁵²

With the implementation of the decree of August 16, 1895, the Guarda Policial and the Companhia de Artilharia de Macau were abolished and replaced by the two-unit Companhia de Infantaria de Macau. The band was adjoined to the 1.^a Companhia de Infantaria and once again designated Banda de Música da Guarnição de Macau. On February 1, 1898, the two infantry companies were reunited and the band became part of this new unit, Grupo de Companhias de Infantaria de Macau.⁵³

In 1901, the colonial military was once again reorganised and, by the decree of November 14, 1901, the band was adjoined to the Corpo de Polícia,⁵⁴ where it would remain until 1912, the year in which, by ministerial decree, colonial military bands were abolished. Reports in the *Boletim Eclesiástico da Diocese de Macau* tell of the band's participation in religious processions: “[There was], playing behind the Sacrament's canopy, the police guard band. As usual, there was an open air fair and fireworks at night, with two musical bands playing.”⁵⁵ It also took part in the annual festival of the Immaculate Conception, in which “the musical part was accomplished, during the mass, by the Seminarians' Capella de Santa Cecilia and, in the procession, by the bands from the Corpo de Polícia and the Orfanato da Imaculada Conceição.”⁵⁶

It has not been possible to obtain precise information about the constitution of the band in its various incarnations, in terms of the instruments used. But study and analysis of the budgets published annually in the BO have enabled me to trace at least the number of musicians in the bands in their various phases.

In 1866 the budget listed expenditures for one music master, eight musicians and twelve music apprentices, along with outlays needed to repair instruments.⁵⁷ As far as it is possible to determine, this structure remained stable until 1884, when the following categories were introduced: quartermaster, 1st, 2nd and 3rd class musicians, and percussionists.⁵⁸ The number of apprentices was now reduced to six, and the band remained with a total of 27 musicians—one master,

one quartermaster, three 1st class musicians, four 2nd class, eight 3rd class, four percussionists, and the aforementioned apprentices. This structure was maintained until 1912, the year the colonies' military bands were abolished altogether.

These figures match those provided by Sinzig,⁵⁹ who states that there was a new regulation in Portugal in 1872 (which apparently took force in Macao only in 1884) that fixed precisely the same structure of 27 musicians. According to the regulation cited by Sinzig, the musicians were distributed as follows: one “requinta”, one piccolo, six clarinets, four cornets, two saxhorns or French horns, three trombones, two baritones or bombardons, one bass, two contrabasses, one bass drum, one snare drum, one large drum and one pair of crash cymbals. Once again, it is not possible to confirm with absolute certainty that the Macao Garrison Band followed this model. However, given that it was an official military regulation, I believe we should expect few variations although, due to lack of sources of information, doubts must remain over the true instrumental composition of the band in Macao during the late nineteenth century.

Aside from Low's and Montfort's earlier (and perhaps not entirely unbiased) comments, little testimony is available about the artistic quality of the military bands of that period. In the early twentieth century, Macao counted about 80,000 inhabitants, of whom approximately 95 percent were Chinese. Troops were recruited exclusively among Portuguese citizens and, given the lack of local resources, most military detachments were composed of soldiers drawn from the old colonies in Africa or Portuguese India,⁶⁰ who made up the so-called indigenous battalion (“batalhão indígena”). In Macao, the military bands of the era were generally composed of locally-trained apprentices and soldier-musicians from other overseas colonies, all of whom had in all probability been introduced to music at religious schools in those places.⁶¹ It is very likely that their commitment was not always fully satisfactory, especially to the ears of those just arrived from Lisbon, such as Major Engineer Adolfo Loureiro, who visited Macao between 1883 and 1884: “At sunset I went to the public garden, where the police corps band was playing, as it was Thursday. It is entirely made up of natives of Goa, who very sufferably play classical music, Italian works and assorted compositions. The turnout was small, and among the strollers prowled

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the guard of the garden, who slid about in his loose-fitting red gown, like Mephistopheles.”⁶²

Loureiro was not a professional musician; however, his opinion, expressed through the adjectives he uses in this text, shows a certain degree of musical awareness. Given the various possible glosses on the adjective “sufferable” (e.g., “passable”, “tolerable”), we do not know whether the expression “very sufferably play classical music” here means “reasonably well played” or is instead a kind way of saying that they “played badly.” In any case, the musical milieu of the period seems to have been quite precarious. In another passage, the same chronicler so describes the band that animated a popular festival: “...At the church door a dreadful band was playing out of tune, while from a window monstrous fireworks and crackers were bursting.”⁶³

A few years later, in 1897, the situation seems not to have changed in any significant manner. The public's tolerance for poor playing, and lack of general interest, may have convinced the musicians that there was no need to evolve. The situation must have reached a point that was unbearable in order to have provoked the following comment from the *Echo Macaense* newspaper:

The public complained, quite rightly, that the current Macao musical band plays out of tune. When Mr. Alleluia conducted the band, it played reasonably well, although the public said it was bad, because it did not play certain main notes well. The master's retirement was thus awaited, and was on the eve of happening; and with the band conducted by the then quartermaster, Mr. Mascarenhas, things were expected to go better, as the latter was held to be very knowledgeable about music. But unfortunately the opposite happened, and the band has never played more out of tune than it does today.⁶⁴

Besides the names of the master and quartermaster (Mr. Alleluia and Mr. Mascarenhas), this excerpt also reveals that the band's meagre budget probably was barely enough, and perhaps truly inadequate, to maintain the instruments, let alone to acquire new scores. From the preceding quotation, penned by Adolfo Loureiro, we also learn that in 1883 the “turnout was small”, which suggests a general public disinterest and apathy that in such circumstances was perhaps even justified not only by the tuning problems dogging the band, but also by

the repetition *ad nauseam* of the same repertoire. Such justifications—and possible solutions to the problem—soon appeared:

(...) It has been proven that the regimental band has been playing somewhat out of tune, because the instruments are old and by different makers. It has also been proven that the provincial treasury does not have budget funds to buy new instruments. Steps must thus be taken to change this. Either ask the government to provide money to buy new instruments and scores, undertake to attract the necessary funds by means of subscription, or impose a tax of one avo on everyone who enters the garden on music nights. Soon we will have good instruments and good music.⁶⁵

Regarding the question of the composition of the military band, Cação and Basto da Silva⁶⁶ include the categories of bugler (“corneteiro”), corporal bugler (“cabo de corneteiro”), principal bugler (“corneteiro-mor”), and quartermaster bugler (“contrameste de corneteiro”) as the elements of the band. By summing up the numbers of individuals in these categories, Basto da Silva concludes that, in 1895, the band had forty members—clearly a misleading number. It is known that within the military structure, buglers played an eminent role, in terms of signalling, playing the reveille and the retreat, leading parades, and similar activities. Bugling was thus a specific function that did not necessarily involve a continual exercise of musical activity. This error is largely due to the fact that in the annual budgets of the Portuguese military forces, as well as in the relevant regulations published in the BO, such categories, though not integrated in the band, are listed after the musicians. Nevertheless, careful study of the *Regulamento Geral para o Serviço dos Corpos do Exército* [General Regulations for the Service of Army Corps], published in the BO on March 18, 1867, clearly reveals the difference between the category of musicians (“músicos”) and that of drummers, buglers and clarions (“tambores, corneteiros e clarins”).⁶⁷ The latter were responsible for the “regularity and preciseness of command calls.”⁶⁸

English traveller and journalist Sir Henry Norman (1858-1939) gave an interesting description of Macao in the late nineteenth century, mentioning the performance of buglers at reveille and retreat: “On Sundays and Thursdays the band plays in the public

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gardens, and surely nowhere in the world do the buglers linger so long over the reveille and the retreat as they do here every day.”⁶⁹

THE MUNICIPAL BAND AND MUSICAL LIFE IN MACAO (1913 TO 1928)

Worried about the future of the local band and, above all, about its impending abolition, the Leal Senado sent a petition to the Ministério das Colónias [Ministry for the Colonies] in Lisbon, in an attempt to prevent the decree from being applied to Macao. Although no formal answer was forthcoming, the minister for the Colonies sent a telegram in which he declared that a subsidy would be available, though no amount was specified. In order to fully understand the consequences of the decree abolishing military bands, I consulted the “Relatório Elucidativo do 1.º orçamento suplementar do Lial [sic] Senado da Câmara de Macau, relativo ao ano de 1913” [Explanatory Report on the first supplementary

budget of the Leal Senado da Câmara of Macao for 1913]. This document was submitted on February 18, 1913, by the President of the Senado, José Luís Marques, for approval by the Conselho Municipal,⁷⁰ and requested sufficient funds to cover the expenses of the band (calculated at \$12,682.80 patacas).⁷¹ Thus from February 16, 1913, the Leal Senado began paying the wages of the members of the ex-military band. In a letter to the governor dated February 19, 1913, the President further requested authorisation to acquire musical instruments directly from Germany, contrary to the stipulation in Article 8 of the decree of July 20, 1912, requiring that instruments for civil bands under municipal authority be supplied through the Ministério das Colónias.⁷² The source of income stated in the Leal Senado budget underwent

Postcard (ca. 1900) of the São Francisco Public Gardens showing the bandstand where military bands frequently performed. According to Basto da Silva, in *Cronologia da História de Macau*, vol. 4 (Macao: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Juventude, 1995), p. 294, this bandstand was demolished in 1935. Courtesy of Livros do Oriente, Macao.

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some alterations, which were approved in an extraordinary session on March 1, 1913. Despite expectations to the contrary, the Leal Senado would only receive the amount of 5.474\$350 escudos from the Ministério das Colónias. As it was not clear whether or not this subsidy would be permanent, the President solicited, via the Governor of Macao, clarification from the minister.⁷³ The ministry's response arrived much later, only after the Leal Senado had already proceeded with "the revamping of the band due to the pressure of public opinion".⁷⁴ This statement reveals how important the performances of the municipal band had become for the population at the time. The revamping, which was aimed at putting the "band in a position whereby it can adequately perform the functions with which it has been charged, that of civilising and entertaining the public",⁷⁵ also entailed repairing "old instruments, still in use but semi-obsolete",⁷⁶ drawing up a set of regulations for the band, tailoring a "new uniform for the musicians ... [and] the installation of electricity in the two bandstands in the public gardens".⁷⁷ Of particular interest is the involvement of Constâncio José da Silva (1864-1947), a member of the Conselho Municipal, who would later come to play a leading role in the development of music in Macao. From remarks made by the President of the Leal Senado, his involvement was already evident: "... the band is more professional due to the determination and artistic ability of the Councillor presently responsible."⁷⁸

Indignant at the budget cuts imposed by the ministry in Lisbon, José Luís Marques sent a letter to the interim Governor on May 9, 1913, disclosing the financial difficulties of maintaining the band and the need for the minister for the Colonies to ensure greater financial resources: "the Leal Senado feels that the ministerial resolution represents an unmerited lack of consideration for this municipal corps and for the people of Macao, worthy of the highest consideration from the powers that be."⁷⁹ The band's importance as the "only form of free entertainment that we have"⁸⁰ is stressed in various places in the letter from the President of the Leal Senado. Indeed, Marques brought up this subject on several occasions; anticipating a negative response to his insistent requests for greater funding, he went so far as to suggest that "the government, in line with its new responsibility and according to the

Administrative Code of 1842 to be implemented in Macao, should designate a municipal tax, a 25% surcharge on the revenue from pork sales, for example."⁸¹

Finally, on November 1, 1913, the Ministry for the Colonies made available some extra funding which enabled the band to continue functioning.⁸² The budget for that year provided for a band with one master and twenty musicians. Despite the financial difficulties it faced, sources indicate that the Municipal Band participated in the festa of Nossa Senhora do Rosário (on October 7) and in the Corpus Christi procession that same year.⁸³

In an extraordinary session on August 27, 1915, the Leal Senado approved a new wage structure for the civil musicians of the Municipal Band, placing them on equal footing with military musicians. Thus, the monthly wage of one Musician Second Class was fixed at 45 patacas; that of six Musicians Third Class, at 35 patacas; and that of an Auxiliary Musician at 25 patacas. At that time, the band held rehearsals on the Rua de São Domingos near the Largo do Senado.⁸⁴ In addition to giving concerts in the public garden, it also performed privately and for local associations, such as the Club de Macau, as well as for charity events, e.g., to benefit wounded Portuguese war veterans, whose numbers were increasing on the various European fronts: "... on behalf of the Red Cross, the brave sailors of the gunboat *Pátria* will, next January 6 (1917), give a 'récita' at the Cinematógrafo Vitoria, which will be enlivened by the Municipal Band of this city."⁸⁵ Macao was geographically far from the war that ravaged Europe from 1914 to 1918, but nevertheless felt its repercussions. The territory was then largely dependent on decisions made by the central government in Lisbon. The latter was more concerned about the European crisis and perhaps more attentive to the African colonies; at any rate, no salary raise had been offered to local civil servants for a long time. The Municipal Band nevertheless continued its performance rounds, always closely watched by the public, for whom no detail was too small to be missed, as can be verified by the following comments:

They ask us to call the Leal Senado's attention to the way the municipal musicians are dressed, when they play at private parties wearing plain clothes. They appear with such variegated colours and *toilettes* as to cause a bad impression. Elsewhere,

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even village bands have their own uniforms for when the musicians perform together.⁸⁶

The holding of three weekly concerts indicates the renewed importance given to performances of the Municipal Band. The newspapers faithfully reported all changes of time or venue, which as usual occurred with the change of the seasons: “The ‘música’ [band] in the São Francisco public garden will henceforth play on Thursdays and Sundays from 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. in winter, and on Tuesdays at the same time on Avenida Vasco da Gama.”⁸⁷

The choice of venues was not left to chance: it depended on the weather, the residents' convenience, and the habits of the era, which included salubrious walks (“passeios higiênicos”) after meals. The Avenida Vasco da Gama,⁸⁸ with its 600-metre length, stood out for this purpose. Closed at one end by a garden (where the band performed) and at the other by the monument dedicated to the Portuguese navigator, it was one of the most frequented promenades in Macao.⁸⁹ In 1930, the chronicler of the *Jornal de Macau* described the

Jardim de São Francisco, another public garden where the bands performed: “...in the evenings, the Governor and his family could be seen, elegant society gathering together while the Police Band played the *Gazza ladra*⁹⁰ by Rossini and other old melodies which, if they did not excite attention by themselves, contributed to make the garden a meeting point of high society.”⁹¹

The social life of members of the European community in Macao was, in many aspects, influenced by the traditions of the Portuguese capital. In the social context of Lisbon in the second half of the nineteenth century (when attending the opera at the S. Carlos Theatre was also a must), the “passeio” [promenade] filled the need for amusement and gave occasion for the bourgeoisie to exhibit their fashionable outfits while socializing with intellectuals, artists and the aristocracy.⁹² Therefore, it is possible to surmise that in Macao, the Vasco da Gama

Avenida Vasco da Gama, Macao, photo ca. 1910
(postcard, Coleção Colonial Marques Pereira and Pires Marinho, João Loureiro, *Macao – Postais Antigos*, 2nd edn., Macao: Fundação Macau, 1997, p. 38)



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and São Francisco Public Gardens played a role similar to that of the Lisbon “Passeio Público,”⁹³ but with the bandstand replacing, as it were, the opera stage.

The band director at that time was the Macao-born Second Lieutenant Eusébio Francisco Placé (1870-1945). In 1909 and 1910, Placé, then quartermaster, travelled to Lisbon, sent by the Macao Government to perfect his musical training and take the customary examinations required for the position of master.⁹⁴ This step once again reveals the Government's interest in having a musical band with the correct qualifications. In 1917, however, Placé unexpectedly abandoned the post; according to Basto da Silva, the band was subsequently led by the Military Musician First Class Sant'Ana Caridade F. Matias. Next came the Military Musician First Class João Damasceno Fernandes, likewise a holdover from the old Banda de Música da Guarnição de Macao, who held the post until 1919. Both of these men were born in India.⁹⁵

It is no exaggeration to state that, despite the distance that separated Macao from Europe and from other westernised Chinese cities such as Shanghai and Canton, the local population had relatively refined tastes. The enjoyment of music was therefore a frequent pastime in amateur circles. This may have resulted in part from the influence of professional musicians living in Macao, such as Luigi Antinori (1816-1873) and Giuseppe Penatti,⁹⁶ former music teachers at St Joseph's Seminary. It was thus not unusual to find advertisements for private music lessons⁹⁷ in the newspapers, as well as for concerts and dramatic-musical *soirées* in which amateurs as well as professional musicians from the Municipal Band performed.

Everything seems to indicate that during this period, the Leal Senado had real interest in revamping the band. In a letter of March 28, 1919, addressed to the merchant, music teacher, and Hong Kong resident Isidoro Maria da Costa (1870-1937),⁹⁸ the president of the Leal Senado's Administrative Commission, Luiz Gonzaga Nolasco da Silva, inquired about the costs of acquiring instruments “for a band of 26 members”, purchasing scores, and hiring “a bandmaster of Filipino nationality”.⁹⁹

Isidoro Maria da Costa had several years of experience and in 1918 had been decorated for his service by the Hong Kong government. Since 1915 he had been master of the Police Reserve Band in the British

colony. He thus felt capable of taking up the post of director of the Macao Municipal Band. At the same time, as he had business representatives in Macao,¹⁰⁰ it was natural that he should contemplate the possibility of furthering his mercantile interests with the Leal Senado via the sale of instruments and scores to the new band. In a letter of April 1, 1919, addressed to the Leal Senado, he offered his services “for the monthly salary of \$225.00, with a five-year contract”.¹⁰¹ On April 21, the president of the Leal Senado's Administrative Commission suggested a meeting between Costa and the Council members responsible for the band.¹⁰² We do not know the outcome of that meeting. However, from then on, relations between the Leal Senado and Isidoro Maria da Costa were limited to matters concerning the acquisition of instruments and scores.

On July 5, 1919, Luiz Gonzaga Nolasco da Silva communicated to the governor that “with the objective of improving the Municipal Band, so that it might be of some benefit to the public, it was decided to appoint Mr. Constâncio José da Silva to revamp and conduct the said Band”, thereby releasing Eusébio Francisco Placé, who was on extended leave, from his duties.¹⁰³

In the letter of invitation to da Silva, the Leal Senado set out various conditions for the nominee's assumption of the position,¹⁰⁴ committing itself in return to provide a salary of \$200 a month, approximately double what the musicians earned.¹⁰⁵ In previous years, da Silva had been a civil servant for the government, and in such a small milieu as Macao (where almost all Portuguese citizens knew each other),¹⁰⁶ it would only be natural that the written invitation would have followed informal conversations. Indeed, some of the conditions imposed by the Leal Senado for the position seem to have been entirely in agreement with da Silva's own wishes, such as the exemption from wearing a uniform (clause 1) and from accompanying the band on marches (clause 4). But the condition that is particularly noteworthy is that which proposes transforming the band into an orchestra: “[The contracted party should] prepare the band in such a way as to transform it into an orchestra, with the obligation of giving public concerts in the Council Hall (“Salão Nobre”) every Sunday during the winter.”¹⁰⁷ Constâncio José da Silva thus seems to have aspired to form an orchestra in Macao and, as is obvious, it would not do for a *chef d'orchestre* to parade about the public

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gardens in uniform. This much can be seen from his reply to the letter of invitation, dated July 11, 1919:

(...) I shall take it upon myself not only to reorganise the band, but also to teach, rehearse and lead it for the sole remuneration of \$200 (...), though with no other obligation but to lead the orchestra in the concerts it is obliged to give, and on the condition of my replacement as band leader in (...) public places by the quartermaster (...). [These are] thus the conditions under which I would accept directing the Municipal Band...¹⁰⁸

The letter goes on to discuss the current musicians' lack of preparation, nevertheless stating that he hoped to have the whole orchestra ("orquestra inteira") in place by January or February of the following year, and that he did not mind beginning immediately with a small temporary orchestra, drawn from the "few useable elements from among the existing personnel and with a pianist hired for that purpose...". He ends the letter by asking the Leal Senado to hire six musicians to assume the primary positions in the future group: one clarinet, one cornet, two violins, one cello, and one double-bass, which "I suppose can be contracted in Portuguese India at \$75 or \$80 [patacas] per month". He estimated that the total outlay for acquisition of scores and instruments would be \$1,500 to \$2,000 patacas.

It is not possible to determine the size of the "orquestra inteira" [whole orchestra] that Constâncio José da Silva had in mind. The number of musicians he requested and the presence of a piano suggest not a symphony orchestra, but rather a salon orchestra of the type that was common in nineteenth-century Europe. In any case, the Council Hall of the Leal Senado (where concerts were held in winter) did not have enough space to hold a large symphony orchestra. The planned orchestra was therefore probably meant to have livened up the ever-more frequent evening dance parties, receptions and banquets among the Portuguese community.

José da Silva's letter appears to have attracted no official reply from the Leal Senado. Perhaps put off by the scope of the project, the members of the Council did not agree to support it. A laconic handwritten comment on the letter's first page nevertheless reveals the final verdict: "Since he didn't accept the Commission's conditions, nothing done. Refusal accepted."¹⁰⁹

Strangely, and unexpectedly, a few days later, on July 16, 1919, a contract was drawn up between the president of the Leal Senado's Administrative Commission and Alessio Benis, music director of the Royal Italian Circus "Bostock", which had performed in Macao¹¹⁰ in July 1919, in which the latter was hired as conductor of the Municipal Band for a period of two years, at a salary of \$200 patacas per month, under the condition that he "take up the position of conductor of the Municipal Band within forty-five days." The situation caught the manager of the circus by surprise; in a letter¹¹¹ to the Governor of Macao, he desperately pleaded the Macao government not to hire his employee. Despite the beseeching letter from the circus manager, the Leal Senado lost no time in responding to the governor: "...the contract with Mr Benis is already drawn up and must be fulfilled; the Commission has nothing to do with his [prior] commitments, and did not charge him to hire musicians from the circus."¹¹²

Alessio Benis, an Italian, was 44 years old and married when he came to Macao. He played the clarinet, and the comments in reports by the Leal Senado suggest that he was well versed in music.¹¹³ He was most likely attracted by the \$200 pataca monthly salary offered by the Leal Senado and by the possibility of giving up, for a period of two years, the nomadic life of a circus musician.¹¹⁴ His hurried acceptance of the offer and the tests he was subjected to under extremely adverse conditions undoubtedly reveal his decided willingness to accept the post. On Sunday, July 13, 1919, the band members gathered in the Leal Senado's Council Hall ("Salão Nobre"), along with a jury comprised of Manuel da Silva Mendes, the Salesian father José da Silva Lucas (as translator), Major Alípio Ubaldy d'Oliveira, and Humberto de Avelar. Using a low-quality clarinet, Alessio Benis played with the band, led by the quartermaster Damasceno Fernandes,¹¹⁵ in a number of variations on themes from the Bellini's opera *La sonnambula*. In the next test, he conducted, without rehearsal, a selection from the opera *Cavalleria rusticana* by Mascagni. Lastly, he presented some exercises of Harmony in response to questions¹¹⁶ posed to him. In the end, the jury concluded that

it should advise the Leal Senado not to hire the candidate (...) on a lifelong basis, albeit noting the advantages of conferring upon him direction of the band for a more or less short period, which

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Manager: W. H. TREHERNE
 "WORLD'S TOUR"
THE ROYAL ITALIAN CIRCUS
 ESTABLISHED IN ROME 1863 .. Proprietor D. F. BOSTOCK
 Advance Manager: ALEX ALMAZOFF

The same Circus exhibited for two consecutive years at Hengler's Circus, London, and appeared on two occasions before Their Majesties the King and Queen and Royal Family at Buckingham Palace

PERMANENT ADDRESS: L. G. HENDERSON & Co., SOERABAJA

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19-7-19 or do 21-7-19
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leja presidente
commissario
Hongkong
Room 243
Hongkong Hotel
Hongkong
14/7/1919
 To His Excellency
 The Governor
 Macau.

Your Excellency.

I have been given to understand that my musical director Mr A Benie is about to be employed by the Macau Municipal Orchestra. This man, I brought with me from England five years ago. and naturally do not wish to lose him. The Macau Municipal Orchestra offer him better terms than I am giving him.

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should be extended if future tests, in other conditions more favourable for presentation of the candidate, are conclusive.¹¹⁷

The decision to hire Benis seems not to have pleased everyone, however, as can be seen by the ensuing controversy between the newspapers *O Liberal* and *O Macaense*. The former was in favour of contracting Constâncio José da Silva instead of Benis, while the latter was against it.¹¹⁸ Although he signed a two-year contract, Alessio Benis ended up working as band director only from July 1919 to January 1921. According to the law then in force, the contract could only become valid when it had been approved by the provincial government and voted on by the Government Council. Through an error, this only took place one and a half years later, during the Government Council meeting on December 2, 1920. During this same meeting, Nolasco da Silva, now Vice-President of Leal Senado, explained the reasons for engaging Alessio Benis:

(...) the Municipal Band was in a truly deplorable state. The Band's conductor, on leave, was working in the merchant marine and had been replaced by a first-rate musical conductor, whose contribution to the running of the Band was [however] negligible. The opportunity arose to hire an Italian and the Administrative Commission did so at a monthly salary of \$200, which represented a savings for the City Treasury as the former conductor, a second lieutenant, was earning three hundred and something patacas. As for the contracted party's [Benis's] technical ability, I believe it is for all to see. He has worked hard to raise the standard of the band, which if found wanting is due to the difficulty of acquiring top or first-rate musicians, whose places are [instead] filled with second-tier military musicians.¹¹⁹

However, few days later, in the council session of December 18, 1920, the Leal Senado approved the abolition of the Municipal Band and exempted Alessio Benis from any blame. It alleged a lack of funds to meet the voluminous costs of a band whose performance, due to the lack of qualified musicians, was disappointing.¹²⁰

A few days later, during the Government Council meeting of December 28, 1920, despite the objections of Fr. Jacob Lau,¹²¹ then a member of the Government Council, the Municipal Band was abolished.¹²² The military musicians in the band were taken back by their respective units, while the civilian members were dismissed, as they did not have any written contracts with the municipality. The instruments were sold in a public auction on May 21, 1921.¹²³ Alessio Benis's contract was honoured until its expiry. He continued to reside in Macao at least until April 1921 when, in a letter addressed to the president of the Leal Senado, he asked for his contract to be terminated, so that he could absent himself "to search for a position".¹²⁴ To facilitate the process, Benis suggested that taxes be taken out of his salary up front, reducing from \$1,000.00 to \$550.00 patacas the total amount he was to receive for the period from April to August 1921, and the total amount to be paid as a lump sum. On April 9, 1921, the Leal Senado agreed to this request.¹²⁵ That is the last reference found to Alessio Benis in Macao.

An analysis of the documents on the acquisition of musical instruments¹²⁶ provides us with an idea of the band's intended composition during this period. Everything indicates that two orders were made to the firm of Isidoro Maria da Costa. The first shipment arrived on May 22, 1920, and corresponded to an order made on August 16, 1919.¹²⁷ Curiously, this shipment contained string instruments, confirming the Leal Senado's intention to form a salon orchestra. Due to ideological affinity between the director of *O Liberal*, António Martins da Silva, and Constâncio José da Silva (both were Republicans and Liberals), the weekly closely followed everything that happened with the band, recounting (with an ironic touch) the arrival of the instruments in its edition of May 22, 1920:

The new instruments for the band have arrived, [which were] ordered several months ago from America via Messrs. Costa & Sons of Hong Kong. (...) But it must be said, and is indeed only fair, that [the] unusual idea of ordering 6 *cheap* fiddles, the kind that sell for \$15 or below (...), for the Municipal Orchestra was not born of the brain of Mr Benis, who should in any case have been consulted on the matter, but came rather from a member of the former Administrative Commission, who understands as much about musical instruments as we do about making olive oil.¹²⁸

Reproduction of the first page of the letter signed by W. H. Treherne, manager of the Royal Italian Circus "Bostock", on paper stamped by the same. Arquivo Histórico de Macau, Fundo de Administração Civil, P-7295. The author of the letter erroneously refers to the Municipal Band as the Macao Municipal Orchestra.

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After the arrival of this first order, Alessio Benis drew up (in a document dated May 26, 1920), a new list of instruments that he held were still needed for the band and orchestra. However, no Leal Senado documents exist that can attest to the arrival of the new shipment. There is only a quotation provided by the same Hong Kong firm, dated July 9, 1920, and a letter of August 30 from Alessio Benis, requesting the list of the “recently arrived” instruments.¹²⁹

Many factors can explain the Leal Senado's decision to abolish the Municipal Band. The presence since 1912 of soldier-musicians in the band caused many problems for the Council, namely with regard to their salary and benefits, which were substantially higher than those of the civilian musicians. Besides earning more, the soldier-musicians were entitled to a variety of benefits including leave and extra pay. The discrepancies between salaries were such that on October 17, 1919, the president of the Leal Senado issued an opinion advising that “the Council should ensure that as soon as possible the current soldier-musicians are replaced by musicians drawn from the civilian class”.¹³⁰ This situation, along with the difficulties of adapting military legislation to the exercise of functions in a civilian band, led to the creation of abundant documentation, via which it was possible to recover some details of how the Macao municipal band worked in the period between 1917 and 1920.¹³¹

The band at the time comprised the master and 25 musicians, distributed as follows: one E♭ clarinet [“requinta”], one piccolo (or flute), six clarinets, four cornets, two baritones, one bombardon, two trumpets, two trombones, one bass [bass tuba], one contrabass [contrabass tuba in C or B♭], one bass drum, one snare drum, one large drum, and one pair of cymbals.¹³² It has also been possible, from an analysis of the payroll for the soldier-musicians, to conclude that these musicians came primarily from Portuguese India and Macao.

Starting from the premise that the band had 26 members, then, the soldier-musicians,¹³³ though comprising less than half the band, accounted for nearly half the annual budget. This imbalance was resolved after December 1919 with the gradual return of the soldier-musicians to the Corpo de Polícia, although this measure deprived the band of professional musicians who were technically better prepared. The public felt the difference. And, as if the controversy between the newspapers were not enough, Alessio

Benis, often labelled the “circus musician”,¹³⁴ was openly criticised in the newspaper *O Liberal*:

It seems that even though the WHOLE band has been requisitioned for today's *soirée* at the Military Club, the dancers are still upset because they detest it (...) What surprises us is that Mr. Alessio Benis, who has led the municipal band for more than eight months, still does not have it ready with a repertoire that is modern and suitable for dances. He has had plenty of time to order from America a good set of the waltzes, fox-trots, one-steps, etc., that are currently in vogue, and which in any case cost only a trifle—and yet, the municipal band has none of this!¹³⁵

Period reports, however, indicate that Benis seems to have been dedicated to the work. His first appearance as “mestre” [bandmaster] of the Municipal Band was on September 11, 1919, at a concert in the Jardim de São Francisco in which he conducted, among other pieces, one of his own compositions, the military march “L'arrivo a Macao”,¹³⁶ probably written especially for the occasion. Besides the band's standard repertoire of polkas, waltzes and marches, Benis, between September 1919 and December 1920, tried to introduce something new to the local audiences through the presentation of original compositions and arrangements of his own.¹³⁷ However, he became increasingly unpopular, perhaps victim of an ideological controversy (Monarchists versus Republicans) that was beyond him. In May 1920, he proposed to the Leal Senado that the band's musicians be forbidden from playing at night in the private orchestras that enlivened the evening dances and cinema sessions. The tone of the criticism sharpened, and he was accused of inefficiency, given that the band had not been revamped and the orchestra had not materialised as planned. In fact, it seems that the band had too many gaps in its ranks; in a letter Benis sent to

“O Famoso Trio” [The famous Trio]. Cartoon published in *O Liberal*, 15.I.1921, p. 3, criticising the demise of the Municipal Band due to poor management and the misuse of funds. The three figures portrayed are most probably members of the city council (two of them tentatively identified as Luiz Gonzaga Nolasco da Silva, Vice-President of the Leal Senado in 1920 [right], and the Major Alípio Ubaldy d'Oliveira [left]). The figure playing the harmonica has not yet been identified). The caption reads, “The Municipal Band was abolished and very soon the organ of the *Chi-chi-ur*” [literally “trash club”, nickname given to the conservative newspaper *O Macaense*, opponent of *O Liberal*] will be closed.

The advertised ‘sextet’ cannot be formed because of a lack of musicians, but the famous *Trio* intensively rehearses a new repertoire, which will certainly amuse the public.”

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the Leal Senado on September 22, 1920, he protested that he would not “be responsible for public criticism” if musicians were not urgently contracted to fill the gaps: a “requinta” (clarinet in E♭), a clarinet soloist, a trumpet and a bombardon. Besides, he felt “ashamed” to be leading a band in such a precarious condition.

The Leal Senado, in the same municipal session, approved the issuance of a public tender to contract new players.¹³⁸ Even though two apprentices—João Evangelista Kuoc and Simão Kuong¹³⁹—were hired on November 6, 1920, the criticisms did not abate. The critics alleged that, in spite of the announced measures to reorganize the band, the Leal Senado had spent the substantial sum of \$35,000 patacas over the past fourteen months, yet the band had, “far from becoming organized and improved, reached such a state that it could hardly gather a group of musicians to

entertain a dancing party.”¹⁴⁰ Given the content of the criticism, it is reasonable to speculate that Constâncio José da Silva exercised via the press a certain degree of pressure among those who sympathised with him. However, Benis and the officials of the Leal Senado still tried to obtain some outside recognition by sending the band to Hong Kong and Canton to take part in commemorations of the birthday of King George V of England. The English consul in Canton, Edward Sly, attested to the tour in a letter to the Macao governor, published in the newspaper *O Macaense*.¹⁴¹ In the wake the expectations created by such actions, in December

1920 the population was surprised to learn of the band's extinction. Reactions in the papers soon followed, sprinkled with the bittersweet humour so characteristic of the local culture:

Cry girls, cry. / For the Band has died. / Such a death so sly, / Macao has never known. (...) Its death

was sly (“macaca”) and I don't think I'm mistaken, for it died right after travelling to Hong Kong and Canton to exhibit itself, to show that we have a Band here which had recently received new instruments and, as is known, for which the Council had ordered more, and had only recently arranged a suitable house; indeed, just when we all thought it would have a new life (...) Do what you want, and, as “sorrow pays no debts”, play to laugh, play to rejoice: On the anatomy table, / Lays a body dead, / Because the cash-stripped council, / Cast away the band.¹⁴²

Apparently frivolous, this

criticism in truth hid more serious concerns, as can be noted in subsequent editions of the same newspaper, when it commented on the situation of music bands in other Portuguese colonies, particularly in Goa and Mozambique: “While in Lourenço Marques and Portuguese India the upkeep of the Music Band is subject to a great deal of attention and care on the part of the respective Governments, in Macao the matter is viewed with an indifference that is at times disgusting.”¹⁴³

With the abolition of the Municipal Band, in 1921 the Leal Senado petitioned the governor to create a military band. On August 16, 1923, the Grupo Mixto

O FAMOSO “TRIO”



Extinguiu-se a Banda Municipal, e, do proximo mês em diante deixa de funcionar o orgão da *Chi-chi-ui*. O anunciado “sexteto” não se fôrma por falta de elementos; mas, em compensação, o famoso *Trio* ensaia activamente um novo repertorio, com que voltará muito breve a deliciar o publico.

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de Metralhadoras e Infantaria [Joint Machine-Gunner and Infantry Group], known as the GMMI, was formed; and in 1924 it was announced that the Musical Band of the GMMI would participate in the October 5 commemorations.¹⁴⁴ During the period between 1921 and 1924, there are no reports of the existence of any official musical ensemble. However, all evidence indicates that the former band's musicians continued to be active, either in public gardens or in cinemas, clubs and recreational associations.¹⁴⁵ In 1922, one newspaper described these performances: "At night, in this garden [of São Francisco], a small band organised and led by Mr. Assis played to applause all round from a lively public audience."¹⁴⁶ Later, that year, on November 18, a small 14-member orchestra conducted by Constâncio José da Silva participated in a benefit recital at the Dom Pedro V Theatre.¹⁴⁷ This orchestra comprised four violins, one flute, two clarinets, two cornets, one trombone, one contrabass, piano, organ and percussion, and was made up of both professional and amateur musicians, among whom were some of the former band members, such as Agostinho Francisco de Assis (cornet), Manuel Pereira Lopes (clarinet), Lúcio Anselmo Carion (contrabass), and João Xavier (trombone). The group also counted among its ranks pianist João Maria Franco (1893-1940),¹⁴⁸ who since 1919 had been playing and hiring musicians for the orchestras of the New Macao Theatre (or "Novo Teatro de Macau")¹⁴⁹ and the Vitória cinema. In the years that followed, businessman João Franco would play a fundamental role in the local music scene, filling the gap created by the absence of the official band.¹⁵⁰

The regular band performances were missed. Complaints began to surface in the newspapers, comparing the "monotonous, insipid life" of Macao with that in the neighbouring colony of Hong Kong, which had, "besides three military bands, some eight orchestras, playing in public places".¹⁵¹ These comments seem to have had repercussions, for in April 1923 the Conselho Legislativo was presented with a draft law on "Musical Education and Organisation of the Band, Sextet and Musical *Orphéon*" ("Ensino da Musica e Organização da Banda, Sexteto e orfeom musical"),¹⁵² which called for the establishment of a music school with six teachers from Portugal who were to give classes in music theory, piano, violin, wind instruments and choral singing. In addition to their

teaching duties, the teachers would also be obliged to play in the band. They were to be paid in accordance with the table of earnings in force for the posts of sergeant, lieutenant and second lieutenant, respectively, then considered to be the most advantageous in the colony's public service. The project anticipated that the band would have 36 performers and 10 apprentices, all paid positions, and that it should function on the same premises as the music school. To raise funds for the costs of this project, Article 10 of the same proposal suggested that a number of police taxes be imposed on means of transport and on business and industrial signage. In the council session of April 11, 1923, the project attracted no comment. Councilman Domingos Gregório limited himself to criticising the colony's governor for interfering in municipal affairs, finding it strange that "the Government should draw up such an article, levying taxes in the Council's jurisdiction, for such licences are municipal and not issued by the police".¹⁵³ A year later, the newspapers reported that the Ministério das Colónias in Lisbon had rejected the proposal.¹⁵⁴

*It is no exaggeration
to state that, despite the distance
that separated Macao from
Europe and from other
westernised Chinese cities such
as Shanghai and Canton,
the local population had
relatively refined tastes.*

Despite this rejection, Macao's musical life continued, buoyed by the musical ensembles of the Seminário São José and the Orfanato da Imaculada Conceição, by groups of amateur enthusiasts, and by the sporadic concerts by touring performers. Noteworthy among these were the regular performances by pianists Emílio Danenberg (1877-?), Harry Ore (1885-1972) and their students,¹⁵⁵ along with the performances of Italian opera companies, the

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concert by the pianist Leopold Godowsky (1870-1938) at the Teatro Dom Pedro V on March 18, 1923,¹⁵⁶ the performance by the cello and piano duet Eugenie and Leopold Premyslav on January 16, 1925,¹⁵⁷ and the concerts given on August 6 and 7, 1927, by Russian violinist Josef Borissoff,¹⁵⁸ who was introduced to audiences as a student of Leopold Auer (1845-1930) and Pablo de Sarasate (1844-1908). The amateur groups that had meanwhile emerged included the Grupo Scenico-Musical de Macau [Musical-Scenic Group of Macao], led by Constâncio José da Silva; the Grupo de Amadores de Teatro e Música [Group of Theatre and Music Amateurs], founded in 1924, whose music director was Bernardino de Senna Fernandes (1892-1971); the band of the Sociedade União Recreativa;¹⁵⁹ and the “Midnight Jazz” group, led by João Maria Franco. These groups’ performances are amply documented in the newspapers of the period. It is legitimate to surmise that, in addition to teaching, the musicians active in these ensembles also offered their services for private occasions, such as weddings, funerals and popular fiestas.¹⁶⁰ Such performances were nevertheless sporadic, and the public continued to feel a lack of more continuous musical activity, as evident in the comments on the concert by violinist Borissoff: “Macao can and should have a small artistic milieu, which would sweeten the roughness of life in bondage! For there is not even a Municipal or Government Band that on Sundays and Thursdays could break the grey monotony of every day, always identical, always the same.”¹⁶¹

Nevertheless, the bands were the major attraction of the epoch. In August 1927, the Macao public turned out *en masse* to the Teatro Dom Pedro V, for the performance of the “35 splendid musicians” of the Band from the 2nd “Welch [sic] Regiment” of Hong Kong.¹⁶² The critic D. J. Mesquitela (1889-1957), however, did not like what he saw:

Many people mistakenly suppose that Macao is a place where you can foist off second-hand goods, without the public realising it. Fortunately, that’s not the case. (...) When the signs announced the concert by this band, our expectations were piqued. And while the band does indeed have worthy members, namely the bassoon, first clarinet, the trumpets and contrabasses, theoretically they leave much to be desired. For example: in *Carmen* the selection

and conducting was most unfortunate, with the *tempi* switched, giving Bizet’s delightful opera here a funereal note that it does not have, and there the atmosphere of a *vivace baccanale*, which is not part of the opera. (...) These people must be convinced (...) that Macao is not the African wilderness. Macao fortunately has people who understand art; and the truth is that if we were to say that that was good, then we would be betraying our principles!¹⁶³

The above comment suggests the existence in Macao of music connoisseurs whose demanding standards were rather high. It was thus natural that there was the widespread expectation in local artistic circles that a new band would be created at any moment. These expectations became reality that very same month (August 1927), when the director of the Club Internacional de Recreio e Corridas de Macau Ltda. [the Macao International Recreation and Racing Club, Ltd.] filed two applications with the Government: the first requesting the concession of properties “located inside the race tracks of the Areia Preta Field”, in return for the realisation of some improvements (including the construction of a bandstand); and the second requesting “the creation in Macao of a music band, if possible militarised, for an annual subsidy of \$18,000.00 [patacas] given by said Company and on condition that the band play for free at the race track on days when races are held...”¹⁶⁴ The Council voted in favour of creating the band, “publishing an Administrative Ruling (“portaria”) that created, at the Police Commissariat, the said band with a minimum number of 22 members, and providing the funds for its administration until the new contract with the Company can effect, as obliged, the delivery of those funds, which shall then be invoiced to the Treasury”.¹⁶⁵ Governor Artur Tamagnini Barbosa (who was Governor of Macao for a second term from 1926-1931) then ordered the publication of Administrative Ruling No. 192 of August 27, 1927, governing the creation of the Macao Police Band.¹⁶⁶ Rehearsals began immediately on premises ceded by the management of the Imprensa Nacional [Official Printing House].¹⁶⁷ The first performance was attended by the governor and took place on September 17, 1927, led by Constâncio José da Silva, in the hall of the new Police Commissariat. The concert opened with “A Portuguesa”, the

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Portuguese national anthem, and continued with works by Massenet, Dvorák, Wagner, Beethoven and Moszkowsky.¹⁶⁸ In addition to its performances at the racetrack on racing days, the band also played, by decision of the police commissioner, “on Sundays in the tennis court [at the Governor’s Palace] from 9 p. m. to 11 p.m.”¹⁶⁹ Admission to the Palace garden was to be “open to everyone during the period in which the band is playing there”.¹⁷⁰

Besides an apparent taste for music, Tamagnini Barbosa seemed to share an affinity for the ideological principles of Constâncio José da Silva.¹⁷¹ During his mandate as Governor of Macao, da Silva’s work as head of the Police Band and, later, of the Municipal Band, received a large stimulus. Note, for example, that on October 5, 1927, just a few days after the creation of the band, a public concert was re-scheduled so that the band could be available to perform for the Governor: “The public is advised that in order for the band to be able to play at the official ball hosted by His Excellency the Governor, the concert scheduled for tonight will take place in the garden of the Government Palace from 8 p.m. to 10 p.m., with entry open to the public.”¹⁷² Two days later, a report confirmed the Band’s participation in the event: “The gala *soirée* held on the 5th of this month at the Government Palace was very lively and well-attended (...) The concert given by the Band was very agreeable, and no more or better could have been expected.”¹⁷³

After a performance on Sunday, November 6, 1927, the critic “S. R.” of the newspaper *A Pátria* went so far as to compare the new band to the best Hong Kong bands, and also made a number of comments on the performance of its director. This review, extremely rich in detail, seems reliable, all the more so since it was published in a newspaper with an ideological bent that ran contrary to that of the Republican papers *O Liberal* and *O Combate*, the usual defenders of Constâncio José da Silva. The band was then composed of 25 musicians, all of them locals.¹⁷⁴ It is very likely that some holdovers from the first municipal band were still in the group, though they were now seated beside their students:¹⁷⁵

So we went to the Palace garden after dinner to enjoy the concert and, yes indeed, our expectations for a good performance were surpassed right after the first 30 or 40 measures of Suppé’s *Overture*. An admirable and well-

tuned group; a good group of clarinets, indispensable for any respectable band. (...) The city of Macao should be satisfied with the band that does it honour. And it would be good if on Sundays it gave the *mah-jongg* players time off to go listen to music, to distract the spirit from daily disputes. This last note we stress, given that the attendance on Sunday was very low...¹⁷⁶

Between 1921 and 1927, the population of Macao made do without the presence of a stable music band. But traditions were kept up during those years, and the enthusiasm for such musical entertainment had not waned: the Police Band, even in its very first few weeks, found itself obliged to divide its time between weekly concerts, horse races, performances at official ceremonies, and even private balls: “Tomorrow night there will be a family meeting, brightened by the Police Band, at the building of the Clube Recreativo de Beneficência [Welfare Recreation Club], in honour of the sergeants of the crew of the [ship] ‘Pero de Alenquera’.”¹⁷⁷

On the following day, November 13, 1927, another concert was held. The reporter from the newspaper *A Pátria* commented that the works presented had been “very well performed, given the artistic taste and proficiency of both the Leader and the musicians”,¹⁷⁸ regretting however that the programme did not include any works by Portuguese composers: “We would indeed be pleased if the Police Band were to include in each programme at least one number of Portuguese music, of which there is good material (...) This would help people learn that Portuguese music is not solely comprised of ‘fados’ for guitar.”¹⁷⁹

Despite this slight reservation, it seems that for the first time in many years a consensus had been reached on the band’s cultural and educational importance in the city’s musical life, and on the need to stimulate its work. On December 1, 1927, the newspaper *A Pátria* published the testimony of Fr. Ferdinando Maberini (1886-1956), composer and music teacher at St. Joseph’s Seminary:

Yesterday I went for the first time to listen to the Police Band, with absolutely no critical intention —just to hear music. (...) The band is still at its beginning and thus cannot be perfect, yet with the instruments it’s got it performs very agreeably. (...) The playing was good and the

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choice of works artistically varied. The musical culture of Mr. Constâncio [da Silva] and goodwill of the musicians are evidence of the most flattering hopes that Macao will soon have, with a certain degree of perfection, a [source of] public entertainment that is no less dignified, no less noble or useful than so many others that are already on the entertainment programmes of the people and families that live in this land.¹⁸⁰

Incentive for the band was not limited to encouraging commentary on its technical and artistic performance. After so many years of inactivity, the Avenida Vasco da Gama bandstand—the main concert venue of the former Municipal Band—had been rebuilt. The press reported on the improvements: “A new roof has been made, which will do much to beautify a place so often visited by the people of Macao on their promenades. All this leads us to believe that we shall soon have public concerts by the already well-known Police Band.”¹⁸¹

There were now several reasons to anticipate an auspicious future for the new band: the bandstand on Avenida Vasco da Gama had been renovated¹⁸² (and until the work was completed, the Governor opened his gardens for Sunday evening concerts); Constâncio José da Silva had apparently earned the approval of public and the musicians, in terms of his competence; and, last but certainly not least, the fact was that it cost the public treasury nothing, since a private company had, for a small return, committed itself to providing a substantial annual sum for the group's upkeep.

It was into this context that a piece of truly explosive news arrived: in Lisbon, the Conselho das Colónias [High Council for the Colonies] had ruled negatively on the Macao Governor's decision to create the band. This opinion, confirmed by the Minister of the Colonies on December 17, 1927, argued that “the creation of new services in the colony can only be made by legislative measure (...) and not as an act of executive or regulatory nature.”¹⁸³ The Governor of Macao, in other words, did not have the power to decree the establishment of a new body within the police corps. Provincial Administrative Ruling No. 192, which created the band, was thus annulled by Administrative Ruling No. 5:113¹⁸⁴ of the Ministério das Colónias.

A few days later, the newspaper *A Verdade* queried: “... is it possible that the people of Macao,

appreciators of good music *par excellence*, are to be denied the spiritual pleasure that, thanks to its good and worthy efforts, this excellent Band has been providing for the past four months, a pleasure that even the most backward areas of Portugal nowadays enjoy?! It is hard to believe... But after all, just what do the people of Macao mean to certain influences in the Terreiro do Paço?”¹⁸⁵ On February 2, 1928, a second opinion¹⁸⁶ echoed the first, and voiced various considerations on the decision¹⁸⁷ that had deprived the Macao people of their musical entertainment:

(...) I cannot anticipate how His Excellency the Governor will choose to resolve this case. But I am sure that [his decision] will not deprive the Colony of an element that is widely held to be indispensable to cultivating the spirit as well as the honest enjoyment of the people. In a colony like this, geographically and materially so far from the home country that it sometimes seems that we live on another planet, lacking the connections that facilitate visits by groups of performers who can delight us for a few days with performances and songs from the homeland (...) I believe (...) that the band should continue to exist, though under the title “Municipal [Band]”. And if after all the Horse Racing Club is neither able nor willing to transfer the subsidy to the municipal coffers—then let the Government replace it.¹⁸⁸

The Administrative Ruling was published in Macao on February 4, 1928, but in practice it ended up not affecting the band's activities in the least: the group continued to perform at official ceremonies and even at *soirées* at the governor's residence. Immediately following the publication of the Administrative Ruling, however, in order to avoid the appearance of illegality, it was given a fantasy name: Banda de Macau [Band of Macao].¹⁸⁹

These convulsions coincided with the visit to Macao of Sir Miles Lampson (1880-1964), Head of the British Legation in Peking. After a visit to the usual historical sites, Governor Tamagnini Barbosa hosted him at an official dinner at the Government Palace. As if nothing had ever happened, the Police Band (now called the Band of Macao), led by Constâncio José da Silva, was present at the reception, where “after the toast [it played]..., respectively, ‘God Save the Queen’ and ‘A Portuguesa’”.¹⁹⁰ Its performance during the

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dinner attracted some comment from the British ambassador, who “had words of praise and admiration for the correct performance of the programme numbers, given that [the Band] had been in existence for such a short time, and was increasingly formed mainly by Chinese members.”¹⁹¹

The Band of Macao went on to perform a major concert at the Teatro Dom Pedro V alongside pianist Harry Ore on February 29, 1928. While they did not perform any pieces together, its presence in the same concert with a musician like Harry Ore was doubtless a mark of prestige for the band. The programme began with a suite in three movements from the ballet *Coppelia* by Léo Delibes (1836-1891). Harry Ore next played the Sonata No. 17, Op. 31 No. 2 in D minor, the Chorus of Dervishes and the Turkish March, from *The Ruins of Athens*, Op. 113, by Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827). The degree of difficulty of the pieces performed increased, with presentation of the third movement of the symphonic suite *Scheherazade*, Op. 35, by Nicolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1844-1908). Harry Ore capped the first part of the concert with his performance of a movement from *Kreisleriana*, Op. 16 and the final march of *Carnaval*, Op. 9, by Robert Schumann (1810-1856). After the intermission, the Band returned with the suite in three movements *Sigurd Jorsalfar*, Op. 56, by Edvard Grieg (1843-1907). Harry Ore returned to the stage to play his “Gavota”, Op. 12, the “Macao Lullaby”, three “Chinese Songs” and the Hungarian Rhapsody No. 11 in A minor, by Franz Liszt (1811-1886). The Band then closed the concert with the Military March No. 2 in G major, by Franz Schubert (1797-1828). The concert was repeated, with the same programme, on March 8, 1928, at the Teatro Vitória.¹⁹²

The band now counted 27 members¹⁹³ and despite the *quid pro quo* between the Macao government and the Ministério das Colónias, the Club Internacional de Recreio e Corridas continued to sponsor it.¹⁹⁴ In return, the band continued to enliven the horse races with marches, waltzes and tangos.¹⁹⁵

Yet its indefinite position could not continue for much longer. The regulation previously approved by the Governor had been cancelled by the Ministério das Colónias, and a new one had to be drawn up that would ensure stable salary conditions for the musicians as well as funds to acquire instruments and scores. Moreover, a letter addressed to the president of the

Leal Senado and signed by one of the race club directors, Carlos Melo Leitão, announced that, “for absolute lack of resources”, after April 1928, the Club would be unable to continue providing financial support to the band, and suggested that, in order to prevent its extinction, it should be absorbed by the municipality.¹⁹⁶ Thus, on April 1, 1928, the newspaper *A Verdade* reported that Jacques Gracias, vice-president of the Leal Senado, had presented, “at the last council session, a proposal for the *municipalisation* of the music band of the Recreation and Race Club, which had once been attached to the Police Commissariat.”¹⁹⁷

Constâncio José da Silva was invited to assume the post of director, and presented proposed regulations, as well as a budget for the acquisition of instruments, with the aim of forming a concert band.¹⁹⁸ The announcement that the band was being revamped once again attracted the attention of Isidoro Maria da Costa, who in 1919 had offered his services to the Leal Senado as bandmaster. Da Costa recalled that Constâncio José da Silva, being a retired municipal functionary, was ineligible for the job, and instead offered his services as director of the Municipal Band.¹⁹⁹ A few days later, at the council session of April 11, 1928, the Leal Senado summarily rejected his request, considering “the request to be wrong (...) also because there is nothing to prevent him (Constâncio José da Silva), as a retired municipal functionary, from taking charge of said Band, in light of so many other cases that have occurred in the civil service.”²⁰⁰

After nearly ten years, then, the road was finally cleared for Constâncio José da Silva to realise the project that he had so often dreamt of: the creation of a concert band in Macao.

THE APOGEE AND DECLINE OF THE MUNICIPAL BAND (1928 TO 1935)

Provincial Administrative Ruling No. 120, dated June 11, 1928 and signed by Governor Artur Tamagnini Barbosa, approved the regulations for a new municipal band. In Article 1, the regulations determined that the band should have (1) a director or conductor, appointed or hired by the Leal Senado at the suggestion of the councillor responsible for the band, (2) an assistant director or assistant conductor, and (3) a minimum of 27 musicians, the latter appointed or hired by the Leal Senado at the suggestion

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of the director.²⁰¹ The regulations also stipulated a daily work schedule of four hours, and allowed the musicians to give private lessons and participate, for payment, in other musical groups, as long as these activities did not infringe upon their obligations to the Band. Worthy of note is the fact that Article 19 of the regulations anticipated the formation of an orchestra (“a formação de uma orquestra”), in the same format as that conceived ten years earlier by Constâncio José da Silva.

In this period, however, the Leal Senado was facing financial difficulties due to the loss of 2% of its taxes from the exploitation of opium.²⁰² With the loss of that revenue, it no longer had the necessary resources to cover the expenses incurred by the municipalisation of the band.²⁰³ Once again, the prompt intervention of Governor Tamagnini Barbosa, who granted the Leal Senado 25% of the income from the tobacco tax, resolved the situation.²⁰⁴ Thus, in its new form and

under the leadership of Constâncio José da Silva, the band began to give regular public performances twice weekly (every Thursday and Sunday)²⁰⁵ at the new bandstand on the Avenida Vasco da Gama. However, since 1928, long before the regulations were published in the *Boletim Oficial*, the band had been offering regular concerts at either the Avenida Vasco da Gama or the Jardim de São Francisco, and sporadically at the racecourse bandstand.²⁰⁶ Since the previous year, Constâncio José da Silva had been experimenting with a more ambitious repertoire, including for example Beethoven's *Egmont* overture;²⁰⁷ the “Waltz of the Flowers” from the *Nutcracker* ballet, by Tchaikovsky (1840-1893);²⁰⁸ a *pot-pourri* from the opera *The Flying Dutchman*,²⁰⁹ by Richard Wagner (1813-1886); a transcription for band of the Prelude in G minor Op. 23 No. 5,²¹⁰ by Sergei Rachmaninoff (1873-1943); and even the overture to the opera *Il Guarany*, by Brazilian opera composer Carlos Gomes (1836-1896).²¹¹

Municipal Band, ca. 1928. Photo possibly taken at Leal Senado Square or in front of the old Lyceum.²¹⁴



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Analysis of the content of the concert programmes seems to indicate that, on principle, Constâncio José da Silva did not mix what he considered “light” music with “classical” fare. As we shall see further on, for the purpose of performing light music, he set up within the band a jazz group that had a specific performance schedule. Reports and reviews, mainly in the newspapers *A Verdade* and *A Pátria*, suggest a considerable improvement in the band's technical and artistic abilities.²¹² In February 1929 another concert was held in the Teatro Dom Pedro V with pianist Harry Ore and Hong Kong mezzo-soprano Mrs. R. Sanger,²¹³ in which the band performed the second movement of Beethoven's Symphony No. 5, Op. 6 in C minor and the “Andante” and “Allegro Moderato” from Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 5, Op. 64 in E minor, and accompanied Mrs. Sanger in her performance of the aria “Vissi d'arte” from the opera *Tosca*, by Giacomo Puccini (1858-1924).

At the time, Macao was not endowed with a conservatory or music school where young musicians could hone their skills. Given these unfavourable conditions and the available pool of human resources, the band indeed seems to have reached its “artistic zenith” in the late 1920s. This is confirmed by the spontaneous response of an American visitor, who enthusiastically mounted the bandstand to congratulate the musicians during its performance of April 14, 1929:

The progress of the Municipal Band is increasingly evident, to such an extent that at the performance on the afternoon of the 14th of the current month (...), after one of the numbers had been played, an American visitor was so taken that he went up to the bandstand and shook the hand of the bandleader, Mr Constâncio da Silva, and extended his congratulations, at the same time giving him a paper that indicated that he was director of musical performances for a radio station in San Francisco, California.²¹⁵

During the early 1930s, the *Jornal de Macau* and the *Eco Macaense* newspapers regularly published the programmes for the Municipal Band's performances in the Jardim de São Francisco (January 1–February 10, 1931) and at the bandstand on Avenida Vasco da Gama (February 14, 1931–July 1932), which were normally held twice a week. Following the fashion then in vogue in the city's most prominent hotels, such as Hotel Riviera

and the Grand Hotel Central,²¹⁶ Constâncio José da Silva formed a jazz group comprised of fourteen musicians chosen from within the band.²¹⁷

On 30 April 1931, the *Jornal de Macau* approvingly noted da Silva's idea of “offering youngsters the chance to dance in the open air and distributing the lyrics of waltzes and foxtrots”,²¹⁸ a clear intention of getting the public more involved in the Band's performances. The public seems to have enthusiastically welcomed this initiative, to the point that the Leal Senado had to regulate the jazz group's performance schedule, establishing a price and timetable. During popular festivals, particularly Carnival, there was usually a great demand for music groups to play at the dances organised by the city's clubs and hotels.²¹⁹ There is no further information on the earlier proposal of establishing a (salon) orchestra in the city, although there are reports that members of the Municipal Band on occasion joined other amateur musicians in public performances: “Tonight's spectacle at the Capitol will be enlivened by the performance of an orchestra composed of the most distinguished local amateurs and some members of the Municipal Band.”²²⁰ The band also took part in benefit performances, such as the October 1931 concert in the ad hoc pavilion set up for a charity bazaar organised on behalf of the flood victims in Hankow: “Upon request of the organising committee of the Bazaar that has been arranged on Avenida Vasco da Gama, the Leal Senado has given the Municipal Band permission to play on Tuesdays and Thursdays in the Bazaar pavilion and on Saturdays in the Bandstand of the Jardim Vasco da Gama from 9 p.m. to 11 p.m.”²²¹

On October 20, 1931, Constâncio José da Silva, then 67 years old, wrote a letter to the Leal Senado in which he made known his wish to terminate his duties as director of the band as of January 1, 1932. In the letter, he proposed a series of measures, among which was his replacement by first-class military musician João Xavier.

Da Silva's departure did not bring an immediate end to the band, as we know from the fact that concert programmes continued to be published throughout 1932 in the newspaper *Eco Macaense*. However, his recommendations were not accepted peacefully. The authority of João Xavier, who then held the position of interim bandleader, was questioned by another musician, Flaviano Zapanta, who also sought the post. But Zapanta's request that a competition be held in

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order to find the most qualified individual to fill the position was rejected by the Leal Senado.²²² After this setback, the musician reacted in a letter dated January 9, 1932, and addressed to the director of the newspaper *A Voz de Macau*, explaining the reasons that led him to request the competition: “This procedure is in accordance with the spirit of republicanism and democracy that exists nowadays and will ensure that the director of the Municipal Band is responsible to the educated public of Macao.”²²³

Moreover, just a few months after stepping down, Constâncio José da Silva became embroiled in a fierce controversy over the band with the newspaper *A Voz de Macau*, which published criticisms of his tenure as director. The critic, who usually signed himself a citizen²²⁴ (“um munícipe”), called for the abolition of the band because it did not achieve the objectives of entertaining and educating the population and promoting Portuguese music. In the absence of more qualified musical criticism, the exchanges between these two opponents is of a certain musicological interest, as it enables us to partially reconstruct the musical atmosphere of Macao in that period, and to gain insight into the technical and artistic level of the Band:

The creation of a Music Band in Macao aims especially to achieve the following goals: (1) Recreation and musical education of the population; (2) The dissemination of Portuguese music, so little known hereabouts. Yet neither of these goals has been or can be met by the Municipal Band as it is organised now, because: the Band is largely composed of hurriedly trained musicians (...) and plays badly; it therefore neither provides recreation nor educates the population and can only help to aggravate the latter's disinterest in such a sublime art. It is thus not in any way possible to achieve the educational goal; and the programmes of the Band reveal its absolute disdain for Portuguese music, as only every once in a while its performs a potpourri or “typical rhapsody”, all of it old-fashioned and far removed from significant recent developments in Portuguese music. (...) The Band's performances are attended by half a dozen people and we are frankly unable to understand why the Leal Senado maintains a Band in such conditions...²²⁵

A bitter dispute ensued, and even after warnings from Adolfo Jorge, the director of *Eco Macaense*, and from Constâncio José da Silva, the “munícipe” was still throwing accusations a month later in *A Voz de Macau*. The following letter enables us to ascertain the number of band members and their nationality, information that it has not been possible to find elsewhere:

(...) How can a Band composed of thirty members, most of them Chinese made musicians in four years, play Beethoven, greatest of the greats, when the Director and master of those Chinese was previously an interested amateur and is now a Chinese, a right and able lad but not ever up to the task of leading a band?²²⁶

The following week, when the mysterious citizen criticised the programmes chosen by the former music director, he invoked the concept of “classical music”, criticising Constâncio José da Silva for having included Grieg and Tchaikovsky among works by Austro-German composers of the period around 1800. In the response of the “munícipe” to his opponent, who had defended himself in the newspaper *Eco Macaense*, we also learn where the band members studied music: “(...) Why didn't he say that the musicians had come already trained from the Salesians Band, the extinct Military Band and from Father Jacob Lau? (...) Why did he not state that those musicians were as Portuguese as any Portuguese?”²²⁷

Regarding the fact that the band did not play more music by Portuguese composers, on June 30, the anonymous writer listed a large number of Portuguese works that in his/her opinion should have been included in the band's repertoire. In the same letter, the “munícipe” also risked for the first time making observations of a strictly musical nature, specifically criticising the group's technical and artistic performance:

Not wanting, for the time being, to refer to intonation, I refer to its effects: In Prelude No. 5 of “Rachmaninow”[sic], the second part (*cantabile*), representing the lamentations of those sentenced to Siberia, has to stand out—here energetically, there painfully and grievously—from the accompanying part which portrays the continual dragging of chains that painfully crack against the poor convicts' bones. And those arpeggios linked to the accompaniment should undulate, not by means

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of faster or slower tempo, but by means of intensity of sound. As is known, the author wrote the Preludes for piano; and if one instrument is able to achieve all those effects, how is it that 30 instruments are unable to do so? What effects does the Band accomplish with this admirable Prelude? In the “Finlandia” by Jean Sibelius, the Municipal Band’s criminal performance reaches the point of providing moments in which we want to distinguish the melody, but cannot!...

The conclusion of this letter was published the following day. To wind up his avalanche of criticism of the band and its director, the author attacked Constâncio José da Silva personally, though not before giving a lecture on music history and on the concepts of “professional”, “amateur” and “curious” amateur: “Come on, Mr. C. J. Silva! You must be convinced once and for all that your value as a musician is zero or almost zero...”²²⁸ The verbal assault continued until the edition of July 19, 1932, where the author finished by stating that “(...) The Macao Musical Band plays badly, even very badly, and its ex-director (who apparently still directs it) is entirely ignorant of musical matters.”²²⁹

To all these criticisms, Constâncio José da Silva gave heated responses in the newspaper *Eco Macaense*, which revealed the difficulties he had had to confront with regard to acquiring scores of Portuguese music. Besides one or two technical or musical issues, however, the nature of his comments leads one to realise that the dispute was mostly personal in character, the result of a breakdown in relations between Constâncio José da Silva and Domingos Gregório, the director of the *A Voz de Macau*, who might have been the “município” all along. According to Teixeira, the *Eco Macaense* was twice prosecuted for defamation of character. In the wake of the dispute between the newspapers *A Voz de Macau* and *Eco Macaense*, the latter’s Director, on October 24, 1932, decided to cease publishing to avoid further complications.²³⁰ For some months the concert programmes of the municipal band did not appear in the papers. However, on April 1, 1933, we find an interesting report that reveals some of the practices vis-à-vis the band’s public performances:

The Administrative Commission of the Municipality has determined that, starting from the 19th of last month, the Municipal Band will

perform on Sundays in the Largo do Senado, from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m., and on Thursdays on the Alameda Vasco da Gama from 5:30 p.m. to 7:30 p.m.; in both places, a Charity House may rent chairs to the public. This resolution very much satisfies the public of Macao, which awaits construction of a proper bandstand in the Largo do Senado and expects sufficient vigilance to ensure that dirty and ragged creatures are not allowed to take the seats existing there.

On July 3, 1933, *A Voz de Macau* again began publishing the weekly programmes of the Municipal Band. João Xavier had given up leadership of the band in November 1932, when he was replaced by the experienced second lieutenant Eusébio Placé, retired bandmaster of the Banda da Guarnição de Macau, who had in the meantime asked the Leal Senado to be reassigned as band director. The band continued to perform regularly twice a week in the Largo do Senado and the Alameda Vasco da Gama.

At this juncture, the appearance of Macao’s first radio station, the “Estação Emissora CQN de Macau”,²³¹ created an entirely new medium for musical performances. On January 2, 1934, *A Voz de Macau* described the first radio performance of the Municipal Band, which took place the previous day after a speech given by the colony’s Governor, António José Bernardes Miranda (governor of Macao, 1932-1936):

The Band’s programme as heard was overly loud, and for this reason we suggest that until the Studio has completely adapted to the Band’s numbers, they should only perform in another room or in the Leal Senado Hall, where a duly installed microphone might more harmoniously pick up the sound of the instruments.

The New Year’s Day performance ended with the pasodoble “Ordem e Progresso” by Joaquim Fernandes Fão. The suggestive title evokes the new fascist social and political order established in Portugal since 1926, with the end of the parliamentary regime.²³²

Despite the technical problems revealed during the first transmission, between January and May 1934, the Municipal Band stopped performing in public on Sundays, in order to play instead on Mondays from 9 p.m. to 11 p.m. for the local radio.²³³ Opinions regarding this change were not uniformly favourable. These arguments were not by themselves reason enough

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for the band to stop performing on radio, however, given that there were not many other options to fill up the broadcast time. The “Trio do Cónego Clímaco do Rozario”, made up of Fr. João Clímaco do Rosário (1890-1935) on violin, A. Viana on piano, and A. Bernardo on cello,²³⁴ frequently played live chamber music, along with the “Bragazinho” light music group (J. M. Simão Rodrigues, Henrique Braga, João Braga, Arnaldo Sequeira and Antonio Amante) which played “fados”, marches and polkas;²³⁵ very rarely, the “Jazz Band Pancho & his Rhythm Boys” (made up of A. Viana on piano, A. Bernardo on saxophone and cello, J. de Jesus on cornet, and F. Albuquerque on “jazz”)²³⁶ and the “Orquestra do Club Maxim” could also be heard. Moreover, the limited air time (only a few hours a week), was filled with talks about music, the arts, and Chinese and Portuguese culture, and with music from records that, it is interesting to note, did not even belong to the radio station.²³⁷ This situation is entirely different from that of Hong Kong's radio station ZBW, which, in addition to collaborating with local performers and regularly transmitting evening concerts by the Hong Kong Hotel Orchestra live from the Grill Room of that establishment, maintained a considerable and up-to-date record archive.²³⁸

At the time, a radio receiver was something that only the most affluent families could afford. This was probably the most compelling reason to effect the band's return to the public garden. But although the newspapers did not mention this, the presumably widespread criticism, whether justified or not, ended up producing the desired effect: as *A Voz de Macau* noted on May 16, 1934, “our request for the Band to start playing in the Largo do Senado was not in vain.”²³⁹ Confirming the suspension of Sunday concerts in the first part of 1934, the writer continues by informing us that “tomorrow is the second concert that the band will perform there”. Despite the various attacks launched against it over the course of its existence, the Municipal Band never stopped fulfilling its mission of entertaining the population, holding regular concerts, and, insofar as possible, exploring a fairly diversified repertoire. However, in September 1934 a sharp criticism again signed by “a citizen” was published in *A Voz de Macau*. It labelled “superfluous” the funds used to support the band, which in a brazenly mocking tone it described as a “charanga”.²⁴⁰ The anonymous critic continued his savage attack by asking the Leal Senado why it still

maintained such a heavy financial burden on the municipality. He concluded with a humiliating tirade: “[Let us] Stop this bi-weekly ridiculous spectacle of a worthless village, which is presented in a public square before the eyes of the small number of tourists who still put in an appearance.”²⁴¹ In a tone of appeasement, the newspaper's director, Domingos Gregório da Rosa Duque, appended an editorial note, saying that “we cannot agree with the pure and simple extinction of the Music Band. Rather, it should be endowed with everything necessary to make it an excellent Band (...) so that it can give the people good music, which is the spiritual food *par excellence*. There is other money around which is badly used... Put to good use, it would take care of everything.”²⁴² At the time, Macao suffered from a lack of good schools; expansion and improvement of the education network was urgently needed. The new “Regulamento do Ensino Primário” had already been approved and was only waiting for funds to be put into practice—this was one of the arguments critics used to press for the elimination of the band.

Four days after the publication of this article, another writer, who likewise wished to remain anonymous (the article was published unsigned), sent to the same newspaper another article, less aggressive in content, which drew on the Leal Senado's budget figures for the 1934/35 fiscal year. The Municipal Band, which consumed \$25,152.00²⁴³ patacas annually, effectively represented the municipality's third largest expense, after the public lighting service (\$33,406.20), and hygiene and health services. In addition to improving the education of Macao's young people, the author asserted, the money saved by abolishing the “charanga” could be used to increase the number of municipal inspectors, which would prevent garbage from piling up in the streets, “bothering the public with its nauseous smell”, and to acquire “a radio apparatus that could be installed in the Leal Senado hall, so that the public could at all times listen to good music from around the whole world.”²⁴⁴ The band director was also accused of being overly conservative in his choice of programmes: “The public likes the happy music of jazz, music that seems not to please the current band director. But the taste of a band director should follow that of the people.”²⁴⁵ The writer concluded in a serious tone, stating that the band's performances in the Largo do Senado served

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“as a rendezvous point for prostitutes from the Rua da Felicidade and nearby areas, [and that] the Macao public, orderly people, peaceable and well-behaved, did not like to rub shoulders with vice and slime.”²⁴⁶

Meanwhile, the situation in Europe was becoming increasingly tense. Progress in telecommunications meant that Macao was now closer than ever to the rest of the world, and *A Voz de Macau*, the only Portuguese-language newspaper at the time, gradually stopped filling its pages with minor local squabbles, and started emphasising the approaching conflict. Headlines such as “The Eternal Sino-Japanese Imbroglio” and “The Ethiopian-Italian Conflict”, as well as the propaganda put out by the Estado Novo (Portugal's new ‘corporatist’ state) that arrived every day from Portugal, began to take up the newspaper's front pages. Finally, on September 26, 1935, in small print in an insignificant section of the newspaper, the announcement of the Municipal Band's demise appeared:

Given that His Excellency the Governor of the Colony agreed last August with the opinion of the Standing Section of the Government Council, which was favourable to the Leal Senado's proposal to abolish the Municipal Band, as of November 1, the personnel of Band shall be dismissed from the services they have been providing. The population of Macao will thus be deprived of a music band starting on November 1...²⁴⁷

The article also states that the band's new instruments had been acquired thanks to donations from Chinese citizens, and showed concern over their destiny: “[we hope] that they are conveniently stored, for maybe we'll be able to hear them again when the winds turn more favourable.” Eusébio Placé, the band's director since 1932, had, as early as September 10 of that year, requested that he be relieved of his duties; the assistant director, João Xavier, had been in line to replace him.²⁴⁸

A Voz de Macau of Friday, October 4, 1935, reported on “the sensational speech by Mussolini”²⁴⁹ declaring war on Ethiopia. Despite its previously heralded extinction, the band performed normally on the holiday the next day.²⁵⁰ As in the preceding years, a major concert was held in the Jardim de São Francisco, divided into three parts. A strong emphasis was now placed on Portuguese music. Of the twelve

pieces performed, five were by Portuguese composers: “Portuguese Reveille” by Meyrelles, “Devaneio Campestre” by Moraes, “Suite Nossa Senhora do Sameiro” (in four movements) by Campos, the “Rosário de Fados” rhapsody by Marques,²⁵¹ and to conclude, “A Portuguesa”, the Portuguese national anthem, by Alfredo Keil (1850-1907).

Three days later, Hitler spoke to the world and *A Voz de Macau* printed on its front page his equally “sensational speech”.²⁵² On October 25, King George V (r. 1910-1936) dissolved the English parliament. On Sunday, October 27, 1935, the band gave its final concert. Publicised as usual in the previous evening's paper,²⁵³ this concert elicited no further commentary from the Portuguese press. Clearly, the times had changed, and the Leal Senado's decision, approved by the Government, this time was definitive, interrupting a story more than a century old, which had begun back in 1810, with the formation in Macao of the Batalhão Príncipe Regente.

CONCLUSION

This study aims to describe the activity of musical bands in Macao during the period between 1818, the year in which the first references to the Banda do Batalhão Príncipe Regente are found, until 1935, when the Municipal Band was dissolved. To a certain extent, it can be asserted that the activity of official music bands was only interrupted between the years 1921 and 1927, for circumstantial reasons. However, during that same period we may note the spontaneous birth of various private groups as well as that of a band attached to the Comissariado de Polícia [Police Commissariat], which functioned in 1927 and 1928, the year in which the new Municipal Band was created. These facts unequivocally suggest a cultural continuity that was intrinsic to the Portuguese presence in Macao.

Macao's particular geographic situation made it a meeting point of highly contrasting cultures. As was the case in other countries colonised by Europeans, foreign influences spread and are nowadays mixed in with local culture.

The constant confrontation with alien cultural forces led the population of Portuguese background in Macao to develop a strong tendency to defend and uphold their traditions, a phenomenon that ethnomusicologist William P. Malm has called the

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principle of “marginal survival”, according to which “the oldest forms of many traditions are not found at the centres of cultures but rather on their more distant fringes”.²⁵⁴ The presence of civilian and military bands in Macao, and the manner of their development, are, in my opinion, a variation of this principle. In Macao, military bands played a predominant role in musical activities, most likely following a pattern imported from Portugal. In the early twentieth century, Republican ideals called for a secular state, free and autonomous, and the repercussions of this ideology on the local music scene were clearly evident in 1912-13, when the military band was transformed into a Municipal Band. This transformation did not induce either the people or the ruling class to lower their aspirations for a quality source of musical entertainment—rather to the contrary. The creation of the Municipal Band under the auspices of the Leal Senado sought not only to elevate the technical and artistic level of local musicians, due to its performance of a more extensive repertoire, but also to consolidate an essentially European tradition in Macao.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, an anonymous writer (who signed his article with the pseudonym “Zero”) gave voice to the idea, widespread in Macanese and Portuguese communities, that music was an important form of healthy entertainment. In doing so, he provides us with a rather interesting portrait of society of his day, describing the isolation in which the western community lived and the absence of more regular musical activity:

Exhausted by long expectation that seems be verging on the eternal, (...) and listening to

comments on this enervating and vexing situation, our spirit would atrophy if from time to time it were not stimulated by a ray of sunlight erupting between the dense clouds of tedium that overshadow our depressing horizon. (...) The appreciation of music is not only an agreeable pastime; it is a moral tonic and powerful element of mental elevation, which is to say that it contributes to the perfection of character. Besides this, as superstition and religious faith are gradually and in parallel weakened, the latter can only be stimulated through the appreciation of pure art and everything that is beautiful and grand. (...) I beg pardon for the boldness of my criticism—do go on. Remember that the work you do is a kind of charity, consoling the sad.²⁵⁵

In this context, the concerts of musical bands clearly had a superlative significance, not only as stimulators of “culture”, but also in developing a strong sense of tradition by gathering the community of Portuguese origin around a musical tradition that kept alive their ties to a cultural matrix which, though ever distant, had to be protected: thus affirming, in the face of the overwhelmingly strong Chinese—and British—cultural presence, its own particular identity and characteristics. **RC**

Author’s Note: For a much longer version of this study, see Oswaldo da Veiga Jardim Neto, “The Role of the Military Bands in shaping the Musical Life of Macau, ca. 1820 to 1935” (unpub. M. Phil. thesis, University of Hong Kong, 2002).

NOTES

- 1 Known today as the Banda de Música da Corporação de Polícia de Segurança Pública de Macau.
- 2 In addition to the military band, the tradition of school bands begun almost one century ago at the religious schools (St. Joseph’s Seminary and the Salesian Institute), continues today. According to current information (2002) provided to the author by the Associação de Regentes de Bandas de Macau [Association of Band Conductors of Macao], there are at the moment eight active school bands in Macao, associated with the following schools: Pui Tou Secondary School, Pui Ching Secondary School, Kao Yip Secondary School, Hou Kong Secondary School, Keang Peng Secondary School, Macau Yuet Wah College, Macao Salesian Institute, and St Joseph’s Secondary School.
- 3 See “Band”, in *The New Encyclopædia Britannica*, 15th ed., vol. 1 (Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 1991), p. 858.

- 4 See “Banda”, in Aurélio Buarque de Holanda Ferreira et al., *Nova Aurélio Século XXI* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 2000), p. 264, and Clifford Bevan, “Band”, *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan, 1984), p. 120.
- 5 See Harold C. Hind and Anthony C. Baines, “Military band”, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 12 (London: Macmillan, 1980), p. 312.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 313.
- 7 The Prussian model of the military band as found in the late eighteenth century exerted a strong influence on military bands all over Europe. At the end of the Seven Years War (1756-1763) Frederick II, the Great (1712-1786) established a standard instrumental combination for Prussian army bands, consisting of two oboes, two

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clarinets, two horns and two bassoons. This soon became standard in military ensembles all over Europe. This woodwind ensemble clearly has its origins in the “deutsche Schalmeyen”, an ensemble consisting of three shawms (two treble and one tenor), which were popular in the seventeenth century. The French “hautbois” employed by the Mousquetaires in 1663 (and later adopted in England as the “hautboys”) also influenced military music in the German lands, where this instrument came into usage in the early eighteenth century. The many names given to the predecessors of the oboe in different languages (shawm, Schalmey, ciaramella, charamela) were also the names given to military bands constituted by reed instruments. The word “charamela” [shawm], which comes from the Latin “calamus”, literally means “reed” (pipe, or cane). Therefore, I believe that the Portuguese “charamela” which accompanied D. João VI to Brazil was most likely an ensemble similar to the Prussian model, consisting mostly of reed instruments and drums. See Hind and Baines, art. cit., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 12, op. cit., pp. 311; Clifford Bevan, “Band”, *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, vol. 1, op. cit., p. 123; and “Charamela” in Frei Pedro Sinzig, *Dicionário Musical* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Kosmos Editora, 1976), p. 149.

8 See *Banda da Armada*, <http://www.marinha.pt/vida_naval/banda_armada/banda.html> [Accessed September 4, 2001].

9 According to Albino Lapa, the first Portuguese military bands, known as “Fanfarras Regimentais”, were a development of the ancient “charamelas”, through the addition of other instruments such as fifes (“pifanos”), clarinets, bassoons, clarions, horns and serpents (“serpentões”). Lisbon in the late eighteenth century lacked a police force capable of guaranteeing public safety. Thus, a decree signed on December 10, 1801, instituted the first Guarda Real de Polícia [Royal Police Guard], following the model of the Paris Guard (known since the *Ancien Régime* as the *Guet à Cheval*). This military unit, headquartered in the traditional Lisbon district of “Costa do Castelo”, had a band that accompanied the guard at the end of the day, at the time of *ritirata*. However, only after July 28, 1809, did bands become a compulsory part of Portuguese infantry battalions, with the introduction of a contingent formed by a bandmaster and eight musicians. Up to then, musicians were hired (“engajados”), and therefore had no prospects of promotion in a military career, as there was no “soldier-musician” rank. However, on December 9, 1810, the British General William Beresford, who was in command of the Portuguese Army from 1809 to 1819, ordered that hired musicians be included on the same payroll as the professional military. Also, Beresford initiated the hiring of Spanish musicians, and the stipulation that a band could enroll a maximum of sixteen members. After the Peninsular War, regiment commanders returning to Portugal, probably inspired by the example of the British and French troops, adopted the use of bands marching in front of their battalions. Due to the lack of Portuguese soldier-musicians, who were called “músicos de praça” [enlisted musicians], foreign musicians were hired, mainly from Germany and Spain, who were called “músicos de contrata” [hired musicians]. At the time, the Banda de Música da Guarda Real de Polícia was comprised of eleven players. A decree signed on July 3, 1834, extinguished the Guarda Real de Polícia, which was replaced by the Guarda Municipal. In 1838 a band was formed for the new unit which, by 1842, had one bandmaster and fifteen musicians. However, the *New Grove*, vol. 1, op. cit., p. 128, asserts that this band was composed of 45 members. The Banda da Guarda Municipal gave way to the Banda da Guarda Nacional Republicana. Albino Lapa, *Subsídios para a História das Bandas Militares Portuguesas* (Lisbon: Revista Alma Nacional, 1941), pp. 7-21.

10 The “filarmónicas”, also known in Portuguese as “bandas de música”, are still very popular in rural Portugal, particularly in the archipelago of the Azores. According to the 1993 statistics of the Confederação

Musical Portuguesa, there are 750 filarmónicas in Portugal, of which 110 are located in the Azores and 45 in Madeira. These bands continue to perform several times a year at community events such as festivities in honour of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost (“Festas do Divino Espírito Santo”) and the festival of Our Lady of Fátima, among others. The bands play an important part in religious processions as well as giving concerts at social gatherings and other folk festivals throughout the year and throughout Portugal. Players are usually members of the respective communities, and take music lessons in order to learn the basics of music theory and instrumental playing. The repertoire of the “filarmónicas” consists mainly of marches (probably as a result of the French influence during the nineteenth century and the general military background of the “banda”, as well as the practical needs in processions). Popular songs, such as arrangements of “fado”, folk dances and dances of foreign origin such as the *schottische*, *mazurka* and *polka* are also performed. In addition to the hundreds of “filarmónicas” spread throughout the Portuguese mainland, according to a recent (2002) list of the International Military Music Society, Portugal today still has a large number of military bands. Nowadays, soldier-musicians of the Portuguese Army are trained by their own corps, be it at the Escola Superior Politécnica do Exército or at music conservatories. Among the most important military bands are the Banda de Música da Armada (Marinha), Banda de Música da Força Aérea, Banda da Região Militar da Madeira, Banda da Região Militar Norte, tipo A, Banda da Região Militar Norte, tipo C, Banda da Região Militar Sul, Banda da Região Z. M. A. (Zona Marítima dos Açores), Banda de Música de Guarda Fiscal, Banda da Região Militar de Lisboa, Banda da Guarda Nacional Republicana, Banda e Orquestra do Exército and Banda de Música da Polícia de Segurança Pública. See Robert Stevenson, Joanne B. Purcell and Ronald C. Purcell, “Portugal”, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 15, op. cit., p. 145. See also the website International Military Music Society, <<http://www.imms-online.org>> [Accessed January 15, 2002]. Statistics on the “filarmónicas” were obtained from an official letter from the Confederação Musical Portuguesa, addressed to the author on June 28, 2002, signed by Executive Director Boris Marcq.

11 See Clifford Bevan, “Band”, *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, vol. 1, op. cit., p. 128.

12 The only sources mentioned in the *Enciclopédia Luso-Brasileira de Cultura*, vol. 3, op. cit., pp. 492-493, concerning bands in Portugal, are the two books *A Música Militar Através dos Tempos*, by Lieutenant Manuel Joaquim (1894-1986), published in Lisbon (Arte Musical, 1937); and *Subsídios para a História das Bandas Militares Portuguesas*, by Albino Lapa (1898-1968), published in Lisbon (Revista Alma Nacional, 1941). Both, however, are very outdated. Manuel Joaquim’s book consists of a speech given by its author on February 12, 1937, in the city of Viseu, Portugal, concerning the history of military music over the years. The book, most likely meant to appeal to as wide an audience as possible, is far too generic and fails to mention the development of military music in Portugal. Albino Lapa’s book focuses primarily on the history of the military bands attached to the Guarda Real de Polícia, Guarda Municipal and Guarda Nacional Republicana. Thus, Lapa’s book as well Sinzig’s article about bands in his *Dicionário Musical* were the only printed sources available regarding the history of the military bands in Portugal. With such limited sources of information, I was compelled to do further research on the Internet. I limited my search to respected organizations in Portugal which are considered reliable and truthful, such as the websites of the Portuguese government, the Portuguese Navy and the Guarda Nacional Republicana.

13 Basic information on the history of Portugal found in “Portugal”, *Lello Universal*, vol. 2 (Oporto: Lello & Irmão Editores, 1988), p. 606.

14 A. Campos Matos, “Francesismo”, *Dicionário de Eça de Queirós*, ed. A. Campos Matos (Lisbon: Editorial Caminho, 1993), pp. 442-443.

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- 15 Clifford Bevan, "Band", *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan, 1984), p. 128.
- 16 Armando António Azenha Cação, *Unidades Militares de Macau* (Macao: Gabinete das Forças de Segurança de Macau, 1999), pp. 39-40.
- 17 Manuel Teixeira, *Os Militares em Macau* (Macao: Imprensa Nacional, 1976), p. 422.
- 18 The original Convent of Santo Agostinho was built by Spanish Augustinian friars in 1586. In 1589, on the instructions of Felipe II (r. 1556-1598), it was given to the Portuguese Augustinians, who transferred the Convent to the present-day Largo de Sto. Agostinho. The present building dates from 1814 and is located in the Largo de Santo Agostinho. See Manuel Teixeira, *Toponímia de Macau*, vol. 1 (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1997), pp. 97-100, and Anders Ljungstedt, *Um Esboço Histórico dos Estabelecimentos dos Portugueses e da Igreja Católica Romana e das Missões na China & Descrição da Cidade de Cantão* [original title *An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China and of the Roman Catholic Church and Mission in China*] transl. Ilídio A. de V. Félix Alves from the edition published in Boston in 1836 (Macao: Leal Senado, 1999), p. 37.
- 19 Teixeira, *Os Militares em Macau*, *op. cit.*, p. 422.
- 20 "Memoria circunstanciada da Solemne Aclamação de S. Mag.e o Muito Alto e Muito Poderoso Rey o Snr. D. João VI, celebrada em Macão na Igreja Cathedral na tarde do dia 26 de Dezembro de 1818" [Circumstantiated account of the solemn acclamation of His Majesty the Most High and Powerful King Dom João VI, celebrated in Macao in the Cathedral on the afternoon of the 26th day of December, 1818], *Arquivos de Macau* 1, vol. 1 (June 1929), pp. 43-48, third facsimile edition (Macao: Imprensa Oficial, 1998).
- 21 Katharine Hillard (ed.), *My Mother's Journal. A Young Lady's Diary of Five Years Spent in Manila, Macao, and the Cape of Good Hope from 1829-1834* (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1900), p. 55.
- 22 *Ibid.*, pp. 185-186.
- 23 Luiz Gonzaga Gomes, *Páginas da História de Macau* (Macao: Notícias de Macau, 1966), pp. 412-414.
- 24 Most likely a member of the Police Corps. The Corpo de Polícia was created by the Royal Administrative Ruling of November 3, 1841. The corps was disbanded on January 18, 1879, with the formation of the Guarda Policial, which was operational until 1895. The merging of the Guarda Policial [city police] and Companhia de Artilharia [royal army] into one military organisation, the Companhia de Infantaria de Macau, divided in two units (re-combined in 1898 into the Grupo de Companhias de Infantaria de Macau), triggered the creation of a new Corpo de Polícia on November 14, 1901.
- 25 According to Manuel Teixeira, the Jardim de São Francisco is one of the oldest gardens in Macao. Its origins can be traced back to the sixteenth century, and is known in Chinese toponymy as Ka-Si-Lán-Fá-Yun, or "Castilian Garden" ("Jardim dos Castelhanos") due its proximity to the Convent of St. Francis, built by Castilian Franciscan priests in 1580. Presently this garden is located nearby the São Francisco Barracks (Quartel de São Francisco), headquarters of the Macao Public Security Forces (Forças de Segurança de Macau). Manuel Teixeira, *Toponímia de Macau*, vol. 1 (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1997), pp. 205-209.
- 26 *A Aurora Macaense*, 20.V.1843, pp. 84-85.
- 27 Armando António Azenha Cação, *Unidades Militares de Macau*, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
- 28 The *Boletim Oficial* has been the official news bulletin of the Government of Macao since 1838. Still published today under the title of *Boletim Oficial da Região Administrativa Especial de Macau*, it contains all formal public notices, official appointments, miscellaneous notices and proposed regulations from the government and private sector that are required by law to be published. Over the years it has gone by several different names, in accordance with the successive changes in the colonial and overseas policies of the Portuguese government. In the main text, this publication will be referred only as *Boletim Oficial* (henceforth: BO). The full title will be given in the notes.
- 29 Cf. *Boletim do Governo da Província de Macau, Timor e Solor*, no. 47, 8.IX.1855, p. 185, for the birthday of King Dom Pedro V.
- 30 *Ibid.*
- 31 Cf. *Boletim do Governo da Província de Macau, Timor e Solor*, no number, 27.X.1855, p. 1, for the birthday of King Dom Fernando II.
- 32 Despite the fact that it has not been possible to find a description of this band, the use of the expression "música" in this context reveals (besides the French influence on Portuguese culture of the time) the characteristics of the military band of the Macao battalion. According to Norman del Mar, military bands in France that combine woodwinds with brass instruments are simply called *musiques*, as for example in the "Musique de la Garde Républicaine". In German-speaking countries, such groups are called "Harmonie". Assuming that the name is correctly used here, it can be inferred that the band in that period had not only brass instruments but also woodwinds. Norman del Mar, *Anatomy of the Orchestra* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 29.
- 33 *Boletim do Governo da Província de Macau, Timor e Solor* no. 49, 22.IX.1855, p. 196.
- 34 *O Boletim do Governo de Macau* no. 35, 1.VII.1857 (OFA no. 6 of 17th June).
- 35 João de Freitas Branco, *História da Música Portuguesa* (Mem Martins: Publicações Europa-América, 1995), pp. 291-293, and Maria José Borges, *Escola de Música do Conservatório Nacional de Lisboa* available online from <<http://www.em-conservatorio-nacional.rcts.pt/arquivo/historial.html>> [Accessed November 15, 2001].
- 36 Pedro Sinzig, "Banda", in *Dicionário Musical*, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-83.
- 37 In Macao, the first reference to apprentices appears only in 1869.
- 38 Auguste-François-Marie Montfort, *Voyage en Chine du Capitaine Montfort avec un Appendice Historique sur les Derniers Événements par Georges Bell* (Paris: Victor Lecou, 1854), pp. 152-153.
- 39 *Boletim da Província de Macau e Timor*, no. 11, 18.III.1867, p. 58.
- 40 The essential purpose of the marches was to regulate the soldiers' step during parades and on the march. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the function of military bands was more practical than ceremonial, as they also went to war and motivated troops during battle. For this reason, the rhythms had to serve those functions. To regulate the march of cavalry regiments, steps (ordinary, doubled) and gallops were frequently used. The tempo of military marches depended on their nature: slow (or *pas ordinaire* in French; *Parademarsch* in German), quick (*pas redoublé* in French; *Geschwindmarsch*, in German), or attack (*pas de charge* in French; *Sturmarsch* in German). The slow marches (whose metronome variation ran from quarter-note = 60 to 80) were used for exercises, reviews and parades. The quick marches were used for manoeuvres, and were approximately double the speed of the slow marches (quarter-note between 116 and 120), while the attack marches, used in assaults, were even faster. The expression harmony pieces ("peças de harmonia") in the Portuguese language generically designates the repertoire of wind ensembles. According to German tradition, the expression "Harmoniemusik" can mean wind groups containing woodwinds and brass instruments. See Sinzig, "Marcha", *Dicionário Musical*, *op. cit.*, pp. 357-358 and Erich Schwandt and Andrew Lamb, "March", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 11 (London: Macmillan, 1980), pp. 650-654.
- 41 *Boletim da Província de Macau e Timor*, no. 11, 18.III.1867, p. 58. It seems that this regulation attempts to make a distinction between concert pieces ("peças de harmonia") written for woodwinds and brass, and marches and other minor compositions which, most likely, were performed by the brass only.

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- 42 Cação, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
- 43 Since 1857 this band was part of the Batalhão de Infantaria de Macau. In the BO, however, it is referred to only as Banda do Batalhão de Macau. From 1872 onwards, though, the band starts to be referred to in the BO as Banda do Batalhão de Infantaria de Macau. Regarding the personnel and instrumental constitution of this band, it is possible that the band was revamped after the reorganisation of the overseas military units in 1869. Since it was not possible to determine the previous constitution, however, this must remain a hypothesis.
- 44 *Boletim da Província de Macau e Timor*, no. 28, 6.VII.1872, p. 126.
- 45 *Boletim da Província de Macau e Timor*, no. 45, 2.XII.1872, p. 194.
- 46 *Boletim da Província de Macau e Timor*, no. 28, 6.VII.1872, p. 111. The site where the Jardim da Flora (also called Flora Macaense or Jardim do Pe. Almeida) is presently located was originally owned by a Portuguese priest, Fr. Vitorino de Sousa e Almeida (1826-1881), who, in 1848, built a house which was sold to the government in 1872 or 1873. This garden is located along Avenida Sidónio Pais at the bottom of Guia Hill. Teixeira, *Toponímia de Macau*, vol. 1, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-221.
- 47 *Boletim da Província de Macau e Timor*, no. 18, 29.IV.1876, p. 69.
- 48 The First Battalion arrived in Macao from Lisbon on the ship *África*, in May 1876. Cação, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
- 49 *Boletim da Província de Macau e Timor*, no. 40, 4.X.1879, p. 232.
- 50 *Ibid.*, p. 242.
- 51 An English variant of the quadrille for eight or sixteen pairs, this dance was popular in the middle of the nineteenth century. Its invention is attributed to the Dublin dancing-master John Duval. See Peter Gammond, "Lancers", *The Oxford Companion to Popular Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 327.
- 52 "Baile de despedida", *Echo Macaense*, 23.I.1894, p. 2.
- 53 Cação, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.
- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
- 55 *Boletim Eclesiástico da Diocese de Macau* (henceforth: BoEcl), vol. 8 (June 1911), no. 96, p. 162.
- 56 *Ibid.*, vol. 9 (November-December 1911), no. 101-102, p. 121.
- 57 Cf. supplement to the *Boletim do Governo de Macau* no. 48, 1.XI.1866, in "Tabela das Receitas e Despesas", art.º 12.º, no page numbers.
- 58 Cf. supplement to the *Boletim da Província de Macau e Timor* no. 42, 23.X.1884, in "Regulamento Geral da Guarda Policial de Macau e suas dependências", p. 398.
- 59 Sinzig, "Banda", *Dicionário Musical*, *op. cit.*, 76-83.
- 60 A group of territories formerly held by Portugal on the western coast of Hindustan, which comprised three districts: Goa, Daman and Diu. "Índia", *Lello Universal*, vol. 1, *op. cit.*, p. 1280.
- 61 Although the soldier-musicians were recruited exclusively from among Portuguese citizens, it would be unwise to interpret this fact as proof that they were born and/or trained exclusively in mainland Portugal. The Portuguese influence on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Goa created a strong local religious and musical tradition. According to Joseph Dyer, "Music was an important evangelizing tool in the missionary activity of the Jesuits in China, Japan, south-east Asia and India. Francis Xavier, in the sixteenth century, taught simple catechetical songs to children and had equal success in teaching adults to memorize Catholic belief with the aid of music and rhyme. A solemn Mass with music accompanied by an organ and other instruments was celebrated in the Portuguese colony of Goa as early as 1567. Students who attended the Collegio Puerorum in the colony received training in music and were capable of performing polychoral compositions. Wind instruments were favoured, partly because these could be mastered more quickly than string instruments and partly because some of the instrumentalists came from the ranks of military musicians. Other members of these orchestras were either talented local residents or individuals with ties to the colonial administration." ("Roman Catholic church music", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., Stanley Sadie, ed., John Tyrrell, exec. ed. (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 21, p. 563). Evidence contained in the BO and the OFA (in particular, internal orders related to granting leaves of absence, remunerations and other benefits) indicates that in the nineteenth century, the band would have been comprised by a vast majority of Goan musicians. Moreover, judging by the frequency with which soldiers from India (especially Goa) arrived in Macao in the so-called "batalhões indígenas" to supplement the local military corps, it seems reasonable to surmise that Goan musicians were a strong and ongoing presence in the various incarnations of the military band during the nineteenth century.
- 62 Entry for September 20, 1883. Adolfo Loureiro, *No Oriente. De Nápoles à China (Diário de Viagem)*, quoted in *Macao no Diário de Viagem de Adolfo Loureiro*, ed. Aureliano Barata (Macao: Kazumbi Multimédia, 2000), pp. 59-60.
- 63 Entry for October 6 and 7, 1883, in Adolfo Loureiro, *op. cit.*, p. 90.
- 64 "De mal a peor", in *Echo Macaense*, 11.VII.1897, p. 3.
- 65 "Banda regimental", in *Echo Macaense*, 1.VIII.1897, p. 2. One "avo" represents one-hundredth of the currency unit of Macao, the pataca.
- 66 Cação, *op. cit.*, p. 32 and Beatriz Basto da Silva, "Macao, o exército e a cultura", *Revista de Cultura* 13 (1988), pp. 87-93.
- 67 See, respectively, Articles nos. 50 and 59 of the Regulations.
- 68 *Boletim da Província de Macau e Timor*, no. 11, 18.III.1867, p. 58. In military garrisons, the presence of buglers was not necessarily linked to the existence of a music band. Furthermore, their duties were determined by specific service orders. As January 1, 1896, was a holiday, in accordance with the service order of Governor José Maria de Souza Horta e Costa (Governor of Macao 1894-1897, 1st term), it was commemorated in the barracks with the "[flags to be] raised from sunrise to sunset (...) and with the Macao garrison band playing the reveille call at 5:30 a.m. in front of headquarters, where will also play from 7 p.m. until the curfew call at 9 which will be played by the bugle trios of the garrison corps, after which they will all march to their quarters ...". *Boletim Oficial da Província de Macau e Timor*, no. 1, 4.I.1896, p. 3.
- 69 Henry Norman, *The Peoples and Politics of the Far East: Travels and Studies in the British, French, Spanish and Portuguese Colonies, Siberia, China, Japan, Korea, Siam and Malaya* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1895), pp. 183-184.
- 70 "Conselho Municipal" was the name given to the Leal Senado's municipal board, consisting of a president, vice-president and councillors.
- 71 Arquivo Histórico de Macau (henceforth: ArqHistMo), Fundo de Administração Civil, P-3714.
- 72 Official letter ("ofício") addressed to the Governor, dated February 19, 1913, signed by José Luis Marques, president of Leal Senado. ArqHistMo, Fundo de Administração Civil, P-3714.
- 73 The actions taken are described in detail in a four-page official letter ("ofício") addressed to the Governor of Macao dated May 9, 1913, and signed by José Luis Marques, President of the Leal Senado. ArqHistMo, Fundo de Administração Civil, P-3714.
- 74 *Ibid.* 1-4 (p. 2).
- 75 *Ibid.*, 1-4 (p. 3).
- 76 *Ibid.*
- 77 *Ibid.*
- 78 Official letter ("ofício") of May 9, 1913 to the interim Governor, cited supra.
- 79 *Ibid.*
- 80 *Ibid.*
- 81 *Ibid.*
- 82 The Leal Senado henceforward received from the government an annual allowance of approximately \$9,000 patacas for the upkeep of the Municipal Band. ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-66 and P-62.
- 83 BoEcl, vol. 11 (October-November 1913), no. 124-125, p. 82.

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- 84 In the Leal Senado's accounts book for the years 1915-1916, there is an entry referring to the "payment [of \$25.00 patacas] to Dona Emília Marques for rent of the upper floor of the building at Nos. 33 and 35 São Domingos Street for the headquarters of the Municipal Band". *Livro diário do Leal Senado*, ArqHistMo, ref. AH/LS/908, p. 1, microfilm A0265.
- 85 Cf. "Récita de marinheiros", *O Progresso*, 31.XII.1916, p. 3.
- 86 Cf. "Músicos municipais", *Ibid.*, 12.XI.1916, p. 3.
- 87 Cf. "Música no jardim", *O Progresso*, 19.XI.1916, p. 3.
- 88 The Portuguese engineer Augusto César d'Abreu Nunes constructed the Vasco da Gama Garden in 1898 as part of the commemorations for the 4th Centenary of the Discovery of India. But the imposing monument of Vasco da Gama, consisting of a bust made of bronze supported by a column of stone, was inaugurated only on January 31, 1911. The central section of the garden was crossed by Vasco da Gama Avenue which today no longer exists. The site originally occupied by the avenue is now taken up by the Hotel Estoril, two public schools and the headquarters of the Polícia de Segurança Pública [Macao Police]. Teixeira, *Toponímia de Macau*, vol. 1, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-229.
- 89 "Macau", *O Liberal*, 24.V.1919, p. 1.
- 90 Most probably a pot-pourri from the opera *La Gazza ladra*, by Gioacchino Rossini (1792-1868).
- 91 Cf. "Tribuna Livre", *Jornal de Macau*, 17.VII.1930, p. 3.
- 92 Mário Vieira de Carvalho, *Pensar é morrer, ou o teatro de S. Carlos na mudança de sistemas sociocomunicativos desde fins do século XVIII aos nossos dias* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1993), p. 71.
- 93 The 1755 earthquake destroyed the area known today as the "Baixa Pombalina" (the word "Pombalina" refers to the Marquis of Pombal, who orchestrated the reconstruction of the city), composed of a network of fifteen streets and three squares located between the Praça dos Restauradores and the Tagus River. This catastrophe resulted in the urban re-development of Lisbon, which included, in addition to new streets and squares, the 1764 construction of a public promenade (the "Passeio Público"), which, according to Vieira de Carvalho, would become, with the triumph of Liberalism after the Constitution of 1822, a symbol of the romantic-bourgeois lifestyle of the late nineteenth century. Part of the promenade included the Opera House (Teatro São Carlos), a meeting point for the high society; fine clubs, fashion shops, and the Café Marrare, a meeting-place for intellectuals; and the Tabacaria Havaneza, a tobacco shop. It was, thus, a very up-market and elegant place, through which anyone with ambitions for a political, literary or business career had to pass, as well as any young bourgeois girl with dreams of a romantic marriage. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-75.
- 94 For more information, see the articles "Contra-mestre da música", in *Vida Nova*, 12.IX.1909, p. 3; "Mestre de música", *Vida Nova*, 10. VII.1910, p. 3; and "Chegada", *Vida Nova*, 2.X.1910, p. 3.
- 95 The sources consulted for this research do not provide any conclusive information about the ethnicity of the musicians whose names appear in the BO and the OFA. Moreover, the acculturation to matters Portuguese also extended to the names of the colonial population, all of which are typically Portuguese, making them indistinguishable from those of Portuguese of strictly European descent.
- 96 After Luigi Antinori's death, his position as music teacher at the Seminary was taken by Giuseppe Penatti, who also became the organist at the cathedral. See *Boletim da Província de Macau e Timor*, 7.XI.1874, p.192. Teixeira says that "Ponatti" (sic) was from Milan and that he arrived in Macao on February 4, 1874. Manuel Teixeira, *O Seminário de S. José de Macau: Resenha histórica* (Macao: Diocese de Macau, 1976), p. 31.
- 97 See, e.g., *O Progresso*, 28.X.1917, p. 1.
- 98 Da Costa's correspondence with the Leal Senado was conducted on paper with the stamp of "I. M. da Costa, Music Teacher, Music & Musical Instruments Dealer & Importer, located at 27, Cameron Road, Kowloon." In July 1919, the firm changed its name to Costa & Sons Music Co. See ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-65, box 2, and advertisements published in the newspaper *O Liberal* in May 1919.
- 99 Cf. official letter ("ofício") of the Leal Senado, No. 245, of March 28, 1919, cited in the letter from Isidoro Maria da Costa dated April 1, 1919. ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-65.
- 100 His music and musical instruments business was represented in Macao by two different shops: the Casa Alto Douro, located at Rua Central no. 53, and, later, by the Firma Tantino, located at Largo do Senado no. 17.
- 101 Cf. official letter ("ofício") of the Leal Senado No. 245, of March 28, 1919, cited in the letter from Isidoro Maria da Costa dated April 1, 1919. ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-65.
- 102 Cf. official letter ("ofício") of the Leal Senado of April 21, 1919. ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-65, microfilm A0276.
- 103 Cf. official letter ("ofício") of July 5, 1919. ArqHistMo, Fundo da Administração Civil, P-7260.
- 104 Cf. official letter ("ofício") no. 703, of July 5, 1919, signed by the president of the Leal Senado's Administrative Commission. ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-64, microfilm A0276.
- 105 Cf. proposal submitted in ordinary session of the Leal Senado on December 18, 1920. ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-66, microfilm A0277.
- 106 The general census of the population in 1920, published in the *Anuário de Macau* for 1921, indicated a total of 83,984 inhabitants, of which 4,177 were non-Chinese and 79,807 were of ethnic Chinese background. The number of mainland Portuguese was limited to just over a thousand.
- 107 Cf. official letter ("ofício") no. 703, cited *supra*.
- 108 Letter of July 11, 1919, signed by Constâncio José da Silva and addressed to Luis Nolasco da Silva, president of the Administrative Commission of the Leal Senado. ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-64, microfilm A0276.
- 109 It has not been possible to find any follow-up to this letter among the archival materials consulted. The final decision is handwritten on the first page of the letter itself.
- 110 The "Bostock" circus opened in Macao on July 7, 1919, and not in Hong Kong, as stated by Basto da Silva, *art. cit.*, p. 91. See also the advertisement published in *O Liberal*, 5.VII.1919, p. 3.
- 111 Letter signed by W. H. Treherne, manager of the Royal Italian Circus, on paper stamped with the same. The letter was written from Room 243 of the Hong Kong Hotel on April 14, 1919. ArqHistMo, Fundo da Administração Civil, P-7295.
- 112 Cf. official letter ("ofício") no. 832, of July 30, 1919, signed by the president of the Administrative Commission of the Leal Senado and addressed to the interim Governor of the Province of Macao. ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-66, microfilm A0277, p. 33.
- 113 Information obtained from the minutes taken during the tests administered on July 13, 1919. ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-66, microfilm A0277, p. 1.
- 114 See "Escritura de prestação de serviço" [Contract for the provision of service], dated October 28, 1920, between the Leal Senado and Alessio Benis. ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-66, microfilm A0277, pp. 4-6.
- 115 "Notas... desafinadas", *O Liberal*, 19.VII.1919, p. 2.
- 116 The minutes taken during the admission exam do not specify whether the questions were written or verbally posed to the candidate. However, I would suggest that a written test must have been prepared for Benis, in order to better assess his knowledge of music theory and harmony.
- 117 Cf. minutes taken during the test, ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-66, microfilm A0277, p. 1.

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- 118 For more information, see the newspapers *O Macaense* and *O Liberal* for the months of July and August 1919, where this subject is covered almost every week.
- 119 ArqHistMo, Fundo da Administração Civil, P-7295. Minutes from the Government Council session of 2nd of December 1920.
- 120 Cf. proposal approved in an ordinary session of the Leal Senado on December 18, 1920 and subsequently forwarded for approval by the Government Council. ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-66, microfilm A0277, ref. "Banda Municipal, Contrato do regente Alessio Benis, 1919-1921", pp. 13-14.
- 121 Jacob Lau (1876-?) was born in Canton and studied at St. Joseph's Seminary. Composer and music teacher of St. Joseph's Seminary.
- 122 Basto da Silva, art. cit., 87-93 (p. 91).
- 123 The auction was held at the seat of the Leal Senado at 3 p.m. Advertisement published in the *Boletim Oficial do Governo de Macau*, no. 19, 14.V.1921, p. 367.
- 124 Letter from Alessio Benis dated April 5, 1921. ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-66, microfilm A0277, ref. "Banda Municipal, Contrato do regente Alessio Benis, 1919-1921", p. 11.
- 125 Cf. proposal approved in an ordinary session of the Leal Senado on April 9, 1921. ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-66, microfilm A0277, ref. "Banda Municipal, Contrato do regente Alessio Benis, 1919-1921", pp. 17-18.
- 126 ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-65, microfilm A0276, ref. "Banda Municipal, Instrumentos, 1919-1920", no page numbers.
- 127 The order included: 6 B♭ clarinets, 1 "requinta" [E♭ clarinet], 1 piccolo, 4 cornets, 2 French horns, 2 trombones, 2 baritones, 1 bombardon, 1 B♭ bass, 1 double bass, 1 bass drum, 1 snare drum, 1 large drum [caixa forte], 1 pair of 10-inch cymbals, 1 clarinet in A, 1 flute, 6 violins and 1 cello bow. Cf. official letter ("ofício") no. 925, of August 16, 1919. ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-65, microfilm A0276, ref. "Banda Municipal, Instrumentos, 1919-1920", no page number.
- 128 Cf. "Banda municipal", *O Liberal*, 22.V.1920, p. 4.
- 129 Official letter ("ofício") no. 925, of August 16, 1919. ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-65, microfilm A0276, ref. "Banda Municipal, Instrumentos, 1919-1920", no page number.
- 130 ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-62, microfilm A0276, "Parecer a respeito dos musicos militares que fazem parte da Banda Municipal" [Report on the military musicians at service of the Municipal Band], ref. "Banda Municipal, Subvenções aos militares que faziam parte dela, 1917-1920" [Municipal Band, Subventions to its Military Members, 1917-1920], p. 3.
- 131 ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-62, microfilm A0276, ref. "Banda Municipal, Subvenções aos militares que faziam parte dela, 1917-1920".
- 132 Cf. *O Liberal*, 20.IX.1919, p. 3.
- 133 Nine military musicians were members of the band: João Damasceno Fernandes, Agostinho Francisco de Assis, Lucio Anselmo Carion, Manoel Pereira Lopes, Alfredo Gomes, Eugénio José de Souza, Francisco Xavier Rozario Godinho, Brazinho R. Rodrigues and André Mateus Filipe Rodrigues. There were two other military musicians, Augusto Salvador Felipe Mascarenhas and Sant'Ana Caridade F. Matias, who, during the period in question, were on leave in India. In 1919, the Leal Senado spent \$8,249.50 on military musicians and \$8,680.00 on the others. ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-62, microfilm A0276, ref. "Banda Municipal, Subvenções aos militares que faziam parte dela, 1917-1920" cited supra.
- 134 See *O Liberal*, 26.VII.1919, p. 2.
- 135 Cf. "A banda municipal", *O Liberal*, 8.V.1920, p. 2.
- 136 Cf. *Boletim Oficial do Governo da Província de Macau*, no. 36, 6.IX.1919, p. 676.
- 137 His original compositions included: grand passo dobrado "La Republica Portuguesa", one-step "Macau Alegre", "Poema Fantastico", serenada [sic] "Uma noite á Lisboa", "Aurora", "Alba Boreale", "O Misterioso", "Rapsodia Italiana" ("Il Risveglio"), waltz "Bom anno, "A Country Scene", waltz "Nelly", and "Mequinha" barndance. See the *Boletim Oficial da Província de Macau*, no. 36, 6.IX.1919, p. 676; no. 39, 27.IX.1919, pp. 733-4; no. 45, 8.XI.1919, p. 834; no. 49, 6.XII.1919, p. 903; no. 51, 20.XII.1919, p. 937; no. 23, 5.VI.1920, p. 442; no. 25, 19.VI.1920, p. 486; no. 17.VII.1920, pp. 549-550, and no. 31, 31.VII.1920, p. 592.
- 138 Cf. *Boletim Oficial da Província de Macau*, no. 42, 16.X.1920, p. 768.
- 139 *Ibid.*, no. 48, 27.XI.1920, p. 875.
- 140 "A Banda municipal", *O Liberal*, 18.XII.1920, p. 2.
- 141 Letter of June 9, 1920, signed by Edward Sly, acting Consul-General and Chairman of the King's birthday Committee, addressed to the Governor of Macao. Transcribed in the article "Um testemunho insuspeito e valioso", *O Macaense*, 13.VI.1920, p. 2.
- 142 Cf. "Caturrices", *O Liberal*, 15.I.1921, p. 3.
- 143 "Banda de música", *O Liberal*, 26.II.1921, pp. 3-4. The article reproduces excerpts of news reports from the newspapers *Guardian* of Lourenço Marques and *Heraldo* of Nova Goa, which describe the procedures adopted for the reorganisation of local music bands.
- 144 Cação, *op. cit.*, pp.133-134. In 1910, a revolution overthrew the Portuguese monarchy, and a Republic was established on October 5 of the same year.
- 145 In the 1920s, Macao had a number of recreational and cultural associations, among them the Grémio Militar, Club de Macau, Club de Recreio e Beneficência 1.º de Junho, and Sociedade União Recreativa (*O Combate*, 27.I.1927, p. 5). Among the cinemas were the Teatro Cheng Peng, the Cinematógrafo Vitoria, and the Novo Teatro de Macau (or New Macao Theatre).
- 146 This was probably the military musician Agostinho Francisco de Assis, cornet player of the former military and municipal band. Cf. "No Jardim de S. Francisco", in *O Liberal*, 31.VIII.1922, p. 1.
- 147 "Recita de amadores", *O Liberal*, 16.XI.1922, p. 2.
- 148 On May 24, 1921, Franco married Alda Maria da Silva, daughter of Constâncio José da Silva. Jorge Forjaz, *Famílias Macaenses*, vol. 3 (Macao: Fundação Oriente, 1996), p. 705.
- 149 "Novo Teatro de Macau", in *O Liberal*, 19.VI.1920, pp. 3-4. After the bankruptcy of the New Macao Theatre, João Franco assumed management of the house, which resumed activities on June 12, 1920. The article emphasises above all "a orquestra, que se compõe de violinos, flauta, clarinete, cornetim, trombone e piano" [the orchestra, which is composed of violins, flute, clarinet, cornet, trombone and piano]. It performed on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 9:30 p.m., accompanying the screening of silent films, as was common practice at the time.
- 150 In an homage at the Grémio Militar to Sacadura Cabral and Gago Coutinho, the first Portuguese aviators to cross the Atlantic by air, João Franco conducted the Portuguese national anthem with a sextet from Hong Kong, to the embarrassment of local authorities. "Os recentes festejos", in *O Liberal*, 3.IX.1922, p. 1. For information on performances of João Franco at official ceremonies and private dances, see also "No Grémio Militar", in *O Liberal*, 16.XI.1922, p. 1 (homage to General Gomes da Costa), "No teatro D. Pedro V", *O Liberal*, 25. I.1923, p. 2 (benefit recital for the St. Raphael Hospital).
- 151 "Em Macau", in *O Liberal*, 18.I.1923, p. 2.
- 152 Cf. supplement to issue no. 14 of the *Boletim Oficial do Governo da Província de Macau*, 7.IV.1923, pp. 240-241.
- 153 "... o Governo elaborasse aquele artigo criando taxas de licença que são da competência da Camara, pois que tais licenças são municipais e não de polícia." "No Leal Senado", in *O Liberal*, 26.IV.1923, p. 1.
- 154 "Banda de Música", in *O Combate*, 22.V.1924, p. 7.
- 155 The students of Harry Ore and Emílio Danenberg who were noteworthy for their active participation in the musical life of Macao

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- included Maria Margarita Gomes and Maria de Senna Fernandes. For more information about other names, see “As discípulas do Prof. H. Ore”, *O Liberal*, 11.I.1923, p. 2 and “Os discípulos do Prof. Danenberg”, in *O Liberal*, 8.IV.1923, p. 2.
- 156 Advertisement published in *O Liberal*, 15.III.1923, p. 2.
- 157 Ditto, *O Combate*, 15.I.1925, p. 5.
- 158 Ditto, *A Pátria*, 1.VIII.1927, p. 4.
- 159 “Sociedade União Recreativa”, *A Pátria*, 5.IX.1925, p. 4 (news report on the creation of the society's band). Made up primarily of young Macanese, it rehearsed three times a week and included 3 cornets, 3 clarinets, 3 French horns, 2 trombones, 2 baritones, 1 contrabass, 1 bass, 1 saxophone, 1 flute, 1 bass drum and 1 drum and cymbals. It has not been possible to discern the repertoire of this group, although on nearby dates we find references (in the newspaper *O Combate* of 3.IX.1925, p. 4, and 10.IX.1925, p. 5) to a “Jazz Band constituted by an extremely proficient group of amateurs, native sons, under the able direction of Mr A. Pereira”.
- 160 As examples, we may cite the budgets of the brotherhood of N. S. Bom Jesus dos Passos (for the year 1923) and the Irmandade de Santo António (for the year 1924), which included annual funds on the order of \$95 patacas for singers, \$35 patacas for the orchestra, and \$75 patacas for the bands. See *Boletim Oficial do Governo de Macau*, no. 1 (2nd semester), 7.VII.1923, p. 3 and *Boletim Oficial do Governo de Macau*, no. 21, 24.V.1924, p. 367.
- 161 Cf. “Teatro D. Pedro V - 2.º Concerto de Josef Borissoff no Domingo”, *A Pátria*, 12.VIII.1927, p. 1.
- 162 Newspaper *A Pátria*, 26.VIII.1927, p. 3.
- 163 Cf. “Arte e crítica”, *A Verdade*, 28.VIII.1927, p. 4.
- 164 Copy of § 7 of the Proceedings of the 19th session of the Special Session of the Conselho do Governo, held on August 18, 1927. ArqHistMo, Fundo da Administração Civil, P-11449, caixa 211, ref. “1927, Agosto, 3 a Dezembro, 15”.
- 165 *Ibid.*
- 166 Administrative Ruling (“portaria”) published in the *Boletim Oficial de Macau*, no. 35, 27.VIII.1927, p. 690.
- 167 See official letter (“ofício”) no. 233/64, of September 1, 1927, signed by the director of the Imprensa Nacional and addressed to the director of Civil Administration Services. ArqHistMo, Fundo da Administração Civil, P-11449, caixa 211, ref. “1927, Agosto, 3 a Dezembro, 15”, p. 10.
- 168 “O Comissariado de Polícia e a nova Banda de Música”, *A Pátria*, 19.IX.1927, p. 4.
- 169 “Banda Policial”, *A Pátria*, 5.XI.1927, p. 4.
- 170 *A Pátria*, 6.XI.1927, p. 4. Despite the commissioner's order, the band directors would later try scheduling alternatives that were more convenient for the public. In the sources I consulted, there are references to concerts between 5 p.m. and 7 p.m. in the Palácio da Flora and on Avenida Vasco da Gama between 4 p.m. and 6 p.m. With the change of seasons, the band would also change the time of its performances. In the newspaper *A Pátria*, 13.XI.1927, p. 4, the article “Música” records this fact: “As it is already getting chilly at night, the schedule for 19th listening to the Police Band has been changed and as of today it will begin playing from 5 p.m. to 7 p.m. in the gardens of the Government Palace...”.
- 171 Artur Tamagnini de Sousa Barbosa was three times Governor of Macao. Curiously, it was during his first term in office (October 1918 to July 1919) that the first invitation was extended to Constâncio José da Silva to reorganise the band and form an orchestra. In his second term (December 1926 to January 1931), first the Police Band and later the new Municipal Band were founded, both led by Constâncio José da Silva. Da Silva was a Freemason (Teixeira, *Os Militares em Macau*, op. cit., pp. 440-441) and an active member of the Luis de Camões Masonic Lodge (located on the same premises that housed the newspaper *A Verdade*), who never concealed his affinities with liberalism and Republicanism. In Portugal, Tamagnini Barbosa belonged to the Nationalist Party, also with a liberal bent. It has not been possible to determine whether Barbosa was a Freemason or not. However, it is known that Portuguese masonry was always closely linked to the Republican movement and to Liberalism. Moreover, Tamagnini Barbosa had been a pupil of Constâncio José da Silva at the Liceu Nacional de Macau. For this reason, I believe it is possible to suspect the existence of a strong ideological affinity (and perhaps ties of friendship) between Tamagnini Barbosa and Constâncio José da Silva.
- 172 Cf. “Concerto da banda do Comissariado”, *A Pátria*, 5.X.1927, p. 4.
- 173 Cf. “Soirée de gala”, *A Pátria*, 7.X.1927, p. 4.
- 174 “A nova Banda de música”, *A Verdade*, 15.IX.1927, p. 4.
- 175 In the news item about the official dinner for Sir Miles Lampson in February 1928, we note that the band was mostly made up of Chinese musicians (see fn 193). This fact confirms my suspicions that at that time, Macao already had a generation of local musicians who probably came from St Joseph's Seminary and the Orfanato da Imaculada Conceição, or were simply the students of some of the musicians from the former municipal band. There is an official letter of April 1928 from the Leal Senado, asking the Governor if “the musician-sergeants Agostinho Francisco de Assis and Francisco Xavier Godinho can be constituent members of the Municipal Band, as it is not possible at present to find anyone who can replace them”. In 1928, Isidoro Maria da Costa also mentions, in a letter to the newspaper *A Verdade*, “four good musicians, Messrs. Assis, Godinho, Damasceno and Dias”, probably the same military musicians who had been members of the former Municipal Band. Official letter no. 300 of April 30, 1928, signed by F. Anacleto da Silva, president of the Leal Senado, addressed to the Governor of Macao, and “O Maestro Isidoro da Costa”, *A Verdade*, 26.IV.1928, pp. 1-2.
- 176 Cf. “Banda Policial de Macau – Concerto no jardim do Palácio do Governo”, *A Pátria*, 8.XI.1927, p. 1.
- 177 Cf. “Soirée”, *A Pátria*, 11.XI.1927, p. 4.
- 178 Cf. “Banda Policial de Macau – Segundo concerto”, *A Pátria*, 15.IX.1927, p. 4.
- 179 *Ibid.*
- 180 Ferdinando Maberini, “A Banda Policial – Impressões”, *A Pátria*, 1.XII.1927, p. 1.
- 181 Cf. “Avenida Vasco da Gama”, *A Pátria*, 7.XII.1927, p. 4.
- 182 Besides the concerts in the gardens of the Government Palace, the Police Band also gave concerts in the Jardim da Flora. See *A Verdade*, 10.I.1928, p. 3.
- 183 Cf. deliberation no. 92, Serviço da República do Ministério das Colónias [Republic Service of the Colonial Ministry]. ArqHistMo, Fundo da Administração Civil, P-11449, caixa 211, ref. “1927, Agosto, 3 a Dezembro, 15”, p. 11.
- 184 Published in the *Diário do Governo* no. 279, 17.XII.1927, I Série and transcribed in the *Boletim Oficial de Macau*, no. 5, 4.II.1928, p. 56.
- 185 Cf. “Banda policial”, *A Verdade*, 14.I.1928, p. 3. Terreiro do Paço [Palace Square] is the name given to the site where was located the house of the Portuguese government.
- 186 Domingos Gregório, “Música”, *A Pátria*, 2.II.1928, p. 1.
- 187 The decision of the Colonial Ministry was published in Macao only on February 4, 1928. However, the Lisbon newspapers had already published the news, which had arrived in Macao by telegraph before its official publication. Other reports on the same issue, later published in the newspaper *A Verdade*, linked the decision of the Ministério das Colónias [Colonial Ministry] to questions of political incompatibility between Constâncio José da Silva (and by extension the Governor of Macao, Artur Tamagnini Barbosa) and the individual responsible for the case on the relevant committee, Filomeno da Rocha, who belonged to another political faction. The Republic was still very young and the rivalries between Liberals (Republicans) and Conservatives (Monarchists) continued to be the order of the

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- day. For more details, see “A Banda de Musica de Macau”, *A Verdade*, 9.II.1928, pp. 2-3.
- 188 During that period in Portugal, there appears to have been a movement against regimental bands. The newspaper *A Verdade*, 5.II.1928, p. 2, published in Macao an article entitled “Bandas de Música” which reproduces excerpts from the Portuguese newspapers *Eco Musical* and *O Povo de Aveiro*, defending the preservation of military bands, whose expenditures the author understands to have been considered “improdutivas” [unproductive] by the Portuguese government.
- 189 “A Banda de Musica de Macau”, *A Verdade*, pp. 2-3. Basto da Silva, art. cit., 87-93 (pp. 91-92) speaks about the same matter, referring to João Maria Franco as director of the Police Band. However, all the sources consulted indicate that from the very start its director was Constâncio José da Silva.
- 190 “Visita de Sir Miles Lampson”, in *A Verdade*, 26.II.1928, pp. 5-6. For more information, see also the article “Jantar oficial no Palácio do Governo”, *A Pátria*, 24.II.1928, p. 2.
- 191 Cf. “Sir Miles Lampson”, in *A Verdade*, 26.II.1928, pp. 1-3.
- 192 “Nova audição musical”, in *A Verdade*, 4.III.1928, p. 4, and “O Professor Harry Ore e a Banda de Macau”, in *A Verdade*, 11.III.1928, p. 4.
- 193 “A Banda de Macau”, in *A Verdade*, 4.III.1928, p. 4.
- 194 B. Delgado, “No Teatro D. Pedro V – O Professor Harry Ore e a Banda de Macau”, in *A Verdade*, 4.III.1928, p. 4.
- 195 “Corridas”, in *A Verdade*, 11.III.1928, p. 4.
- 196 For more information, see the article “Banda de Musica”, *A Verdade*, 1.IV.1928, p. 4, and the official letter (“ofício”) to the Governor of Macao, no. 193, of March 29, 1928, signed by the vice president of the Leal Senado, requesting financial support for the upkeep of the future municipal band. ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, ref. AH/LS/134.
- 197 Cf. “Banda de Musica”, in *A Verdade*, 1.IV.1928, p. 4.
- 198 “Banda Municipal”, in *A Verdade*, 12.IV.1928, p. 3.
- 199 Letter of April 3, 1928, from Isidoro Maria da Costa to the president of the Leal Senado. ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-67, caixa 3.
- 200 Cf. newspaper *A Pátria*, 25.IV.1928, p. 4.
- 201 “Regulamento da Banda Municipal de Macau”, *Boletim Oficial de Macau*, no. 25, 23.VI.1928, pp. 449-451.
- 202 Despite the adverse social and moral consequences represented by the use of opium, widely discussed since the beginning of the twentieth century by the Western Powers, the commerce of the drug, for both medicinal and recreational purposes, continued to grow in Macao at least until the 1930s. The commerce was legally regulated by the local government, with taxes levied by the Secretaria de Fazenda [Secretary of Finances] and inspected by its own government department, the Superintendência de Fiscalização do Ópio. According to Basto da Silva, the economic situation of Macao between 1918 and 1921 was very good, due primarily to the income originated by the opium trade. *Cronologia da História de Macau*, vol. 4 (Macao: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Juventude, 1995), p. 150. It was only on December 31, 1945 that the commerce of opium was definitively abolished in Macao.
- 203 Cf. official letter [“ofício”] no. 193 of March 29, 1928, signed by Jacques Gracias, vice president of the Leal Senado, addressed to the governor. ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, ref. AH/LS/134.
- 204 Cf. “deliberação do Conselho” of 25 April 1928, published in *A Verdade*, 10.V.1928, p. 4.
- 205 Cf. official letter [“ofício”] no. 307, of May 2, 1928, from the Leal Senado to the band conductor, establishing the schedule of band performances. ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, ref. AH/LS/134, microfilm A0045,
- 206 “A Banda Municipal”, *A Verdade*, 3.VI.1928, p. 4.
- 207 Performed on December 1, 1927 in a concert at the Dom Pedro V Theatre, as announced in the newspaper *A Pátria*, 30.XI.1927, p. 4.
- 208 As announced in *A Verdade*, 20.V.1928, p. 4.
- 209 *Ibid.*, 27.V.1928, p. 3.
- 210 *Ibid.*, 10.VII.1928, p. 1.
- 211 “Na Avenida Vasco da Gama”, *A Verdade*, 10.V.1928, p. 4.
- 212 See “O Concerto no Teatro Don [sic] Pedro V”, *A Verdade*, 7.III.1929, p. 3. The band's repertoire then also included technically advanced works such as Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2 and Samuel Coleridge-Taylor's (1875-1912) Concert Suite [probably an arrangement for band of the Petite Suite de Concert, Op. 77].
- 213 It has not been possible to find more references about this artist.
- 214 I found this heretofore unknown photograph among the records of the hiring process for Isidoro Maria da Costa. The poor quality of the reproduction is due to the fact that it was reproduced from microfilm (the management of the Archives did not allow it to be reproduced from the original photo). ArqHistMo, Fundo Documental do Leal Senado, P-67, microfilm A0277, ref. “Banda Municipal, Candidatura a regente, Isidoro Maria da Costa”.
- 215 “Banda municipal”, *A Verdade*, 23.IV.1929, p. 3.
- 216 The Hotel Riviera was opened to the public on January 17, 1928 (Basto da Silva, *Cronologia*, vol. 4, op. cit., p. 244), offering daily “chás dançantes” [tea parties] enlivened by a Filipino band (Luís Andrade de Sá, *A História na Bagagem: Crônicas dos Velhos Hotéis de Macau*, Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1989, pp. 60-61). The later Grand Hotel Central, a six-story building considered at the time as the “the first skyscraper of Macao”, was opened to the public on July 22, 1928, under the name of the President Hotel. During the opening ceremony, the guests were invited to attend to a performance of the Municipal Band, held on the hotel's roof garden, which could be accessed through the “electric elevator”, the first one Macao. In 1930, the hotel was refurbished and, in December of the same year, re-opened under new management, as the Grand Hotel Central. In this new phase, the Hotel Central featured a “Cabaret Hou Hing” with an in-house jazz band. Both hotels were located on Avenida Almeida Ribeiro. For more information on the history of hotels in Macao see Andrade de Sá, op. cit.
- 217 Cf. official correspondence from Constâncio José da Silva to the Leal Senado. The jazz group of the Municipal Band was officially constituted by 14 musicians. Official letter (“ofício”) of June 8, 1931, signed by the council secretary. ArqHistMo, Civil Administration Fund, P-13289, microfilm A1172, pp. 5-6.
- 218 Newspaper *Jornal de Macau*, 30.IV.1931, p. 3.
- 219 In the official letter (“ofício”) of June 8, 1931, mentioned earlier, Constâncio José da Silva notes that “nos recentes saraus de Carnaval realizados em alguns clubes desta cidade, estiveram funcionando dois grupos de musicos a custo contratados em Hongkong” [at the recent Carnival soirées held in some clubs of this city, two paid musical groups hired from Hong Kong were performing]. Official letter of June 8, 1931, signed by the council secretary. ArqHistMo, Civil Administration Fund, P-13289, microfilm A1172, pp. 5-6.
- 220 Cf. “O Espectáculo artístico de Silva Sanches”, in *A Voz de Macau*, 3.X.1931, p. 2.
- 221 Cf. “A Banda Municipal”, section “Ecos e Notícias”, in *A Voz de Macau*, 30.X.1931, p. 3.
- 222 *A Voz de Macau* of 6.I.1932, p. 3, published a report on the denial of the request by musician Flaviano Zapanta to open a competition for the position of Band Director, a post for which he wished to compete. The story also reveals that João Xavier held that position on an interim basis.
- 223 Letter to the editor, published in *A Voz de Macau*, 13.I.1932, p. 4.
- 224 Most likely Domingos Gregório, director of the newspaper *A Voz de Macau*, with whom Constâncio José da Silva had recently broken friendly relations. For more information, see “Os detractores da Banda

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- Municipal de Macau" [Detractors of the Macao Municipal Band], *Eco Macaense*, 4.VI.1932, pp. 6 and 8, where the whole incident is explained by C. José da Silva.
- 225 Cf. "A Banda Municipal", in *A Voz de Macau*, 31.V.1932, p. 2.
- 226 "A Banda Municipal", in *A Voz de Macau*, 7.VI.1932, p. 1.
- 227 Anonymous ("um munícipe"), "A Banda Municipal", in *A Voz de Macau*, 14.VI.1932, p. 1.
- 228 "A Banda Municipal de Macau", *A Voz de Macau*, 2.VII.1932, pp. 1-2.
- 229 Cf. "Uma prelecção útil sobre música", *A Voz de Macau*, 19.VII.1932, pp. 1-2.
- 230 Manuel Teixeira, *Imprensa Periódica Portuguesa no Extremo-Oriente* (Macao: Notícias de Macau, 1965), p. 159.
- 231 On August 26, 1933, with an annual budget provision of \$42,000 patacas, originating from the government and the postal service, Macao's first radio station was inaugurated in the building housing the Post and Telegraph Department. For more details, v. Paulo Rego, "Quando o futuro era a rádio..." in *Revista Macau* 28 (August 1994), pp. 7-17; see also Basto da Silva, *Cronologia*, vol. 4, *op. cit.*, p. 284.
- 232 The main protagonist of fascism in Portugal was António de Oliveira Salazar, whose interviews began to gain significant exposure in Macao newspapers beginning in the 1930s. Considered by some as a dictator and by others as an able politician, António de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970) was the most influential political leader of Portugal from 1932 until 1968. A professor of political economy, he became finance minister (1926-1928) and managed to stabilise the nation's finances. As Premier he established, in 1933, a quasi-corporate state (the "Estado Novo") and suppressed all opposition, using heavy censorship and the state security police (PIDE, Polícia Internacional de Defesa do Estado), which was known to have used torture and terror against political opponents of the regime. Although he supported the Spanish General Francisco Franco, he allowed the Allies to use the Azores as a military base during the Second World War, while still managing, very skilfully, to keep Portugal out of the conflict. Later he encouraged Portugal's economic development and tried to suppress revolts in its African colonies. After suffering a stroke in 1968, he was replaced as premier by Marcello Caetano, a law professor exiled after his government was overthrown by the military coup of April 25, 1974. For more information see "Salazar, António de Oliveira", *Lello Universal*, vol. 2, *op. cit.*, p. 816; for detailed information about "Estado Novo" see also *História de Portugal*, ed. José Mattoso, vol. 7 (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1998).
- 233 It has not been possible to find, in the sources consulted (namely, "Radiofonia" section of the newspaper *A Voz de Macau* for the months of April and May 1934), any news reports on performances by the Municipal Band on Macao's CQN radio, as the programmes of the local broadcaster were no longer published in *A Voz de Macau*. The newspaper was therefore limited to publishing the programmes of the radio stations ZBW of Hong Kong and KZRM of Manila. It has been similarly impossible to locate the programmes of the Sunday performances of the Municipal Band, which leads me to surmise that the radio performances on Mondays between January and May of 1934 were, more likely than not, held in lieu of public concerts.
- 234 Based on the description of this musical group found in *A Voz de Macau*, 18.I.1934, p. 5.
- 235 Ditto, *A Voz de Macau*, 22.XII.1933, p. 5.
- 236 Ditto, *A Voz de Macau*, 18.I.1934, p. 5. In this context, I suppose that "jazz" means "rhythm", therefore, "percussion"; possibly a drum set.
- 237 The records were "borrowed from Agência Mercantil Económica" located on Avenida Almeida Ribeiro no. 1H, as mentioned in the printed programme of Station CQN published *A Voz de Macau*, 11.XI.1933, p. 5.
- 238 See the "Radiofonia" section published daily in *A Voz de Macau* from October 1933, which list all the programmes broadcast on Hong Kong Radio.
- 239 Cf. "Banda Municipal", section "Ecos e Notícias", *A Voz de Macau*, 16.V.1934, p. 5.
- 240 Tin-pot band. Cf. "Coisas municipais", in *A Voz de Macau*, 11.IX.1934, p. 2.
- 241 *Ibid.*
- 242 *Ibid.*
- 243 To have a better idea of the meaning of these amounts in the context of the time, some benchmark references are presented here. In the years 1934-35, one pataca was equivalent to 7.5 Portuguese escudos; one US dollar was worth approximately 22.30 escudos. The Cheong Hing firm, located at Rua do Campo no. 55, which specialised in importing Portuguese products, sold a bottle of port wine for 2.40 patacas and a can of olive oil for 1.20 patacas; at the Padaria Europeia at Rua de São Miguel no. 14, a baguette of French bread cost 10 avos (0.10 patacas). Later, H. Nolasco & Co., located on Avenida Almeida Ribeiro, no. 20, would enter the competition with more advantageous prices, selling a tin of sardines for 0.10 patacas and a 1-litre can of Portuguese olive oil for 1.10 patacas. This information was obtained from diverse advertisements published in the newspaper *A Voz de Macau* during the years 1934 and 1935.
- 244 Cf. "Coisas municipais", *A Voz de Macau*, 15.IX.1934, p. 1.
- 245 "Coisas municipais", *A Voz de Macau*, 15.IX.1934, p. 1.
- 246 *Ibid.*
- 247 "Extinção da Banda Municipal", section "Ecos e Notícias", *A Voz de Macau*, 26.IX.1935, p. 3.
- 248 *Ibid.*
- 249 "O sensacional discurso de Mussolini", *A Voz de Macau*, 4.X.1935, p. 2.
- 250 October 5, the anniversary of the establishment of the Portuguese Republic.
- 251 It was not possible to identify these composers.
- 252 "Um sensacional discurso de Adolf Hitler", *A Voz de Macau*, 8.X.1935, p. 1.
- 253 *A Voz de Macau*, 26.X.1935, p. 4.
- 254 William P. Malm, *Music Cultures of the Pacific, the Near East, and Asia* (Englewood, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1977), pp. 28-29.
- 255 "Um Raio de Sol", *O Progresso*, 11.II.1917, pp. 2-3. The weekly *O Progresso* was Republican-inclined. The journalist's commentaries reflect the science-oriented Republican ideology of the time, grounded in the belief in the value of a secular society and the positivist doctrines of August Comte, which had since 1870 been disseminated in Europe and which in Portugal were reflected in the writings of Eça de Queirós (1845-1900), Antero de Quental (1842-1891), and Ramalho Ortigão (1836-1915).