



European
University
Institute

DEPARTMENT
OF HISTORY
AND
CIVILIZATION

Two Adoptions of the Red Cross: The Chinese Red Cross and the Red Swastika Society from 1904 to 1949

Alexandra Pfeiff

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to
obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization
of the European University Institute

Florence, 12 January 2018

European University Institute
Department of History and Civilization

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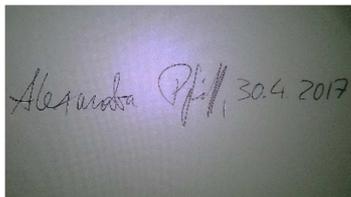
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Abstract:

Looking at the social and political transformation of China during the entire Republican era, my thesis explores the twofold adoption of the Red Cross in the country. My examination reveals that the model served reform-oriented philanthropists of the Chinese Red Cross Society to establish relief structures to improve the country's welfare system through the implementation of Western approaches. In addition, the Red Cross was of use for supporters of China's religiously-based philanthropy who reformed the faith-based mission of the Red Swastika Society to gain legitimization and to advance emergency measures. Adding to current research on the development of humanitarianism a so far marginally explored local case study, my thesis suggests that the Red Cross in China not only served reform-oriented philanthropists, but also served supporters of China's traditional philanthropy.

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I. Introduction

Among new humanitarian projects, which were founded by Chinese philanthropists in the late Qing period to enrich relief services in their country, some strove for the introduction of foreign models of humanitarian aid, while others were religious organizations which adhered to traditional religious philanthropy but integrated also foreign influences. My thesis examines the development of two humanitarian projects in China, the national Red Cross, created in 1912, and the Red Swastika Society, founded in 1921, from the creation of these organizations until the end of the Republican era to assess how each was influenced by the Western Red Cross model. My examination demonstrates that both organizations pursued missions, which were differently modelled on and inspired by the Red Cross, and that the implementation of their humanitarian agendas adjusted the Red Cross model differently to local conditions.

One foundational difference between both organizations was their official recognition, which determined their administrative aspects and their duties. The Chinese Red Cross registered at the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva, the main seat of the Red Cross Movement which was founded in 1863. Due to the fact that the International Committee recognized only one national organization in each country, this group became the country's official Red Cross. As a member of the International Committee's network, the Chinese Red Cross was connected with other national agencies and agreed to adhere to international standards of assistance during armed conflicts.¹ A country-wide network of branches was connected by two leading centres, one in Beijing and one in Shanghai. The former was the seat of government representatives who participated in the national Red Cross. The country's political leader, beginning with Yuan Shikai in 1912, was assigned the representative role as president of the Red Cross, and members of the government and governmental institutions were involved in the provision of relief by the organization's branches. The Central Committee was located in Shanghai and was the operative and administrative centre, which organized campaigns, connected branches and members, and administered assistance services.

The Red Swastika Society, founded in 1921, pursued a faith-based humanitarian aid mission. Until its ban from the Chinese mainland in 1953, it was recognized by political authorities, who ruled the country or its territories, as a national relief society. Despite this difference, the

¹ David P. Forsythe and Barbara A. J. Rieffer-Flanagan, *The International Committee of the Red Cross. A Neutral Humanitarian Actor* (New York, 2007), 11.

group's contribution to relief was as important and indispensable as the Red Cross work and observers regarded the organization as an alternative Red Cross.² Unlike the Red Cross, it possessed not only a country-wide network, but also a small number of branches abroad. It was recognized by political authorities who ruled China but was not connected with other international organizations or the International Committee, although on many occasions it cooperated with foreign agencies to give aid to refugees and the wounded.

In Europe, the rise of debates about moral decline among social activists encouraged the creation of a new-style of humanitarian organizations.³ The term humanitarianism emerged in the context of the Anti-Slavery movement and was applied to a wide range of activities performed by individuals or groups for those who were suffering. In countries like Britain, the term humanitarianism started to be used in the early nineteenth century to define voluntary activities by individuals that aimed to provide care at home and abroad; that sought to disseminate the ethics of humanitarian care; and that were tasked with advancing social progress in less-developed societies.⁴ The Swiss businessman and philanthropist Henry Dunant (1828-1910), who had witnessed the poor conditions of over twenty thousand wounded soldiers during the Battle of Solferino in 1859, decided to campaign for the creation of a permanent aid service for soldiers at the front during armed conflicts. Acting in unison with Dunant's efforts, other philanthropists published their ideas about modern care. Florence Nightingale, for instance, suggested improvements to nursing, which were taken up by Western humanitarian and medical organizations. Her suggestions triggered an advancement in the profession of nursing, which the Chinese Red Cross adopted.⁵

After the tragedy of Solferino, Dunant's efforts not only set in motion the development of services for soldiers, but also led to the creation of a legal framework for humanitarian activities during armed conflicts.⁶ Dunant's mission was put into effect in cooperation with lawyers and physicians such as the lawyer Gustave Moynier, with whom Dunant founded the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva in 1863. With the official acknowledgment and support of the Swiss government, the Committee gained international recognition.⁷ To establish a legal

² North China Herald, "Refuges from the Besieged City of Chochow," 10 December, 1927.

³ Thomas Laqueur, "Bodies, details, and the humanitarian narrative," in *The New Cultural History: Essays*, ed. A. Biersack (Berkeley, 1989), 178.

⁴ Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca, 2011), 11.

⁵ For Nightingale's impact on modern nursing see *Florence Nightingale's Notes on Nursing and Notes on Nursing for the Labouring Classes: Commemorative Edition with Historical Commentary*, edited Victor Skretkovicz (Springer New York, 2010).

⁶ J.-P. Lavoyer, L. Maresca, "The Role of the ICRC in the Development of the International Humanitarian Law" *International Negotiation* 4 (1999): 504

⁷ Jost Duellfer, *Regeln gegen den Krieg: Die Haager Friedenskonferenz von 1899 und 1907 in der*

framework for Red Cross agencies, the Committee formulated the “First Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded in Armies in the Field” in 1864, which became part of the inter-governmental agreement, the International Humanitarian Law. This law is regulated by the legal bodies known as the Geneva and Hague Conventions to which the Geneva Convention of 1864, the Second Geneva Convention of 1907, the Third Geneva Convention of 1929, and the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 as well as other legal bodies belong, and which regulates assistance during armed conflicts and inter-state relations.⁸

From the foundation of the International Red Cross, the number of national Red Cross Societies grew and the network, which is called today the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, consists of 190 recognized national societies.⁹ National Red Cross societies were founded to operate under military command, but were organized by civilian volunteers who cared for wounded soldiers at the front. These volunteers, who wore distinctive uniforms with a white armband with the symbol of a red cross, were tasked with providing relief according to principles such as impartiality and neutrality. While the principle of impartiality stipulates that humanitarian aid is to be implemented independent of the interests of belligerent parties, the principle of neutrality suggests that humanitarian activities should be offered to everyone in need independent of an individual’s gender, race, or national belonging.¹⁰ Rebecca Gill’s examination of efforts by British philanthropists during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, whom she suggests were new “experts” of humanitarian relief, demonstrates that adherence to these principles were the result of the need to coordinate their activities at the front with military authorities and financial donors. As Gill has shown, the humanitarians had to convince both groups of supporters about the benefits of their work, their accountability, and the independence of their activities.¹¹ The International Red Cross Movement created seven principles to define its work in the course of its development: humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence, voluntary service, unity, universality, although they remained often working advices.¹²

In China, philanthropy and investment in the Red Cross developed under different local,

internationalen Politik (Frankfurt a M., 1981), 12.
⁸ J.-P. Lavoyer, L. Maresca, “The Role of the ICRC in the Development of the International Humanitarian Law” *International Negotiation* 4 (1999): 504.

⁹ <https://www.icrc.org/en/who-we-are/movement> (retrieved 19 April 2017.)

¹⁰ David P. Forsythe and Barbara A. J. Rieffer-Flanagan, *The International Committee of the Red Cross. A Neutral Humanitarian Actor* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 2 2.

¹¹ Rebecca Gill, “The Rational Administration of Compassion. The Origins of British Relief in War,” *Le Mouvement Social* Vol. 227 (2009): 9.

¹² David P. Forsythe, *The Humanitarians. The International Committee of the Red Cross* (New York, 2005), 29.

social, and political conditions. Over the centuries, Chinese society had developed a strong religiously-motivated investment in philanthropy, which informs notions of philanthropy beyond religious spheres even today. Although the appellation for philanthropy, *cishan* 慈善 whose two characters *ci* and *shan* be translated as “benevolent” and “virtuous and good action” does not directly refer to religious activity, the importance of religion in China’s traditional philanthropy suggests regarding the Chinese understanding of philanthropy as infused with religious significance.¹³ China’s religions and philosophical schools emphasized various aspects of philanthropic activities. In Confucianism, the concept of *ren* 仁, benevolence, depicts a concept of social responsibility, which advocates compassion based on piety between family and clan members. In addition, Confucianism emphasised the responsibility of the state for the well-being of the population. Similarly, Daoism has a long tradition of medical work and curing diseases and its medical traditions became a foundation for the ethics of healing. Buddhism developed a long tradition of voluntarism as it promoted charitable activities as a core aspect of its religion.¹⁴

Additional to religiously-motivated philanthropic services, social elites began to invest in non-religious philanthropic institutions from the late Ming time. Joanna Handlin Smith’s research stresses that Benevolent Halls, called *shantang* 善堂, emerged from new discourses about philanthropy among wealthy merchants. The new perspective on individual efforts suggested that private and non-religious investment in philanthropy could serve noble causes. The new view encouraged local elites to realize their own philanthropic projects to fulfil a moral duty and to increase their public influence.¹⁵ During the Qing dynasty, Benevolent Halls were often officially supported, but privately led charitable institutions and services for the poor. Activities of Benevolent Halls were called private charity relief *yizhen* 义赈, and were combined with popular religious activities.¹⁶ Pierre-Etienne Will suggests that the role of the gentry was essential due to their indispensable participation in the country’s welfare system.¹⁷ In addition, the country’s traditional social care that was built on family and kin networks was

¹³ Andre Laliberte, David A. Palmer, Wu Keping, “Religious Philanthropy and Chinese Civil Society,” in *Chinese Religious Life*, ed. David A. Palmer, Glenn Shive (Oxford, 2011), 141.

¹⁴ A. Laliberte, D.A. Palmer, Wu K., “Religious Philanthropy and Chinese Civil Society,” 143.

¹⁵ Joanna F. Handlin Smith, “Benevolent Societies: The Reshaping of Charity during the Late Ming and Early Ch’ing,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 46, no. 2 (May, 1987): 311.

¹⁶ Tan Chee-Beng, “Shantang: Charitable Temples in China, Singapore, and Malaysia,” *Asian Ethnology* Vol. 71, no. 1 (1 January 2012): 79.

¹⁷ Pierre Etienne Will, *Bureaucracy and Famine in Eighteenth Century China* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1990), 4.

equally important because it guaranteed care for the aged and sick.¹⁸

Although the creation of the Red Cross and the Red Swastika arose out of this development of philanthropy, their founders' motivation also reflected the emergence of a new private commitment to invest in social services in the late nineteenth century — a response to the population's desolate conditions during emergencies and to internal Chinese and international political changes. From the late Qing period until the foundation of the People's Republic in 1949, the country underwent a transformation from a Confucian society to a modern nation against a background of semi-colonial control, loss of territories, and severe wars. Semi-colonized China struggled for acceptance as a sovereign nation state in the international community. From this disadvantaged position, Chinese reformers and intellectuals began a process of finding and defining a national identity, which included the translation and transformation of Western ideas. This led to a reconsideration of the Chinese past, engagement with Western ideas, and a concern about the country's future as a new nation.¹⁹ In her significant analysis, *China, Inventing the Nation*, Henrietta Harrison proposes regarding the adoption of Western laws and institutions by Chinese reformers from the late Qing as the starting point for the formation of a new national consciousness. This process initiated significant changes in the country that led to the overthrow of the Qing dynasty that had ruled the country from 1644 to 1911 and the foundation of the new republic.²⁰ Supporting Andrea Janku's perspective that Western impact triggered the rise of private charity beyond the local, my thesis demonstrates how a Western model was adopted to supplement already existing services in the hope of an improvement of social conditions.²¹

Against the backdrop of growing foreign aggression and an increasing need to maintain care for the population, late-nineteenth century reformers began to regard the Qing government as increasingly incapable of defending the country and therefore mobilized to enlarge their influence in the provision of relief. For instance, during the severe crisis of the North China Famine, which severely affected the Northern provinces of Shanxi, Henan, Shandong, Zhili, and

¹⁸ Will, *Bureaucracy and Famine*, 312.

¹⁹ Klaus Mühlhahn, "National Studies and Global Entanglements: The Re-envisioning of China in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Trans-Pacific Interactions. The United States and China, 1880–1950*, e.d. V. Künnemann, R. Meyer. (Palgrave: New York 2009), 45.

²⁰ Henrietta Harrison, *China. Inventing the Nation* (London, 2001), 88.

²¹ Andrea Janku, "The Internationalisation of Disaster Relief in Early Twentieth century China," in *China Networks, Berliner China-Hefte/Chinese History and Society* 43, ed. J. Damm and M. Leutner (LIT Münster, 2012), 6.

Shaanxi between 1877 and 1878, and which led to an estimated 13 million deaths, the efforts of one of the most notable officials of the Qing government, Li Hongzhang 李鸿章, were crucial in providing famine relief measures.²² Lillian Li proposes that in dealing with famine relief, the statesman adhered to already long-established services, but also used new techniques to guarantee an effective distribution of resources.²³

While Confucian officials strove for the improvement of the government-monitored famine relief system in order to curtail the consequences of the Great Famine, modernizers recognized the need to reform the welfare system, but urged that more attention be paid to national defence and the preservation of China's independence, because they regarded the country's economic development as vital to overcome poverty and famine in the long run.²⁴ Moreover, the objectives of China's philanthropists consisted of different approaches to influences from abroad.²⁵ For example, the leaders of one of the most famous and largest philanthropic institutions, the Hall for Spreading Benevolence in Tianjin, which was established 1878, encouraged women's participation in paid work and thus contributed to the transformation of the Confucian social order that excluded Chinese women from activity in public, even as they continued to practice traditional Confucian rituals in the Hall.²⁶

Although from the late Qing onward individuals played a decisive part in the provision of aid to the population during crisis, China's government and ruling elites remained heavily involved in the regulation of the philanthropic world.²⁷ Looking at the state-building process, historians argue that the social transformation of the country during the republican era was both a top-down process of state-building and one that was equally influenced by the initiatives of individual agents.²⁸ Examining the development of the Red Cross and the Red Swastika against the backdrop of political changes from the fall of the Qing in 1911 and the establishment of the

²² Kathryn Edgerton-Tarpley, *Tears from Iron. Cultural Responses to Famine in Nineteenth Century China* (Berkeley, University of California Press 2008), 10.

²³ Lillian Li, *Fighting Famine in North China: State, Market, and Environmental Decline, 1690s-1990s* (Stanford, 2007), 272.

²⁴ Edgerton-Tarpley, *Tears from Iron*, 11.

²⁵ Paul Katz, "It is difficult to be Indifferent to One's Roots": Taizhou Sojourners and Flood Relief during the 1920s," *Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History Academia Sinica 近代历史研究所集刊* 5, No. 4 (2007): 9.

²⁶ Vivian Shue, "The Quality of Mercy: Confucian Charity and the Mixed Metaphors of Modernity in Tianjin," *Modern China* Vol. 32, no. 4 (October, 2006): 439.

²⁷ Philip C. C. Huang, "Public Sphere"/ "Civil Society" in China? The Third Realm between State and Society," *Modern China* Vol. 19, no. 2 (April, 1993), 237.

²⁸ Mayfair Mei-hui Yang, "Introduction," in: *Chinese Religiosities: Afflictions of Modernity and State Formation*, ed. Mayfair Mei-hui Yang (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2008), 7.

republic, through the warlord era, the Nanjing Decade (1927-1937), the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), and the Civil War (1945-1949) until 1949, when Mao Zedong 毛泽东 proclaimed the foundation of the People's Republic of China, this thesis suggests that the activities of both organizations were intimately connected with the political authorities and had to conform to official regulation and impositions on philanthropic and religious activities. As the thesis demonstrates, however, both organizations originated from different objectives and these differences shaped their relationships with ruling authorities.

The Chinese Red Cross was founded by reform-oriented philanthropists, who considered their work as a vehicle to accelerate social transformation. Shen Dunhe 沈敦和, an early supporter and first leader of the Red Cross, advocated for Western medicine as a better way to achieve a long-term improvement of conditions of Chinese soldiers and civilians. He believed the Red Cross was of vital importance for the future development of his country. In the first issue of the 1913 published *China Red Cross Journal* 中国红十字会杂志, he introduced humanitarian work to mobilize aid among the Chinese people and contribute to the growth of a new national consciousness.²⁹ Nevertheless, Confucian values remained foundational for early supporters of the group, who proposed that Western philanthropic values such as voluntarism and altruism were anchored in Confucian tradition. Zhu Ruiwu, a member of the Red Cross, published a definition of humanitarianism *rendaozhuyi* 人道主义 in 1914, which included the Confucian value of social responsibility as essential for philanthropic culture and the Red Cross.³⁰ He argued for Chinese humanitarianism modelled on the Red Cross but anchored in long-established concepts of social care based on an adherence to the idea of egalitarianism *pingdengzhuyi* 平等主义, which advocated for equal rights for all members of society; an adherence to the idea of fraternity *boaizhuyi* 博爱主义, which advocated for mutual aid among members of a society; and, to the concept of Great Unity *datongzhuyi* 大同主义, a concept from classical Chinese philosophy that envisaged world-wide peace.³¹ His interpretation reflected the contemporary thought of the influential reformer Kang Youwei, whose New Text

²⁹ 沈敦和, 中国红十字杂志允言, 中国红十字会历史资料选编(1904-1949), ed. 中国红十字会 (南京 1993), 104. Shen Dunhe, "Foreword to the Journal of the Red Cross Society of China," in *Selected Historical Materials of the Chinese Red Cross Society*, ed. Central Committee of the Chinese Red Cross Society (Nanjing, 1993), 104.

³⁰ Shen Dunhe, "人道指南发刊词," 105. Shen Dunhe, "Foreword to the Humanitarian Guide," in *Selected Historical Materials of the Chinese Red Cross Society*, ed. Central Committee of the Chinese Red Cross Society (Nanjing, 1993), 105.

³¹ Zhu Ruiwu 朱瑞五, "Humanitarianism 人道主义," in *Selected Historical Materials of the Chinese Red Cross Society*, ed. The Central Committee of the Chinese Red Cross Society (Nanjing, 1993), 106.

School marked the beginning of the incorporation of Confucianism with Western theories of social development such as Social Darwinism and reflected the reevaluation of Confucianism as the foundation of building national sentiments against the Qing.³²

While the Red Cross was seen as compatible with aspects of Confucianism, the founders of the society wanted to distinguish their work from common and religiously motivated philanthropy. For example, at an early stage of the adoption of the Red Cross in the country, Shen and the Central Committee denied a group called Yellow Swastika the possibility of joining the organization.³³ On 20 February 1914, the newspaper Shenbao announced that the chairman of the Changzhou Buddhist Association, Qing Haijin 清海谨 had established a Yellow Swastika Society and that he had requested becoming part of the Red Cross network. However, after a general meeting of the Red Cross in Shanghai, Shen opposed a unification because the Yellow Swastika Society did not work according to the Geneva Convention and because it offered a faith-based service. Nevertheless, in practice the Red Cross often cooperated with such relief organizations due to the frequent demand for aid.

My examination of the Red Cross activities during the Republican era stresses that the organization remained true to the goal of improving health conditions through the dissemination of Western medicine and the strengthening of national defence, although the lack of Western-style medical infrastructure, as well as a lack of awareness of the benefit of the Red Cross for armies, and the overwhelmingly severity of war complicated the work and growth of the Red Cross and constrained the development of this national organization. Although Western-style medicine and its institutions were not a completely new concept for Chinese, due to the presence of medical missionaries from the mid-19th century, Western medical treatment was unknown to large parts of the population.³⁴ Often, only urban centers such as Shanghai and Hong Kong possessed a developed medical and public health infrastructure because of the influence of foreigners.³⁵

Overall, Western medicine was often used as a supplement to long-established practices. For example, as Michelle Renshaw emphasizes, Western-style hospitals and their medical

³² Peter Gue Zarrow, *After Empire: The Conceptual Transformation of the Chinese State, 1885-1924* (Stanford, 2012), 53.

³³ Gao, 红十字会及其社会救助事业研究, 29.

³⁴ Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China. Volume 6, Biology and Biological Technology. Part VI: Medicine* (New York: Cambridge University Press 2004), 54.

³⁵ Xu Guangqiu, *American Doctors in Canton: Modernization in China, 1835-1935* (London, 2011), 35.

services introduced new standards in realms such as the privacy of patients, classification of patients, gender divisions, and contact between patients and physicians. Nevertheless, she concludes that in the end, the Western concept was “sinicized”, adjusted to local conditions, rather than adopted wholesale.³⁶ The population’s adherence to traditional Chinese medical practices ran deep, based on the country’s long medical traditions, which had developed different schools of medical treatment and healing.³⁷ In addition, foreign medical practices like quarantine sometimes contradicted Chinese concepts of care provided by families and offended ideas about the social order.³⁸ To educate the population, Western institutions employed social workers such as the Peking Union Medical College (PUMC), founded by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1915, which was not only the first modern hospital in China, but also an important training institution for nurses, midwives, and physicians many of whom worked for the Chinese Red Cross.³⁹

One important aspect that distinguished the Chinese Red Cross from other Red Cross agencies was its constrained contribution to the advancement of military medical services. As my thesis shows, the Red Cross became only partially incorporated into China’s armies. Its branches and medical institutions mainly comprised civilians, although its leaders strove to have the services of the Red Cross by military leaders. Although military leaders like the first president of the republic, Yuan Shikai 袁世凯, had already supported the Red Cross in the First Sino-Japanese War, aid for soldiers remained rudimentarily developed. First official regulations regarding the incorporation of the Red Cross Relief Corps in armies had been issued by the Ministry of Land Armies in 1913 and were published in the *Dagongbao* under the title “The Land Army Forces Department Introduces the Principles of the Red Cross 陆军部新订红十字条约解”. These regulations stipulated that the Red Cross provide army divisions with health and hygiene workers 卫生员 who should be provided by the armies with materials such as vehicles, uniforms, and medical equipment.⁴⁰

However, the care for soldiers depended on the will and interest of local military leaders,

³⁶ Michelle Renshaw, *Accommodating the Chinese: The American Hospital in China, 1880-1920* (New York: Routledge), 61.

³⁷ Carol Ann Benedict, *Bubonic Plague in Nineteenth Century China* (Stanford, 1996), 153.

³⁸ Sean Hsiang-lin Lei, “Sovereignty and the Microscope: Constituting Notifiable Infectious Disease and Containing the Manchurian Plague (1910-1911),” in *Health and Hygiene in Chinese East Asia. Politics and Publics in the Long Twentieth Century*, ed. Furth, Charlotte (Durham, 2010), 100.

³⁹ Pfeiffer, “Still Arguing Over Cost,” 380.

⁴⁰ *Dagongbao*, “The Land Army Forces Department Introduces the Principles of the Red Cross 陆军部新订红十字条约解释,” 21 February to 3 March 1913.

and in the warlord era (1916-1928), most warlords did not pursue advancement of medical services for soldiers.⁴¹ Diana Lary demonstrates that during the entire Republican era, assistance for wounded soldiers on the battlefield was not regarded as a primary objective of military reforms.⁴² Soldiers were an underprivileged social group and their lives were filled with drills by superiors, malnourishment, inadequate clothing and accommodation, opium smoking, and prostitution. Because of these poor conditions, soldiers were not only demoralized and demotivated, but also a threat to the population when they turned into armed bandits.⁴³

Thus, unlike in other countries, where the Red Cross became closely incorporated into military affairs, China's Red Cross — and other Chinese humanitarian organizations — could only partially help wounded soldiers at the front. For example, in 1924 during the First Zhejiang Jiangsu War 江浙战争, when the warlord Qi Xieyuan 齐燮元 defeated the military governor of Jiangsu Lu Yongxiang 卢永祥 and seized Jiangsu and Zhejiang, the Red Cross served soldiers on many occasions, but their assignments were ad hoc and not standardized. The documentation states that Red Cross workers operated in the rear and the extent of their work depended on the military authorities.⁴⁴ The Beijing office delegated six Red Cross units to help wounded soldiers and civilians who established 12 medical offices of their organization.⁴⁵ Yet, their activities were endangered by their lack of recognition on the battlefield and delegates of the Red Cross complained that their workers were attacked while offering service to soldiers. For example, on 23 March 1924, the *Shenbao* published *News from the Red Cross: Soldiers Misunderstood the Relief Work of the Red Cross* 红会消息: 救灾时军民对红会发生误会 presenting the case of volunteers from the Yun Township 郟县 branch in Hebei, who had been attacked.⁴⁶ Chi Zihua proposes that other obstacles such as a lack of coordination and lack of a standardized program, which would enhance the recognition of the service by armies, were other crucial reasons why the Red Cross's work for armies remained insufficiently developed.⁴⁷ My thesis shows that the incorporation of the Red Cross into armies intensified only during the Nanjing Decade and the

⁴¹ Edmund S. K. Fung, *Military Dimension of the Chinese Revolution: The New Army and Its Role in the Revolution of 1911* (Canberra, 1980), 7. And, Alfred H. Y. Lin, "Warlord, Social Welfare and Philanthropy: The Case of Guangzhou under Chen Jitang, 1929-1936," *Modern China* Vol. 30, no.2 (2004): 151.

⁴² Diana Lary, *Warlord Soldiers: Chinese Common Soldiers 1911-1937* (Cambridge, 1985), 57.

⁴³ Nils Greafe, *Liu Guitang (1892-1943): Einer der größten Banditen der chinesischen Republikzeit*, (Wiesbaden, 2008), 109.

⁴⁴ 池子华, *红十字与近代中国* (合肥, 2003), Chi Zihua, *Red Cross and Modern China*, (Hefei, 2003), 192.

⁴⁵ Chi, *红十字与近代中国*, 187.

⁴⁶ *Shenbao*, "News from the Red Cross: Soldiers Misunderstood the Relief Work of the Red Cross 红会消息: 救灾时军民对红会发生误会," 23 March 1924.

⁴⁷ Chi, *红十字与近代中国*, 191.

Sino-Japanese War as a result of governmentally supported investment, but was realized mainly due to private and international support.

The Red Swastika's origins and development differed from the Red Cross as it was chiefly guided by the religious mission of its founder, the Daoyuan society 道院.⁴⁸ The Daoyuan, founded in 1916 in Shandong province, was one at that time emerging redemptive societies, in English, and 救度团体 or 救世团体, in Chinese. The religious society founded the Red Swastika organization for its male members and the Women's Morality Society 女道德社 for its female members, to organize the religious and charitable activities of its members. David A. Palmer suggests seeing the emergence of the Daoyuan in 1916, one of around forty-two new religious societies at the time in the country, as continuation of a century-old tradition of Salvationist groups. The group originated in North Chinese regions where it educated the population in morals and belief and ran philanthropic institutions. New religious movements in early Republican China from which the Daoyuan originated were based on traditional religious investment in philanthropy, but were also influenced by international political changes, as David A. Palmer's significant research reveals.⁴⁹

The Daoyuan presented its mission in 1921, after being recognized by the Beiyang government. The society published an introductory presentation, *shuomingshu* 说明书, that can be translated as *Instruction Book*. The publication explains the mission as an effort to regenerate spirituality worldwide and alleviate suffering. The Daoyuan named the destructive consequences of the armed conflicts during the First World War that provoked a worldwide decline of morals and humanity as the main reason for its emergence.⁵⁰ It referred to Western philosophers such as the French philosopher Henri Bergson (1859–1941), whose work *L'Evolution creatrice*, was a critique of Charles Darwin's argument of natural selection and survival of the fittest, which had been translated into Chinese in 1919. The Daoyuan joined the growing popularity of criticism of the assumed superiority of Western culture and instead highlighted its destructive nature.⁵¹ Nevertheless, the objective was not to copy the national strengthening approach of the Red Cross, but to create an alternative approach to the alleviation

⁴⁸ 道院,说明书(1921),4; Daoyuan, *Manifesto* (1921), 4.

⁴⁹ David A. Palmer, "Chinese Redemptive Societies and Salvationist Religion: Historical Phenomenon or Sociological Category?," *Minsu Quyi* Vol. 172, no. 6 (2001): 43.

⁵⁰ 道院,南京道院癸甲二周会刊(南京,1925),11. Daoyuan, *Nanjing Daoyuan Society's Journal* (Nanjing, 1925), 11.

⁵¹ Daoyuan, *Instruction Book* (1921), 10.

of suffering worldwide that corresponded to long-established notions of social care and spirituality.⁵²

The Daoyuan's investment in philanthropy differed significantly from the Red Cross's approach as it proposed a faith-based mission, which supported cultural blending in accordance with its own syncretic traditions. The religious society's interest was in combining Chinese spiritual traditions with foreign influences based on the foundation of various religious writings that selected aspects of Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism, Christianity, and Islam and unified them into one new religious teaching. Religious syncretism reaches back to the sixteenth century when Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism were first blended as the Unity of the Three Teachings 三教合一, which was perpetuated by redemptive societies like the Daoyuan but adjusted to early twentieth-century China's socio-political conditions.⁵³ The Daoyuan recognized the Great Progenitor as the highest deity and recognized five interlinked teachers, Confucius, Laozi, Buddha, Jesus, and Muhammed.⁵⁴ Self-cultivation, meditation, and commitment to voluntarily aid, which consisted of rescue operations, distribution of resources, burials, care for the sick and poor, demonstrated its adherence to Buddhist and Daoist philanthropic traditions. Christian influence on the Daoyuan was visible, for instance, in regulations for its followers, which were known as the Ten Commandments, and which closely resembled the Christian principles of the same name.⁵⁵

During the 1920s and 1930s, the Daoyuan and the Red Swastika developed a very popular network in the country that consisted predominantly of long-term philanthropic institutions such as schools, children homes, orphanages, homes for disabled, hospitals, dispensaries, material distribution offices, food distribution offices, work and training houses for the poor, banks, and loan offices.⁵⁶ Recent work on this group by Andrea Janku suggests that the organization was also an important provider of aid in zones of armed conflict, because Western agents did not want to enter war zones due to the lack of protection.⁵⁷ Fang Jing and Cai Chuanwu's research supports this view showing that during the Jiangsu-Zhejiang war in

⁵² Janku, "The Internationalization of Disaster Relief," 20.

⁵³ Timothy Brook, "Rethinking Syncretism: The Unity of the Three teachings and Their Joint Worship in Late-imperial China," *Journal of Chinese Religions* Vol. 21, no. 2 (1 January, 1993): 34.

⁵⁴ 道院, 修座须知 (香港, 1978), 45; Daoyuan, *Instructions on Meditation* (Hong Kong, 1978), 45.

⁵⁵ Daoyuan, *Instructions on Meditation*, 23.

⁵⁶ 高鹏程, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究1922-1949 (合肥, 2011), 217, Gao Pengcheng, *The Red Swastika Society and its Social Relief Enterprise 1922-1949* (Hefei, 2011), 119.

⁵⁷ Andrea Janku, "The Internationalisation of Disaster Relief in Early Twentieth - century China," *Berliner Chinahefte/Chinese History and Society* 43 (2013): 22.

1924, a conflict between the Zhili clique and the Fengtian clique that lasted for only three months but affected a large amount of people across eight provinces, the Red Swastika established shelters for 18,5000 wounded, among them soldiers and refugees.⁵⁸

However, a closer look at the implementation of relief at this moment reveals that the introduction of Red Cross-like relief units to implement aid on the battlefield remained limited and determined by individual efforts. One member, who sought to introduce Red Cross-like work in 1924 was Wang Chunshan 王春山, a member of the Nanjing branch of the Red Swastika. Wang was responsible for the establishment of emergency units that cared for civilians and soldiers in zones of armed conflict. In September 1924, the Shenbao reported on the work of four units from Nanjing, Shanghai, Zhenjiang, and Beijing. However, as the documentation of these activities reveals, Wang needed to approve his initiative at the spiritual center in Jinan because it was not part of the Red Swastika's humanitarian mission. In addition, the Nanjing branch initially refused to finance his work.⁵⁹ The occurrence of such obstacles shows that some members of the Red Swastika, who were familiar with the Red Cross, sought to expand the formation of specialized emergency relief, but that these efforts were new and not incorporated into the Red Swastika's agenda at that time.

New political elites, who strove for governing the country, relied on privately organized philanthropy despite its roots in traditional philanthropy to generate support from the population. During the Northern Expedition 北伐战争, conducted by the Nationalist Revolutionary Army under Chiang Kai-shek from 1926 to 1928 to fight warlords, the aspiring power-holders sought to involve relief groups.⁶⁰ As Donald Jordan shows, the Northern Expedition was the last part of a revolutionary movement initiated by Sun Yat-sen and mainly a military campaign but one that sought to mobilize the population for its cause. During the Northern Expedition, some rather substantial humanitarian projects became involved in military campaigns. For instance, the Red Cross mobilized 200 activists who established two hospitals in Hankou and 47 refugee camps for 50,000 refugees. In addition, the Red Cross established medical units to provide aid to the wounded soldiers of the National Revolutionary Army.⁶¹

⁵⁸ 方竞,蔡传斌,“民国时期的世界红卍字会及其救济活动,”中国社会经济史研究(2005),78. Fang Jing, Cai Chuanbin, “The World Red Swastika Society during the Republican Period and its Relief Activities,” *The Journal of Chinese Social and Economic History* (2005), 78.

⁵⁹ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 160.

⁶⁰ Donald A. Jordan, *The Northern Expedition, China's National Revolution of 1926-1928*, (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1976), xi.

⁶¹ Jordan, *The Northern Expedition*, 255.

Although the Red Swastika is not explicitly mentioned in mainstream documentation, Gao's thesis indicates that the Nationalist government also involved the Red Swastika during the campaign.⁶² Thus, while redemptive societies became condemned for their religious practices after the foundation of the new regime in 1928, the Nationalists relied opportunistically on their support.

While the Red Cross experienced a gradual incorporation into officially recognized plans for the strengthening of national defense since Japanese aggression in 1931, the Daoyuan and the Red Swastika Society developed a more difficult relationship with the Nationalist government due to their religious and philosophical ideology. Although the Daoyuan's interest in the establishment of universal peace and the establishment of inter-cultural understanding were shared objectives of numerous international humanitarian agencies after the end of the First World War, the mission of redemptive societies was seen to have objectionable political implications.⁶³ Prasenjit Duara suggests that the Daoyuan's commitment to universalism was perceived as being close to Pan-Asianism and Japanese imperialism. Indeed, it was true that the Daoyuan was affiliated to the Japanese redemptive society Ōmotō, since the former had originated in Shandong province when it was occupied by the Japanese during First World War. Like the Daoyuan, Ōmotō was committed to spiritual regeneration on a global scale.⁶⁴

The complications of the Daoyuan's commitment to Pan-Asianism, which co-existed with the mission's objective to support peaceful cultural exchange, became visible after the creation of the Manchurian Red Swastika after the Japanese took over Manchuria and established Manchukuo in 1931. This regional network separated from the Red Swastika network in China in 1935 and created the Northeast World Red Swastika that became implicated in Japanese occupation politics.⁶⁵ From this moment, there were two regional networks, one that organized relief for the Chinese government, and one in Manchukuo. The use of the term world was often used by the Red Swastika on its publications but was not standardized. The Daoyuan presented its project without the use of the term, but the administrative office in Beijing, the World Red Swastika China Central Office 世界红卍字会中华总会 did use it. Its use suggests that the organization's mission subscribed to a specific transnational mission, strongly implying

⁶² 高鹏程,《红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究1922-1949》(合肥,2011); Gao Pengcheng, *The Red Swastika Society and its Social Relief Enterprise 1922-1949* (Hefei, 2011), 214.

⁶³ Brandon Little, "An Explosion of New Endeavours: Global Humanitarian Responses to Industrialized Warfare in the First World War Era," *First World War Studies* Vol. 5, no. 1 (2014): 2.

⁶⁴ Prasenjit Duara, "The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism," *Journal of World History* Vol. 12, no. 1, (Spring 2001): 120.

⁶⁵ Sun Jiang, "The Predicament of a Redemptive Religion: The Red Swastika Society under the Rule of Manchukuo," *Journal of Modern Chinese History* Vol. 7, no. 1 (2013), 108.

adherence to imperialism via support for Pan-Asianism. Nevertheless, branches in territories controlled by the Chinese government used this appellation too.

While support for Japanese imperialism in Manchuria from 1931 was one factor why the Nationalist government extended its control over the China-based network, religious spirituality was another reason why power holders suspected it of subversive activities. The Daoyuan's controversial rituals included the practice of spirit writing. Spirit writing, *fu-ji* 扶乩, had been used by the Chinese population since the eleventh century and served as a way to receive messages from deities and to predict events.⁶⁶ While spirit writing held an important role in formulating the moral code for both educated and uneducated segments of the population, the growing reform-oriented consciousness of China's younger generations supported Western approaches and criticized the practice of spirit writing as "superstitious", backward, and as a threat to modernization.⁶⁷ In addition, political authorities often regarded the practice of spirit writing as a threat to their authority due to its fractious and therefore subversive nature.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, as the historian Cheng Minghua demonstrates, the ritual remained an integral part of Republican China and large segments of the Chinese society, to whom many leading politicians also belonged, adhered to spirit writing and other popular rituals.⁶⁹

The growing controversy about approval or denial of traditional popular practices suggests that against the backdrop of China's social and political transformation, different ideas of modernity emerged. According to Vincent Goossaert, the philosophy of redemptive societies can be regarded as the emergence of an alternative and indigenous version of modernity to rationality and science associated with the Western idea of modernity.⁷⁰ For example, redemptive societies argued that China's spiritual traditions possessed scientific validity and represented a supplementary form of science to Western ideas of science and rationality.⁷¹ Frederick Cooper warns that the concept modernity became central to historical narratives which state that colonialism by Western countries possessed a developmental dimension that

⁶⁶ David K. Jordan, Daniel L. Overmyer, *The Flying Phoenix: Aspects of Chinese Sectarianism in Taiwan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 36.

⁶⁷ Jordan, Overmyer, *The Flying Phoenix*, 37.

⁶⁸ Jean Chesneaux, "Secret Societies in China's Historical Evolution", in Jean Chesneux ed., *Popular Movements and Secret Societies in China 1840-1950* (Stanford, Stanford University Press 1972), 7.

⁶⁹ 陈明华, 扶乩的制度化与民国新兴宗教的成长——以世界红卍字会道院为例 (1921-1932), *历史研究* 6 (2006): 66; Chen Minghua, "The Institutionalization of the Planchette and the Rise of New Religions during the Republican Era—the Instance of the Red Swastika and the Daoyuan (1921-1932)," *History Research* 6 (2006): 66.

⁷⁰ Vincent Goossaert, "The Social Organization of Religious Communities in the Twentieth Century," in *Chinese Religious Life*, ed. D. A. Palmer and G. Shive (Oxford, 2011), 185.

⁷¹ David A. Palmer, Xun Liu, "The Daoist Encounter with Modernity: some Issues in the History and Sociology of Daoism in the Modern Era," *Confucianism and Spiritual Traditions in Modern China and Beyond*, ed. Yang Fenggang and Joseph Tamney (Leiden, Brill 2012), 168.

elevated underdeveloped societies to a higher level of civilization, thereby justifying Western colonization and imperialism.⁷² Cooper points out that on the one hand, the use of modernity as a claim for singularity reinforces a Western attitude of superiority and overlooks the fact that the social transformation of Western societies was not uniform and even fuelled interest in such anti-modern practices such as occultism and spiritualism among many people in Western societies.⁷³ On the other hand, he argues for the proliferation and recognition of various modernities, often called alternative modernities, in non-Western societies. Thus, using the term modernity to analyze social transformation in non-Western societies should take account of the specific context in which the term and concept were used by local actors.⁷⁴

Research on the Chinese Red Cross suggests seeing the creation and development of this organization as by and large supportive of Western modernity. For example, as the Chinese historian of the Red Cross, Chi Zihua, proposes, the founders regarded traditional practices as “superstitious”.⁷⁵ Adhering to standards of Western medicine, as it was introduced by American medical missionaries, the Chinese Red Cross encouraged the advancement of nursing. The society encouraged Chinese women’s training in the medical professions and collaborated with Western hospitals, at which its members were trained or worked. However, fewer Chinese women than men worked for the organisation as medical professionals and fewer women occupied leading positions due to the continuously strong Confucian social values, which impeded Chinese women from obtaining recognition and participating in public and professional activity. In addition, women were traditionally excluded from medical professions. The term nurse, *hushi* 护士, only came into use in 1914.⁷⁶ Its meaning, the caring scholar, addressed the viability of the profession.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the overall weak presence of women in medical professions restricted their involvement in the Red Cross, although as my thesis shows, there were Chinese women who strove for participation.

The Daoyuan proposed another approach to modernity as it distinguished itself chiefly from previous religious schools in China. The religious group strove for recognition as a new

⁷² Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question. Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley, University of California Press 2005), 114.

⁷³ Alex Owen, *The Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2004), 4.

⁷⁴ Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 115.

⁷⁵ Chi, 红字会与近代中国, 247.

⁷⁶ John Z. Bowers, *Western Medicine in a Chinese Palace: Peking Union Medical College, 1917-1951* (New York, 1972), 200.

⁷⁷ Sonya Grypma, *Healing Henan: Canadian Nurses at the North China Mission, 1888-1947* (Vancouver, 2008), 59.

religious movement, whose benefits resulted from its ability to peacefully integrate distinct traditions. While the aim to be modern was not expressed directly or through reference to the Red Cross, the Daoyuan presented its mission as distinct from that of earlier and as “superstitious” by the Daoyuan depicted religious groups.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the non-integration of women in philanthropy shows the organization’s adherence to traditional social values. Working mainly with Chinese medicine, which almost completely excluded women from medical work, the Red Swastika’s medical institutions did not employ many women. My thesis shows that the organization did follow Red Cross practices and that women’s participation increased during the 1930s, when modernizers like Xiong Xiling extended their influence to improve the network’s emergency services.

My comparative perspective on the development of two Chinese humanitarian organizations and the changes they underwent during political and social upheavals in China, adds to research on the global development of humanitarianism in the twentieth century as a so-far underrepresented case of the formation of new-style humanitarian projects in a non-Western context. Thomas L. Haskell initially proposed that the rise of new humanitarian sentiments and morals were the consequence of the rise of capitalism and attributed it to a specific middle-class consciousness related to new private market dynamics in Western societies.⁷⁹ In doing so, Haskell argued that humanitarian activism derived from the European development of Enlightenment and modernity. A similar argument is made by Michael Barnett and Thomas G. Weiss in *Humanitarianism in Question. Politics, Power, Ethics*.⁸⁰ Although this anthology is very helpful to understand the development of notions and practices of humanitarian aid in Western societies, its lack of incorporation of non-Western examples strengthens the assumption that humanitarian sentiment originated and developed in the Western world. The anthology *Humanitarianism and Suffering, the Mobilization of Empathy* goes so far as to argue that “(the fact that) people have joined in large numbers on expressly secular grounds to alleviate the suffering of others near and far, and sought to coordinate help by establishing local, state, and transnational institutions, is recent in world history, a phenomenon that only emerged

⁷⁸ 道院,说明书 (1921), 4; Daoyuan, *Introduction Book* (1921), 12.

⁷⁹ Thomas L. Haskell, “Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part 1,” *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 90, no. 2 (Apr. 1985): 341.

⁸⁰ Michael Barnett, Thomas G. Weiss, ed., *Humanitarianism in Question. Politics, Power, Ethics* (New York, 2008).

fully in Europe and the Americas in the late eighteenth century.”⁸¹

Recent approaches to the nature of humanitarian aid have changed such assumptions, arguing that humanitarianism can only be understood in a global perspective, and querying the notion that non-Western development of humanitarian aid was less developed than in the West. For example, Michael Barnett argues that research must consider aspects of a changing global context such as geopolitics, economic networks, and the dissemination of values, which all influenced humanitarian activities. Barnett suggests looking at the development of humanitarianism as a processual development in three stages that encompassed transformations in the entire world beginning with imperial humanitarianism in the late eighteenth century up to the end of the second world war; followed by neo-humanitarianism from 1945 to the Cold War; and liberal humanitarianism from the end of the Cold War to the present.⁸²

Referring to the contradictory nature of humanitarianism, Barnett uses Kant’s quote “Out of the crooked timber of humanity, no straight thing was ever made” to point to the fact that although humanitarianism tends to be idealistic, it is easily implicated in the problematic context of its relief activities.⁸³ On the one hand, proposing that humanitarian ethics are universal but also influenced by local conditions, Barnett points out that humanitarianism possess dynamics of emancipation as it disseminates new methods and advanced practices. On the other hand, he stresses that this strengthened Western domination in less-developed and often colonized societies. Addressing the projects of the International Committee of the Red Cross, Barnett argues that humanitarians were often prejudiced and regarded their mission as culturally superior.⁸⁴

Furthermore, recent research on humanitarianism highlights specific periods as crucial for the development of humanitarian practice. For instance, Bruno Cabanes argues that until the First World War humanitarianism was mainly religiously motivated, while the intense demand for relief during the war increased the professionalization of practices that were based on American scientific approaches to philanthropy. In addition, the importance of transnational organizations grew, which began to address the rights of refugees and other victims, whose number grew to an unprecedented high during the war, and changed the focus from religious

⁸¹ Richard Ashby Wilson, Richard D. Brown, “Introduction,” *Humanitarianism and Suffering. The Mobilization of Empathy* (Cambridge, 2009), 1.

⁸² Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 7.

⁸³ Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 14.

⁸⁴ Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 7.

duty to an agenda focused on institutionalization and secularization. Therefore, the importance of professionals, like physicians, nurses, engineers grew. Cabanes proposes that these trends became more obvious at the end of the war due to the long and destructive nature of the conflict.⁸⁵ According to Brandon Little, the period of the First World War was a period of progressive invention for humanitarian activities, which sought both to alleviate suffering and reconstruct society.⁸⁶

As my thesis proposes, the wartime and its aftermath also influenced humanitarian activities in China. On the one hand, the country's Red Cross depended financially and professionally on the American Red Cross in particular that regarded investment in philanthropy as a viable way to consolidate American influence on China. As Karen Lynn Brewer's thesis points out, the American Red Cross was governed by reformist Americans who were motivated by a "sense of superiority, moral duty, and the ego satisfaction to be gained in developing the underdeveloped areas of the world".⁸⁷ Conflicts due to opposition of American paternalism at the end of the First World War support Michael Barnett's argument about the contradictoriness of modern humanitarianism. Based on Barnett's proposal, my thesis reveals how involvement in international networks brought the Chinese Red Cross into conflict with its American partner.

Western superiority was also reflected in the cooperation between international and Chinese organizations, which often downplayed the Chinese contribution highlighting its own merits. Recent research by Pierre Fuller reveals how Western humanitarian agents systematically promoted their aid as more efficient than Chinese efforts during natural catastrophes in the 1920s.⁸⁸ During the Great North China famine which lasted from 1920 to 1921 Chinese philanthropists managed relief provision at a local level very well. However, Chinese efforts were interpreted as backward and traditional because they were implemented according to other, often religious, notions of humanitarian aid. My examination of the two Chinese groups, which had branches in the country and connections beyond its borders, seeks

⁸⁵ Bruno Cabanes, *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism, 1918-1924* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 2014), 5.

⁸⁶ "An Explosion of New Endeavours: Global Humanitarian Responses to Industrialized Warfare in the First World War Era," *First World War Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (March 2014): 2.

⁸⁷ Brewer, Karen Lynn Brewer, *From Philanthropy to Reform: The American Red Cross in China, 1906-1930* (Ph.D. Diss. Case Western University Ann Arbor, 1983), 6875.

⁸⁸ Pierre Emery Fuller, "Struggling with Famine in Warlord China: Social Networks, Achievements, and Limitations, 1920-1921" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Irvine, 2011), 334.

to contribute to the extension of knowledge about the investment in relief by Chinese people.

Current research on the International Red Cross Movement suggests that the network was strongly influenced by rising nationalism that also influenced the historical interpretation of non-Western national Red Cross societies playing down their achievements in humanitarian aid. As John F. Hutchinson's research on the International Red Cross Movement shows, patriotism became a core element of the Red Cross Movement. He concludes "The humanitarian agenda was thus subtly but inexorably altered: In the 1860s, it had been conceived in universal terms, but by the end of the century, it had been redefined in predominately national terms."⁸⁹ And according to Johannes Paulmann, the original constitution of the movement already anchored a strong role for nationalism and inter-state relations between the colonizing and the colonized which corresponded with Chinese debates and negotiations about national identity.⁹⁰

The case of the Japanese Red Cross in particular reveals a biased assessment of non-European humanitarian work. The Japanese Red Cross, founded in 1887, replaced earlier institutions like the Hakuaisha 博愛社 and rapidly surpassed the number of supporting members of Western Red Cross societies like the American Red Cross.⁹¹ The fact that the Japanese strove ambitiously to adhere to the Red Cross and international humanitarian law became evident in 1894 when China and Japan fought against each other in the Yellow Sea. The war ended with China's defeat and Japan's occupation of Qing territories in Korea and Taiwan, and made this conflict the first worldwide application of the Geneva Convention to a land and naval war. Looking at the Japanese adoption of Western models, researchers often underline the commitment by the Japanese to emulate and surpass Western standards.⁹² From the beginning the Red Cross Society was included in the Japanese army to represent its support for Western-style medical advancement.⁹³ At the time of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), the work of both the Russian and Japanese Red Cross Societies was perceived as modern and progressive by

⁸⁹ John F. Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross* (Westview Press, Boulder 1996), 182.

⁹⁰ Johannes Paulmann, "Conjunctures in the History of International Humanitarian Aid during the Twentieth Century" *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* Vol. 4, no.2 (2013): 224.

⁹¹ Sho Konishi, "The Emergence of an International Humanitarian Organization in Japan: The Tokugawa Origins of the Japanese Red Cross," *The American Historical Review* Vol. 119, no. 4 (2014): 1130.

⁹² Douglas Howland, "Japan's Civilized War: International Law as Diplomacy in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895)," *Journal of the History of International Law. Revue d'histoire du droit international* Vol. 9, no. 2 (2007): 200.

⁹³ Aya Takahashi, *The Development of the Japanese Nursing Profession. Adopting and Adapting Western Influences* (London, 2004), 96.

contemporary observers, such as foreign military attachés.⁹⁴ However, as Sho Konishi suggests in a recent publication, the historical circumstances of Japan's rise to a world power and Western perceptions of Japan allowed historians of the Red Cross Movement to forget the early approval shown by the West of Japanese progressiveness. The strongly nationalistic goals of its government, which guided the mission of the Japanese Red Cross, became interpreted as a lack of humanitarian sentiment among the Japanese people.⁹⁵

Examining the development of humanitarian organizations in China, my thesis explores the influence of more traditional commitments on the part of Chinese people to alleviate suffering, by emphasizing the role of faith-based groups. The Daoyuan and the Red Swastika Society were closely connected religious and philanthropic agencies, but they were not the same and under pressure of the Nationalist government's ban on spirit writing the Red Swastika became the official representative of the network.⁹⁶ My thesis reveals that the Red Swastika succeeded in transforming its agenda and implemented regulations to standardize the spirit writing ritual to gain recognition during the Nanjing Decade (1927-1937).

The introduction of Red Cross aspects into the agenda of a faith-based humanitarian agency, contradicts the depiction of the Red Cross Movement as a secular project, but confirms the argument of Alastair and Joey Agar who propose regarding humanitarianism as functionally secular while permeated by religious values.⁹⁷ Agar and Agar propose that the development of Red Cross ideology gradually marginalized the impact of Christianity in the formation of professional humanitarian aid as modern humanitarianism was increasingly understood as part of a secular state-building process in Western societies. The narrative of modern humanitarian aid as 'secular humanitarianism' underpinned by an ideology that claims its origins in Christianity, but which explains modern humanitarian activities as detached from religion, is according to the authors not well suited to assess faith-based humanitarian relief and its contribution to the growth of international humanitarianism.⁹⁸ Therefore, the examination of the approach of a faith-based group toward the Red Cross allows us to assess how the Red

⁹⁴ Claire Herrick, "The Conquest of the Silent Foe: British and American Military Reform Rhetoric and the Russo-Japanese War" in *Medicine and Modern Warfare*, ed. R. Cooter (Amsterdam, 1999), 100.

⁹⁵ Konishi, "The Emergence of an International Humanitarian," 1132.

⁹⁶ Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge, Mass., 2009), 61.

⁹⁷ Alastair Agar, Joey Agar, "Faith and the Discourse of Secular Humanitarianism," *Journal of Refugee Studies* Vol. 24, no. 3 (2011): 457.

⁹⁸ Agar and Agar, "Faith and the Discourse," 458.

Cross model helped develop relief services beyond the secularist model.

My thesis suggests that the crisis of the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) in particular led to decisive transformations of both projects, which reveal the importance of networks and of individual agents in providing aid for the suffering on behalf of both, the Nationalist government and the Japanese occupation regime.⁹⁹ After the initial military operations, which led to the loss of Shanghai and Nanjing at the end of 1937, the Nationalist government was forced to retreat first to Wuhan, the capital until October 1938, and then to Sichuan province in the Southwest of China, when Chongqing became the seat of government. The Communists were allied with the Nationalists, due to the alliance called Second United Front in December 1936, when Chiang Kai-shek imposed a temporary peace agreement with the Communist Party. Supporters of the united front strove for the unification of both parties and their military forces to fight Japanese aggression.¹⁰⁰ In the provinces of Sichuan, Guiyang, Guangxi, Yunnan, and Henan, which it controlled, the Nationalist government implemented a state-building program to legitimize the retreat from its previous centres of power.¹⁰¹ The Communists fought as guerrilla troops in unoccupied regions in the East, and possessed a main base in Yan'an in the northwest. Japanese military forces, meanwhile, invaded urban centres along the East coast.

The Japanese invasion of the eastern seaboard provinces was conducted from North to South from the late summer of 1937 and continued through the early 1940s. This advance into Chinese territories happened gradually, against resistance and in tension with the foreign concessions in urban centres such as in Tianjin, Shanghai, and Hong Kong. Due to the gradual expansion of Japanese rule, Northern territories were the first to fall into Japanese hands and Southern regions remained contested until the beginning of the Pacific War in 1941. From this time, Japan also came to control all of Shanghai. However, the Japanese failed to occupy all regions and under pressure from the military operations of Western powers, Japan finally lost the war in 1945.

The war had devastating effects on the Chinese population in all parts of the country to which political authorities and individuals from China and from abroad sought to respond.

⁹⁹ Tohmatsu Haruo, "The Strategic Correlation between the Sino-Japanese and Pacific Wars," in Mark Peattie ed., *The Battle for China. Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945*, (Stanford, 2011), 441. Japan's and Germany's surrender in 1945 ended the Second World War in Europe and in the Pacific. After Japan's surrender, China entered into four years of civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists, which ended in 1949 with the establishment of the People's Republic of China.

¹⁰⁰ Peter Zarrow, *China in War and Revolution, 1895-1949*, (New York Routledge 2005), 270.

¹⁰¹ Stephen R. MacKinnon, *Wuhan, 1938. War, Refugees, and the Making of Modern China* (Berkeley, 2008), 45.

Statistics relating to the number of refugees differ, but indications show that the total number of refugees was around ninety million, and they were in need of shelter and aid. Lu Liu suggests that governmental agencies in charge of refugee relocation registered 50 to 60 million refugees in 1944.¹⁰² The general deterioration of living conditions led to the outbreak of epidemics and biological warfare became just as deadly as the fighting that threatened millions of civilians.¹⁰³ The conditions of Chinese soldiers were no better. Chinese soldiers fought against Japanese forces in the National Revolutionary Army loyal to Chiang Kai-shek. Affiliated troops led by local warlords joined the National Revolutionary Army in the fight against Japan. The Communists controlled the Eighth Route Army in Yan'an and the New Fourth Army, which was established in 1937 by Nationalists and Communists, but which served the Communists during the war.¹⁰⁴ The conditions for soldiers in most armies were inadequate compared to the modern military equipment used by Japan and of Western armies. Leaders of the Nationalist armies and collaborating warlords were often uninterested in improving conditions of hygiene because they lacked knowledge about the necessity of medicine.¹⁰⁵ In addition, many Chinese military units entered the war with an extremely high percentage of drafted soldiers who suffered from sickness and malnourishment.¹⁰⁶ Contemporary observers spoke of “shocking losses on the front-lines”, when they described the situation of Chinese soldiers.¹⁰⁷

Volunteers from the national Chinese Red Cross and the Red Swastika Society provided aid for civilians and soldiers under difficult war conditions. Current research on the Sino-Japanese War mainly examines the situation of political authorities and suggests that the Nationalist government succeeded in governing despite the overall exacerbation of social, political, and economic conditions. This interpretation contradicts a long-time dominant view of the regime as incapable of continuing its rule due to the exacerbation of political and social conditions during the war. Hans van de Ven's pivotal publication, *War and Nationalism*, successfully contributed to overcoming the negative bias against the Nationalists, which had been solidified by an American perspective of the wartime. Van de Ven's work examines the

¹⁰² MacKinnon, *Wuhan*, 45.

¹⁰³ R. Keith Schoppa, *In a Sea of Bitterness. Refugees during the Sino-Japanese War* (Harvard, 2012), 9.

¹⁰⁴ MacKinnon, *Wuhan*, 24.

¹⁰⁵ Chang Jui-te, “The Nationalist Army at the Eve of the War,” in *The Battle for China. Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945*, ed. M. Peattie (Stanford, 2011), 85.

¹⁰⁶ Chang, “The Nationalist Army at the Eve of the War,” 91.

¹⁰⁷ Kevin Paul Landdeck, *Under the Gun: Nationalist Military Service and Society in Wartime Sichuan, 1938-1945* (Ph.D. diss., Berkeley 2011), 4. “Official tallies indicate that China drafted a total of 14,053,988 men between 1937 and 1945, for an average of 1,5 million men annually.”

wartime politics of the Nationalists and shows that even in the last years of the war, when inflation and severe Japanese military operations limited the options of the government, mobilization measures were implemented in order to improve conditions.¹⁰⁸ Rana Mitter's research on the central government's implementation of a new administrative system based on ID-cards points in the same direction as it shows how the government implemented new measures to classify citizens and to legitimize its rule.¹⁰⁹

Looking at the situation and fall of the first wartime capital, Wuhan, Stephen MacKinnon shows that the exacerbation of conditions forced the government to respond to the humanitarian crisis.¹¹⁰ Liu Lu's thesis on governmental investment in a centralized welfare service for refugees suggests that despite effective organisations such as the National Government's Development and Relief Commission 振济委员会, which relocated nine million refugees to Western provinces, the demands of those who relocated back to the Eastern provinces at the end of the war in September 1945 exceeded the resource capacity of the central government once again.¹¹¹ I propose that the war posed huge challenges for the Red Cross and the Red Swastika, but at the same time offered members of both organizations the opportunity to demonstrate their abilities and their commitment to provide aid to the suffering in cooperation with powerholders, as well as to organize their members and supporters.

My thesis proposes that the Red Cross supplemented governmental welfare measures prioritizing the medical care of soldiers. Receiving support from abroad, physicians implemented medical and hygienic services, which were lacking in many armies. My thesis proposes that this organization's ability to realize medical aid on a considerable scale was only possible because of the engagement of medical professionals, and their foreign supporters, who helped finance the Red Cross's work in China. My thesis reveals that despite the organization's indispensable role as provider of medical aid at the front line, a subversive side-effect of Red Cross work appeared against the backdrop of the rising conflict between Nationalists and Communists as its relief work served supporters of the Communist movement in Communist-ruled territories. Foreign financial aid and support enhanced pro-Communist activities within the Red Cross. Although the post-war period showed that the Nationalists had succeeded in

¹⁰⁸ Hans J. Van de Ven, *War and Nationalism in China, 1925-1945* (London, 2003), 10.

¹⁰⁹ Rana Mitter, "Classifying Citizens in Nationalist China during World War II, 1937-1941," *Modern Asian Studies* Vol. 45, no. 2 (2011): 243.

¹¹⁰ MacKinnon, *Wuhan*, 60.

¹¹¹ Lu, "A Whole Nation Walking," 235.

establishing their influence on Red Cross affairs in 1942, the overall hardship of China's social and political landscape impeded the Red Cross from contributing to the solidification of the Nationalist's regime.

The Red Swastika Society was especially confronted with the need to adjust to the rival political powers because instead of relocating its operative centres to Free China, most Red Swastika activists and branches continued their activities in occupied zones and became co-opted by Japanese occupation forces. Research on Chinese collaboration by R. Keith Schoppa sees Chinese collaboration with Japan after 1937 as one of many adjustments to a changing context.¹¹² Ruth Rogaski points out that for certain professionals like Western-trained physicians, collaboration offered a good possibility to improve their careers, since the Japanese prioritized the dissemination of Western medicine and treatment as well as the general improvement of health and hygiene of the population. In addition, she suggests that within public health institutions "at least according to department records, the Chinese and Japanese health personnel seemed to work together in relative harmony."¹¹³ Gao Pengcheng proposes that collaboration in occupied zones built on traditional closeness between the Red Swastika and Japan.¹¹⁴

Timothy Brook examines the Red Swastika as a particular example of Chinese collaboration with Japan during the Sino-Japanese War.¹¹⁵ He suggests abandoning the ideologically fixed stereotypes of Chinese collaborators and proposes that Chinese in occupied regions acted in conditions that perhaps made their choice inescapable. His examination of the Red Swastika's leaders' motives for collaboration in Nanjing reveals that while collaboration enabled some members to improve their political and social influence, their position was insecure and at the mercy of the Japanese.¹¹⁶ As my examination of the Red Swastika in occupied zones demonstrates, Red Swastika members and other philanthropists were co-opted by Japanese efforts at state-building, which emphasized shared cultural links between Japan and China, but which sought to suppress subversive practices such as spirit writing at the same

¹¹² R. Keith Schoppa, "Patterns and Dynamics of Elite Collaboration in Occupied Shaoxing County," in *Chinese Collaboration: The Limits of Accommodation*, ed. D. Barrett (Stanford, 2001), 157.

¹¹³ Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-port China* (Berkeley, 2004), 270.

¹¹⁴ 高鹏程, *红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究1922-1949* (合肥, 2011); Gao Pengcheng, *The Red Swastika Society and its Social Relief Enterprise 1922-1949* (Hefei, 2011), 175.

¹¹⁵ Timothy Brook, "Chinese Collaboration in Nanking," in *The Nanking Atrocity, 1937-38. Complicating the Picture*, ed. B. T. Wakabayashi (Oxford, 2007), 140.

¹¹⁶ Brook, "Occupation State Building," 22.

time.¹¹⁷ Hence, while the Red Swastika experienced a reevaluation of its religious traditions, spiritual aspects were separated and adjusted to the Japanese state-building project.

Looking at the activities of branches and members in Chinese territories, my thesis reveals a so far not considered contribution of the Red Swastika to humanitarian aid on behalf of the Nationalist government, with whom it maintained contact through members of the government such as Wang Zhengting. A connection between the Red Swastika Society and the Nationalist government had already been established in the 1930s and this did not break up with the war, although most of its branches were in occupied territories.¹¹⁸ The Red Swastika's contribution depended on the voluntary activism of individual members and was limited by the hard wartime conditions. In 1948 a formal relationship with the Nationalist government was reestablished with a new, post-war agenda when the Red Swastika declared that it pursued only a philanthropic mission. Yet, the situation changed after the Communist takeover of power in 1949. While the Red Cross continued to be recognized by the Communists, the Red Swastika Society disappeared from the mainland in 1953. Thus, while current research on redemptive societies by Stephen Smith shows that even during the Communist era redemptive societies remained an integral part of Chinese religious culture due to their ability to adjust to changing political environments, the Red Swastika's ban from the mainland demonstrates that it continued to be regarded as threat to Communist control over religious groups.¹¹⁹

II. Historiography of the Chinese Red Cross Society

Analyzing the Red Cross in China, my thesis builds on previous research in both in English and Chinese language but also departs from existing publications. The most comprehensive examination of China's Red Cross in English is that of Caroline Reeves, whose research focuses on the early emergence and evolution of the Red Cross during the Republican era through the Nanjing Decade. In her PhD thesis *The Power of Mercy*, Reeves examines the

¹¹⁷ Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity*, 250.

¹¹⁸ 弘道展慈，香江道慈八十年，香港道远，香港红卍字会字会，（香港 2011），20. Hong Kong Daoyuan, Hong Kong Swastika Society, *The Great Dao Benevolence, Eighty Years of Philanthropy in Hong Kong*, (Hong Kong 2011), 20.

¹¹⁹ Stephen Smith, "Redemptive Societies and the Communist State, 1949 to the 1980s," in *Maoism at the Grassroots: Everyday Life in China's Era of High Socialism*, ed. J. Brown and M. D. Johnson ed., (Harvard University Press, 2015), 340-364.

Red Cross in China from the efforts of missionaries who established the first Red Cross hospitals in 1895, until the end of the Nanking Decade in 1937. She argues that since the beginning of Chinese investment in the Red Cross in 1904, this society enabled social elites to put forth their modernizing visions of the country. With respect to the decline of private influence over Red Cross affairs in favour of the extension of state influence during the Nanjing Decade, Reeves suggests that this influence reflected the nature of the country's civil society, which developed as an intermediary realm connected with the state.¹²⁰

In another contribution, Reeves examined the techniques deployed by the Red Cross to support an argument that the agency pursued modernization and promoted the creation of national consciousness after 1911. Burial units used new media to give their work a meaning that symbolized new national identity. The author shows that burial units combined modern techniques like disinfection and photography with traditional practices such as bone disposal, and that their work was an “imprimatur of modernity on the society”. Reeves concludes that not only were the dead bestowed with a new symbolism, as heroes dying for the nation, but that the Red Cross volunteers fulfilled duties as new citizens of a modern nation.¹²¹ My thesis proposes that Shen's aspiration to accelerate the emergence of a new national consciousness through voluntary participation envisaged more than it accomplished because of the obstacles he encountered in the conduct of his mission.

While my examination concurs with Reeves' suggestion about the readiness of Red Cross leaders to intensify the cooperation with the government during the Nanjing Decade, it highlights the fact that the relationship between the agency and the government entailed conflict because the civil activism of the Red Cross began to exceed loyalty to the Nationalist government. Thus, while civic activists supported stronger involvement of the state in the Red Cross work because it guaranteed resources and affirmed the value of their organization, their cooperation with foreign sponsors, for example American, complicated their loyalty to the Nationalist government and even seemed to facilitate the at the time governmentally forbidden support for the Communist party and its followers.

My thesis builds on John Watt's study of the conflict between the Red Cross and Chiang

¹²⁰ Caroline Reeves, “The Power of Mercy: The Chinese Red Cross Society, 1900-1937,” (Ph. D. diss., Harvard University, 1998), 169.

¹²¹ Caroline Reeves, “Grave Concerns: Bodies, Burial, and Identity in Early Republican China,” in *Cities in Motion: Interior, Coast, and Diaspora in Transnational China*, ed. D. Strand (Berkeley, 2007), 52.

Kai-shek during the Sino-Japanese War and contends that the whole Red Cross network was implicated in political mobilization during the war.¹²² Watt argues Nationalists and Communists used medical provision to mobilize the population for their causes. His study argues that war provoked a competition in the use of Western and Chinese drugs and treatment. Watt concludes that the conflict between Lin Kesheng, the head of the Red Cross medical department at the time, and Chiang Kai-shek demonstrated the Nationalists' incapacity to establish a functioning medical system in the face of political conflicts. Analysing the establishment of a new wartime Red Cross network in the provinces that were under the control of the Nationalist Party, I propose that loyalty to Chiang predominated across the board. The analysis of this development reveals that the intense politicization of medical provision sometimes impeded and sometimes strengthened careers too.

Chinese research on the Red Cross during the Republican era comprises an extensive analysis of archival materials such as reports and newsletters published by the Red Cross. These materials inform Red Cross members and donors about activities and their outcomes. Publications of the Chinese Red Cross included the *Humanitarian Guide* 人道指南, published once in March 1913, the *Chinese Red Cross Society Magazine* 中国红十字会杂志, published twice in 1913, the *Red Cross Monthly Journal* 中国红十字会月刊, which comprised 23 issues between 1921 and 1923, the *Twentieth Anniversary of the Chinese Red Cross Society Report* 中国红十字会20周年纪念册, published in 1924, the *China Red Cross Society Monthly Journal* 中国红十字会月刊, published from 1935 to 1940, the special wartime publication *Conference Report* 会务通讯, and the *Red Cross Monthly Journal* 红十字月刊, which was published from 1946 to 1948. A reproduction of these materials titled *The Selected Historical Materials of the Chinese Red Cross Society* 中国红十字会历史资料选编 was published in 1993 by the Chinese Red Cross Society. It offers a variety of Red Cross primary materials but no analysis.¹²³

Based on this collection, Chi Zihua 池子华 published his pivotal analysis *Red Cross and Modern China* 红十字与近代中国 in 2003, which analyses the group during the Republican era.¹²⁴ In his publication, Chi creates a comprehensive examination of the Red Cross considering its origins and its main fields of activities. In doing so, Chi establishes a narrative of

¹²² John Watt, *Saving Lives in Wartime China. How Medical Reformers Built Modern Healthcare Systems Amid War and Epidemics, 1928-1945* (Leiden, 2014), 149.

¹²³ 中国红十字会, *中国红十字会历史资料选编 (1904-1949)*, (南京, 1993). Central Committee of the Chinese Red Cross Society, ed., *Selected Historical Materials of the Chinese Red Cross Society*, (Nanjing, 1993).

¹²⁴ 池子华, *红十字与近代中国* (合肥, 2003); Chi Zihua, *Red Cross and Modern China*, (Hefei, 2003).

the Red Cross as a unique humanitarian body in Chinese history. He suggests that its particularity results from the investment of private philanthropists, of reform-oriented officials, and the dedicated support of the population for its manifold activities. The author uses many contemporary newspaper articles to demonstrate the vivid, and for him unprecedented, participation of the humanitarian organization in China's nascent public sphere.¹²⁵

Chi proposes that philanthropists used this humanitarian group's activities as a vehicle to accelerate a Western-style transformation of the country through the dissemination of Western medicine. In a newer publication, however, Chi amended his position proposing a more nuanced view on the regional development. In his 2012 published publication *Regional Studies of the Chinese Red Cross Movement* 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, he concludes that while the Red Cross contributed to the transformation of society in urban and wealthy centres such as Shanghai, in less urbanized regions, where the medical infrastructure relied mainly on traditional practices, Red Cross branches were sometimes combined with institutions that used traditional medicine.¹²⁶ Another important publication about the Red Cross is the book *Research on the Early Development of the Chinese Red Cross* 中国红十字会初期发展之研究 published in 2007 by Zhang Jianqiu 张建球. Zhang offers an equally comprehensive elaboration of the progress of the Chinese Red Cross in the Republican era and proposes that its work remarkably differed from that of traditional societies.¹²⁷

III. Historiography of the Red Swastika Society

Research on the Daoyuan and Red Swastika Society in English includes approaches from scientific disciplines such as history and the social sciences. Historians scrutinize the Daoyuan's and Red Swastika's relationship with political authorities and examine their progress against the backdrop of the rise of nationalism and Japanese occupation of Chinese territories. Approaches from sociology and religion aim to define redemptive societies as religious groups in China and integrate them through a precise classification into the history of religion in the country.

¹²⁵ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 115.

¹²⁶ 池子华, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究(合肥, 2012). Chi Zihua, *Regional Studies of the Chinese Red Cross Movement*, (Hefei, 2012).

¹²⁷ 张建球, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, (北京, 2007). Zhang Jianqiu, *Research on the Early Development of the Chinese Red Cross*, (Beijing, 2007).

Prasenjit Duara's initial research on redemptive societies in China explores how ideas of nationalism interacted with notions of transnationalism in Asia, especially Pan-Asianism, in the twentieth century. In his article, *Transnationalism and the Predicament of Sovereignty: China, 1900-1945*, Duara proposes that redemptive societies in China and Japan sought to break through contemporary notions of nationalism and create a different, universal, unity based on inter-cultural exchange. Duara suggests that the modernization project of the Nationalist government strove to contain the transnational mission of these societies as it sought to impose a standardized and legal frame on their religious teaching.¹²⁸ In a later article, *The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism*, the author extends his interpretation of redemptive societies and suggests that they represented a particular formation of discourses about Asian civilization.¹²⁹ He proposes that as discourses about modernity entered China since the late Qing period, new religious movements adjusted to the currents of their time.

Duara's initial research was enlarged by the research on the history of religion in China. Research into redemptive societies from the perspective of the history of religion is offered by David A. Palmer and Vincent Goossaert in their publication *The Religious Question in Modern China*.¹³⁰ The authors develop a perspective on the Chinese religious field as it interacted with modernizing processes from the late Qing period. In his recent article, *Chinese Redemptive Societies and Salvationist Religion: Historical Phenomenon or Sociological Category*, Palmer creates a preliminary analytical category that places redemptive societies within studies of Chinese religion, history of modern China, and the general study of religion. Proposing that redemptive societies represented a particular development of Chinese salvationist religious strands, the author views the strong reformatory change of social and political conditions as the foundation that fuelled the emergence of groups that offered stability.¹³¹

Chinese research on the Daoyuan and the Red Swastika is still dominated by the interpretation of redemptive societies as oppositional to the country's social and political modernization. For example, Chinese historians like Lu Zhongwei argue that redemptive societies were feudal, superstitious, and that the religion cheated the population. For him, the

¹²⁸ Prasenjit Duara, "Transnationalism and the Predicament of Sovereignty: China, 1900-1945," *American Historical Review* Vol. 102, No. 4 (October, 1997): 1030-1051.

¹²⁹ Prasenjit Duara, "The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism," *Journal of World History* Vol. 12, no. 1, (Spring 2001): 99-130.

¹³⁰ Vincent Goossaert and David A. Palmer, *The Religious Question in Modern China* (Chicago, 2011).

¹³¹ David A. Palmer, "Chinese Redemptive Societies and Salvationist Religion: Historical Phenomenon or Sociological Category?," *Minsu Quyi* Vol. 172, no. 6 (2001): 21-72.

foundation of new religious movements was nothing but a sign of the elites taking advantage of those in need.¹³² Shao proposes that these groups betrayed the population because although they mitigated the poor conditions of Chinese society, they disseminated the by Communists as feudal and backward regarded thoughts.¹³³ Gao Pengcheng's extensive examination of the Red Swastika's philanthropic activities offers a more nuanced view of the group, but he argues that supporters of the Daoyuan were not agents of modernization because they were attached to their privileges and opposed societal reforms.¹³⁴

My thesis demonstrates that the Red Swastika not only succeeded in adjusting to Japanese state-building programs, but also to Chinese governmental plans. For example, current research such as Sun Jiang's recent article *The Predicament of a Redemptive Religion: The Red Swastika Society under the Rule of Manchukuo* concentrates on the growth of the Red Swastika's network in Manchukuo after 1932, but does not consider the simultaneous growth of the network in Chinese territories.¹³⁵ In contrast, my thesis proposes that the Red Swastika succeeded in adjusting its religious practices to the vision of the Nationalist government and in cooperating with various supporters its members offered indispensable help for a large number of suffering in territories controlled by the Chinese government.

¹³² Lu Zhongwei, "Huidaomen in the Republican Period," *Chinese Studies in History* 44, no. 1–2 (2010): 11.

¹³³ 绍雍, *中国近代会道门史* (合肥, 2010), 306. Shao Yong, *The Modern History of Huidaomen in China*, (Hefei, 2010), 164.

¹³⁴ 高鹏程, *红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究1922-1949* (合肥, 2011); Gao Pengcheng, *The Red Swastika Society and its Social Relief Enterprise 1922-1949* (Hefei, 2011), 156.

¹³⁵ Sun, "The Predicament of a Redemptive Religion," 115.

Chapter One

Establishing a National Red Cross

1.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the evolution of the Red Cross project from the Russo-Japanese War (1904 -1905) until 1912, the year in which the national Red Cross was recognized in China and by the International Committee. As of 1904, Chinese philanthropists began to strive for the creation of a national Red Cross because they regarded it as useful to accelerate political and social transformation. As Caroline Reeves has demonstrated, the very first Red Cross hospitals had already been created during the Battle of Yingkou in 1894 in the provinces of Shenyang and Shandong, and in the cities of Tianjin and Beijing by medical missionaries.¹³⁶ This happened around ten years before the Shanghai International Red Cross was founded. These medical offices did not form an officially recognized network after their assignment, but became integrated into the network of the Shanghai International Red Cross during the Russo-Japanese War.

The first part of the chapter reveals how the activities of the board of the Shanghai International Red Cross started a national Red Cross in China. In 1904, the number of foreigners in the leadership of the Shanghai International Red Cross surpassed the number of Chinese, but participation of Chinese elites and officials marked a starting point for the Chinese to exert influence in the organization. Philanthropists like Shen Dunhe increased their influence on the Red Cross as could officials like Lü Haihuan and Sheng Xuanhuai and achieved recognition by the Qing government, which had been reluctant to adhere to the Geneva Convention until then.¹³⁷

In the second part, this chapter examines Chinese support for the Red Cross during the Xinhai Revolution, which provoked the fall of the Qing dynasty. The growing support for the Red Cross happened prior to the emergence of a new political order. This chapter shows that during the revolution Chinese support for the Red Cross grew, but foreign experts remained

¹³⁶ Caroline Reeves, "The Power of Mercy: The Chinese Red Cross Society, 1900-1937," (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1998), 36.

¹³⁷ Caroline Reeves, "From Red Crosses to Golden Arches. China, the Red Cross, and the Hague Peace Conference, 1899-1900," in *Interactions. Transregional Perspectives on World History*, ed. J. H. Bentley (Honolulu, 2005), 67.

crucial supporters not only during that time and in the years that followed. A Chinese-led national Red Cross was founded after the abdication of the Qing in 1912 and recognized by China's Republican president Yuan Shikai and the International Committee in Geneva as a national Red Cross. After its recognition, the Red Cross became part of the Ministry of Land and Sea Armies, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of the Interior and was placed under the command of the Ministry of Land and Sea Armies during armed conflicts. The Red Cross was related to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs due to its representative role in the network of the International Committee. Further, the Ministry of the Interior acknowledged it as a national relief society. Although this process anchored the Red Cross in China's governmental institutions in Beijing, the affiliation did not weaken the strong influence of local elites, who chaired the administrative centre in Shanghai, the Central Committee.

As this chapter demonstrates, support for the Red Cross by reform-oriented elites consisted of a variety of expectations about what the Red Cross would achieve, but only some of which were fulfilled. While male supporters such as Shen were able to increase their social influence through their engagement with the Red Cross, Chinese women were less able to occupy leading positions in the organisation because of the weak acceptance of women's professionalization and public activities at the time. Despite Chinese nurses' and Chinese female revolutionaries' support for the Red Cross during the Xinhai Revolution, women remained only marginally involved in the work of the organization.

1.2 Setting the Red Cross in Motion

Reform-oriented elites, who were concerned with China's political and social situation set up the Shanghai International Red Cross after the outbreak of the armed conflict between Russian and Japanese armies in China's Northern territories. The growing foreign influence in the economically strong urban centres and the imposition of monetary claims after the Boxer War (1900-1901) not only weakened the late Qing government, but the already unstable new republican system. Reformers who wanted to accelerate the establishment of a nationally recognized Red Cross also strove to strengthen the nation.

Not only did Western missionaries advocate for the creation of a national Red Cross but so did Chinese missionaries. On many occasions, Chinese elites such as merchants and

intellectuals, who travelled abroad to study at European or American universities, learned about the politics of other governments and promoted the establishment of a national Red Cross before this vision was realized. For example, Sun Gan 孙淦, a merchant from Shanghai, often travelled to Japan where he encountered the work of the Japanese Red Cross, which had been established in 1877.¹³⁸ Sun submitted a petition to the Qing court and asked for support in the establishment of a modern relief society in China.¹³⁹ Others published articles in the daily newspaper Shenbao in 1898 and 1899, which introduced the work of the Red Cross.¹⁴⁰ For instance, Sun Yat-sen, the famous anti-Qing revolutionary and leader of the country, translated a book written by doctors of the British Red Cross, *The Red Cross Ambulance Law* 红十字会救伤第一法.¹⁴¹ This book introduced 57 topics regarding the work of the Red Cross such as the origins of humanitarianism, medical aid on the battlefield, and the work of women for the Red Cross.

Others, like reform-oriented members of the Qing government, issued petitions to the Emperor and campaigned for the recognition of International Humanitarian Law. For instance, the Qing diplomat for Russia and Europe, Yang Ru, supported the acknowledgment of the Hague Treaty which would guarantee assistance for those wounded on the battlefield carried out by the Red Cross.¹⁴² Nevertheless, Yang's appeal remained fruitless. Although the Qing government recognized the Geneva Convention in 1899, it did not subscribe to International Humanitarian Law. The conservatives at the court were not interested in the establishment of a Red Cross Society because it would require the creation of a legal framework that stipulated that ministries and institutions needed to supervise the work of the Red Cross such as the Ministry of Land and Sea Armies.¹⁴³ Hence, despite a growing awareness of the usefulness of a Red Cross Society in China, these calls for reform did not motivate the government to make a move at that moment.

As Caroline Reeves demonstrates, members of the Western community were the first to

¹³⁸ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 12.

¹³⁹ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 14.

¹⁴⁰ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 8.

¹⁴¹ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 11.

¹⁴² Reeves, "From Red Crosses to Golden Arches," 67. According to Reeves, Yang even pursued the acculturation of the Red Cross by proposing a culturally specific symbol such as the zhong 中 instead of a cross on the banners at the conference.

¹⁴³ Reeves, "From Red Crosses," 74.

decide to establish Red Cross hospitals during the First Sino-Japanese War.¹⁴⁴ According to the newspaper North China Herald, American Baptists, Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, Methodists, and Presbyterians were among those who invested in the first Red Cross hospitals in order to improve the medical treatment of the wounded and refugees and to introduce a Western model.¹⁴⁵ In 1894, missionaries established a hospital in Yingkou 营口, the 营口红十字会医院, which had started as a small facility with one service room. During the war, it transformed into a three-room hospital which treated over 1000 Chinese soldiers.¹⁴⁶ The largest among these early Red Cross hospitals was in Tianjin. This local Red Cross, which was also called the Independent Red Cross Society 独立红十字会 cooperated with the Methodist hospital for women 女子医院, the London Mission Hospital 伦敦会医院, and two other local hospitals which were run by medical missionaries.¹⁴⁷ One reason for the hospital's emphasis on medical aid in the first place — instead of religious conversion — was the considerable number of wounded soldiers who needed medical treatment and the limited facilities that could offer medical aid. The extreme demand for relief and the exhausting implementation of helping measures meant there was no room for religious activities. Other reasons for the lack of proselytizing goals were the diverse religions of the participating missionaries.

A first Red Cross organization, whose activities bypassed the local provision of medical aid, was founded in 1904. Chinese and foreign philanthropists decided to establish a Red Cross Society when Russia and Japan were extending their influence into Manchuria, which they regarded as ruled by their country. It was in Manchuria that Russian and Japanese armies fought in 1904 and 1905, a location originally under the influence of the Qing.¹⁴⁸ Due to the Qing's weak international recognition as a sovereign state at the time, Russia and Japan both ignored the Qing's territorial rights and fought for supremacy in Manchuria. Thus, when initial efforts to provide for the population failed because military authorities from both parties denied helpers to entry into the war zone, a group of philanthropists in Shanghai decided to establish a Red Cross group that would apply International Humanitarian Law, and which would be acknowledged by the belligerent parties.

¹⁴⁴ Reeves, "The Power of Mercy," 33.

¹⁴⁵ Reeves, "The Power of Mercy," 38.

¹⁴⁶ 周秋光, 红十字会在中国 (1904-1927), 人民出版社 (上海, 2008), 6. Zhou Qiuguang, *Red Cross in China 1904-1927*, (Shanghai, 2008), 6.

¹⁴⁷ Zhou, 红十字会在中国, 12.

¹⁴⁸ Harold Z. Schiffrin, "The Impact of the Russo-Japanese War on China," in *The Impact of the Russo-Japanese War*, ed. Rotem Kowner (London, 2007), 169.

Among those who participated in the establishment of the Red Cross was Shen Dunhe 沈敦和 (1866-1920) who is recognized today as the most important figure in the early history of the Red Cross in China. Shen came from a tea merchant family in Zhejiang, Ningbo and studied law in England. After his return to China, he was appointed to several influential positions such as director of the Office of Foreign Affairs in Hebei and in Shanxi, director of the University of Shanxi and of Jiangnan, director of the Military Department in Wusong, director of the Jiangsu Railway Company, director of the Centre Office of Commerce, honorary manager of the Panama Export Association, and member of the Shanghai Customs Office. Shen was the author of several books about foreign affairs in other countries such as the *Introduction into Russia's Foreign Affairs* 俄罗斯国际略, *Introduction into English Foreign Affairs* 英吉利国际略, *Introduction into the German Military System* 德国军制述要, and *Western Methods for Self-Strengthening Armies* 自强军西法类.¹⁴⁹ Shen was also connected to one of first American projects in China, the Central China Famine Relief Committee. The Committee began operating in 1906 and elected nine chairmen, one of whom was Shen.¹⁵⁰

Another influential person who participated in the Shanghai International Red Cross was the Baptist Timothy Richard. Richard was an influential missionary who had very good connections to leading elites of China's society who facilitated the transfer of Western knowledge to China. In addition, he had contact with members of the Qing government. Richard was extraordinarily committed to reforming Chinese society due to his experience with severe natural catastrophes in Northern China, which convinced him that the country needed to implement reforms to ensure the long-lasting improvement of social conditions and to limit the effects of natural catastrophes.¹⁵¹ Richard's concern for the improvement of philanthropy started with his experience of the Great Famine in 1876.¹⁵² He was, like other missionaries, interested in cooperating with Chinese elites to disseminate Western knowledge and to spread Christianity, which he regarded as foundational to understanding Western culture.¹⁵³ In 1881, Richard published an article titled *Present Needs* in the Chinese language newspaper *Wanguo Gongbao* in which he addressed the importance of reforms to achieve long-term change.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 24.

¹⁵⁰ Brewer, "From Philanthropy to Reform," 79.

¹⁵¹ Paul Richard Bohr, *Famine in China and the Missionary. Timothy Richard as Relief Administrator and Advocate of National Reform 1876-1884* (Harvard, 1972), 160.

¹⁵² Janku, "The Internationalisation of Disaster Relief," 6.

¹⁵³ Brewer, "From Philanthropy to Reform," 10.

¹⁵⁴ Bohr, *Famine in China*, 161.

Richard also collaborated with the Presbyterian missionary Gilbert Reid who, like Richard, pursued the objective of introducing Western knowledge into China through cooperation between missionaries and social elites.¹⁵⁵ Both were very influential and honoured foreigners among Chinese elites and possessed very good connections with leading Chinese elites. Nevertheless, their attempts to disseminate Western knowledge by cooperating with elites and using their social position were opposed by other missionaries who felt that the Gospel should mainly be spread to the poor.¹⁵⁶ Both Reid and Richard retreated from their work for the church for this reason, but also due to their interest in Chinese culture and respect for its religious traditions.¹⁵⁷ Reid concretized his vision of Sino-Western mutual understanding and cooperation in the creation of the Ministry among the Higher Classes in China. The Ministry became named International Institute of China and was officially recognized by the Qing in 1897. Its activities strengthened the exchange of knowledge between Chinese and foreign elites and significantly influenced Chinese reformers in 1898. Suppression of the reform movement forced Reid to relocate the Institute to Shanghai, where it became re-approved both by the Qing in 1909 and by the new republic in 1914. In the urban centre, the Institute introduced Western and Chinese elites to each other and promoted the values of both cultures to ameliorate understanding between Westerners and Chinese people. Among those who frequently visited the Institute were philanthropists, like Richard and Shen, who knew about the Red Cross and its value for the country.¹⁵⁸

Initially the Shanghai initiative was called the Three Northern Provinces Red Cross Relief Society 东三省红字会普济善会 and was established on March 3, 1904 by the philanthropist Shi Zejing 施则敬 (1855-1924), a director of the Bank of China in the International Settlement at the place of the local Benevolent Hall 仁济善堂.¹⁵⁹ One week after it was founded, however, the Three Northern Provinces Red Cross Relief Society was reorganized due to Shen's initiative. The reorganization consisted of the creation of a Sino-foreign board of 45 directors, 35 of whom were foreigners and ten of whom were Chinese.

¹⁵⁵ Gilbert Reid, *Prospectus of the International Institute of China. Or, The Mission among the Higher Classes in China* (New York, 1905), 13.

¹⁵⁶ Tsou Mingteh, "Christian Missionary and Confucian Intellectual: Gilbert Reid (1857-1927) and the Reform Movement in the Late Qing," in *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, ed. D. Bays (Stanford, 1999), 80.

¹⁵⁷ Tsou, "Christian Missionary," 89.

¹⁵⁸ Reid, *Prospectus of the International Institute of China*, 20.

¹⁵⁹ Zhou, 红十字会在中国, 26.

Shen, Richard, and Shi were members of the board. They named the society the Shanghai International Red Cross 上海万国红十字 and established an office in the French Concession in the city.¹⁶⁰ The Society published statutes in local newspapers in English and Chinese and declared its commitment to the central office in Geneva and its working principles. Thus, although the majority of the directors were foreigners, crucial decisions were made by the Chinese.

Support for a national Red Cross also came from Qing elites, who were familiar with international political trends and who sought to improve China's relations with foreign countries. Members of the board, who were already well connected with members of the Qing government, approached two officials, Lü Haihuan 吕海寰 (1842-1927), an important diplomat and philanthropist, and Sheng Xuanhuai 盛宣怀 (1844-1916), who joined the board.¹⁶¹ The historian Zhang points out that the support of these officials strengthened the reputation of the Shanghai International Red Cross at the Qing court.¹⁶² While Lü was familiar with the significance of the Geneva Convention because of his work as a diplomat for the Qing in Germany, Sheng was a promoter of industrial reforms and the expansion of China's economic relations with foreign countries. Due to his influence, a new concept of state-led and merchant-managed companies was established.¹⁶³ Sheng, a major figure in Chinese history due to his political and social influence as minister of Bureau of Communication in 1911, also sponsored philanthropic institutions such as the Hall for Spreading Benevolence in Tianjin. The Hall, as Vivian Shue demonstrates, combined innovative approaches to economic activity, such as women's productivity, with traditional rituals such as Confucian festivals.¹⁶⁴ Thus, elites who supported the Red Cross did not exclusively promote Western practices, but their philanthropic institutions adhered to traditions and strove to adjust their services in accordance with the social transformation of China's urban centres. Support for the Red Cross by Chinese Lü and Sheng radiated support to the Qing court and even the conservative Empress Dowager and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs supported the work of the Shanghai International Red Cross with a considerable donation of 100,000 taels. The support of the Empress was even reported in an

¹⁶⁰ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 24.

¹⁶¹ Joseph W. Esherick, *China: How the Empire Fell* (Routledge, 2013), 12.

¹⁶² Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 27.

¹⁶³ "Sheng Hsuan-huai," in *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China Vol 3*, ed. Howard L. Boorman, Richard C. Howard, (New York, 1967), 120.

¹⁶⁴ Shue, "The Quality of Mercy," 424.

article of the New York Times.¹⁶⁵

The Shanghai International Red Cross was a particular project as it subscribed to the principles of International Humanitarian Law and the law's objective to ensure entry into war zones. The account by Richard regarding initial obstacles makes obvious, however, that reference to International Humanitarian Law in its statutes was insufficient in giving the group legitimacy.

But on our first attempt to help the Chinese, both the Russians and Japanese Ministers refused permission, though asked by the Chinese government in Peking, saying that they (Russians and Japanese) had their respective Red Cross Societies to meet all emergencies. We were therefore in a most curious position, having large funds in our hands, but without necessary authority to distribute them. I therefore wrote to a friend of mine, Mr. Webster, of the Scotch Presbyterian mission in Manchuria, stating how the Chinese government had been unsuccessful in obtaining permission for our Society to help the Chinese in Manchuria, and that we would be glad if he could suggest some way out of the difficulty. Mr. Webster therefore had a private interview with the Russian general, whom he knew personally, and pledged that it was a pity not to grant relief to the poor Chinese. The general gave him permission to distribute relief within the territory occupied by the Russians. Mr. Webster then wrote to the Japanese general, stating that since the Russian general had granted permission for International Red Cross work to be carried on among Chinese, he (Mr. Webster) felt the Japanese would not be behind the Russians out of pity for the poor Chinese sufferers.¹⁶⁶

Richard's account reveals that both powers assumed that the population was already under Russian and Japanese rule and that their national Red Cross associations would care for the people. The Shanghai International Red Cross combined its activity with a political function to oppose the Russian and Japanese positions. In fact, the Shanghai International Red Cross could reach the North where it had established medical offices to care for Chinese refugees, with the help of missionaries.¹⁶⁷ Worthy of notice is that the Japanese Red Cross and the Russian Red Cross were active in the North where they demonstrated that the medical services

¹⁶⁵ Poultney Bigelow, "A New View of the Empress Dowager of China," *New York Times* (June 2, 1904), 1. "There could hardly have been a more startling announcement to Western ears than that made by Sir Chentung Lian Cheng at the dinner given Prince Pu Lun at Sherry's the other day namely, that the Empire of China had become a signatory of the Geneva Convention, and that the Dowager Empress had started a Chinese Red Cross organization with a subscription of 100,000 taels."

¹⁶⁶ Timothy Richard, *Forty-Five Years in China: Reminiscences* (New York, 1916), 322.

¹⁶⁷ Richard, *Forty-Five Years*, 323.

of their armies were progressive and that they adhered to the Geneva Convention.¹⁶⁸

The work of the Shanghai International Red Cross consisted of establishing medical offices in Northern regions which created the first supra-regional Red Cross network in the country. On March 15, 1904, the daily newspaper Shenbao reported the establishment of a Red Cross medical office close to the battlefield in Niuzhuang牛庄, South-eastern Manchuria (Liaodong Peninsula), where missionaries had already established a small hospital.¹⁶⁹ The office was run by six Chinese directors and five foreign directors. Other medical offices were established in Tieling 铁岭, Haicheng 海城, Shanhaiguan 山海关, and Jinling 金陵.¹⁷⁰ Another branch based on already established medical institutions emerged in Yantai 烟台, Shandong province, where missionaries had founded a Red Cross hospital during the First Sino-Japanese War.¹⁷¹ Representing an early example of adoption of Western models, the hospital remained disconnected from other institutions at first, but was then included into the Red Cross network after 1912.¹⁷² The office established in Yantai focused primarily on accommodating refugees, but it also assisted in the evacuation and repatriation of refugees back to their hometowns after the war.¹⁷³

At the start, Red Cross offices helped thousands of refugees flee the battle zone to cities further south such as Tianjin.¹⁷⁴ The Red Cross removed thousands of refugees, among whom were not only Chinese, but also Korean and Russian settlers from the battle zone, transported medicine from Shanghai to the North, and returned thousands to their homes.¹⁷⁵ As Zhou Qiuguang shows, after the armed conflict ended, 37 branches and hospitals worked for the Shanghai International Red Cross.¹⁷⁶ They provided aid to 467,000 refugees and helped over 20,000 more. For example, the branches in 新民屯 and in 沟帮子分会 cared for the relocation of refugees and for their repatriation after the end of armed conflicts. The reception of refugees and their repatriation was managed by the local authorities and the branches. The provincial

¹⁶⁸ Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity*, 214.

¹⁶⁹ Shenbao, "Report of the Niuzhuang Branch万国红十字会牛庄分会来函," 15 March 1904.

¹⁷⁰ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary Celebration of the Red Cross Society of China* (Shanghai, 1924), 2.

¹⁷¹ Reeves, "The Power of Mercy," 34.

¹⁷² 池子华, *中国红十字会运动的区域研究* (合肥, 2012). Chi Zihua, *Regional Studies of the Chinese Red Cross Movement* (Hefei, 2012), 162.

¹⁷³ Shenbao, "Report of the Niuzhuang Branch万国红十字会牛庄分会来函," 6 August 1904. And, Chi, *中国红十字会运动的区域研究*, 163.

¹⁷⁴ Reeves, "The Power of Mercy," 108.

¹⁷⁵ Shenbao, "万国红十字会牛庄分会来函Report of the Niuzhuang Branch," 15 March 1904.

¹⁷⁶ Zhou, *红十字会在中国*, 97.

government of the 奉省 established the 筹济局 which was in charge of the care for refugees and which delegated tasks such as the distribution of food, shelters and train tickets for refugees. Zhou Qiuguang suggests that these activities were coordinated with provincial authorities and that they received financial support from governmental institutions. The Liaoyang branch 辽阳 cooperated with local authorities. Further, the Post Office 中国电报局 and the Ministry of Railways 铁路部 donated and helped, for example, by allowing free transport.¹⁷⁷ Despite a limited budget and the lack of vehicles to relocate the refugees, the Xinmin branch managed to organize train tickets for 8,000 refugees in September of 1904 and another seven thousand refugees were provided with first aid and shelter at the time.¹⁷⁸

Success of the project was based on its assistance services, but also because of its growing popularity and recognition abroad.¹⁷⁹ For instance, representatives of foreign governments, for example from Britain, donated to the work of this Society. In May 1905, the Shanghai International Red Cross published its gratitude to foreign donors. In addition, foreign authorities such as the King and Queen of Great Britain welcomed representatives of the Imperial Red Cross at an international Red Cross conference in London in 1907.¹⁸⁰ Building on its success, the Society invested in aid provision abroad. For instance, in April 1906 the Society sent 20,000 taels to victims of a severe earthquake in California.¹⁸¹ Thus, gaining acknowledgment from foreign governments and investing in relief abroad, the project possessed the functions of a national Red Cross.

An important turn occurred after the Qing government's full acknowledgment of the Geneva Convention and International Humanitarian Law in 1907. In this year, the former directors of the Shanghai International Red Cross and officials, Lü and Sheng established the Great Qing Red Cross Society.¹⁸² The Great Qing Red Cross extended the Shanghai International Red Cross by establishing an office in Beijing, which was directed by Lü. Shen led the Shanghai office.¹⁸³ From this moment on, the Red Cross had two administrative centres.¹⁸⁴ The tentative nature of the 1907 Great Qing Red Cross Society was demonstrated, for instance,

¹⁷⁷ Zhou, 红十字会在中国, 94.

¹⁷⁸ Zhou, 红十字会在中国, 93.

¹⁷⁹ Shenbao, “万国红十字会牛庄分会来函Report of the Niuzhuang Branch,” 25 July 1904.

¹⁸⁰ Shenbao, “万国红十字会牛庄分会来函Report of the Niuzhuang Branch,” 25 June 1907.

¹⁸¹ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 3.

¹⁸² Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 11.

¹⁸³ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 54

¹⁸⁴ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 5.

by re-emerging regulations, which were recognized by the Emperor in 1910. A decree, signed by the Emperor, incorporated the Red Cross into the governmental system and it became subordinate to the Ministry of Land and Sea Armies. Lü became responsible for the new regulations formulated as the Imperial Decree on 27 February 1910. Sheng became the new president of the Red Cross Society.¹⁸⁵

Together with institutions such as military schools, the Red Cross became an official institution of the Ministry. On 20 May 1910, the Emperor sanctioned the founding of a central office of the Red Cross in Beijing, with branch offices to be established in provincial capitals and treaty ports. The legislation promoted creating medical workers 医员, the involvement of physicians and nurses, and the creation of a laboratory 制药商 for the manufacture of medical instruments and medication. The sign of the Red Cross Society became a cross symbol surrounded by dragons of gold, silver or bronze.¹⁸⁶ The Red Cross opened its first large medical facility, the Imperial Red Cross Hospital 大清红十字医, in Shanghai in the International Settlement. Shen was the chair. Abiding by the objective to accelerate social transformation and improve professional standards, the facility encouraged the training and employment of Chinese nurses.¹⁸⁷ While these regulations demonstrated that the initial efforts of reform-oriented elites finally succeeded in combining the Red Cross with governmental institutions, the forces that were rising against the Qing interrupted the effort to create a Great Qing Red Cross.

1.3 Support during the Xinhai Revolution and the Foundation of the National Red Cross

Anti-Qing opposition, which had arisen in many provinces during the last years of the Qing rule, reached its peak in 1911, when a rebellion in Wuchang on October 10 set off countrywide rebellions. One province after another declared independence from the Qing. Anti-Qing revolutionaries, who had operated in exile or underground, supported the efforts of revolutionaries and constitutionalists for whom the end of the Qing was the only way to strengthen their country. The countrywide revolutionary movements, which regarded the Qing as an alien dynasty under whose influence the Chinese nation suffered, were supported by the New Armies which were founded by the Qing, but which actually served regional military

¹⁸⁵ Zhou, 红十字会在中国, 46.

¹⁸⁶ Ippolit Semenovich Brunnert, *Present Day Political Organization of China* (Shanghai, 1912), 438.

¹⁸⁷ Zhou, 红十字会在中国, 47.

leaders to increase their power.¹⁸⁸ The movements corresponded with the interests of revolutionaries who sought to establish a new republican order. Nonetheless, regional power holders and their armies propelled the decentralization of the country.

During the fighting, different Red Cross agents set up temporary hospitals and new Red Cross offices were established by Chinese and foreigners. This demonstrated that the Red Cross was understood to be part of the revolution. For one thing, Shen referred to his previous cooperation with Western and Chinese philanthropists and established a new Sino-foreign board of directors, the China Red Cross International Board of Directors 中国红十字会万国董事会, which took over the management of relief during the revolution.¹⁸⁹ Shen and the Judge of the British Supreme Court for China chaired the International Board of Directors, which brought together 13 Western and Chinese physicians, and philanthropists. One member was Shi Zejing 施则敬, one of the early adherents of the Shanghai project.¹⁹⁰ The Board took responsibility for sending off units to Hankou where revolutionary armies fought against Qing loyalists from October 18 to December 1, 1911. This conflict, the Battle of Yangxia, was the largest battle of the revolution. The Board financed the establishment of a new hospital in Hankou. Furthermore, its members organized donation campaigns in Shanghai among foreign and Chinese residents during which time they collected 8,339 dollars and 4,982 taels.¹⁹¹ In Hankou and Nanjing these activities helped thousands of wounded soldiers.¹⁹²

In addition to these activities, foreign supporters and Chinese activists invested in Red Cross work. For example, during the revolution many Western physicians established Red Cross hospitals and medical offices. In 1911, after the revolution, the newspaper 民立报, one of the pro-revolutionary newspapers published a list of 19 Red Cross hospitals that were related to the network and staffed by foreigners.¹⁹³ The American-led PUMC organized units.¹⁹⁴ In Anhui, Wuhu 芜湖, a Red Cross branch was established by W. E. Hart of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission in the Wuhu General Hospital 芜湖弋矶山医院.¹⁹⁵ Chinese support for the

¹⁸⁸ Edmund S. K. Fung, *Military Dimension of the Chinese Revolution: The New Army and Its Role in the Revolution of 1911* (Canberra, 1980), 78.

¹⁸⁹ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 84.

¹⁹⁰ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 89.

¹⁹¹ Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 90.

¹⁹² Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 96.

¹⁹³ North China Herald, *The Red Cross Society of China*, 20 July 1912.

¹⁹⁴ Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 121.

¹⁹⁵ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 103.

Red Cross grew during the revolution as well. While Shen aimed to achieve international and national recognition of the Red Cross, which had been planned for a long time, the motives of other Chinese show that a growing number of people strove for the country's social and political advancement. Tellingly, a considerable number of Chinese women, trained as nurses and physicians in Western medical institutions, established Red Cross offices during the revolution and even founded new Red Cross units. These women decided not only to treat wounded soldiers, but also to do so in the name of the Red Cross. In Changshu 常熟, Jiangsu province, the nurse Hui Lianjun 惠莲君, established a temporary Red Cross hospital. In Jiangxi, Jiujiang, Chinese nurses like the Western trained Shi Meiyu 石美玉 (Mary Stone, 1873-1954) and Kang Aide 康爱德 (Ida Kahn, 1873-1931) founded a Red Cross office in the local hospital of the American Methodists Mission.¹⁹⁶

Shi Meiyu was a local from Jiujiang who had studied medicine at the University of Michigan. Shi was a baptized Christian and worked as medical missionary for the Methodist Episcopal Church in Jiujiang after her return to China. As one of the first Chinese nurses working for the Church, Shi was recognized by the mission and could pursue her career, for example she was appointed as superintendent of the Elizabeth Skelton Hospital in Jiujiang. In this position, Shi, who was called Dr. Stone, supervised the training of other Chinese nurses, which amounted to more than 500 over 20 years of work at this hospital.¹⁹⁷

Shi, and her friend Kang, who had also graduated from the University of Michigan, represented those Chinese nurses who took on Christian values. Both promoted the blending of nursing and proselytization.¹⁹⁸ Shi and Kang's activism fuelled conflicts with another female Red Cross activists in Jiujiang, such as Cai Hui 蔡惠, who considered the Red Cross to be a way to overcome Western dominance of China's political affairs. Cai returned to China from Japan during the revolution and campaigned for the Red Cross. She became the director of the Jiujiang branch that had been established by the nurses Shi and Kang. She campaigned for the office and collected donations to buy medicine. Cai was also a member of the Tongmenghui Society, a secret resistance party founded by Sun Yat-sen and Song Jiaoren during their exile in

¹⁹⁶ Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 98.

¹⁹⁷ "Shih Mei-yü," in *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China Vol. 3*, ed. Howard L. Boorman, Richard C. Howard, (New York, 1967), 120.

¹⁹⁸ For Shi Meiyu, see <http://www.bdcconline.net/en/stories/s/shi-meiyu.php> (retrieved 17 February 2007). For Kang Aide, see Hu Ying, "Naming the 'First Women'," in *Rethinking the 1898 Reform Period: Political and Cultural Change in Late Qing China*, ed. R. E. Karl (Harvard, 2002), 192.

Japan.

Regarding the establishment of a national Red Cross to limit foreign influence on the country, Cai argued that the Red Cross should be separated from the Methodist Episcopal Church in Jiujiang, which had established and provided the office. In contrast to Shi and Kang, Cai opposed the Red Cross' cooperation with the Methodist Mission's local hospital. In her view, the Red Cross was supposed to strengthen China and be independent from Western influence. However, the Jiujiang Red Cross' cooperation with the American mission did not break, because the American mission's work was too crucial to the hospital.¹⁹⁹ Cai was replaced as director of the Red Cross branch by Jiang Chuming 江楚鸣, a local male philanthropist who also donated a generous sum in 1911.²⁰⁰ Despite her limited influence on the local Red Cross, Cai's ambitions makes clear that she saw the Red Cross as a way to empower China.

Other Chinese women established their own Red Cross groups during the revolution. The Red Cross Society that was established by Zhang Zhujun 张竹君, a graduate from a Christian medical school in Guangzhou, was not only unique because it represented women's participation in public affairs, but also because Zhang's objective was to achieve recognition from Geneva.²⁰¹ Even before the Xinhai Revolution, Zhang had engaged in public speaking in Guangzhou, where she advocated for the need for reforms such as women's professional training. In Shanghai, newspapers referred to her as China's Florence Nightingale. A short time before the revolution, Zhang founded a Red Cross Society 中国赤十字会 in Shanghai that used the Japanese character for the colour red 赤 in its name instead of the Chinese character for red 红. This Society mainly employed women, primarily trained as nurses or physicians in foreign medical institutions.²⁰² After the outbreak of armed conflicts, her group actively participated in assisting the wounded on the battlefield. For example, the Shenbao reported on October 25, 1911 that this Red Cross sent over four hundred workers to Hankou.²⁰³ Nevertheless, despite Zhang's vital engagement, Shen's previously established contact with officials solidified his advantage for the recognition from the International Committee in Geneva.

¹⁹⁹ Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 86.

²⁰⁰ Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 91.

²⁰¹ 池子华, 张竹君与中国红赤字会, 池子华, 中国红十字运动史散论 (安徽, 2009), 25; Chi Zihua, "Zhang Zhujun and the Chinese Red 赤 Cross," in Chi Zihua ed., *Essays on the history of the Chinese Red Cross Movement* (Anhui, 2009), 25.

²⁰² Dagongbao, 22 December 1911; and, Dagongbao, 13 December 1911.

²⁰³ Shenbao, 25 October 1911.

The national Red Cross Society was established after the appointment of Yuan Shikai as President of the Republic on 10 March 1912. The first assembly of the Red Cross was held in Shanghai on 23 September 1912. More than 3000 supporters such as the representatives of the government including Li Yuanhong 黎元洪, military governor of China and President of the republic in 1916, 1917, and 1922, provincial governors, delegates from the Ministry of Land and Sea Forces, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ministry of Interior, and non-official supporters took part.²⁰⁴ At this assembly, Yuan Shikai, the new president of the republic, was nominated as honorary president, Lü was re-elected as president of the Red Cross, and Shen became director of the Central Committee in Shanghai, which replaced the International Board of Directors.

Although the International Board was dissolved, foreign philanthropists such as John Calvin Ferguson, an American scholar and advisor to the Chinese government, and Gilbert Reid continued to serve as consultants.²⁰⁵ Furthermore, foreign Red Cross experts and supporters of the International Board were involved in drafting the organization's constitution and were in contact with Geneva.²⁰⁶ The first constitution 中国红十字会章程 of the Red Cross was set up at the assembly in cooperation with foreign advisors.²⁰⁷ For example, Agira Nagao, a consultant for foreign affairs of the Japanese Red Cross, drafted six articles which served as a preliminary constitution for the new Red Cross.²⁰⁸ In 1912, the president of the Japanese Red Cross, Marquis Maatsukata, informed Shen about the recognition of his Society by the International Red Cross in Geneva.²⁰⁹ Despite foreign assistance, the national Chinese Red Cross became accepted in 1912 as part of the Red Cross Movement.²¹⁰

American Red Cross supporters in particular sought to accelerate social transformation in the country through philanthropy. American investment in philanthropy in China grew from the late nineteenth century, although Americans were not the only foreigners who sought to establish long-term influence on the Chinese population through relief. The historian and

²⁰⁴ 池子华, 子辛亥革命期间中国红十字会新建分会数量考, 亥革苏州科技学院学报 Vol. 28, no. 3 (2011):25; Chi Zihua, "Examination of Numbers of Branches during the Xinhai Revolution," *Journal of Suzhou University of Science and Technology* Vol. 28, no. 3 (2011): 25.

²⁰⁵ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 129.

²⁰⁶ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 120.

²⁰⁷ Aya Takahashi, *The Development of the Japanese Nursing Profession. Adopting and Adapting Western Influences* (London, 2004), 105.

²⁰⁸ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 6.

²⁰⁹ North China Herald, "The Red Cross Society of China. Recognition at Geneva," 10 February 1912.

²¹⁰ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 6.

sinologist Thoralf Klein draws conclusions from the experiences from the Basel mission and shows that while before 1900 Western missionaries found it difficult to establish links with the local population in rural areas, after 1900, the mission's strategy emphasized cooperation.²¹¹ Further, Joseph Tse-hai Lee demonstrates that local disaster management efforts by Protestants, which he regards as a "large-scale, multi-layered organizational task that involved local communities and the transnational networks of the Christian missions", integrated church networks into the local society.²¹²

The American Red Cross was motivated by the desolate conditions of thousands of Chinese, which were reported by missionaries to the American public. Against the background of frequently occurring natural catastrophes in the country, the American Red Cross developed a mission which strove for the long-term improvement of Chinese society in cooperation with the United States government. Brewer proposes that that the close cooperation with the government helped the American Red Cross emancipate itself from missionary work and focus on developmental assistance.²¹³ By 1910 the American Red Cross had extended its involvement in foreign aid and between 1908 and 1910 had provided over one million dollars for disasters in eleven countries such as Italy, Turkey, and China.²¹⁴ The American organization regarded the revolution as a "departure towards civilization" and the creation of a Red Cross in the country as "arousing of humanitarian feeling".²¹⁵ In 1910, the American Red Cross branch from San Francisco had already sent a translation of the Red Cross charter, the by-laws of the Red Cross in America, its regulations and general literature to inform the Chinese about the establishment of a national Red Cross. Furthermore, Mabel Boardman, an American philanthropist and important leader of the American Red Cross at the time, publicly supported the activities of various Red Cross offices during the revolution of 1911.²¹⁶

Despite this foreign influence, the two operational centres in Beijing and in Shanghai, were led by the Chinese. Beijing officially became the representative centre where the president

²¹¹ Thoralf Klein, "Linking Up with Local Society. German-speaking Missionaries and Modernization in Local South China, ca. 1900-1930," in: *China Networks, Berliner China-Hefte/Chinese History and Society* 35, ed. J. Damm and M. Leutner (LIT Münster, 2009), 50.

²¹² Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, "Disaster Management and Christian Church Networks in Early Twentieth Century Chaozhou, South China," in: *China Networks, Berliner China-Hefte/Chinese History and Society* 35, ed. J. Damm and M. Leutner (LIT Münster, 2009)

²¹³ Brewer, "From Philanthropy to Reform," 55.

²¹⁴ Brewer, "From Philanthropy to Reform," 72.

²¹⁵ Brewer, "From Philanthropy to Reform," 124.

²¹⁶ Brewer, "From Philanthropy to Reform," 74.

of the Society and the delegates of the Ministries resided. The constitution regulated the involvement of government agents who participated in the assembly. For example, Wang Jiceng 王继曾 and Chen Zhengyu 陈征宇, representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, pointed out at the assembly that the national Red Cross connected the country with the central office of the Red Cross and, what is more, it was regarded as a component of the Foreign Ministry's relations with other nations. The Red Cross was thought of as a vehicle to help formalize international affairs 国际上之手续. Furthermore, the delegates agreed that at the next international Red Cross meeting, the Chinese Red Cross should be acknowledged as acting on behalf of the Ministry. Moreover, delegates of the Ministry of Interior confirmed that the Red Cross became a channel for the distribution of money in emergencies, for example.²¹⁷

Although the Ministry of Land and Sea Armies acknowledged the Red Cross and although Shen promoted the Red Cross' services for armies, the implementation of these services was impeded by the nature of Chinese armies. Tellingly, for the Red Cross, the lack of interest in the improvement of the soldiers' conditions limited the Red Cross in the conduct of its work. However, on some occasions the Red Cross served armies as seen during the Second Revolution in 1912. Pierro Rudinger, a Swiss journalist, accompanied the Burial Corps on the battlefield and revealed that despite their adherence to Western-style practices such as disinfectants, the implementation of medical services was problematic.²¹⁸ Yuan Shikai, the president of the republic and military authority who financed the work of the Red Cross Relief Corps, criticized that the organization helped also soldiers of belligerent parties.²¹⁹ Not only did the Red Cross advisor Stafford M. Cox need to justify the idea of impartiality, but the International Committee in Geneva also became involved in the explanation of these principles to the president.²²⁰ Research on the Red Cross services for armies by Reeves suggests that these services contributed to the creation of a national consciousness and that the activities of the Red Cross Burial Corps, which consisted of new aspects like photography of dead bodies, disinfection of graves, and the documentation of dead soldiers were an "imprimatur of

²¹⁷ “中国红十字会首次统一大会,” 中国红十字杂志允言, 中国红十字会历史资料选编(1904-1949), ed. 中国红十字会, (南京1993), 259. “The First General Meeting of the Chinese Red Cross,” in *Selected Historical Materials of the Chinese Red Cross Society 1904-1949*, ed. Central Committee of the Chinese Red Cross Society (Nanjing, 1993), 259.

²¹⁸ Piero Rudinger, *The Second Revolution in China, 1913. My Adventures of the Fighting Around Shanghai, the Arsenal, Woosung Forts* (New York, 1914), 17.

²¹⁹ Rudinger, *The Second Revolution in China*, 53.

²²⁰ North China Herald, “Response to the Issue of Neutrality by the President of the International Red Cross at Geneva,” 13 September 1913.

modernity” on traditional burial activities.²²¹ However, the new nature of Red Cross services and their approach suggest interpreting these activities as possessing an exemplary function, but remaining limited because of the poor help available for Chinese soldiers.

Due to limitations in serving armies, the Red Cross became mainly active in the provision of relief for civilians. Shanghai became the location of the Central Committee, which organized the members, branches, finances, and the implementation of activities. Shen and 38 other members, five of whom were elected by the Beijing office, chaired the Central Committee. The historian Zhang Jianqiu collected information about 29 of them: 13 came from Jiangsu, seven from Zhejiang, five from Guangdong, two from Anhui, one from Hebei, one from Jiangxi. Most had studied abroad. Three had previously worked for the Qing government, 18 were merchants mostly in finance, five worked in transportation and as editors and journalists of newspapers, such as the *Shenbao* and the *Xinwenbao*, and two were physicians.²²² It was due to the activities and efforts of these mainly non-governmental agents that the Red Cross was able to provide relief on many occasions. Women did not participate in the Central Committee.

From the beginning, membership fees, which could be achieved either through collection of money or through donations, were regarded as an important source of income as was agreement on different membership forms. The leaders agreed on three membership forms: the honorary, special, and ordinary membership. Honorary members were those who had managed to collect an outstanding sum of donations or who had donated more than 100 Yuan. Special memberships were given to those who collected more than 200 Yuan or who donated 200 Yuan. Ordinary members were those who contributed 25 Yuan. Thus, despite financial dependence on the ministries to which the Red Cross was subordinate and despite the often more important foreign support from Western and Japanese medical institutions, the leadership strove for the standardized management of its members, which created another important source of income. Although membership details from the early years of the Red Cross are rare, it had six special members, and 293 ordinary members from whom it received 8550 Yuan in fees in 1912.²²³

During the revolution and during the establishment of the new government in 1912,

²²¹ Reeves, “Grave Concerns,” 52.

²²² Zhang, *中国红十字会初期发展之研究*, 75.

²²³ Zhou, *红十字会在中国*, 79.

newspapers such as the Shenbao and the Dagongbao reported on the foundation of Red Cross branches in the whole country. On 8 November 1912, the Shenbao listed thirty newly created local branches in Wuchang, Guangdong, Xiamen, Tianjin, Shanxi, Taiyuan, Jinan, Fengtian, Andong, Nanchang, Yantai, Baoding, Wuhu, Chuchou, Guilin, Chaozhou, Jiujiang, Huangxian, Chengdu, Nanjing, Hangzhou, Shaoxing, Anqing, Quanshu, and Shanghai.²²⁴ Other newspapers reported about 57 Red Cross institutions as participating in relief for the wounded during the anti-Qing uprisings in many provinces of the country.²²⁵ Some branches had published their own agendas such as in the case of Tianjin. The article names Xu Qinghua 徐华清 and Sun Ziwen 孙子文 as chairmen as well as a foreign missionary called Father Lei 雷神父. In addition, in Northern regions, the Tianjin branch coordinated its own networks and had orphanages and Benevolent Halls in Tianjin and in Beijing. The unification of these branches into one Red Cross network was part of the foundation of the national Red Cross.²²⁶

1.4 Conclusion

This chapter reveals that the Chinese Red Cross was understood as part of the transformation of the society and political order. Local elites and reformers invested in the Red Cross because its mission corresponded to their vision of a modern nation that adhered to international standards. China's adoption of the Red Cross was eventually recognized nationally and internationally and during that process the Chinese gradually assumed leadership of the agency. Nevertheless, as the agency adhered to the goal of offering treatment based on Western medicine, foundational aspects of its activities such as expertise, training, and resources depended on foreign support.

As this chapter has shown, among Chinese supporters, it was primarily male members who gained recognition and profited from their engagement in the Red Cross. For example, Shen's reputation grew with this success after 1912. In 1913, the Shenbao announced the publication of his biography by a Japanese company, which highlighted his social status and

²²⁴ Dagongbao, 8 November, 1912.

²²⁵ Chi, “子辛亥革命期间中国红十字会新建分会数量考,” 28.

²²⁶ Dagongbao, 5 November, 1911.

influence.²²⁷ In contrast, no Women's Red Cross was established until 1918, although women like Zhang had actively campaigned for the group in 1911 and many nurses campaigned for the Red Cross. Traditional ideas such as lack of acceptance of women in medical professions and the weak support for their activism in public limited their participation in the creation of a national Red Cross. Despite foreign financial and professional support, the establishment of a domestic Red Cross was influenced by local circumstances and Chinese women remained hardly involved.

Chapter Two

Nationalization and Politicization of the Chinese Red Cross

2.1 Introduction

Until the Nanjing Decade (1927-1937), China's Red Cross work grew. This growth led to the creation of a network of branches that supplemented the country's philanthropic system and offered help to a calamity-stricken population in many parts of the vast country during a politically unstable time. Yuan Shikai, China's first president, who was in office from 1912 to 1916, came to power in a republican system. This system ought to have incorporated all parts of the country under the rule of one political centre in Beijing, yet Yuan's own ambitions undermined the establishment of a parliamentary system that cooperated effectively.²²⁸ The country's decentralization intensified after Yuan's death in 1916, and warlords, the military leaders, occupied large parts of the country. These military leaders formed cliques, which fought against each other on many occasions. Their alliances and their conflicts impeded one warlord from coming to power and ruling the country. In the Northern parts of the country, the

²²⁷ Shenbao, 24 February 1913.

²²⁸ Ernest P. Young, "Politics in the Aftermath of Revolution: The Era of Yuan Shih-k'ai, 1912-1916," in *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 12, Republican China 1912-1949, Part 1*, ed. D. Twitchett and J. K. Fairbank (New York, 1983), 210.

Anhui Clique, founded by Duan Qirui, the Zheli Clique, founded by Feng Guozhang, and the Fengtian Clique, founded by Zhang Zuolin fought to rule over Northern China and the Beiyang government. Duan was premier of the republic from 1916 to 1918 and president from 1924 to 1926. Feng was vice-president from 1916 to 1917 and president from 1917 to 1918. Zhang was a powerful warlord in Manchuria from 1922 to 1928.²²⁹ Warlords also ruled Western, and South-Western provinces. In the Southern province Guangzhou, Sun Yat-sen established an alternative government whose armies succeeded in capturing Northern regions and helped establish the Nationalist government in 1927.

This chapter suggests that the Chinese Red Cross Society's evolution during this period was influenced by national and international factors, which politicized the work of the Red Cross and revealed tensions between the emancipatory efforts of Chinese and paternalistic domination by Americans. The politicization of the work of the Red Cross Society became evident in 1919, when the director, Shen Dunhe, raised his voice to the American Red Cross and began to criticize the American dominance.²³⁰ The American Red Cross, which closely cooperated with the American government, had begun its activities in China in 1906 and by the early 1920s was the most important foreign agency that implemented long-time measures and organized donation campaigns in emergencies for the Chinese population. The American "open door policy", to which the American Red Cross contributed through its work, served to guarantee Americans economic profit and influence in the country.²³¹ As the chapter shows, the American Society offered crucial financial and professional aid, but also curtailed the activities of their Chinese partner.

2.2 The Politicization of the Red Cross in China

The end of the First World War in Europe influenced humanitarian activities in many countries including China due to the involvement of humanitarian networks acting transnationally in relief management.²³² Against the backdrop of the extensive need for aid, the

²²⁹ James E. Sheridan, "The Warlord Era: Politics and Militarism under the Peking Government, 1916-1918," in *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 12, Republican China 1912-1949, Part 1*, ed. D. Twitchett and J. K. Fairbank (New York, 1983), 293.

²³⁰ Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 13.

²³¹ Brewer, "From Philanthropy to Reform," 197.

²³² Brandon Little, "An Explosion of New Endeavours: Global Humanitarian Responses to Industrialized Warfare in the First World War Era," *First World War Studies* Vol. 5 (2014), 4.

American Red Cross became the most important provider of medical aid for European societies and at end of the war. America not only influenced the establishment of a new political order like Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations, but the American Red Cross also became a leading Red Cross Society that established its own international humanitarian network, the League of Red Cross Societies. The League of Red Cross Societies demonstrated America's dominance in the international humanitarian aid movement representing a new humanitarian project, whose main objective was to offer long-term improvement of health conditions during times of peace. Thus, the League's objective was different from that of the Red Cross, which provided emergency aid.²³³

Chinese support for Europe consisted of the dispatch of workers to Europe on behalf of the Chinese government.²³⁴ The plan to send labourers-as-soldiers to Europe was implemented to improve China's relationship with the allied powers against Germany.²³⁵ During the war, the French, British, and American governments recruited 140,000 Chinese workers who worked for military commanders as auxiliary personnel. They repaired trucks, roads, loaded and unloaded supplies, worked in munition factories, and excavated trenches. The fact that most of the workers came from Shandong province reflected the political significance of this mission for the Chinese government as Shandong was a former German concession, which the Chinese sought to regain. As the historian Xu Guoqi states "The major motivation behind China joining the war was the hope of recovering Shandong province, a crucial part of which had become a German concession since 1898. Japan, which declared war on Germany in the summer of 1914 and did all its fighting in the Great War on Shandong soil, unfortunately soon took over the province. Recovering Shandong and preventing further Japanese incursions were only the most pressing reasons for China's plan to send labourers to France."²³⁶

China's Red Cross was less involved in providing aid for Europe than its American counterpart, although the organization and the Chinese government did contribute to aid for

²³³ Julia F. Irwin, *Making the World Safe. The American Red Cross and a Nation's Humanitarian Awakening* (Oxford, 2013), 150.

²³⁴ Rana Mitter, *A Bitter Revolution. China's Struggle with the Modern World* (Oxford, 2004), 6. "Such a substantial contribution, China's patriots felt, would surely result in an appropriate reward: in particular, the return of the ports of Jiaozhou and Qingdao, and part of Shandong province in Northern China, all of which had been German colonies. As Germany was to be stripped of its colonies under the Versailles Treaty, China could expect to regain the territories it had lost so unwillingly in the scramble for imperial possessions in China which had marked the late nineteenth century."

²³⁵ Xu Guoqi, *Strangers on the Western Front. Chinese Workers in the Great War* (Cambridge Mass., 2011), 15.

²³⁶ Xu, *Strangers on the Western Front*, 88.

Europe. As early as in 1914, the Red Cross sent donations to Europe on behalf of its government. These contributions were in to calls by the International Committee that asked its member Societies to participate in the aid. In response, the Red Cross sent 8,000 dollars.²³⁷ In the same year, Shen Dunhe presented China's Red Cross work as distinct from traditional religious philanthropic traditions and encouraged voluntary participation in Red Cross work, which he considered a contribution to national strengthening.²³⁸

²³⁷ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 15.

²³⁸ 沈敦和,“中国红十字杂志允言,”中国红十字会历史资料选编(1904-1949), ed. 中国红十字会(南京1993), 104. Shen Dunhe, “Foreword to the Journal of the Red Cross Society of China,” in *Selected Historical Materials of the Chinese Red Cross Society 1904-1949*, ed. Central Committee of the Chinese Red Cross Society (Nanjing, 1993), 104.

In addition, the outbreak of the war as well as Japanese occupation of the German concession in Shandong were occasions for Shen to demonstrate his agency's responsibility for new services during armed conflicts. In 1914, Japan declared war on Germany and occupied Germany's colonies in Shandong, where the redemptive society Daoyuan was founded two years later. Shen, ever the rigid enthusiast of the Red Cross' voluntarism, had called for volunteers in Shenbao as early as August 9, 1914. The volunteers would travel to Shandong to help the local population affected by the armed conflict between the Japanese and German navies.²³⁹ In another announcement, he called for the participation of those who



had already helped in Wuhan in 1911 and during the Second Revolution. However, the motivation to fulfil the commitment of the Red Cross — the neutral provision of aid to all those wounded — in a battle that did not involve Chinese armies must have been so weak because Shen published payment guidelines 津贴川资 to suggesting payment for the volunteers. The guidelines distinguished classes of workers according to their training and profession. Trained physicians were first class workers; coolies were sixth-class workers. First-class workers were supposed to be paid 40 yuan; second-class workers 35 yuan; third-class workers 30; fourth-class workers 25 yuan; fifth class 20 yuan; sixth-class workers 16 yuan.²⁴⁰

Finally, on 13 August 1914, the Central Committee grouped 43 relief workers and sent them by ship to Yantai. The General Report consists of a photo of the volunteers waiting for their departure on 11 August 1914.²⁴¹ From Yantai, the activists travelled again by ship to Pingdu 平度 where they established a temporary medical office. Their mission lasted only a few weeks and the result was limited because the belligerent parties did not allow them to enter war zones. On a few occasions, the unit could enter the battle zone with the help of the Japanese Red Cross. They worked mainly at the back of temporary hospitals and cared mainly for

²³⁹ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 166.

²⁴⁰ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 167.

²⁴¹ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, Attachment to the report.

civilians.²⁴² The conditions under which Shen motivated participants reveal that it was not easy to find volunteers to work for the Red Cross. In the end, payment was also rejected by other members of the Central Committee such as Shi Zijin, the managing director, who successfully persuaded other members of the Committee to vote against Shen's proposal.²⁴³ The participation of specialized Red Cross units was not taken up again and shows the limited acceptance of Red Cross services during armed conflicts even among the leadership, which impeded Shen's ambitions from becoming on a large scale.

Though Shen Dunhe hoped his agency would be recognized as autonomous, the ambitions of the American partner to expand its financial sources in China provoked Shen's opposition. To increase income that the American agency needed to provide for refugees in Europe and Siberia, it initiated new campaigns in Shanghai, Nanjing, and many other cities in the summer of 1918. These extravagantly organized campaigns attracted many spectators—thousands in fact, for the Shanghai drive. Contemporary newspapers reported “There was an immense crowd of intensely interested spectators lined on either side of Nanjing Road from end to end. Red Cross flags in the thousands were carried from the Bund to the race course as a message that signified the united Allied effort in a common cause, which must have impressed the thousands of Chinese spectators.”²⁴⁴ Two weeks later, on 15 June 1918, another campaign attracted thousands of spectators in Nanjing. Unsurprisingly, the drives not only entertained but also increased the number of donors to the American Red Cross. In Guangzhou (Canton), the American branch published a special issue of its magazine to advertise for the drive. An effective way to collect donations was the sale of Red Cross stamps. It raised 6,000 Dollars. In addition, many branches collected goods and shipped them from Shanghai to San Francisco and further on to France. The success of the campaigns was even honoured by the American president, Woodrow Wilson.²⁴⁵

Moreover, the American Red Cross began establishing new branches in China and recruiting new members such as Americans and other foreigners as well as wealthy Chinese, especially merchants. The foreign chapters of the American Red Cross were part of its larger investment in relief abroad, which had started during First World War with the objective of

²⁴² Chi, *红十字与近代中国*, 171.

²⁴³ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 15.

²⁴⁴ North China Herald, “The Red Cross Procession,” 1 June 1918.

²⁴⁵ Brewer, “*From Philanthropy to Reform*,” 227.

developing the societies after the war. In 1917, the American Red Cross had 46 chapters in 21 countries and by 1918 the American Red Cross had branches in Amoy, Beijing, Guangzhou, Changsha, Yantai, Chongqing, Fuzhou, Hankou, Harbin, Hong Kong, Nanjing, Shanghai, Shantou, and Tianjin. Surveyed by the Fourteenth Division of the American Red Cross and led by Julean Arnold, a commercial attaché in Shanghai and field secretary of the American Red Cross, the chapters were asked to collect money to supplement the wartime expenses: “The first major assignment for the China chapters was to raise 100,000 dollars as their quota for the Second War Fund Drive”.²⁴⁶ In so doing, the American Red Cross acquired financial resources that might have otherwise been used by its Chinese partner organization.²⁴⁷ Arnold regarded the American partner as implementing Red Cross work properly and sought to gain support by all American residents in China.²⁴⁸ These activities curtailed potential sources of income for the Chinese Red Cross and Shen began to express his objection to this situation.²⁴⁹ Initially, the Ministry of Land and Sea Armies supported Shen, but on 1 May 1918 the Shenbao published an article titled the *Ministry of Land Forces opposes the establishment of a chapter of the American Red Cross in China* 陆军否认美国红会在华设立分会. In this article, delegates of the ministry approved American donation campaigns for Europe, but opposed the establishment of new branches as they were understood as undermining the country’s sovereignty.²⁵⁰

While public opposition of the Ministry ended with this article, Shen continued to criticize the American Red Cross for its practices. For example, he opposed the recruitment of paying members by delegates of the American Red Cross.²⁵¹ Shen published his objection on 7 May 1918 in the Shenbao. On this occasion, he raised the issue of the new American Red Cross branches and voiced his opinion that these offices threatened the autonomy of the Chinese Red Cross. Shen wrote that the need for European societies legitimized donation campaigns. Nevertheless, he opposed the recruitment of paying members. He referred to illegitimate attempts of the Japanese Red Cross to create a branch in Longkou 龙口, Shandong in 1914. For

²⁴⁶ Brewer, “*From Philanthropy to Reform*,” 224.

²⁴⁷ North China Herald, “The American Red Cross. Formation of Shanghai Chapter,” 16 March, 1918.

²⁴⁸ Brewer, “*From Philanthropy to Reform*,” 224.

²⁴⁹ 周秋光, “沈敦和与美国红十字会之间的冲突,” 红十字运动与慈善文化, 池子华 (桂林, 2010), 112; Zhou Qiuguang, “The Conflict between the American Red Cross and Shen Dunhe,” in *The Red Cross Movement and Culture of Philanthropy*, ed. Chi Zihua (Guilin, 2010), 112.

²⁵⁰ 池子华, 申报上的红十字, 第2卷, 1915-1923, (安徽, 2012), 275. Chi Zihua, *The Red Cross in the Shenbao*, Vol. 2, 1915-1923, (Anhui, 2012), 275.

²⁵¹ Zhou, “沈敦和与美国红十字会之间的冲突,” 112.

Shen, the American efforts were an encroachment and violated the sovereignty of his Red Cross 侵犯中国红十字会.²⁵² Shen vocalized his opposition to the increasing number of members and the benefits the American Red Cross gained from its campaigns to Arnold and to William Taft, chairman of the American Red Cross and former president of the United States (1909-1913).²⁵³ Shen's objection was in line with other Chinese criticism about philanthropy provided by foreigners. For example, the Dagongbao published a complaint in 1918 about Catholic missionaries in Tianjin who used Red Cross work for proselytization.²⁵⁴ The examples of conflicts and of criticism indicate that supporters of the Chinese Red Cross increasingly opposed foreign, mainly American, involvement in their work.

However, the Americans held on to their supremacy. Although leading members of the American Red Cross conceded possible offense to the host countries, as earlier internal debates among members of the American Red Cross demonstrate, the Americans dismissed Shen's opposition to their campaigns.²⁵⁵ In a public response to Shen's objections, the American Red Cross played Shen's criticism down and underlined that many influential Chinese supported its mission. Documentation of this issue was made public in the North China Herald: "A report was widely circulated to the effect that the head of the Chinese Red Cross had officially objected to the American Red Cross raising funds among the Chinese. It was some time before this report could be definitely proven to be false, but so completely was this done that Mr. Gilbert was able to have both the Military and the Civil Governors of Kiangsu send the following telegram to secretary of State, endorsing the American Red Cross: We heartily endorse the work of the American Red Cross and esteem it a privilege to cooperate in it."²⁵⁶ Furthermore, to underline its leading role in the Red Cross movement, the American Red Cross conducted a survey. The results emphasized the deficient management of some branches of the Chinese Red Cross such as the misuse of donations and the general lack of trained personnel to organize helping measures according to international standards.²⁵⁷ In addition, in reference to the previous experience of collaboration with the Chinese Society, Arnold accused Shen of

²⁵² 沈敦和,“中国红十字会往来函稿,”申报上的红十字,第2卷,1915-1923,池子华(安徽,2012),280. Shen Dunhe, "A Response from the Red Cross Society of China," in *The Red Cross in the Shenbao, Vol. 2, 1915-1923*, ed. Chi Zihua (Anhui, 2012), 280.

²⁵³ Brewer, "From Philanthropy to Reform," 232.

²⁵⁴ Dagongbao, 6 March 1918.

²⁵⁵ Brewer, "From Philanthropy to Reform," 223.

²⁵⁶ North China Herald, "Red Cross Drive in Nanjing," June 15, 1918.

²⁵⁷ Zhou, "沈敦和与美国红十字会之间的冲突," 116.

being unable to lead the Red Cross professionally. Arnold's accusation pointed to the use of the Red Cross hospitals as storage for munitions during civil conflicts, Shen's revocation of previous commitments to contribute to American war efforts, and, notably, to Shen's jealousy about the success of the American Red Cross.²⁵⁸

The conflict between Shen and the American Red Cross triggered a reorganization of the Chinese Red Cross, which was guided by the Beijing representatives of the Red Cross, and which consolidated American influence. In 1919, the government delegated representatives from the Beijing office, who oversaw cooperation with the government and with the Ministry of Land and Sea Armies, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well as the Admiral Cai Tinggan 蔡廷干, former Chief Secretary of Yuan Shikai, initiated a series of personnel and administrative changes at the Shanghai centre. Cai, a returnee from one of the late-Qing educational missions to America, the Chinese Educational Mission, spoke English and had already cooperated with American philanthropic societies when he took on the position.²⁵⁹

On Cai's orders, Shen was dismissed from his position in 1919 and the Central Committee was reorganized. In 1920, Shen suffered from sickness and died. His crucial impact on the creation of China's national Red Cross was commemorated in a hospital exhibition in Shanghai. The reorganization led to the election of a new president of the Chinese Red Cross. Lü Haihuan retired from his position as president, although he remained involved in philanthropy and in the Red Swastika Society.²⁶⁰ He was replaced by Wang Daxie 汪大燮, who was president from 1920 to 1924. Wang had studied in Japan and was assistant to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1924, Wang was replaced by Yan Huiqing 颜惠庆 who had studied in America and who was director of the Oversea Students Office and director of the Office of Foreign Affairs. These appointments demonstrate a new impact of members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The reform also introduced crucial changes to Red Cross work. Under Cai's influence, the previous Central Committee was dissolved, and new members were elected. Member appointments to the newly elected Central Committee were now limited to three years, and their

²⁵⁸ Brewer, *From Philanthropy to Reform*, 233.

²⁵⁹ Shenbao, 11 July 1919.

²⁶⁰ 弘道展慈, 香江道慈八十年, 香港道远, 香港红卍字会字会, (香港 2011), 20. Hong Kong Daoyuan, Hong Kong Swastika Society, *The Great Dao Benevolence, Eighty Years of Philanthropy in Hong Kong*, (Hong Kong 2011), 111.

number increased to 48. In addition, 13 delegates were elected to support the Committee's decisions. Of these 61 delegates, 11 were newly nominated by Cai directly. Six delegates were already members of the previous Central Committee. Zhang shows that 40 of the 61 members came from the wealthy Eastern provinces, but that more delegates from Central provinces joined the Committee: 16 came from Jiangsu, 15 from Zhejiang, eight from Guangdong, two from Anhui, and one from Hubei and Hunan. Their professional backgrounds reveal a better incorporation of specialists like physicians than before: 23 were merchants, 12 worked for banks, 13 were officials, six were physicians, two lawyers, and three worked for newspapers.²⁶¹

In 1922, at the General Assembly of the Society, the reorganization was implemented. Cai gave the inauguration speech at the Assembly and called for a new era for the Society. One result of Cai's initiative was the standardization of membership fees. The new regulations stipulated that honorary members would be those who contributed more than 1,000 yuan, secured a contribution of more than 5,000 yuan, or who rendered special services to the Society. Regular members would be people who contributed 25 yuan, or contributed five yuan annually for a period of six years. Ordinary members would be who contributed 10 yuan. A new member category was also established: student members, who paid one yuan.²⁶² In addition, the Society also committed to the protection of its members as the Central Committee agreed to protect a member's reputation in public.²⁶³ Nevertheless, membership could be withdrawn in case of the deprivation of civil rights.²⁶⁴ Members who lost their membership status also lost the right to their contributions.

Cai Tinggan, who became vice-president of the Chinese Red Cross with seat in Beijing, supported the American influence. One reason for his support was the American contribution to relief in China at this time and the valuation of its activities by members of the Chinese government.²⁶⁵ Moreover, both Red Cross Societies had cooperated with each other for several years. In 1918, the Chinese Red Cross provided for Russian refugees in Vladivostok, Siberia. In

²⁶¹ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 69.

²⁶² The Central Committee, "The Chinese Red Cross Constitution," in The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 6.

²⁶³ The Central Committee, "The Chinese Red Cross Constitution," in The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 15. "In case the life of member being endangered or his reputation being wrongfully injured thereby affecting the name of the Society, the Society shall accord him due protection by presenting his case before the public."

²⁶⁴ The Central Committee, "The Chinese Red Cross Constitution," in The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 7.

²⁶⁵ Brewer, "From Philanthropy to Reform," 218.

the same year, the Committee sent donations to Siberia through the Shanghai office of the American Red Cross.²⁶⁶ In 1920, B. Y. Wang took part in Geneva at a conference of the newly established League of Red Cross Societies.²⁶⁷ Thus, the influence of the American Red Cross increased the governmental impact on the Red Cross and helped expand its activities abroad. Nevertheless, Cai sought to avoid political involvement in the Red Cross. As the Americans wanted to create an organization for youth to participate in voluntary activities, Cai declined the proposal due to rising nationalism among students, whose interest in national strengthening opposed governmental decisions due to China's rejection at the Versailles Conference.²⁶⁸ As chapter five shows, the establishment of a Youth Red Cross was initiated during the Nanjing Decade as part of anti-Japanese mobilization by the Nationalist government and then continued after the conflict in 1945 ended.

The reforms not only enhanced foreign influence, but also official involvement of Chinese ministries. The Beijing office, the Ministry of the Interior in peacetime and the Ministry of Land and Sea Armies as well as the Foreign Ministry, were the governmental authorities who supervised the activities of the Red Cross. Supervision was imposed on the Red Cross, for example, by the obligation of the Central Committee and branch leaders to report their activities to the Ministry of the Interior.²⁶⁹ In addition, the government relied on the Red Cross and its branches and delegated responsibility for the distribution of grain and money together with provincial and local bureaus. For example, after the armed conflict between Japanese and German troops in Shandong in 1914, which intensified due to Japanese ambitions to expand its influence in the Shandong peninsula where Germany had established a concession, the Ministry of Interior 内务部 telegraphed a request to the Central Committee in which it asked for its participation of the Central Committee to help the population in regions that had been affected by the armed conflicts. The leader of the Red Cross branch in Caizhou responded to this request and recognized the need to help the locals. Also, Shen responded to the request for poor relief 乞赈 by the officials and sent an examination team to the affected regions to get information about the situation of the destitute in Shandong.²⁷⁰ In addition, the Central

²⁶⁶ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 22.

²⁶⁷ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 30.

²⁶⁸ Brewer, "From Philanthropy to Reform," 301.

²⁶⁹ Zhou, 红十字会在中国, 149.

²⁷⁰ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 196.

Committee implemented common relief services for the government and provincial bureaus.²⁷¹ Other activities, which were organized by the government, reveal the growing influence of the Chinese government on the project. For example, in 1919 the committee sent 20,000 dollars for Chinese people in Germany and Austria-Hungary.²⁷² In 1921, when a Chinese hospital and a Chinese warship were attacked in Nikolayevsk, the Red Cross was delegated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to help the personnel flee.²⁷³ In 1923, the society helped Russian refugees who fled from Vladivostok to Shanghai.²⁷⁴

International exchange and aid abroad was, however, not only delegated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but the Chinese Red Cross expressed solidarity with other national Red Cross societies on its own. In 1923, the Committee sent money to the Red Cross Society of Turkey because of its needs following the war. In addition, the Great Kantō earthquake in Japan on September 1, 1923 became the first extensive relief effort abroad. Already one day after the earthquake the Chinese government sent money to Japan and provincial military governors mobilized resources with the help of the Chinese Red Cross and other rapidly established initiatives, which cared for the situation in Japan such as student groups and merchant associations, the shipping of medication and grain. On September 8, the Foreign Ministry established a temporary committee to help Japan 临时救济日灾委员会. Students and universities from Shanghai established the 上海中华教育团体救济日灾会, which relocated 10,000 Chinese from Japan to their native country.²⁷⁵ The Red Cross's unit, which included relief workers and nurses, were sent to Tokyo not only to help Chinese nationals, but also to assist the Japanese Red Cross. The focus on Chinese nationals was acknowledged as an important contribution to the relief measures taken by the Japanese Society. Following the assignment, the Japanese government expressed gratitude by sending a special commission to Shanghai.²⁷⁶ As these examples show, the extension of influence on the Red Cross organization by the Beijing office due to Shen's criticism of American Red Cross work, intensified the representative role of the Chinese Red Cross. In addition, at the same time, the organization's activities were reported in the journals of the International Committee and proved the

²⁷¹ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 201.

²⁷² The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 26.

²⁷³ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 36.

²⁷⁴ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 48.

²⁷⁵ 李学智, “1923年中国人对日本震灾的赈救行动,” 近代史研究(1998)年第3期, 280; Li Xuezhì, “Chinese People's Relief Activities for Japan in 1923,” in *Research on Modern History* Vol. 3 (1998), 280.

²⁷⁶ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 55.

professionalism of this national organization. In 1924, for instance, Mr. B. Y. Wong, delegate of the Chinese Red Cross reported on the various duties of the Society during the previous year, such as public education programs, which entailed the propagation of hygiene standards in the public, the improvement of Red Cross facilities, and the creation of an educational program for youth in cooperation with the American Red Cross in Shanghai.²⁷⁷

The by Wong mentioned Lincheng Accident, known as Lincheng Outrage, which refers to an attack on the train Nanking-Express in 1923 by Chinese bandits, exemplified the American attitude of superiority towards the work of their Chinese partner. Several hundred hostages were held for weeks by bandits and two Red Cross societies, the American Red Cross and the CRCS organized supplying them with food, clothes, etc. Arguing that humanitarian work in China was dominated by the American Red Cross, Caroline Reeves highlights that this incident was part of diplomatic conflicts about whether China was able to govern its territory itself "... robbing Chinese philanthropists of the opportunity to manage these relief activities on their own territory, the American Red Cross also robbed the Chinese Red Cross of stature in the eyes of both the international community and in the local arena."²⁷⁸ In order to acknowledge the position of his organization, but without criticizing the American Red Cross, Wong suggested further investigation by the International Committee to solve the question of whether the Chinese were successful in providing aid for the hostages in accordance with the International Committee's proposed standards.²⁷⁹

2.3 The Impact of the Reform on the Red Cross Work

While American influence on the Chinese partner society helped to improve its tasks, the Chinese Red Cross had already developed a considerably well-organized network and set of activities. For example, Red Cross fundraising campaigns incorporated lotteries 宝塔捐 and combined fundraising with entertainment from the beginning.²⁸⁰ Moreover, institutions such as theatres and music halls were involved in public campaigns. In Shanghai, the Sing Theatre and

²⁷⁷ Dr. B. Y. Wong, "L'activité de la Croix-Rouge chinoise," in *Bulletin international des sociétés de la Croix-Rouge* (Geneva, 1924): 1016.

²⁷⁸ Caroline Reeves, *Holding Hostages In China, Holding China Hostage: Sovereignty, Philanthropy, and the 1923 Lincheng Outrage* (unpublished manuscript), 35.

²⁷⁹ Wong, *L'activité de la Croix-Rouge chinoise*, 1018.

²⁸⁰ Chi, *红十字与近代中国*, 202.

the First Theatre organized performances and donated proceeds to the Red Cross.²⁸¹ Adhering to the educative mission of the Red Cross Movement, the Chinese initiative applied new strategies such as public displays of photos and the dissemination of songs such as the relief song *Red Cross Song for Three Thousand Disaster Victims* 红十字会为三千灾民含泪乞赈歌, which described the miserable conditions of refugees for whom the agency collected donations.²⁸²

Media like telegraphs and newspapers were used to publish news and raise funds and as early as 1904 had helped the Central Committee to inform the population about fundraising activities and report on the outcome of campaigns. For example, during the White Wolves uprising, a large rebellion against Yuan Shikai in 1914, news about the situation reached the Shanghai Committee, which then telegraphed branches in Yingchou, Chengyang, and Luchow and advised them to organize emergency units. Furthermore, in 1914 contact between branches already served as possible way to pass on information from affected regions to the Central Committee. For example, Zhou Lili 周力罹 who travelled to Luzhou 庐州 in Anhui province and witnessed the looting of villages, transferred reports about the situation to another worker who passed them on to Shanghai. After receiving these reports, Shen began to publish calls for donations. The office collected 2,000 yuan, medicine, and food, which was sent to the province and distributed with the help of local branches and gentry.²⁸³ Thus, while the reforms of the Red Cross after 1919 accelerated organizational improvements, many of the organization's activities were implemented in accordance with activities that had been implemented since the creation of the project.

The organization's activities also consisted of the coordination of the network such as in 1916, when provincial military leaders in Southern provinces opposed Yuan Shi-kai's ambition to restore the monarchy. The Southern provinces declared their independence from Yuan and a major battle in Western Sichuan ended Yuan's era in 1916 as the country entered a period of strong political decentralization due to the empowerment of regional warlords and the simultaneous creation of an alternative government by Sun Yat-sen in Guangzhou. When the war broke out in Yunnan, the Central Committee contacted the Ministry of Land Armies and proposed dispatching volunteers to the provinces and informing workers on location to create

²⁸¹ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 13.

²⁸² Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 218.

²⁸³ Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 164.

emergency networks 临时救济机关 by establishing contact with branch delegates from each province.²⁸⁴ In addition, in Sichuan, 15 temporary directors of Red Cross branches and medical institutions cooperated. In Hunan, another network of 15 delegates emerged to which the famous philanthropist Xiong Xiling belonged. As we will see in the following chapter, Xiong was also active in other relief networks and in the Red Swastika Society. Further Red Cross stations were established in Guizhou, in Yunnan, in Guangxi. The connections between these delegates served as a channel for money transfers collected by the central office in Shanghai.²⁸⁵

Nevertheless, during the Great North China Famine in 1920 and 1921, the country's Red Cross did not play a leading role in the provision of crucial measures during the severe crisis, but mainly offered support for foreign organizations. The famine affected millions in over 300 hsian in the provinces Zhili, Henan, Shandong, Shanxi, and Shaanxi and urgently increased the demand for emergency and long-term measures.²⁸⁶ Fuller argues that despite foreign aid, most life-saving measures were offered by agents of Chinese society such as Buddhist and native charity activities, military leaders, and individual philanthropists. These local groups have been neglected in the existing literature on the famine.²⁸⁷ During the famine, the Chinese Red Cross distributed resources for the China International Famine Relief Commission (CIFRC), the American Red Cross and to realize its own projects. For example, in December 1920, the Red Cross Society distributed 4,000 items by rail to Beijing for the CIFRC. The local chapter in Hangkou distributed 2,440 items by rail.²⁸⁸ The Chinese Red Cross was connected to the CIFRC through its vice-president Cai, who was at the same time co-chairman of the Transport Committee of the CIFRC.²⁸⁹ When the famine broke out, the Society wanted to do sanitation work, but due to Cai's intervention, the Administrative Council of the CIFRC took over responsibility for this task. Cai's position made it obvious that he preferred that foreigners implement sanitation and reconstruction work in his country.²⁹⁰

Although Cai's influence extended America's impact on the Red Cross, the reform also produced positive outcomes. For instance, it improved exchanges between the Central

²⁸⁴ Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 173.

²⁸⁵ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 174.

²⁸⁶ Andrew James Nathan, *A History of the China International Famine Relief Commission*, (Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University 1965), 6.

²⁸⁷ Pierre Emery Fuller, "Struggling with Famine in Warlord China: Social Networks, Achievements, and Limitations, 1920-21," (Ph.D. Diss. University of California, Irvine, 2011), 195.

²⁸⁸ Fuller, "Struggling with Famine," 198.

²⁸⁹ Nathan, *A History*, 12.

²⁹⁰ Brewer, "From Philanthropy to Reform," 254.

Committee and the branches. Particularly after the reforms that lasted from 1919 to 1922, the Red Cross General Report reveals that there was a standardized branch subsidy from the Central Committee. The cooperation between the Central Committee and between the regional branches consisted of direct and indirect support. Direct support was dispatched by the Central Committee, and often came in the form of money, but also of clothes or food, when a branch telegraphed Shanghai and asked for help due to a flood or other calamities. Relief money, often 500 dollars, was paid to branches or to local and related bureaus, which then distributed the money.²⁹¹

Red Cross reports do not state exactly how the money was transferred, but China had a widespread network of institutions through which people transferred money over long distances that had existed since imperial times. Money exchange shops 票号 transferred cash from place to place and office to office. A supra-regional bank transfer system of ticket stores covered all Chinese provinces and even Manchuria, Mongolia, and Xinjiang. During the late Qing period, the ticket stores began to cooperate more and more with governmental institutions and took on tax collection and tax transfer. They were also involved in provincial and district finances. When the telegraph reached China, the ticket stores included telegraphic transfers in their services.²⁹² Qianzhuang 钱庄, or native banks, were another financial institution that transferred money. Furthermore, since the Opium wars, foreign banks had begun to operate in China.²⁹³ The Central Committee, which consisted of members who had worked for banks or were members of banks was thus connected to the Chinese banking system and able to transfer money over long distances. According to Goodman, Shen also represented the Imperial Bank of China in the Shanghai Municipal Council.²⁹⁴

Indirect support by the Central Committee, often implemented at the same time as direct support, included the sending of membership forms. The recruitment of new members secured the collection of membership fees and served to acquire resources in situ. Before the Committee sent money or registration forms, it asked for a detailed report so that the extent of the damage from a disaster could be calculated. In 1921, the Fengtai branch applied for aid in cooperation

²⁹¹ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 17.

²⁹² Lunsun Cheng, *Banking in Modern China: Entrepreneurs, Professional Managers, and the Development of Chinese Banks, 1897-1937* (Cambridge, 2003), 14.

²⁹³ Cheng, *Banking in Modern China*, 20.

²⁹⁴ Bryna Goodman, *Native Place, City, and Nation: Regional Networks and Identities in Shanghai, 1853-1937* (Berkeley, 1995), 157.

with the local magistrate and other neighbouring societies due to floods. Some days later, a detailed account was sent to the Committee that called for donations in the Shenbao. At the same time, the Committee sent 500 dollars to the local relief bureau in Fengtai as well as membership registration forms to ask for new members and to distribute the money.²⁹⁵ Indirect support subsidies via member recruitment were implemented in Jianyang, Jiangsu. Just after the branch telegraphed about floods on 10 August 1921, the Committee asked first for more details and then reacted by sending 50 registration forms for ordinary members, which would yield 500 dollars.²⁹⁶

New branches were required to register in Shanghai. For instance, in 1919 Yan Penxiu from Hunan province contacted the Committee and asked if two branches could be created in Liuyang and Hengshan. Yen, already familiar with the Red Cross due to his time as treasurer of the Changsha branch, contacted the Shanghai office. His proposal included the signatures of 130 local supporters and the Committee agreed to create the two branches.²⁹⁷ Red Cross branches not only offered a wide range of activities ranging from the distribution of cash, grain, and clothes, as well as emergency assistance, but their existence could also protect the population against looting soldiers. In 1923, the Lichuan 黎川 branch reported in the monthly Red Cross journal that the director of the branch, 刘慎五 Liu Shenwu, negotiated with leaders of army divisions when they entered the village.²⁹⁸

The reform resulted in the increase of members and branches. In 1919, the Red Cross Society had over 22,000 members, including 180 honorary members. This number increased to 40,000 by 1924. In 1919, there were 169 domestic Red Cross branches. By 1923 the number had grown to 270, and in 1925 the number of branches was 330.²⁹⁹ In Jiangxi the number of local branches grew to 13 in 1924, seven of which had been established in 1922. In Shandong, 12 new branches emerged between 1919 and 1927. The gradual implementation of reforms blurs their direct impact on the network. For example, in 1920 only 34 branches introduced the new regulations.³⁰⁰ Nevertheless, exchange and cooperation within the network became standardized, as indicated by the previously-mentioned examples of the Central Committee's

²⁹⁵ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 34.

²⁹⁶ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 35.

²⁹⁷ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 23.

²⁹⁸ Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 105.

²⁹⁹ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 94.

³⁰⁰ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 30.

responses to requests from branches. The formalization of relationships between the Committee and the branches ensured that relief work was carried out. The local offices cooperated because they belonged to the Red Cross system; their membership with the Red Cross system entitled them to ask for help; the Committee, after examining their situation, sent support. Hence, at a time of state decentralization, the Red Cross achieved a to create a transferring system of aid that spanned over several thousands of kilometres.

Nevertheless, while these activities prove the ability of the Society to offer help, local conditions remained a crucial factor in the way the Red Cross achieved its objective to adhere to Western methods and standards. In Lichuan 黎川, for example, the Red Cross branch was created as part of the Benevolent Hall in 1918 with their merging justified in the Red Cross journal by shared working duties like the provision of emergency relief as well as providing relief to the poor and sick.³⁰¹ The Lichuan branch not only reported on traditional activities like food distribution, but also on dispatching units and conducting work in hospitals.³⁰² Therefore, although the Red Cross promoted Western medicine, the existence of local branches in less urbanized regions meant that the Red Cross was combined with traditional charities. Another example of a Red Cross branch that worked with local institutions was the Chinese Red Cross Anhui Relief Society 中国红十字会安徽义赈会, established in Anhui, which was a joint relief society established by the local branch and the native place 同乡会 association.³⁰³

In contrast, the case of Shanghai suggests that the Red Cross, chaired by the Central Committee, adhered to the foreign model. In urban centers such as Shanghai and Tianjin, foreigners strengthened the implementation of public health measures.³⁰⁴ In Shanghai, the Red Cross cooperated with municipal authorities and foreign medical experts and contributed to public health. For example, the organization regularly reported about its anti-epidemic institutional network 中国红十字会紧要机关处 that linked Red Cross facilities like hospitals, medical offices, temporary hospitals, emergency units, and burial units in the city. The Shanghai office disseminated information about the locations and working hours of these

³⁰¹ Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 94.

³⁰² Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 102.

³⁰³ Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 141.

³⁰⁴ Yu Xinzong, "The Treatment of Night Soil and Waste in Modern China," in Charlotte Furth ed., *Health and Hygiene in Chinese East Asia. Politics and Publics in the Long Twentieth Century* (Durham, 2010), 75.

institutions and units.³⁰⁵ The Red Cross also published a series of announcements in local newspapers to inform the population about the causes and effects of cholera 霍乱. These announcements explained how to detect signs of infection such as fever, and informed readers about the causes of contaminations like bacteria from faeces. Furthermore, they informed readers about the use of quinine, an antimalarial alkaloid used for disinfection purposes. Red Cross events became occasions during which the supporters educated the audience and participants about Red Cross work and public health measures, introducing the international Committee and prominent figures like Dunant and Nightingale to the spectators. The Red Cross also published pamphlets such as *Morals of a Good Life* 好生之德 to educate the population about health issues.³⁰⁶ These measures corresponded with contemporary efforts of municipal authorities, like the publishing of songs to teach the population. One example was the Small-pox Song

四季有天花，不可轻视他，重症多丧命，不死面亦床。此病尤容易，传染小娃娃，不辛出病，外出禁止他。我们健康者，万勿到痘家，天花要预防，种痘是方法。年龄与季节，接种最为佳，大家来种痘，即可免天花 (Small Pox occurs during four seasons of the year, it should be not underestimated; many have already been killed; the infection spreads especially rapidly; when your small child is sick forbid it to go out; we are healthy and must never get sick; small pox must be contained; vaccination is the method; at every age and during all four seasons everybody should be vaccinated).³⁰⁷

The Red Cross's contribution to the improvement of public health also included the manufacturing of cheap medicine. Until the Nanjing Decade, no regulation stipulated prices of medicine or of medical treatment. According to its mission to help the poor, the organization produced as good called medicine 良药. The Red Cross called these good drugs, because they were not only curative but were also produced cheaply and were thus affordable to the poor. This medicine consisted of liquids and powders for pain and the disinfection of wounds. At the Red Cross Summer Disease Hospital, these painkillers were sold for three jiao, and emergency drugs for five jiao.³⁰⁸ These prices were low in comparison to the 11,85 yuan monthly living costs of unskilled workers in Shanghai in the 1920s. The price was also low in comparison to

³⁰⁵ Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 41.

³⁰⁶ Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 36.

³⁰⁷ Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 42.

³⁰⁸ Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 93.

the normal charge for biomedical physician visits of one Yuan and for house visits, which were six yuan.³⁰⁹ The cheap prices of Red Cross drugs gave the poor access to and familiarized them with Western medicine. At other institutions, like at the American PUMC, social workers familiarized the population with the use of Western drugs, but the overall high prices of such treatment made the consumption unaffordable for many.³¹⁰

Shanghai's modern urban lifestyle allowed the Red Cross to develop specialized services. In the city, the Society established seasonal hospitals to respond to the sudden outbreak of epidemics during summer months, and permanent hospitals. The Summer Disease Hospital operated with a budget of 9,000 dollars and treated a yearly average of 3,000 patients per season. In addition, when epidemics like cholera, malaria, and small pox threatened the city's population, the Red Cross created specialized prevention offices. In 1914, for instance, these offices were stationed in various parts of the city and offered medication and daily vaccinations.³¹¹

Contributions to the improvement of health and hygiene were enabled by permanent institutions like the Red Cross hospitals. In Shanghai, the Red Cross established three permanent hospitals, the General Hospital, and the North Town and South Town Hospitals. These hospitals were modelled on American standards and were often established with the help of foreign medical institutions. These institutions had laboratories and worked with X-ray technology and also trained physicians and nurses. The General Hospital spent 50,000 dollars and treated up to 2,000 patients annually. In 1923, when the American Red Cross donated the X-ray machine, the Committee also invested in expanding the hospital and built nine additional rooms for patients for 20,000 dollars.³¹² Because of the 1919 reforms, new regulations were implemented in these facilities. The objective was to improve the administration and to save costs. Additional registration forms were introduced so that the number of patients and amount in registration fees could be documented. Also, donations to the hospital needed to be registered. Overall, the reforms sought to rationalize the administration's work and reduce hospital maintenance costs.³¹³

³⁰⁹ Xiaoqun Xu, *Chinese Professionals and the Republican State. The Rise of Professional Associations in Shanghai, 1912–1937* (Cambridge, 2001), 60.

³¹⁰ Stefani Pfeiffer, "Still Arguing Over Cost': Bargaining, Etiquette and the Modern Patient in Republican Beijing," *Asian Medicine* Vol. 1, no. 2 (2005): 384.

³¹¹ Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 43.

³¹² The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 46.

³¹³ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 30.

These institutions were led by the Red Cross Society, but depended on foreign support. For example, in 1912 the Central Committee decided to sign a contract with the Harvard Medical School in Shanghai and to merge the Red Cross's General Hospital with the Harvard School, but in 1915, the American partner decided to close its medical school.³¹⁴ While the merging of both institutions had enabled potential Red Cross workers to get high-level training, the abrupt closure ended the Red Cross's plans some years later. Among those who had enrolled in 1912, only four graduated before the closure of the institution. To compensate, the Harvard Board agreed to transfer ten under-graduates to the Rockefeller Foundation. Others were sent to medical schools in America, two were relocated to Shanghai, and one continued training in Fuzhou, where a Florence Nightingale Nursing School had been established by the missionary nurse Cora E. Simpson in 1907.³¹⁵

Shanghai was where the Red Cross developed practices to respond to the needs of the urban population. In 1922, the Committee announced the establishment of a city ambulance service. The announcement declared

Shanghai is a port of international importance with a population of several million, both foreign and Chinese. Day and night, carriages, automobiles, and other vehicles dart to and from like Locomotives [locomotives]. With the slightest amount of inattention, the pedestrians would encounter the danger of being knocked down by them. Some may be only slightly wounded, while others killed right on the spot. It is certainly a pity that life should be wasted. To lessen human sufferings, the Red Cross Society of China has organized an emergency ambulance service. Hereafter, if any one should be knocked down by automobiles, tram cars, carriages, and other vehicles, whether they be slight or serious, the public is requested to notify the headquarters. From 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. calls should be sent to the headquarter in the Kiukiang Road (Tel. C.3379). From 6 p.m. to midnight calls should be sent to the North Town Hospital on Tientsin Road (Tel. C. 6567). Our ambulances are ready to transport the injured to the Hospital for treatment. We trust you are glad of this service to humanity and would like to help make it efficient.³¹⁶

The establishment of a traffic ambulance service for the population in Shanghai

³¹⁴ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 18.

³¹⁵ For Cora E. Simpson, see <http://www.workingnurse.com/articles/Cora-Simpson-Missionary-Nurse-in-China> (retrieved 20 February 2015).

³¹⁶ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 43.

responded to the need of the urban population, whose lifestyle was increasingly endangered by dense car and tram traffic.

Although it is unclear if the Red Cross established ambulances in other cities, the public health measures of Shanghai reached beyond the city. The Red Cross's contribution to public health measures beyond Shanghai was conducted by specialized vaccination units, which were dispatched to affected regions where vaccination stations were established. In 1914, the Central Committee sponsored six vaccination stations in Jiangsu, Jiangxi, and Anhui.³¹⁷ In 1918, vaccination units reached several places in Zhejiang where plague had broken out. The corps worked in smaller units and travelled through villages to distribute vaccines. The Red Cross also had hospitals in other cities like in Chongqing. In 1923, the Chongqing branch reported on the work of a sanatorium, a hospital, and a temporary branch hospital. The facilities had spent 400,000 dollars in four years and had saved 10,000 lives. It is worth mentioning that the hospital reported on a Chinese medical division that used Chinese medicine.³¹⁸

Promotion of the Western model of humanitarian work encouraged the participation of women in Red Cross activities. As the first chapter showed, women had participated actively in the assignments during the Xinhai Revolution and even established new Red Cross Societies. The introduction of these female supporters in the first issue of the organization's publication, the *Humanitarian Guide* 人道指南 in 1913 shows that women were welcome to participate. Under the title *Female Philanthropists* 女慈善家, the issue introduced support for the Red Cross by the wife of Li Yuanhong 黎元洪, successor of Yuan Shikai, and Zhou Zhujun, one of the women who had approved the Red Cross during the 1911 revolution. The article highlights these women as positive examples of women's commitment to humanitarianism, which the authors hoped would serve as a model for other women and would encourage more women to get involved in Red Cross work.³¹⁹

The support for women mirrored the trends of other national Red Cross Societies and, in general, mirrored trends in international women's activism. For example, the depiction of Mrs. Li's support for the Red Cross during the Xinhai Revolution resembled the role of the Japanese Empress and the Royal Family for the Japanese Red Cross. The Royal Family encouraged the

³¹⁷ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 15.

³¹⁸ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 25.

³¹⁹ “女慈善家,” 人道指南 1, 中国红十字会 (上海, 1913), 4. “Female Philanthropists,” in *Humanitarian Guide* Vol. 1, ed. The Red Cross Society of China (Shanghai, 1913), 4.

Japanese Red Cross and campaigned for its work. Mrs. Li, wife of an important member of the Beiyang government at the time, had visited Red Cross hospitals and affirmed their value.³²⁰ Further, one article's description of Zhou, who had established an alternative Red Cross Society prior to the Xinhai Revolution, which she proposed as a national Red Cross, portrays her project as significant because of its inclusion of women. According to the publication's depiction of her goals, her idea targeted the creation of special Red Cross organization that would care mainly for women establishing special poor houses for women. Although her plans were not realized because the first Shanghai project gained recognition by the International Committee, her work is presented as a milestone in the history of women's work and her engagement as exemplary for other women.

Most Chinese women who participated in Red Cross work were nurses. Nevertheless, the nursing profession developed slowly in China. Watt indicates that in 1914 when the Nursing Association of China was established, foreign commissions detected an overall lack of women in medical professions.³²¹ For example, the historian John Bowers shows that at the Canton Red Cross Hospital four nurses enrolled in 1914 and were trained by Henry S. Houghton who was, according, to Bowers a pioneer in the promotion of nursing.³²² This situation changed only in 1920 when the American medical institution established a nursing school. We will see that graduates from this nursing school and graduates from the College influenced the work of the Society in the 1930s and 1940s. Although China had 253 graduate nurses in 1921, this number shows the limited inclusion of women in medical professions.³²³

In tandem with the reforms of the Red Cross after the First World War and the tentative rise in the number of women entering the nursing profession around 1920, female philanthropists revitalized their support for the Red Cross. For instance, Zhu Qihui 朱其慧, Xiong's second wife established the Tianjin Women's Red Cross 天津妇女红十字会协济会 in 1918.³²⁴ During the North China Famine, this group joined a women's Red Cross Society in Beijing and formed the Beijing International Women's Red Cross 北京女界红十字会. A new Red Cross Women's branch was founded in 1918 in Beijing that was chaired by the wife of Xu Shichang 徐世昌, president of the republic from 1918 to 1922 and honorary director of the Red

³²⁰ Takahashi, *The Development of the Japanese Nursing*, 48.

³²¹ Watt, "Breaking into Public Service," 70.

³²² Bowers, *Western Medicine in a Chinese Palace*, 200.

³²³ Watt, "Breaking into Public Service," 71.

³²⁴ 周秋光, 熊希龄传(长沙, 2006), 642; Zhou Qiuguang, *Biography of Xiong Xiling* (Changsha, 2006), 546.

Cross as of 1918.³²⁵ These initiatives were associated with the Central Committee of the Chinese Red Cross, which developed plans to expand women's participation. According to the Red Cross's own report, the women's branch proposed the establishment of a First Aid Corps under the control of the Ministry of Land and Sea Armies.³²⁶

The emphasis of women's Red Cross projects on the situation of poverty among women and children suggests that this concern remained a crucial aspect of women's participation in the Red Cross.³²⁷ For instance, during floods in nearby Tianjin in 1919, the Women's Society's public report about the situation in villages showed that the natural disaster was detrimental to the conditions of the women living there and in the Yang Village 杨村 women were slaughtered and raped when the village was plundered by soldiers. The Society called for donations for women found on the street in dire conditions carrying their children with them.³²⁸ The explicit focus on women by the Women's Red Cross projects was an amendment to the constitution of the Red Cross. However, although the organization promoted women's participation, the extent of the Red Cross's contribution to nursing and women's philanthropy remained marginal after the reforms.

Although limited, the support in China reflected an international trend among Red Cross Societies, which had already begun decades earlier. For instance, Chinese women's investment mirrored the activism of feminists in the Ottoman Empire. Keith David Watenpaugh proposes that the 1868 founded Ottoman Red Crescent served reform elites, to whom the Ottoman feminist Halidé Edip Adivar belonged. According to the historian, her participation represented the adherence to international trends by the Ottoman Empire.³²⁹ Furthermore, Western societies like the American Red Cross encouraged the professionalization and service of nurses. In 1919, the American Society sent 109 American nurses and 43 aides to Vladivostok and their services abroad were honoured as service for the country.³³⁰ In a few cases, the country's Red Cross offered women exceptional opportunities. For example, in 1921 the Red Cross General Hospital

³²⁵ Xu's younger brother Xu Shiguang 徐世光 (1857-1929) was one of the honorary directors of the Red Swastika.

³²⁶ The Central Committee, *The Twentieth Anniversary*, 22.

³²⁷ Dagongbao, 23 December 1918.

³²⁸ Dagongbao, "The Third of the Beijing International Women's Red Cross' First Relief Unit 北京女界红十字会分会第一救护队第三报告书," 27 July 1920.

³²⁹ Keith David Watenpaugh, *Bread from Stones: The Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism* (Berkeley, 2015), 10.

³³⁰ Clara D. Noyes, "The Red Cross. The Siberian Commission," *The American Journal of Nursing* Vol. 20, no. 2 (November, 1919): 136.

in Shanghai opened a nursing school, which was led by the Chinese nurse Wu Zheyang. The school trained 40 Chinese nurses in a three-year program until 1926.³³¹

2.4 Conclusion

The work of the Red Cross achieved greater political significance due to conflicting interests among national Red Cross Societies. Against the background of a rising national consciousness and patriotism among the Chinese population after the First World War, when Japanese claims over former German territories were supported by European powers and America at the Peace Conference in 1919, Shen's ambition opposed American paternalism. However, on behalf of the American Red Cross, representatives of the Beijing office strengthened their influence over the Chinese Red Cross and accelerated the emulation of standards of leading Red Cross Societies.

This chapter has shown that during the warlord era, the Red Cross could only partially accomplish its objective of accelerating social transformation. Firstly, not all regions of the country had access to modern medical infrastructures. The Red Cross branches could co-exist with traditional relief services. Shanghai and other modern centres, like Tianjin, where foreign powers had concessions, allowed the local Red Cross chapter to operate with better standards due to the possibility of cooperating with Western medical institutions. Secondly, participation of Chinese women remained low, hindered by strong and persistent Confucian social values, although the organization did continue to highlight women's participation in Red Cross work in its publications.

³³¹ Watt, "Breaking into Public Service," 71.

Chapter Three

Creating the Red Swastika Society

3.1 Introduction

The emergence of new philanthropic initiatives in China from the late-imperial era reflected inner-Chinese transformations and an intensifying foreign influence on the country's social and political landscape. Among new philanthropic initiatives were those that adhered to international trends to transform and modernize the country with new standards as the previous chapters on the Red Cross have demonstrated, and humanitarian initiatives that strove for the preservation of traditions. The 1916 founded redemptive society Daoyuan created the Red Swastika Society in order to implemented relief measures in China and abroad. This chapter introduces the Daoyuan religion and its investment in philanthropy and suggests that at the beginning the Red Swastika's work differed significantly from that of the Red Cross because of the influence of the Daoyuan.

3.2 *The Daoyuan Society*

As the Chinese historian Lu Zhongwei suggests, the turbulent socio-political changes during the Yuan time and the warlord era as well as the constant need for social security due to frequent natural and man-made catastrophes in many parts of the country encouraged the establishment of local and supra-regional religious networks. Lu Zhongwei has a Marxist point of view of the new religious movements. He not only defines them as feudal and superstitious, but believes their religion a cheat, and their philanthropic services nothing but a sign of elites taking advantage of those in need. Nonetheless, the historian acknowledges their broad appeal and their widespread popularity.³³² In early 1921, a group of 48 disciples chaired by Du Bingyin 杜秉寅 from Jiangsu established the first Daoyuan branch in Jinan on 9 February and received the Scripture of the Polar Singularity 太乙北极真经 in the following months.³³³ In October 1921, the Daoyuan and its two sub-organizations, the Red Swastika Society and the Women's Morality Society, were authorized by the Ministry of Interior to establish offices in all provinces.³³⁴

The Daoyuan advocated for rituals and practices, which gradually came to be labelled as old and useless in the late Qing period by supporters of foreign models, but valued by a large portion of the Chinese population for whom imported practices and Chinese practices supplemented each other. The ongoing popularity of spirit writing can be seen as part of a general revival of traditional spiritual practices despite their gradual condemnation as “superstitious” by many intellectuals, reformers and representatives of the government. For instance, the Taiwan-born novelist and anthropologist Xu Dishan conducted extensive research on the practice of the planchette on the mainland in the 1930s and demonstrated its wide use among the population. In addition to this form of divination he also proposed other popular rituals, which were often used by the population.³³⁵ The historian Chen Minghua estimates that

³³² Lu Zhongwei, “Huidaomen in the Republican Period,” *Chinese Studies in History* 44, no. 1–2 (2010): 11.

³³³ DuBois, “The Salvation of Religion?” 80.

³³⁴ 世红卍字会, 中华总会一览 (香港, 1940), 20; World Red Swastika, *List of Activities of the China Central Office* (Hong Kong, 1940), 20.

³³⁵ 许地山, 扶箕迷信研究 (上海, 1943), 2. Xu Dishan, *The Research on Superstition* (Shanghai, 1943), 2. Xu defined eleven forms of superstition 占下 such as divination for health 身占, testing the spirit 灵试, prediction

despite a rising suppression of rituals such as spirit writing, 19,000 altars were used in Republican China to receive messages from deities and to communicate with deities and ancestors.³³⁶ The popularity of these practices impressed foreign observers, such as many Christian missionaries.³³⁷ For example, the Congregationalist Lewis Hodous described the practices' function as the worship of gods, but also as the invocation of natural powers:

Magic writing by means of a brush suspended from a bow hanging from the ceiling, or by means of the forked stick held in the hands and writing on a platter of sand is quite common and in certain sections on the increase. Prescriptions for disease, advice in trouble, and messages from the dead are received by this method. Communication with the dead has always existed, but has become more general and more modern. We are accordingly faced not with outward superstitions, but with practices backed by so-called modern science, and spread by organized effort and by advertising in the newspapers, magazines and organized associations.³³⁸

Hodous added that spirituality and self-cultivation were even promoted by members of the Ministry of Education such as Yin Shizi 因是子, who had published the book “The Practice of Meditation by 静坐法”.³³⁹

The Daoyuan was founded during spirit writing séances in the Bin district 滨县 in Shandong province from 1916 to 1917 by a group of influential elites. The practitioners of spirit writing in Bin district were Wu Fusen 吴福森, governor 知事 of the county from Wujin 武进 in Jiangsu province, Liu Shaoqi 刘绍其, military commander from Feng Yang 凤阳 in Anhui province, and the officials Hong Shitao 洪士陶 from Rugao 如皋 in Jiangsu and Zhou Xide 周锡德 from Shangcheng 商城 in Henan. They received messages from a Daoist deity at the local Daoist temple 仙祠 and instructions to establish a new religious movement.³⁴⁰ As Chen

预告, children possessed by gods 降僮, divination from corpses 尸占, divination from stars 星占, divination from earth 地占, and divination from a board 板占 to which the planchette also belonged. The mediums could be Zigu 紫姑 Purple Maiden, the Spirit of the Latrine, mountain people 山人, and immortals 仙子.

³³⁶ Chen, 扶乩的制度化与民国新兴宗教的成长, 66.

³³⁷ Lewis Hodous, “Non-Christian Religious Movements in China,” in Milton T. Stauffer ed., *The Christian Occupation of China. A General Survey of the Numerical Strength and Geographical Distribution of the Christian Forces in China Made by the Special Committee on Survey and Occupation China Continuation Committee, 1918-1921* (Shanghai, 1922), 29-30. And, Paul de Witt Twinem, “Modern Syncretic Religious Societies in China,” *The Journal of Religion* Vol.5, no.5 (1925): 463-482.

³³⁸ Hodous, “Non-Christian Religious Movements in China,” 29. “This animism has numerous manifestations. There is the usual worship in temples, expressing various needs of the individual, the family and the social group. The processions to bring rain, prevent floods, drive out the demons of disease are the habitual expression of the groups brought face to face with disaster and death and without any apparent human agency to overcome the danger.”

³³⁹ Hodous, “The Chinese Church of Five Religions,” 76.

³⁴⁰ Richard Fox Young, “Sanctuary of the Tao: The Place of Christianity in a Sino-Japanese Sect,” *Journal of*

proposes, the spirit writing activities of Wu, Liu, Hong, and Zhou added the worship of another deity to this cult. The new deity was known as the Ancestor of Former Heaven 先天老祖 and as the Great Progenitor, who became the highest deity of the Daoyuan.³⁴¹ The deity's messages attracted the attention of other locals, and an increasing number of people from Shandong and other provinces started to attend the sessions including Wang Renwen 王人文, the provincial governor of Sichuan.³⁴² The spirit writing sessions in the Bin district marked the beginning of the Daoyuan cult that initially developed from loosely connected rituals to a codified religious practice in the early 1920s. At the beginning of 1921, the founders of the Daoyuan received the foundation text, *Scripture of the Polar Singularity* 太乙北极真经, which had been transmitted by the Great Progenitor and consisted of the Daoyuan's explanation of the origins of the universe based on primordial spiritual forces and became the foundational text of the society.³⁴³

The Daoyuan proposed to alleviate suffering all over the world through the practices of Daoyuan cult, which were based on religious syncretism and intercultural dialogue. The Daoyuan's religious system worshiped the Great Progenitor, the "Creative Spirit underlying all planes of existence (...) as the Primordial Life Force or Cosmic Energy", who presided Five Teachers from five religions to which Confucius, Laozi, the Buddha, Jesus, and Muhammed belonged.³⁴⁴ As Richard Fox Young observes local Daoyuan scripts explain the connection between the five religions as "chains of correspondence". In Hong Kong, the spiritual master introduced Young to a specific categorization of the five religions, relating them through attributes. According to this categorization, Taoism 甲乙 is east, green, wood; Buddhism 丙丁 is south, red, fire; Confucianism 戊己 is centre, yellow, earth; Christianity 庚辛 is west, white, metal; and Islam 壬癸 is north, black, water.³⁴⁵ The sanctuary of the Daoyuan, as observed at the Hong Kong Red Swastika centre, reflects the religion's syncretic order.³⁴⁶ According to my personal observations of the altar of the Hong Kong branch of the World Red Swastika Society, the Great Progenitor is worshiped and depicted in so-called spirit photographs, a technique popular in the 1920s, when spirituality influenced the modern technology of photography.

Chinese Religions Vol. 17, no. 1 (1989): 5.

³⁴¹ Chen, 扶乩的制度化与民国新兴宗教的成长, 67.

³⁴² Young, "Sanctuary of the Tao," 7.

³⁴³ DuBois, "The Salvation of Religion?" 80.

³⁴⁴ 道院, 修座须知 (香港, 1978), 4; Daoyuan, *Instructions on Meditation* (Hong Kong, 1978), 45.

³⁴⁵ Young, "Sanctuary of the Tao," 15.

³⁴⁶ Daoyuan, 修座须知, 6.

Pictures of the spirit – taken by capturing steam and air or black tissues – depict the deity as a bearded man and are only displayed at the altar of the Hong Kong Daoyuan during dedicated events and ceremonies or guest visits. The sanctuary also reflects religious syncretism in which Christianity seems to be assigned a special place. For instance, in front of the altar a taboret is reminiscent of a Catholic confession box.³⁴⁷

As has been noted, Christianity was one of the five world religions from which the Daoyuan drew its theories and Christians actively influenced the religion. Karl Ludwig Reichelt, a Lutheran missionary from Norway, was the most active Christian influence in the early history of the Daoyuan. During his contact with the order, from 1922 to 1926, Christian elements appeared in the oracles during spirit sessions in Nanjing and Wang Zhengting, a Christian and the foreign minister of the Nationalist government from 1928 to 1931 and president of the Red Cross Society of China from 1934 to 1949, was a member of the Daoyuan and participated in spirit-writing sessions.³⁴⁸ Young indicates that Wang transcribed the spirit's messages at a séance in 1944 in Chongqing that stipulated the establishment of an Association for Research on International Religions 国际宗教研究会.³⁴⁹ While Wang's participation as a Christian reflected the syncretic nature of this religious school, his participation also showed that a very influential member of the Nationalist government participated in religious activities of a redemptive society, even though it been suppressed by his Party. Thus, despite suppression, the original mission of the Daoyuan and the Red Swastika retained their popularity.

The heart of the Daoyuan religion is the practice of self-cultivation, in Chinese 修真, 仙道 or 丹道, by the believers. *Instructions on Meditation* 修座须知 published in 1923 stipulated the regulations for meditation for its followers to enable them to achieve the alleviation of worldwide suffering. Received on the third day of the fifth moon in 1923 from the Great Progenitor, the mission was introduced with these words:

Why is it that calamity has fallen upon the world? The root of this widespread disaster lies in the depths of the heart of man. When man's ears turn away from the right path and follows devious bypaths, adverse changes in the world affairs will inevitably occur with increasing rapidity and will be followed in due time by natural as well as political and social disasters. The

³⁴⁷ Personal observation during my visit of the World Red Swastika Hong Kong in August 2014.

³⁴⁸ "Wang Cheng-t'ing," in *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* Vol. 3, ed. Howard L. Boorman, Richard C. Howard, (New York, 1967), 364.

³⁴⁹ Young, "Sanctuary of the Tao," 18.

only way to turn the tide and save mankind from downfall lies in the spiritual regeneration of each member of the human family, in his full understanding of the ways and means of returning to the creative source of his life and restoring to its pristine purity his original spiritual nature, thus re-establishing himself in that Goal of Life that is perfect in all perfections. When he attains that ultimate goal, his inner radiance will not be obscured by worldly desires; nor will his mind be perturbed by demonical distractions. The inner light shining from such perfected beings is so potent that it invisibly dissolves the pestilential influences prevailing in the world and imperceptibility delivers mankind from the dark cycle in which they are involved. Herein lies the radical principle of the salvation of the world.³⁵⁰

The Daoyuan's instructions for self-cultivation stipulate spiritual self-cultivation and self-cultivation through interaction with others. While the former consists of meditation, the latter requires charitable activities. According to the *Instructions on Meditation*, internal cultivation consists of meditation and contemplation to achieve perfection of the inner self. Meditation serves to internalize the Ten Commandments, the morals of the Daoyuan. Practicing meditation and living according to the Ten Commandments lead to a "return to the spiritual home", and free the soul from all kinds of distress. The Ten Commandments dictate avoiding unethical conduct, immoral deeds, evil of all kinds, unrighteousness, concealing people's sterling excellence, cruelty and harshness, treacherous and clandestine acts, jealousy and insolence, frivolity and blasphemy.³⁵¹ Daily adherence to meditation and contemplation of the Ten Commandments is registered in a record book. The successful practice of inner self-cultivation allows a believer to acquire the Sutra, the next step in the fulfilment of self-perfection. Transgressions of the Ten Commandments and actions against morality are recorded in a transgressions book, so that the believer can regularly read them and atone for them through additional meditation. As the Daoyuan claims, offenses against the Ten Commandments lead to natural catastrophes and illness.³⁵² Requiring the practice of self-cultivation for its believers, the Daoyuan prioritized popular practices such as breathing techniques and dietetics for well-being and health called *yangsheng* 養生, and meditation techniques called *jingzuo* 靜坐. In doing so, the Daoyuan sought to distinguish its cult from Daoism and emphasized self-cultivating practices not as preliminary preparations like in Daoism, but as independent practices with

³⁵⁰ Daoyuan, 修座須知, 4.

³⁵¹ Daoyuan, 修座須知, 23.

³⁵² Young, "Sanctuary of the Tao," 14.

benefits for the believers on their own. Thus, redemptive societies extracted aspects of traditions and presented them in a renewed way.³⁵³

A further aspect of self-cultivation was acting charitably and voluntarily to alleviate the suffering of others. The objective of Daoyuan's charitable work is to avoid personal benefit as well as self-aggrandizement.³⁵⁴ Young indicates that monetary donations were one expression of duty.³⁵⁵ According to the *Instructions on Meditation*, the Great Progenitor stipulated that the use of financial resources was one way to do good for others and that believers should actively conduct charitable activities. The Daoyuan's humanitarian mission created a set of morals that motivated its believers to voluntarily alleviate the suffering of everybody regardless of origin, congregation, or nationality.³⁵⁶ Additional religious practices to enhance self-cultivation consist of prayers. The Hong Kong Red Swastika branch, for example, celebrates prayer sessions for its members every Sunday. These sessions consist of three hours of meditative singing and are followed by meditation in silence. The conduct of these sessions shows that even today, membership is based on the practice of Daoyuan religion.³⁵⁷

While sessions of the Hong Kong Red Swastika's members reveal the continuous vitality of meditative practices, spirit writing was abandoned by the Hong Kong's branch after the death of the branch's last spirit writing master in the 1980s. The new chairman Xu Jianguo 许建国 decided to end this practice due to the lack of knowledge about correct implementation. In contrast, believers in Taiwan and in Malaysia still incorporate spirit writing séances into their religious practices.³⁵⁸ The continuation of Daoyuan religion without the use of spirit writing in Hong Kong once again proves the ability of the religion to adjust the religion to new political circumstances such as the impact of the Chinese government, which has tried to suppress and limit popular religious traditions in Hong Kong—a special administrative region in the People's Republic of China since 1997.

3.3 *The Daoyuan's Mission in Practice*

³⁵³ Daoists in the Modern Chinese Self-Cultivation Market, *The Case of Beijing, 1850–1949*, Vincent Goossaert, 126.

³⁵⁴ Daoyuan, 修座须知, 30.

³⁵⁵ Young, "Sanctuary of the Tao," 11.

³⁵⁶ Daoyuan, 修座须知, 28.

³⁵⁷ My observation during my visit of the World Red Swastika Hong Kong in August 2014.

³⁵⁸ Conversation with Xu Jianguo, chairman of the branch in Hong Kong in August 2014.

The rapid expansion of the Red Swastika's network revealed the strong support for this alternative Red Cross among many Chinese. In July 1922, the network had thirteen branches with 1,200 members, and by 1923 the number had risen to more than 100 branches with several thousand members.³⁵⁹ In addition, registration with the Ministry of the Interior showed respect for the rule of the government.³⁶⁰ As of 1922 the Daoyuan and the Red Swastika Society could establish branches and offices in all provinces. Westerners, like Hodous, who was in contact with the Daoyuan described this trend positively. In 1924, he wrote:

This religious movement makes it clear that the genius of China will not be eclipsed by the present world confusion. In the midst of turmoil and strike and the uncertainty of the times this is an attempt to produce order and a religion for men to live by. Whatever its faults, it is a sincere attempt to adjust the religious heritage of the past with the present. It is a movement that seeks harmony. To the Chinese, the strife, if such there must be, will not result in the victory of one party or the other, but in a higher synthesis of the truth. The Chinese are experts in the practice of practical relativity.³⁶¹

After its authorization by the Ministry of the Interior as a national religious and relief association, the Daoyuan established a hierarchically organized network of branches. At the top of the hierarchy stood the main administrative office in Beijing, the World Red Swastika China Central Office 世界红卍字会中华总会, led by Xiong. Administration of the headquarters was divided in six departments each of which was in charge of different issues in all the branches such as administration 总务, storage 储计, disaster prevention 防灾, emergency work 救济, charity 慈善, and public affairs 交际. The second institution in the hierarchy of the network was the spiritual center in Jinan, called the 母院 Mother Department. Images of this center show that the six entrances of the building reflected the six departments of the organization.³⁶² Although this hierarchical order suggests that the Beijing office controlled the network, the center in Jinan was the spiritual authority. For example, new branches registered in Beijing, but were authorized by members of the spiritual center.

The effectiveness of the management built on supra-regional coordination of five

³⁵⁹ Paul de Witt Twinem, "Modern Syncretic Religious Societies in China," *The Journal of Religion* Vol.5, no.5 (1925): 473.

³⁶⁰ F. S. Drake, "The Tao Yuan: A New Religious and Spiritualistic Movement," *The Chinese Recorder* 54 (1923): 135.

³⁶¹ Hodous, "The Chinese Church of Five Religions," 78.

³⁶² Personal observation during my visit of the World Red Swastika Hong Kong in August 2014. The building in Jinan exists until today, but it is not open to public.

regional networks in Hebei, Shandong, and Henan; the Southeast including Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Anhui, Fujian, and Hong Kong; the Northwest including Shanxi, Shaanxi, Gansu, Ningxia; the Southwest including Hunan, Hebei, Sichuan, and Jiangxi; and the whole Northeastern network, which declared independence after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. In addition, there were central offices in urban centers like Beijing, Tianjin, Nanjing, Hankou, Zhangjiakou, Fengtian, Shanghai, Yantai, Xi'an, and Taiyuan 住院 that linked the branches in their regions with each other and were charged with the coordination of subordinated provincial departments 省院, departments at the township-level 县院, and local branches 支院. In addition, specific coordination offices 联合办事处 were responsible for the exchange of finances and materials such as food, medicine, and clothes. In 1928, the Society had 15 coordinating offices that contacted branches and other relief organizations during emergencies.³⁶³ While many of these branches subscribed to the Daoyuan and its practices, they also developed independent rituals and scripts and suggested so the perception of the network as loosely connected.³⁶⁴ However, the network was not completely disconnected. For instance, leading members from Jinan participated in the foundation ceremonies of new branches. Their participation revealed connections between the branches.³⁶⁵ Thus, despite unstandardized spiritual rituals, the organizational structure of the Daoyuan's and Red Swastika's network proves inter-connection and mutual care.

The fact that high-ranking leaders of the country supported the Daoyuan, which was founded in Shandong province where Japan possessed strong influence, underpinned its importance and indicated support for traditional alliance with Japan. Members of the 1921 created Board of Directors were influential personalities such as Qian Nengxun 钱能训 (1869-1924) who had been President of the Republic of China from 1918 until 1919; Wang Zhiyang 王芝祥 (1858-1930) who organized the World Religion Congress in Beijing in 1925; Wang Renwen 王人文 (1863-1939) who was governor of Sichuan province and had visited the initial Daoyuan séances in 1916; Xu Shiguang 徐世光 (1857-1929), the brother of Xu Shichang who had been President of the Republic from 1918 to 1922; and the Presbyterian missionary Gilbert Reid who appears in Daoyuan documents under his Chinese name 李佳白 and who had worked

³⁶³ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 50.

³⁶⁴ Thomas DuBois, "The Salvation of Religion? Public Charity and the New Religions of the Early Republic," *Minsu Quyi*, Vol. 172, no. 6 (2001): 84.

³⁶⁵ Daoyuan, 南京道院癸甲二周会刊, 5.

since the late imperial era with officials and intellectuals with whom he promoted inter-cultural exchange. In addition, the composition of the Board reveals that this project was led by an elder generation of elites, who had gained their influence during the late Qing and who did not oppose a radical break with traditions to strengthen the country at a time of growing Western and Japanese colonialism.

While a younger generation of iconoclasts called for protest against Japanese colonial claims since the influential May Fourth Movement in 1919, the Board consisted of officials who did not oppose Japanese influence.³⁶⁶ For example, Xu Shiguang's connection to his brother Xu Shichang, who came to power as president because of his alliance with the Anhui Clique and their leader Duan Qirui 段祺瑞, warlord, premier, president (1924 to 1926), and supporter of negotiations with Japan to strengthen the Beiyang government's financial situation, demonstrates that members of the board had connections to elites who advocated for China's dependence on Japanese loans. On the basis of these loans, Japan built its claim to occupy Shandong province, the birthplace of the Daoyuan. However, while leading members of the Daoyuan could endorse Japanese colonialism during the 1920s, support for Japanese influence ceased among many members of the China-based networks during the 1930s in favour of patriotic support for anti-Japanese campaigns due to Japan's attacks on the country and its occupation of Manchuria.

From the beginning Xiong Xiling 熊希齡 (1870-1937), was an influential member and supporter of the Red Swastika Society and the promoter of the mission as an alternative to the Red Cross emphasizing its role for national support and social transformation. Xiong, who was the son of a military officer and who was called the "boy genius of Hunan" in his youth, became nominated premier and finance minister of the Republic from July 1913 to February 1914 by Yuan Shikai. After Xiong's conflicts with Yuan and the parliament about approaches to governance, he gave up his position and became the director of the National Petroleum Bureau and of the River Conservancy Bureau. After the death of Yuan in 1916, Xiong remained a member of the political consultative board, but was predominately active in philanthropic projects for which he gained his reputation.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁶ Jan Chong, "Chinese Nationalism Reconsidered – or, a Case for Historizing the Study of Chinese Politics," in *Democratization in China, Korea and Southeast Asia? Local and National Perspectives*, ed. Kate Xiao Zhou, Shelley Rigger (New York, 2014), 218.

³⁶⁷ 周秋光, 熊希齡与慈善教育事业 (长沙, 1991), 245. Zhou Qiuguang, *Xiong Xiling and Philanthropic Education*, (Changsha, 1991), 207.

Due to his reputation as a member of the Beiyang government and as an influential philanthropist, Xiong could establish networks between local, national, and foreign supporters. Zhou Qiuguang suggests that Xiong became devoted to philanthropy because of the experience of his family, who encountered severe natural catastrophes in Hunan when he was a child. His first engagement in philanthropy was in response to floods in Hebei in the fall of 1917 during which over one hundred counties needed to be evacuated.³⁶⁸ Xiong effectively campaigned for donations at the government in Beijing, organized local relief services, and also sought support from foreigners and foreign organizations for support. The result of his investment was the creation of a network of relief institutions that consisted of 309 loan offices, 181 homes for the poor and children, 539 food distribution offices, and 49 seed selling offices.³⁶⁹ In 1920, Xiong was again active in emergency aid when the provinces Shandong, Henan, Shanxi and Shaanxi were flooded. During this crisis, he coordinated the North China Relief Society 中国北方救灾总会 to which 16 national and international organizations belonged.³⁷⁰

As Xiong's cooperation with the Chinese Red Cross and his support for the Red Swastika shows, his interest in philanthropy encompassed the creation of helping measures for the poor and sick by all means available. In 1916, he was a member of a Red Cross network in Hunan and served as a guarantor for money transfers collected by the central office in Shanghai.³⁷¹ Further, Xiong was in contact with the Red Cross because he supervised the distribution of resources in his function as philanthropist connected with the government. For instance, in 1918 he was in contact with Shen Dunhe. Documentation of Xiong's correspondences reveals that Shen sent a telegraph to Xiong and thanked him for a donation of clothes to the Red Cross.³⁷² Xiong's approach to humanitarianism can be described as support for the compatibility of ideas that represented a new style of approaches and Chinese traditional methods.³⁷³ His institution offered vocational and moral education and provided orphans with a family and a school. While moral education educated children to become responsible citizens who cared for others in need, the vocational training prepared them for life after leaving the

³⁶⁸ Zhou, 熊希龄传, 517.

³⁶⁹ Zhou, 熊希龄传, 519.

³⁷⁰ Zhou, 熊希龄传, 524.

³⁷¹ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 174.

³⁷² 上海書店出版社, 熊希齡先生遺稿 (上海, 1998), 213. Shanghai Bookstore Publishing House, *The Correspondence of Mr. Xiong Xiling* (Shanghai, 1998), 213.

³⁷³ Zhou, 熊希齡传, 549.

orphanage. Some of the orphans were even admitted to famous universities.³⁷⁴ In his 1923 publication *New Education* 新教育 Xiong introduced the Fragrant Hills Charitable Home not only as a new educational institution, which promoted a holistic approach to schooling poor children, but also as a place that promoted Western medicine. The orphanage had a hospital, which was run in the name of the Red Cross. In addition, Xiong's orphanage collaborated with the Beijing Women's Red Cross Obstetrical Hospital 北平女红十字会产科医院. The hospital was founded by the Beijing Women's Red Cross in 1920 to support child birth without demanding fees for service. In addition, if the mother or the child was sick, the hospital offered treatment and medication for free.³⁷⁵

As Zhou suggests, Xiong regarded religion as a way to strengthen the traditional values of social responsibility. For example, in 1914, during the first governmental campaigns against popular cults and rituals, Xiong defended folk religion against Yuan Shikai's plans to destroy temples. In addition, Zhou suggests that although the Fragrant Hills Charitable Home was not a religious institution, there was a shrine at which inhabitants worshipped Confucius, Buddha, and Jesus.³⁷⁶ Although it remains unclear from Xiong's biography whether the orphanage's religious rituals consisted of spirit writing and whether Xiong was a practitioner of Dao yuan religion, his promotion of religion as a way to generate social stability concurred with the Red Swastika's faith-based humanitarian mission. In 1921, Xiong became director of the Red Swastika's administrative Beijing office and remained there as an influential member of the Red Swastika's China-based network until his death in late December 1937. As Duara shows, Xiong argued in 1929 that popular religious societies were as crucial as state sanctioned religion to strengthen the nation.³⁷⁷

At the beginning, spirit writing was an essential aspect in the Red Swastika's evolution as it guided the establishment of branches and was used by many members.³⁷⁸ Evidence from Nanjing reveals that the Great Progenitor guided the establishment of the branch. The photo from the Nanjing Dao yuan journal shows the sanctuary at which the deity was worshiped when

³⁷⁴ Janet Chen, *Guilty of Indigence. The Urban Poor in China, 1900-1953* (Princeton, 2012), 71.

³⁷⁵ Zhou, 熊希龄传, 245.

³⁷⁶ Zhou, 熊希龄传, 213.

³⁷⁷ Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity. Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (New York, 2003), 109.

³⁷⁸ Lu, "Huidaomen," 20.

the Nanjing branch was founded in 1923.³⁷⁹ Advice about how to establish the branch was transmitted during spirit writing sessions at the altar and transcribed. In 1923, in Nanjing, Mr. Tao Bajin 陶保晋 received messages from the Great Progenitor and founded the branch.³⁸⁰ The branch was established in a ceremony which saw the participation of members of the leading Daoyuan offices in Jinan and Beijing. Among them were leaders of military affairs such as the military governor Ji 济督军 and the provincial director Wo 鞞省长.³⁸¹ The redemptive society was mainly supported by elites, many of whom were merchants and officials. Christian missionaries estimated that the large presence of elites limited the group's progress towards becoming a "church" because it excluded illiterate people and the poor.³⁸² However, Lu suggests that in rural regions it was mainly peasants and illiterate people who joined redemptive societies.³⁸³



The motivation to become a follower of the Daoyuan varied. Some became members because they believed in the Daoyuan religion; some because they profited from the mutual aid between members. Some joined because of family ties and others because of professional ties. Hence, membership was made up by those who were interested in the religion, and those who regarded participation as useful for networking.³⁸⁴ Despite this variety in motivation, which makes it difficult to estimate whether all members were believers who practiced self-cultivation, entrance into the organization was ritualized. Every member needed to be introduced by two members. After being accepted, a member received an emblem 修宝, which symbolized the member's belonging. Furthermore, members took on a Daoyuan name that was revealed during a spirit writing session; These names were used in the society's publications and reports. The founding members of the Nanjing branch, for instance, were named by their Daoyuan names in the report. Ji's Daoyuan name was 'brightness and morality' 光德 and the provincial director's name was 'returning hope' 又希. Other participants were a leader of the Buddhist Association

³⁷⁹ Daoyuan, 南京道院癸甲二周会刊, 13.

³⁸⁰ Daoyuan, 南京道院癸甲二周会刊, 14.

³⁸¹ Daoyuan, 南京道院癸甲二周会刊, 20.

³⁸² Drake, "The Tao Yuan," 144.

³⁸³ Lu, "Huidaomen," 19.

³⁸⁴ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 60.

whose Daoyuan name was ‘benevolence and truth’ 善实.³⁸⁵

Women were organised into the Women’s Morality Society 女道德社, which was also registered as part of the Daoyuan in 1921. Lu suggests that in rural regions women were the majority among the members of the religious groups.³⁸⁶ Duara’s research on women’s participation in the redemptive Morality Society during the 1930s suggests that women joined redemptive societies due to personal reasons. Grief, loss, distress, and belief were the motivations prompting women to join the Morality Society and to spread its message in lectures.³⁸⁷ Duara concludes that despite engaging in activities like public lecturing, redemptive societies promoted conservative ideas about women’s roles. Women working as lecturers for the Morality Society in the 1930s were active in public but their service to religious organizations was embedded in the conservative image of women and their role in society along traditional, Confucian models.

In the case of the Daoyuan, separate women’s offices were attached to Red Swastika offices at all levels of the network. Regulations for establishing women’s offices stipulated that a Red Swastika office have to set up a separate women’s office when it counted more than 30 women among its members. Women’s branches were mainly led by the wives or mothers of Red Swastika officers. In 1925, the Nanjing Daoyuan branch opened an office of the Women’s Morality Society. The branch was chaired by the mother of the guard of the Nanjing Red Swastika office, Mrs. Tao.³⁸⁸ The Nanjing Daoyuan’s journal shows that the spirit writing ritual had also advised the establishment of the women’s branch. The participating women were mainly wives of the members of the Daoyuan branch who practiced a specific tradition of self-cultivation in separate rooms and referred to an already established tradition of specialized women’s religious practices. My observations at the Hong Kong World Red Swastika’s Women’s branch confirm the continuing involvement of wives of leading members in the leadership of the women’s branches. Today, the Hong Kong branch has a small women’s office that is run by the wife of the former spirit writing master of the Hong Kong branch. The office is located in a neighboring building of the Red Swastika and shows that women still have a separate room for self-cultivation. Nevertheless, today during ceremonies, all members both

³⁸⁵ Daoyuan, 南京道院癸甲二周会刊, 5.

³⁸⁶ Lu, “Huidaomen,” 19.

³⁸⁷ Prasenjit Duara, “Of Authenticity and Woman: Personal Narratives of Middle-Class Women in Modern China,” in *Becoming Chinese: Passages to Modernity and Beyond*, ed. Wen Hsin-Yeh (London, 2000), 353.

³⁸⁸ Daoyuan, 南京道院癸甲二周会刊, 25.

male and female, come together to sing and pray.

In 1925, these women were mainly in charge of administrative tasks like accounting and collecting donations. During relief assignments, they helped women and children. However, the unspecified nature of their activities suggests that their role was not to depart from traditional gender roles.³⁸⁹ As Jordan and Overmyer propose, the Daoyuan resembled trends in other spirit writing based cults by encouraging women to fulfill traditional social roles.³⁹⁰ However, as we will see in the next chapter, during the 1930s, the Red Swastika started to offer more opportunities for women to become active in philanthropy. Some tasks, like nursing, allowed for new and modern images of women to emerge. Like the Red Cross, the Red Swastika began to offer new opportunities for Chinese women.

Relief activities of the Red Swastika consisted of the creation of long-term institutions and emergency work, which was mainly the responsibility of men. Long-term or permanent institutions consisted of hospitals, medical offices, pharmacies, schools, production shops, manufactures, orphanages, poor homes, homes for disabled people, homes for widows, coffin distribution offices, and soup kitchens. Some institutions like medical offices, orphanages, poor houses, and grain distribution offices could also be established temporarily. In addition, the network possessed a financial system based on financial institutions like loan offices 贷济局, investment offices 因利局, and banks.³⁹¹

Until the Nanjing Decade, the Red Swastika only established a few medical institutions. According to Gao, there were only two branches, one in Tianjin and one in Shanghai, that had hospitals. The hospital in Tianjin was established in 1923 and had treated 240,000 cases by 1948. The hospital in Shanghai was founded in 1925. Temporary hospitals were created due to the need for medical treatment like the one in Hangzhou which was created in 1924. In addition, the network ran medical treatment offices with small medical centers. They were often operated by voluntary and unpaid personnel making use of modern biomedicine and Chinese medicine at the same time. These offices offered free medical treatment and drugs.³⁹² Pharmacies were established until 1927 in 18 branches. Medical institutions and pharmacies operated according to the Daoyuan's approach of cultural blending Western and Chinese medicine. Nevertheless,

³⁸⁹ Daoyuan, 南京道院癸甲二周会刊, 27.

³⁹⁰ Jordan, Overmyer 57.

³⁹¹ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 104.

³⁹² Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 106.

the majority used, produced, and sold Chinese medicine.³⁹³

The Red Swastika's educational system consisted of schools in which children from poor families or orphans were educated. As of 1927, 13 branches had established schools that trained between 250 and 50 children. Gao indicates that because these poor schools received no regular income, for example school fees, they were often staffed by few workers.³⁹⁴ In addition, the institutions offered training for poor children in shops and factories. Shops where young people learned how to produce clothes, shoes, and products like baskets and bags emerged, in places like Beijing. In 1925, the 贫儿习艺 Poor Children Apprentice Institute trained 70 children in the production of clothes, shoes, line socks, and soap. It produced 1,200 products annually and sold them for 350 yuan.³⁹⁵

Other institutions, like homes for the disabled and orphanages, were established in Beijing, Tianjin, and Jinan by 1922. The sizes of these institutions varied. Jinan cared for 622 people, Tianjin cared for 484 disabled people, and Beijing for 22. In 1925, an orphanage for 20 children were established in Jinan, in the Tai district 泰县, and in Yingshang 颍上 where 150 children found shelter. In 1924, homes for 338 widows were established. Two coffin distribution offices were created. The office in Beijing distributed 50,000 coffins until 1936, and a smaller office in Chao Township 巢县 distributed 1,925 coffins.³⁹⁶ Four soup kitchens were established by 1927 in Beijing, Tianjin, Changchun, and in the Jin district. The two large soup kitchens in Beijing and Tianjin fed 2,000 to 8,000 people during winter months. The smaller ones fed 140 to 200 people.³⁹⁷

Many branches provided diverse services at the same time. For instance, the Boshan Daoyuan in Shandong, founded by Bu Yunhao 步云浩 and Shi Guanying 石冠英 during a spirit writing session in 1923, established several philanthropic institutions which were operated by the Red Swastika office.³⁹⁸ The branch established the General Aid Hospital 普济医院 that was located in the building of the Daoyuan and which cooperated with other medical institutions, for instance, in Jinan where the hospital purchased Chinese and Western medicine. Medical

³⁹³ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 109.

³⁹⁴ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 122.

³⁹⁵ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 125.

³⁹⁶ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 137.

³⁹⁷ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 140.

³⁹⁸ 石鑫三, 将又新, 博山道院, 红卍字会的创办与活动, 淄博文史资料选辑, 第2 (1984): 99. Shi Xinsan, Jiang Youxin, "The Foundation and Activities of the Boshan Daoyuan and the Red Swastika," *Zibo Historical Materials*, Vol. 2 (1984): 99.

treatment was not completely free, but was cheaper than in other medical institutions.³⁹⁹

Further, the branch had a school for the poor 平民小学 that offered free education to children. The branch also had a loan office 因利局 and a home for disabled people 残废栖流所. Another house for the poor provided shelter ad aid for migrant workers, who came to the region to work in the steel, and coal production and needed accommodation.

Although according to the group's publications the objective was voluntary involvement of the population and proselytization did not appear as the ostensible objective, as a faith-based humanitarian group, the Daoyuan benefited from a stable and growing number of members.⁴⁰⁰ On the one hand, as Gao proposes, proselytization was a main aspect of the Red Swastika until the Nanjing Decade and its schools introduced children to the Daoyuan religion. It was only during the Nanjing Decade that the educational program was adjusted and religious teaching banned from the schools.⁴⁰¹ On the other hand, while proselytization was a possible goal of relief work, the Red Swastika itself argued that its services were not channels for proselytization. According to the *Instructions on Meditation*, the main objective of charitable work was based on the voluntary will to study the religion "The Tao Yuan attaches great importance to the study and discussion of the Tao but does not concern itself at all with missionary activities."⁴⁰² Nevertheless, although proselytization did not appear as the ostensible objective, a faith-based humanitarian group like the Red Swastika benefited from a stable and growing number of members because their membership fees and donations secured a stable income.⁴⁰³ Members paid a regular fee and were also obliged to pay special fees in times of emergency work. Members also committed to donate property. According to Gao, these donations were organized by the heads of branches, but not imposed. Instead, as evidence from the Yantai branch shows, at many occasions, members donated at many occasions voluntarily to fulfill the requirements of their religion.⁴⁰⁴

While other sources of income consisted of donation campaigns and governmental subsidies, the Daoyuan and the Red Swastika set up their own financial system to offer loans to

³⁹⁹ Shi, Jiang, 博山道院, 红卍字会的创办与活动, 102.

⁴⁰⁰ Alastair Agar, Joey Agar, "Faith and the Discourse of Secular Humanitarianism," *Journal of Refugee Studies* Vol. 24, no. 3 (2011): 457.

⁴⁰¹ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 208.

⁴⁰² Daoyuan, 修座须知, 34.

⁴⁰³ Agar and Agar, "Faith and the Discourse of Secular Humanitarianism," 465.

⁴⁰⁴ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 74.

the poor and to provide the network with an additional source of income. By 1927, eight branches had established loan offices 因利局, from which the poor could borrow money. This money lending system offered loans to those who found a guarantor 保证人, which was often a shop, a guest house, a business office, or a restaurant. In addition, in 1923 the Daoyuan established its own banks, such as the Daosheng Bank 道生银行 and the Red Swastika Bank 红卍字会银行, which operated in collaboration with the Swastika Joint-Stock Limited Company 万慈银行股份有限公司.⁴⁰⁵ The Daosheng Bank established offices in Beijing, Tianjin, Jinan, Liaocheng, and had a capital of 20,000 to 50,000 yuan that was presented as potential investment in relief. The Jinan bank office was created in 1922 and recorded a profit of 26,459.97 yuan, of which 1,358.57 yuan were transmitted to the Daoyuan Bank.⁴⁰⁶

Further sources of income were religious rituals such as the 挂号 registration. Some Red Swastika branches conducted ceremonies to worship ancestors, and collected a registration fee paid by the relatives of the dead to carry out the ceremony.⁴⁰⁷ Income from on spirit writing based prescriptions could supplement the income of a branch. Chen proposes that many branches were practicing were practicing spirit writing as part of medical healing and prescribed drugs according to its predictions. These activities, performed in an individual way by members of the branches and, thus, uncontrolled and unauthorized, were a source of income. Chen proposes that in some cases the use of spirit writing as a financial source led to personal profit and a misuse of the ritual.⁴⁰⁸ One other consequence of the manifold uses of spirit writing was the emergence of many religious scriptures, which referred in an unstandardized way to Daoyuan religion. As it will be shown in the next chapter, the imposition of regulations on spirit writing by the Nationalist government enforced the implementation of strategies of control such as training in the conduct of spirit writing and the supervision of branches.

Further, the Daoyuan and the Red Swastika also generated income from the sale of publications. Daoyuan publications such as the Morality Magazine, 道德杂志, the Morality Monthly 道德月刊, the Philosophy Journal 哲报, and the Red Swastika Monthly Magazine 卍字月刊 were sold at books stores.⁴⁰⁹ The Red Swastika Daily News 字日日新闻 was sold for

⁴⁰⁵ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 117.

⁴⁰⁶ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 119.

⁴⁰⁷ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 75.

⁴⁰⁸ Chen, 扶乩的制度化与民国新兴宗教的成长, 82.

⁴⁰⁹ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 60.

1.5 to 15 cents. The average amount of printed copies could reach as many as two thousand per issue and an overall circulation of up to ten thousand copies.⁴¹⁰ The Daoyuan used the benefits from the sale of religious publications as a source to finance disaster relief. For example, in 1921 the newly registered Daoyuan sold 10,000 copies of a religious text, *True Scripture of the Shanghai Saving Life Association* 上海济生会真经. Copies were sold for two dollars each. Proceeds from sales covered the printing costs, organization expenses, and 40 percent was donated for disaster help.⁴¹¹ Publications also served to inform about activities and report on how income was spent.

Katz points out those journals were important in informing the people in China about practices, as well to reach Chinese people living overseas.⁴¹² The publications also listed reports of activities and showed gratitude to donors.⁴¹³ As these sources of income show, money came in from a variety of sources and due to a variety of services. In contrast to the Red Cross that mainly relied on membership fees, voluntary donations, governmental subsidies, and to a small degree on the sale of medication produced by its medical facilities, the Red Swastika's income was based on its financial, religious, and publishing activities. In addition, voluntary donations from members supplemented these sources. In this regard, the Red Swastika could draw from a wider range of sources to finance its activities. During its development, the organization also accumulated real estate. Together with its financial sources, these resources allowed it to generate and maintain its own banking and loan system, which in turn allowed for the long-term accumulation of resources. In addition, in contrast to the Red Cross, which often depended on subsidies from foreign sources, the Daoyuan's and Red Swastika's income came mainly from China.

Examining the Red Swastika's transnational networking, this chapter shows that the original mission of the Daoyuan motivated transnational exchange and cooperation.⁴¹⁴ In the late nineteenth century, Pan-Asianism was an ideology, which promoted an alliance of Asian countries against foreign colonial encroachment. During Japan's rise as a colonial power, Pan-Asianism turned into a legitimation of Japan's colonialism because it promoted the

⁴¹⁰ Katz, *Religion in China*, 78. In 1940, the religious periodical Press listed 400 religious periodicals, among them 211 Protestant, 74 Catholic, 61 Buddhist, 39 Islamic, 17 Daoist, and two Confucian.

⁴¹¹ Katz, *Religion in China*, 80.

⁴¹² Katz, *Religion in China*, 75.

⁴¹³ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 90.

⁴¹⁴ Duara, "The Discourse of Civilization," 119.

establishment of a coherent Asian culture headed by its most advanced and powerful nation, Japan.⁴¹⁵ The Red Swastika, an ally of the Ōmotō since 1923, became co-opted by Japanese colonial plans and used its services to propagate the pro-Japanese propaganda in the Japanese occupation of Manchukuo and during the war until 1945. The Japanese Meiji-period's state-building programs marginalized popular religious groups in favour of Shinto, the state religion, and provoked the emergence of a new style of redemptive societies such as the Ōmotō that aspired to expand its network beyond Japan by turning to transnationalism. During the inter-war period, the Ōmotō actively sought to establish contact with redemptive societies in China and Korea and supported inter-cultural bridges such as the language Esperanto.⁴¹⁶

The alliance between the Ōmotō and the Red Swastika Society reflected the strengthening of Pan-Asianism among Asian leaders, intellectuals, and activists in Asian countries. In the late nineteenth century, Pan-Asianism was an ideology, which promoted an alliance of Asian countries against Western colonial encroachment. However, over the course of Japan's rise as a colonial power after the First World War, this school of thought turned into a legitimization of Japan's colonialism because it promoted the establishment of a coherent Asian culture headed by its most advanced and powerful nation, Japan.⁴¹⁷ Although the Ōmotō was suppressed by the Japanese government due to its religious practices, the group supported Japanese expansionism because it served the organization's proselytizing mission. The Red Swastika became co-opted by Japanese colonialism on Chinese mainland due to its alliance with the Ōmotō that strengthened the influence of the Kwantung Army in Manchukuo. As a local redemptive society, the Red Swastika in Manchukuo became subordinate to the Japanese colonization and its members collaborated with the Japanese regime.⁴¹⁸ Thus, while efforts to disseminate its faith-based humanitarian vision around the world resembled the interest of other organizations at that moment, the Red Swastika pursued the creation of transnational connections based on the worship and practice of spirituality and adherence to Asian traditions, which turned its mission into a predicament in Manchukuo and in other occupied zones.

⁴¹⁵ Cemil Aydin, "Pan-Nationalism of Pan-Islamic, Pan-Asian, and Pan-African Thought," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*, ed. J. Breuilly (Oxford, 2013), 684.

⁴¹⁶ Nancy K. Stalker, *Prophet Motive. Deguchi Onisaburō, Oomoto, and the Rise of New Religions in Imperial Japan* (Honolulu, 2008), 143.

⁴¹⁷ Cemil Aydin, "Pan-Nationalism of Pan-Islamic, Pan-Asian, and Pan-African Thought," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*, ed. J. Breuilly (Oxford, 2013), 684.

⁴¹⁸ Sun Jiang, "The Predicament of a Redemptive Religion: The Red Swastika Society under the Rule of Manchukuo," *Journal of Modern Chinese History* Vol. 7, Issue 1 (2013), 109.

Despite similarities and cooperation, the Red Swastika's mission abroad transgressed the Red Cross's aid abroad. It was guided by its humanitarian idea to alleviate suffering and guided, guided by its commitment to spiritual practices. The first assignment abroad in 1923, during the Kanto earthquake in Japan, revealed the difference between the Red Swastika and the Red Cross. As the previous chapter has shown, the Red Cross sent activists to Kanto. These units cared for Chinese nationals and cooperated with the Japanese Red Cross. In contrast, the Red Swastika Society organized support, which served the Japanese population and established links with a Japanese redemptive society, the Ōmotō. The Red Swastika's activities consisted of organizing grain transport from China to Japan. According to the report of the Nanjing branch, the organization invested 20,000 yuan, bought grain, and organized the shipment with the support of the Sino-Japanese company 日清公司.⁴¹⁹ Zhou states that Xiong's orphanage sent clothes and grain to Japan.⁴²⁰

The aid and shipment of grain were the beginning of the Daoyuan's contact with the Japanese redemptive society, the Ōmotō. During the visit, representatives of both partner groups already agreed to establish a Daoyuan office in Kobe to guarantee the lasting presence of the group in Japan.⁴²¹ Contact between both organizations was established in September 1923 when the Nanjing Daoyuan sent a group of its members to Kobe. According to the documentation of the Ōmotō, the Daoyuan was guided by spirit writing. "According to Ōmotō sources, the fu-chi (fu-ji) oracle ordered Tao Yuan (Daoyuan) believers to aid earthquake survivors and indicated that there was a religious group in Japan with whom Tao Yuan should unite in an effort to achieve world peace. During their stay, they encountered the leader of the Ōmotō, Onisaburō and Sumiko, who helped establish a Daoyuan branch in Kobe. Li Narangora makes the point that cooperation between redemptive societies was established very quickly: "Coming to Japan they now discovered that the religious institution was Ōmotō. The Ōmotō leaders agreed to join forces with the Red Swastika society on the spot, and their collaboration lasted for many years. In the following year, a branch office of the Daoyuan was set up in Kobe with the help of the Ōmotō, and Ōmotō leader Deguchi Onisaburō became the Japanese representative of the office."⁴²²

⁴¹⁹ Daoyuan, 南京道院癸甲二周会刊, 10.

⁴²⁰ Zhou, 熊希龄传, 548.

⁴²¹ Nancy K. Stalker, *Prophet Motive. Deguchi Onisaburō, Oomoto, and the Rise of New Religions in Imperial Japan* (Honolulu, 2008), 153.

⁴²² Li Narangora, "Universal Values and Pan-Asianism: The Vision of Omotokyo," in *Pan-Asianism in Modern*

Emerging against the background of Japanese Meiji-period's state-building programs, which marginalized popular religious groups in favor of Shinto, the state religion, the Ōmotō aspired to expand its network by turning to transnationalism. Like many redemptive societies, the Ōmotō supported Esperanto and actively sought to establish contact with redemptive societies in China and Korea.⁴²³ The Ōmotō actively supported the work of new religious groups in China, Korea, and within other spheres of influence to legitimize its own rise. These activities can be seen as part of the Ōmotō's revitalization after its first suppression in 1921. In that year, the organization was labeled heretic and was banned. After the suppression, its religious rituals were amended, while the popularity of the movement grew. During the 1930s, the Ōmotō founded a variety of sub-organizations, for instance for youth and women, Esperanto groups, and the Jinrui Aizenkai (Universal Love and Brotherhood Association, ULBA). The ULBA was a secular, non-religious philanthropic initiative that recruited Japanese people and foreigners. Overall, the Ōmotō possessed in 1935 almost two thousand branches, over 9,000 proselytizing members, and around 600,000 followers who participated either in the Ōmotō or the ULBA.⁴²⁴

For the Ōmotō, contact with the Daoyuan in 1923 was an occasion to establish links with a Chinese spiritual group. The Daoyuan travelled to Japan to strengthen the relationship between both countries and their people. The Daoyuan's reference to the establishment of peaceful relations between the two countries indicates that its activities were also conducted to prepare the Red Swastika for a diplomatic role. Xiong was a forceful promoter of the Red Swastika as representative of the nation although the organization did not possess the same responsibilities as the Red Cross.⁴²⁵ In addition, the report of the Nanjing branch indicates that the first relief assignment in Japan was authorized by the Chinese government and that delegates of the Daoyuan also met the Japanese consul to Nanking.⁴²⁶ While the Daoyuan's work abroad in 1923 shows that members understood its work as possessing a representative role like that of the Red Cross, the organization's humanitarian mission served the deepening of the science of spiritual practices between the Daoyuan and its Japanese partner. In 1924, the

Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders, ed. Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London, 2007), 57.

⁴²³ Stalker, *Prophet Motive*, 142.

⁴²⁴ Stalker, *Prophet Motive*, 176.

⁴²⁵ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 195.

⁴²⁶ Stalker, *Prophet Motive*, 153.

Japanese delegate Cun Longguang 村隆光 visited the Daoyuan branches in Jinan and in Nanjing and held lectures about religion and spirituality.⁴²⁷ Moreover, as Duara suggests, the Red Swastika established offices in London and Paris where the network financed professorships of Esperanto. Such intercultural bridges reflected its mission to establish universal understanding and peace.⁴²⁸

3.4 Conclusion

In many realms, the Red Swastika differed in many realms from the work of the Red Cross Society, although the appearance and the activities of its workers did resemble those Red Cross workers. Members of the religious organization, who were in most cases practitioners of the religion, voluntarily fulfilled activities to achieve Daoyuan's stipulated self-cultivation and worldwide alleviation of suffering. This faith-based approach to humanitarian aid differed from the priorities of the Red Cross Movement. In contrast to the Red Cross, which predominately pursued the objective to advance medical modernity, the Red Swastika's philanthropic services comprised of a wider set of possibilities to provide the population. The establishment of long-term philanthropic institutions like poor houses and orphanages, and the creation of a banking system, which not only provided poor people with loans, but also guaranteed a sustainable financial system that served to generate resources from China. The limited participation of women until the Nanjing Decade reflects the project's adherence to traditions. Although the Daoyuan established a women's association from the beginning, the Women's Moral Society was mainly a religious body and did not encourage women's participation in relief activities. Thus, the Daoyuan's valuation of religious values and Chinese traditions confined women's participation. As we will see in the next chapter, the conditions changed during the Nanjing Decade and members suggested plans to create a Women's Red Swastika.

Chapter Four

The Red Swastika's Changes during the Nanjing Decade, 1927-1937

4.1 Introduction

⁴²⁷ Daoyuan, 南京道院癸甲二周会刊, 11.

⁴²⁸ Duara, "Religion and Citizenship," 53.

During the Nanjing Decade, the Daoyuan and the Red Swastika Society underwent a series of changes because of the Nationalist Party's state-building program. The Nationalist Party formally came to power in 1928 after it was successful in defeating the Zhili Clique in Beijing and crushing the Communists during the Northern Expedition. As Peter Zarrow suggests, the task of establishing a national government that could unify territories under its control, maintain social order, and regularize bureaucracy and the economy was conducted "virtually from scratch." In addition, major parts of the country under the control of the government were headed by military commanders who had joined the Northern expedition but who also preserved their independence from the government.⁴²⁹ In Nanjing, the Nationalist government was established by the right-wing representative, Chiang Kai-shek after his victory against Wang Jingwei, leader of the left-wing. This victory ended an ongoing conflict between right and left-wing factions in the Nationalist Party. The Nationalist government was established by the representative of the right-wing of the Nationalist Chiang Kai-shek, in Nanjing after Chiang's victory against the leader of the left-wing, Wang Jingwei and ended an ongoing conflict between left-wing and right-wing factions of the Nationalists at the Wuhan Joint Council in 1927. While Chiang's victory formally ended the conflict, tensions within the Nationalist Party and among the population continued and bestowed humanitarian aid with political significance.

The government implemented a state-building program with far-reaching consequences for regions under its influence. The state, industrial, and societal reforms primarily reached regions such as Central and Eastern provinces as well as urban centers such as the capital Nanjing and Shanghai.⁴³⁰ In these regions, the new government implemented a series of laws and regulations for almost all aspects of the society. Moreover, cooperation with Western experts such as scientists and engineers was increased.⁴³¹ Andrea Janku underlines that in 1928 not only did disaster relief gain political significance against the background of looming tensions between right and left-wing factions, but also due to public expectations of the Nationalist government. Under pressure to consolidate its rule, the new Nationalist government

⁴²⁹ Zarrow, *China in War and Revolution*, 249.

⁴³⁰ William Kirby, "Engineering China: Birth of the Developmental State, 1928-1937," in *Becoming Chinese. Passages to Modernity and Beyond*, ed. Wen-hsin Yeh (London, 2000), 152.

⁴³¹ William Kirby, "Engineering China: Birth of the Developmental State, 1928-1937," in *Becoming Chinese. Passages to Modernity and Beyond*, ed. Wen-hsin Yeh (London, 2000), 152.

did not give much prominence to the 1928 famine until Chinese newspapers forced government to present its relief activities as effective response to an as on national level depicted crisis.⁴³²

This chapter considers the situation at two Red Swastika working centres, the Xuzhou branch and the Southeast Central Office in Shanghai, and shows how the local context influenced the organization's adjustment. The example of the Xuzhou branch, located in a prefecture in Northwest Jiangsu province called the Xuzhou Circuit 徐州道 reveals that despite governmental influence the branch maintained its spiritual practices whereas the example from Shanghai shows how reform-oriented members of the network set up initiatives to adjust religious practices and its aid for the local population in accordance with governmental demands.

4.2 Adherence to the Original Mission

From the beginning of its rule, the Nationalist government imposed new regulations on all social activities. Laws like the *Law for Supervision of Philanthropic Organizations* 监督慈善团体法 (1929) and the *Regulations for the Supervision of Philanthropic Organizations* 监督慈善团体法施行规则 (1930) demanded a new and standardized framework for charity. Religious groups were affected by regulations on religious practices, ceremonies, and temples such as *Standards for Preserving and Abandoning Gods and Shrines* and *Procedures for the Abolition of the Occupations of Divination, Astrology, Physiognomy, Magic, and Geomancy*.⁴³³ The registration and categorization of temples, the standardization of rituals, and the eradication of practices like spirit writing were part of an overall modernization project of Chinese society.⁴³⁴ While campaigns to regulate religion had been conducted since the late Qing period, the campaigns during the Nanjing Decade were intense efforts to adjust religious associations, temples, and local cults to the demands of the government, although Rebecca Nedostup's research suggest that campaigns were implemented periodically and not sustained.⁴³⁵

⁴³² Andrea Janku, "From Natural to National Disaster: The Chinese Famine of 1928-1930," in *Historical Disasters in Context: Science, Religion, and Politics*, ed. A. Janku, G. Schenk, F. Mauelshagen (New York: Routledge, 2012), 238.

⁴³³ Shuk-Wah Poon, "Religion, Modernity, and Urban Space: The City God Temple in Republican Guangzhou," *Modern China* Vol. 34, no. 2 (April, 2008): 249.

⁴³⁴ Katz, *Religion in China*, 11.

⁴³⁵ Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge, Mass., 2009), 29.

Nevertheless, for redemptive societies like the Daoyuan, these reforms had a severe impact.⁴³⁶ The Daoyuan was banned due to its spiritual practices in 1929, which were labeled superstitious. The Daoyuan did not disappear completely, but could re-register, although it was the Red Swastika that took over the official and representative role. Nedostup, whose pivotal research highlights the Nationalist Party's limited success in suppressing redemptive societies concludes "In the case of Daoyuan, the selective amnesia was even more overt, for it required banning the religious form of the society while fostering the activities of a separately named, ostensibly independent charitable group."⁴³⁷ While the Daoyuan occupied a secondary position after these changes, the Red Swastika's legal status became reaffirmed in 1929 and it was allowed to continue its activities.

The Xuzhou example demonstrates that governmentally co-opted networking with official agencies did not foundationally change the branches' practices in 1931 and that 'old-style' relief was still very much alive. The Xuzhou branch became part of a national project led by the National Flood Relief Commission in 1931 because of the Central China floods and heavy rain fall in summer 1931. The National Flood Relief Commission was established on 14 August 1931 and was chaired by T. V. Soong, who was vice-president of the Executive Yuan at that time, several other high-ranking delegates, and one philanthropist, General Chu Qinglan, who was responsible for the management of the project.⁴³⁸ The Commission estimated the loss of crop worth nine million dollars. To cover the cost of food distribution, the government imposed an additional tax on custom duties from which the Commission earned eight million dollars. Further, the American government provided wheat and flour, which the Commission sold to secure financial support. The sale of wheat brought seventy million dollars.⁴³⁹ Despite this, the Commission took great pains to collect further donations. The financial department of the Commission called for donations in America and Britain. It also asked for help at the

⁴³⁶ Prasenjit Duara, "Transnationalism and the Predicament of Sovereignty: China, 1900-1945," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 102, no. 4 (October, 1997): 1035. "In the view of the KMT, it was bad enough that the transnational spiritualism of the redemptive societies transgressed the national boundaries of spiritualism that it had devised, but the KMT also suspected that these societies promoted a politics of counter-nationalism. Certainly, the cultural bonds of the redemptive societies to similar Japanese societies left them open to these attacks."

⁴³⁷ Rebecca Nedostup, 61.

⁴³⁸ National Flood Relief Commission, *Report of the National Flood Relief Commission, 1931-1932* (Shanghai, 1933), 10.

⁴³⁹ Tzu-wen (T. V.) Soong, "Foreword," in National Flood Relief Commission, *Report of the National Flood Relief Commission, 1931-1932* (Shanghai, 1933), 17. Two hundred thousand dollar came also from the Italian government that agreed to refund its 1901 received Boxer Indemnity.

League of Nations, which sent financial aid and the delegate Sir John Hope Simpson to supervise the aid. Furthermore, international organizations like the YMCA as well as individuals contributed to the donations.⁴⁴⁰

Notwithstanding the crucial participation of local agencies, the Commission was eager to present its work as a rapid and effective response to the calamity and demonstrate its control over the whole situation. The Commission's report summarized the situation in the following way: "The government was faced with a threefold problem: the relief for several million families driven from their homes and close to destitution; the remedy of a food shortage which threatened serious hardship to the otherwise self-sufficient remaining population; and the restoration of an elaborate dyke system, which had been almost completely swept away."⁴⁴¹ The use of scientific approaches such as engineering and the cooperation of foreign experts was at the heart of the Commission's work.⁴⁴² The government sought to involve the population to prevent the influence of political opponents, in particular the Communists, on the population.⁴⁴³ The Communist Party, founded in 1921, was allied with the Nationalist Party during the First United Front, which had been created in 1923 to end the rule of warlords, but by the late 1920s, the relationship between both parties was marked by conflicts and until the Nationalists' defeat in 1945, rivalry and armed conflict characterized the relationship between the parties. Thus, in 1931, the Nationalists used philanthropy to detect possible enemies and impose loyalty to its regime on the population.⁴⁴⁴

The urgent nature of the situation forced the Commission to rely on already established relief networks. As a first step, the Commission established emergency districts and local committees in severely affected places. The local committees were "under the direction of xian superintendents, with whom the xian magistrates co-operated as associate superintendents. The local committees were formed of representatives of the local gentry."⁴⁴⁵ A further management

⁴⁴⁰ National Flood Relief Commission, *Report*, 90.

⁴⁴¹ National Flood Relief Commission, *Report*, 13.

⁴⁴² For instance, the Commission cooperated with scientists from the Department of Economics of the College of Agriculture and Forestry at the Nanjing University, who analysed data to estimate the devastating effects of the flood on the local economic situation. Further, an Engineering and Labour Relief Commission chaired by T. C. Hsi and Colonel G. G. Strobe was established to collect data to calculate the destruction of dykes and the coordination of their reconstruction.

⁴⁴³ National Flood Relief Commission, *Report*, 45.

⁴⁴⁴ National Flood Relief Commission, *Report*, 86. "One criticism of this form of relief can be made. There is no evidence, and naturally there can be no evidence, that there was payment of wages to the actual workers. The subsidy was paid in cash to the dyke six owners in those cases (and they are the great majority) in which the Small Work was dyke repair."

⁴⁴⁵ National Flood Relief Commission, *Report*, 66.

step during the crisis consisted of the inclusion of already established networks. For example, in Hunan and Hubei local agencies became involved in the relief measures “This was an accepted policy and throughout the whole period of relief operations this Commission could use not only its own staff, but also the agents of the numerous charitable associations at work in the various provinces for the purpose of providing relief.”⁴⁴⁶

The Red Swastika, which had many branches in the flooded areas, was mentioned as one of the earliest and largest contributors to the relief project.⁴⁴⁷ Although it is not known exactly which branches cooperated with the Commission, in 1933 the Xuzhou branch published documentation of its activities during the years of the flood. The report indicates that this branch was part of the Commission’s network and that it received financial support from the government at the time.⁴⁴⁸ In 1931, the government donated five thousand silver dollars to the branch, half of its annual income. The other half came mainly from other Red Swastika branches such the Jinan Red Swastika branch, three Shanghai Swastika branches, and individuals. Additionally, two Xuzhou military associations were listed as donors as well as several private companies.⁴⁴⁹ Such transparency in its income indicates that the branch sought to demonstrate good and trustworthy management of its income and expenses. In addition, donors were honored by their appearance in the list.

The report not only reveals a liaison with the Commission, but also proves that the offices and branches were networking during the crisis. For example, the Hangzhou branch transferred several hundred bags of flour to the Xuzhou branch to make noodles. The branch in Wuxi offered Xuzhou several bags of various food products such as tofu, as well as the requisite kitchen utensils to produce food. The Xuzhou branch also received clothes from Nanjing, Hangzhou, Shanghai and the Nanlian unit. Hangzhou and Wuxi provided Xuzhou with Red Swastika branded medicine such as emergency powder 救济丹, emergency water 救济水, and five hundred bags of thunderbolt pills 霹雳丸. Furthermore, Strengthening Life pills 夺命丹

⁴⁴⁶ National Flood Relief Commission, *Report*, 65.

⁴⁴⁷ National Flood Relief Commission, *Report*, 65. “Before the Commission was in a position to do effective work, innumerable local relief efforts had been organized. These were both public and private. The Provincial Governments had undertaken relief work on a considerable scale. Of the private efforts, those of the guilds and of the Red Swastika Society were the earliest in the field.”

⁴⁴⁸ Xuzhou World Red Swastika, 世界红卍字会徐州分会, 民国十九到二十一年慈赈各款既经常费用收支数目开列四柱清册繕请, 1930-1932 (1933), 5; Xuzhou World Red Swastika, *Annual Report 1930 -1932 (1933)*, 5.

⁴⁴⁹ Xuzhou World Red Swastika, 民国十九到二十一年慈赈各款既经常费用收支数目开列四柱清册繕请, 7.

came from the Shanghai Red Swastika, the Shanghai International Red Cross donated emergency pills 救生丹, and a shop for Chinese medicine Bihudian 柴胡店 donated malaria pills 疟丸. In exchange, in twelve cases, the Xuzhou office sent emergency powder and other Red Swastika medicine to other branches and in six cases it provided hospitals with self-produced drugs.⁴⁵⁰

Networking between branches also helped with the rescue operations for flood victims. The branch implemented supra-regional evacuation plans which provide evidence for its vital contribution to relief efforts and its widespread network. According to its reports, the Xuzhou branch established an evacuation and provision system using relief boats 慈航, which evacuated people from flooded areas and provided those who stayed and were cut off from other forms of transport with food and clothes. The evacuation system revealed how many tickets were sold to families and how many people could enter the rescue boats. For example, in the Jiangsu district the branch sold 1,100 charity tickets 慈票 for which it got 910 yuan; 445 boat tickets for which it got 1,614 yuan; all in all, the branch received 3,720 yuan from selling tickets.⁴⁵¹

A similar relief system was implemented by branches in Shandong around the city of Tainan. In Tainan, the Red Swastika evacuation plans encompassed a list of 25 homes at which the inhabitants waited for rescue ships. In Kaifeng 开封, a city at prefecture level in the province of Henan, the Xuzhou Red Swastika branch implemented a city-wide rescue system and sold rescue tickets to 120 addresses. In Luoyang 洛阳, Henan, the branch sold relief tickets at 50 places; in Xuchang 许昌 one hundred tickets were sold; in Zhongmu 中牟 the Red Swastika sold tickets at forty places which were divided into four large districts. Overall, the Xuzhou workers provided over 10,000 villagers in these districts with clothes and food and evacuated thousands by boat.⁴⁵²

The documentation of its loan system demonstrates that the Xuzhou Red Swastika's financial activities were under control of representatives of the National Commission. As the Commission's report stated, its loan system relied on the already existing loan systems of local agencies such as the Hunan Flood Rehabilitation Committee, a subordinate provincial agency that distributed loans to landowners whose land was flooded. The Xuzhou Red Swastika offered loans through its loan offices. In 1932, the branch reported its lending money system 代济所

⁴⁵⁰ Xuzhou World Red Swastika, 民国十九到二十一年慈赈各款既经常费用收支数目开列四柱清册繕请, 21.

⁴⁵¹ Xuzhou World Red Swastika, 民国十九到二十一年慈赈各款既经常费用收支数目开列四柱清册繕请, 27.

⁴⁵² Xuzhou World Red Swastika, 民国十九到二十一年慈赈各款既经常费用收支数目开列四柱清册繕请, 35.

and listed over three hundred loan transactions. The list included the amount of money, the recipient, and the person who granted money for the recipient. The detailed reporting of its transactions suggests that these activities were part of the Commission's plans and needed to be accounted for. The Commission sent inspectors to supervise the relief work, for example.⁴⁵³

The Xuzhou Red Swastika reports not only reveal transparency of its financial transactions, but also consist of information about other helping activities such as food distribution. Reporting about food distribution, the branch listed the monthly number of people and the amount of resources such as the amount of grain used and the amount of coal used for cooking. In 1932, the branch distributed twenty tons of noodles for 21,000 destitute people and it provided 23,000 starving people with porridge in the period from January until June and used several tons of green beans, rice and coals for cooking meals.⁴⁵⁴ In addition, lists from the materials office 施材所 included the name of the recipient, their origin and age, the year and month of the wood delivery, the person who witnessed the delivery. Companies, village leaders, or other local societies were listed as witnesses for the distribution of aid items.⁴⁵⁵ According to the Commission's report these activities were supervised by special inspectors who collected information about the situation of destitute people and the aid activities.⁴⁵⁶

On the one hand, the Xuzhou Swastika cooperated with the Commission and fulfilled its demands for clear reporting. On the other hand, documentation of its social services for the suffering demonstrated that the members continued to adhere to the faith-based approaches of its founder. The documentation of costs spent on materials for relief activities lists materials used for spiritual practices. For example, the branch's expenditures included costs of comfort work —psychological assistance — for people in distress and for other members of the Society. Comfort work 安慰难民之心灵 entailed psychological help and curing. In chapter seven we will see that it was an important aspect of the Red Swastika's work during emergencies. Psychological assistance reflected the Red Swastika's origins in a redemptive society. The Daoyuan's program of self-cultivation sought to free the soul from distress through meditation

⁴⁵³ National Flood Relief Commission, *Report*, 78. "Lists of names of the destitute were obtained through the local authorities and organizations. These lists were checked on the spot by representatives of the Commission's Superintendent of Relief, and amended by the removal or addition of names as might seem necessary. When the lists were finally prepared, they were published and affixed in the village so that everyone might be aware of those who were entitled to free relief and of the amount of relief to which each was entitled."

⁴⁵⁴ National Flood Relief Commission, *Report*, 77.

⁴⁵⁵ Xuzhou World Red Swastika, 民国十九到二十一年慈赈各款既经常费用收支数目开列四柱清册繕请, 30.

⁴⁵⁶ National Flood Relief Commission, *Report*, 78.

and contemplation.⁴⁵⁷ The Xuzhou branch offered comfort work for farmers during the mid-autumn festival, a tradition to worship the autumn harvest. Also, relief workers from other branches like the Nanlian 南联 unit were provided with comfort work. In addition, the branch also spent money to purchase two hundred wooden sticks to be used in divination during burials.⁴⁵⁸ The Xuzhou Red Swastika provided support in accordance with its original program by the Daoyuan and its use of divination suggests that the Xuzhou Red Swastika's agenda responded to the population's approval of common practices.

4.3 *The Red Swastika's Transformation in Shanghai*

At the centre of China's modernity was Shanghai, the city where the Red Cross had been founded and where the influence of modern culture was omnipresent. There the Red Swastika actively pursued its alignment with the government's demands. One example was the introduction of new regulations such as membership fees, which were published under the title "Prospectus of the World Red Swastika Society" in 1930.⁴⁵⁹ This new regulation resembled the standardization of membership fees by the Chinese Red Cross during its reorganization in 1919, which is discussed in chapter two. Like the Red Cross, the Red Swastika distinguished honorary, special, normal, and student membership fees. A normal member paid five yuan a year, lifelong members paid 36 yuan, special and special lifelong members were those who donated 500 yuan, or who collected 500 yuan or more in donation campaigns. Students paid one yuan every year. Also, similar to the Red Cross's regulations, members having been deprived of their civil rights were not seen as qualified members. They were expelled from the Society and compelled to return any certificates and badges that proved their membership status.⁴⁶⁰

Decisions about membership status and other organizational issues were made at regular meetings of branch leaders and meetings for all members, which were held once a year. At these meetings members could propose and vote on issues. Proposals that received the most

⁴⁵⁷ Xuzhou World Red Swastika, 民国十九到二十一年慈赈各款既经常费用收支数目开列四柱清册繕请, 9.

⁴⁵⁸ Xuzhou World Red Swastika, 民国十九到二十一年慈赈各款既经常费用收支数目开列四柱清册繕请, 11.

⁴⁵⁹ World Red Swastika Society, 世界红卍字会中华总会施行细目 (1930), *Prospectus of the World Red Swastika Society* (1930), Shandong Provincial Archives J162-01-015-010-16.

⁴⁶⁰ World Red Swastika Society, 世界红卍字会中华总会施行细目, "This Society being purely a charitable institution, any member who is found to have committed an unlawful act under the disguise of this Society may be expelled from this Society and accused in accordance with law".

votes were passed. Members also voted for branch leaders. The Prospectus stipulated that the branch director be nominated for a term of four years. Branches had to report regularly about the number of members and their work “Branch offices should submit monthly financial and other reports to the head office for auditing, and the head office may depute members to different places for inspection.”⁴⁶¹ Clearly, such an approach demonstrates the introduction of organizational aspects of modern organizations like the Red Cross.

Further, the regulations also showed the government’s influence on philanthropic services. Institutions such as hospitals were advised to report on their activities in detail. Schools established by the Society had to operate in accordance with existing laws of the government. The Red Swastika could publish charitable books and give public lectures to help educate people according to governmental ideals of religious teaching and citizenship. Income was guaranteed from membership fees, donation campaigns, and contributions from the government. While donation campaigns remained an important source of income, the government also financed many relief activities.⁴⁶² In 1931, for example, the Anhui government donated 85,137 yuan to the organization for disaster relief. Also, on another occasion in 1935, the government directly funded Red Swastika work. In addition, many measures like the transport of clothes were tax free.⁴⁶³

The alignment of the Red Swastika’s agenda with the demands of the Nationalist government were mainly based on Xiong Xiling’s influence and his connections with the government. Soon after the Nationalist government banned redemptive societies, Xiong wrote letters to the Ministry of the Interior and argued for their preservation. He viewed the religious practices of redemptive societies as essential aspect of Chinese culture and feared that without these societies the unity of the Chinese population would fall apart. Xiong feared that because of social instability, foreign influence would grow and would increasingly weaken the Chinese nation. Above all, he regarded China’s religious culture as essential to country’s welfare.⁴⁶⁴

The Red Swastika’s legal status was reaffirmed in 1929 by the National Government 国民政府行政院.⁴⁶⁵ After the Japanese attacks on Shanghai in February 1932, Xiong left Beijing

⁴⁶¹ World Red Swastika Society, 世界红卍字会中华总会施行细目.

⁴⁶² Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 81.

⁴⁶³ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 82.

⁴⁶⁴ Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity. Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (New York, 2003), 110.

⁴⁶⁵ World Red Swastika, *List of Activities of the China Central Office*, 22.

and joined the National Emergency Conference. The meeting was held in April 1932 in Luoyang where the Japanese attacks on Shanghai at the beginning of the year had expelled for a short time the Nationalist government and where the government began to prepare for war.⁴⁶⁶ In addition, under Xiong's command, the Fragrant Hills Charitable Home in Beijing and the Red Swastika in Shanghai began to organize help. On 12 February 1932, he published a plea for voluntary participation and argued in the *Fragrant Hills Charitable Home Newsletter* 香山慈幼院通告 that if China was unable to prepare for the outbreak of war, the war would be lost. Voluntary participation was understood in his plea as patriotic service for the whole nation.⁴⁶⁷

During the 1932 crisis, the Red Swastika Shanghai South East Office also established units in cooperation with branches from Nanjing, Wuhan, Zhenjiang, and Suzhou. The units conducted extensive relief work mainly for civilians.⁴⁶⁸ The Japanese bombing of the city and surrounding regions provoked a refugee crisis in the city. During the crisis in Shanghai, local initiatives and elites who networked with each other proved their ability to manage a large-scale refugee crisis.⁴⁶⁹ The Red Swastika units cared for a total of 170,720 refugees in various camps. There were 2,220 refugees in Suzhou; 36,287 in Wuxi; 43,348 in Changzhou; 51,897 in Zhenjiang; and 10,717 in Hangzhou. According to reports in contemporary newspapers, the units distributed medicine, ensured the maintenance of hygienic standards, and offered education for refugees. Furthermore, they offered psychological help and special care for children.⁴⁷⁰

After the end of the fighting, the Shanghai Southeast Central Office held a general meeting for all branch representatives to deliberate the implementation of organizational changes, which included reforming its religious practices because they had been suppressed by the government and trying to approximate the Red Cross's emergency tasks. By publishing the intermediate results of this meeting, in which over one hundred delegates took part, the Society made evident that it was willing to remodel its religious practices to conform to the government's requirements. The adjustments were underpinned by suggestions to improve

⁴⁶⁶ Lu Liu, "A Whole Nation Walking. *The 'Great Retreat' in the War of Resistance, 1937-1945*," (Ph.D. Diss., San Diego, 2002), 73.

⁴⁶⁷ Zhou, 熊希龄传, 641.

⁴⁶⁸ Gao, 红十字会及其社会救助事业研究, 176.

⁴⁶⁹ Nara Dillon, "The Politics of Philanthropy: Social networks and Refugee Relief in Shanghai, 1932-1949," in *At the Crossroads of Empires. Middlemen, Social Networks, and State-Building in Republican China*, ed. N. Dillon and J. C. Oi (Stanford, 2008), 187.

⁴⁷⁰ Gao, 红十字会及其社会救助事业研究, 182.

contact between Red Swastika leaders and governmental representatives and officials at all administrative levels. Under the title, *Results of the Debate*, the report listed over two hundred general and specific ideas, formulated by representatives of various departments and branches.⁴⁷¹

Acknowledging that the transformation of the Chinese state and society gradually eliminated popular religious rituals like spirit writing, delegates suggested a realignment of religious practices. Proposals suggested that spiritual practices should become the duty of the department in Jinan and that it would target the transformation and control of spiritual practices through the establishment of a new centre, which would deepen the scientific approach to religion and spirituality. Delegates argued for the establishment of a scientific institute for the study of philosophy 哲学研究社, which was envisioned as the centre of the Society's spiritual work in China and abroad. One objective of the institute was to publish multilingual textbooks about the Daoyuan religion and to imitate the work of scientific centres abroad. A further goal of the institute was to examine the relationship between medicine, psychology, and spiritual practices as well as their role in daily life. Furthermore, it was thought that the institute should conduct research on foreign philosophical schools, Chinese medicine, and spread knowledge about the nature and relationship between Eastern and Western cultures.⁴⁷² A further goal of the institute was the examination of the relationship between medicine, psychology, and spiritual practices and their role in daily life. The institute would employ philosophers and offer them a salary of one thousand yuan per month to teach students and the public. The organization also planned to invest a high sum in printing the school's texts and their professional editorial. These publications were supposed to be circulated among the branches with the intent that they would standardize knowledge about the Society's religiosity. Financial support for these activities was to be guaranteed by the work of a fund-raising committee.

Worthy of note is that the institute was supposed to standardize the spirit writing rituals.⁴⁷³ Chen demonstrates that the objective of the reform of spirituality was to control the use of spirit writing and to restrict its use.⁴⁷⁴ As Chen shows, in 1932, the group published

⁴⁷¹ 世界红字会道院, 十二年立道大会议室目录次 (上海, 1933); World Red Swastika Society, *Report of the Twelve Years of the Work of the Daoyuan* (Shanghai, 1933), 37.

⁴⁷² 世界红字会道院, 十二年立道大会议室目录次 (上海, 1933); World Red Swastika Society, *Report of the Twelve Years of the Work of the Daoyuan* (Shanghai, 1933), 39.

⁴⁷³ World Red Swastika Society, 十二年立道大会议室目录次, 120.

⁴⁷⁴ Chen, 扶乩的制度化与民国新兴宗教的成长, 76.

regulations 纂职公约 that stipulated the correct practice of the ritual. Firstly, the society set up regulations for the official acknowledgment of people who were authorized to perform this ritual. In so doing, only a limited number of people would know how to conduct the spirit writing ritual. Secondly, the organization initiated specialized training in spirit writing at the spiritual center, the Mother Department, in Jinan. Thirdly, it sought to limit revenues earned from this ritual. According to Chen, the outcome of these efforts was recorded in the 1933 report called *Examination of the Subei United Branches Network' Compilations* 苏北各会联合办事处纂方调查表. The report demonstrated a gradual decline of ceremonial masters, who were authorized to implement the ritual, from 19 in 1932 to 14 in 1933, ten of whom had been trained at the spiritual center in Jinan.⁴⁷⁵ Thus, these findings refute assumptions about a lack of “real attempts” to standardize the Daoyuan’s religious teaching, as suggested by Dubois.⁴⁷⁶ On the contrary, the initiatives reveal that its members were concerned about the unauthorized practice of the ritual and that their readiness to amend the ritual strengthened cooperation with the Nationalist government. As we will see, on several occasions the Red Swastika’s emergency units worked for the government’s armies in the late 1930s.

Although the Nationalist government invested in the creation of a new public health system promoting Western medicine, the whole society and the government itself were divided between support for modern medicine or Chinese medicine. During the Nanjing Decade, the debate about the recognition of Western medicine versus Chinese medicine in national medical schools was a contentious issue between practitioners of both schools. Physicians of Western medicine, often trained abroad, argued that only Western medicine was useful for the population because it was scientific.⁴⁷⁷ Practitioners of Chinese medicine, however, argued that their profession carried on the cultural essence of China. Their struggle, although fierce, did not result in the replacement of the Chinese medical profession. While Western medicine was still a new practice in China, the number of practitioners low, and the costs high, practitioners of Western medicine were privileged in many aspects as they earned a higher income as practitioners of common treatment.⁴⁷⁸ Although the conflict led to the acknowledgement of both medical schools as national medical schools, Western medicine became officially promoted as

⁴⁷⁵ Chen, 扶乩的制度化与民国新兴宗教的成长, 77.

⁴⁷⁶ DuBois, “The Salvation of Religion?” 84.

⁴⁷⁷ Xu, *Chinese Professionals*, 143.

⁴⁷⁸ Xu, *Chinese Professionals*, 55. Due to the high costs of the treatment and medicine, a practitioner earned 2000 yuan per month in the 1930s compared to a doctor of Chinese medicine who earned up to 900 yuan.

the national medicine.⁴⁷⁹ Nevertheless, the Chinese medical world became institutionalized and its medical practices standardized through the creation of the Institute of National Medicine in Nanjing in 1929. Thus, the Red Swastika's attempts to gain official recognition reflected a wider transformation of Chinese traditional institutions at that moment.

The general meeting was also an occasion to make a case for a more obvious inclusion of women and for women to take more prominent role in the Red Swastika Society. For example, representatives from the Mouping 牟平 branch suggested new regulations for the entrance of women into the Women's Moral Society and a better incorporation of women in the activities of branches of the Red Swastika. Their proposal emphasized the lack of women's offices at many administrative levels across the whole network. In addition, the delegates suggested the extension of women's work abroad. Their proposal consisted of the creation of an International Morality Society 世界万国道德社, which should disseminate the religion of the Daoyuan.⁴⁸⁰ In a related comment, other participants from center in Beijing proposed the establishment of a project, which would offer women the possibility to participate in relief activity and which they thought should be named World Women's Red Swastika Society.⁴⁸¹

Other delegates proposed improvements to emergency assignments similar to the Red Cross work. The Qingdao branch proposed standardizing the Red Swastika flags to make them visible during assignments and during armed conflicts. The representatives of the South East All Branches Emergency Unit supported the proposal for a standardized swastika banner to be hung during military work to make emergency units recognizable at the battlefields and to ensure so their safety. In addition, some members proposed using English appellations of their functions on special banners to facilitate communication with foreign representatives.⁴⁸²

Suggestions to improve the practice of activities consisted, for example, of a new uniform design for emergency workers. Like Red Cross uniforms, the emergency corps wore blue or brown colored uniforms that distinguished them by rank and duty. The distinction of ranks was marked by lines and triangles on the lower arm. For example, a normal worker would be marked by one line on each arm of his uniform, the higher rank by two lines, and the leader of a central unit was marked by a three-lined triangle. In addition, within the network's

⁴⁷⁹ Xiaoqun Xu, *Chinese Professionals and the Republican State. The Rise of Professional Associations in Shanghai, 1912–1937* (Cambridge, 2001), 60.

⁴⁸⁰ World Red Swastika Society, 十二年立道大会议室目录次, 98.

⁴⁸¹ World Red Swastika Society, 十二年立道大会议室目录次, 79.

⁴⁸² World Red Swastika Society, 十二年立道大会议室目录次, 67.

hierarchy, the badges added lines ending with the highest position, the emergency work leader.⁴⁸³ Although unspoken, the proposals to create new uniforms during military assignments pointed to a stronger alignment with the Red Cross.

In fact, after the 1932 crisis, the Red Swastika emergency units became more involved in assistance during armed conflicts than before. The Society cooperated with the Red Cross and assisted Nationalist armies in Jiangxi. In addition, Xiong and the Shanghai office began to prepare for the possible outbreak of war in 1935. On two occasions, units assisted soldiers of Nationalist armies. Firstly, in 1933, during fighting against Japanese armies in the province of Rehe, Red Swastika workers were employed to assist Nationalist armies in defending them against Japanese attacks. The Red Swastika workers primarily carried the wounded to medical stations担架队 as documented by the Society in its *Report about Repatriation and Relief in the North China Battle Zone Battle Zone* 华北战区善后救济之商榷.⁴⁸⁴ The Society sent twenty-seven units that were employed by Nationalist armies in Northern regions along the Great Wall. The units cared mainly for civilians and accommodated 10,000 refugees that had been evacuated from the battle zones with the help of “our soldiers”. Moreover, they provided refugees, mainly peasants, with tools to enable them to grow agricultural products in the new settlements.⁴⁸⁵ Secondly, in 1934 the Red Swastika’s emergency corps organized assistance for soldiers and for civilians in Jiangxi during battles against Communist armies, which expelled the Communists from their temporary base in Jiangxi province on the Long March. Revealingly, like the Red Swastika’s loyalty in Rehe, the workers assisted Nationalist armies. The time during the 1930s was marked by the Society’s willingness to acquiesce to governmental demands.

The readiness of the Daoyuan’s network to amend its organizational aspects, standardize the use of spirit writing, and align with Red Cross work strengthened its relationship to the Nationalist government and cooperation with its armies. One result of this adjustment was the increase of Red Swastika branches and institutions in regions under Chinese control. While in 1928 the Society had 200 branches, in 1935 it published a survey that stated 240 branches. In 1934, the Red Swastika Central Office listed 327 long-term philanthropic institutions in thirteen

⁴⁸³ World Red Swastika Society, 十二年立道大会议室目录次, 71.

⁴⁸⁴ 世界红卍字会, 华北战区善后救济之商榷 (1934); World Red Swastika Society, *Huabei Battle Zone Repatriation Survey* (1934), 2.

⁴⁸⁵ World Red Swastika Society, 华北战区善后救济之商榷, 2. The relocation of the families consisted also of the relocation of domestic cattle.

provinces and cities. In 1936, the number of all institutions had increased to 484.⁴⁸⁶ Furthermore, the growth of the network also consisted of the creation of branches abroad. For example, Chinese merchants who migrated to Southeast Asia established Red Swastika branches in Hong Kong in 1931 and in Singapore in 1936.⁴⁸⁷ The foundations of these branches were part of the dissemination of Chinese charitable temple associations, shantangs, which served to maintain networks among merchants and protect temple rituals.⁴⁸⁸ During periods of crisis, these networks played an important role in caring for thousands of refugees. In Hong Kong, two members of the Shanghai Red Swastika, Li Zhenjun 李振均 and Li Jianshan 李兼善 established a branch in 1931. Both were influential personalities. While Li Zhenjun was one of the earliest leading members of the Daoyuan in Guangdong province, Li Jianshan was an influential philanthropist. The branch demonstrates an example of Red Swastika involvement in humanitarian activities due to British influence in Hong Kong. Under the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, the British established their rule over Hong Kong until 1941, when Hong Kong was occupied by the Japanese, and then again from 1945 until 1997, when Hong Kong became a special administrative region and the British colonial influence ended. As chapter seven shows, this branch became a particularly important connection during the Sino-Japanese War for the collection of donations for victims of war.

The Red Swastika's indispensable ability to provide aid to thousands of refugees and wounded people based on the preparatory measures were implemented by Xiong Xiling shortly before the war broke out. Worried by the growing possibility of an outbreak of war, he began to establish emergency plans. The objective of these training projects was to recruit volunteers among members of the branches and to train them in the implementation of activities such as camp management and first aid.⁴⁸⁹ As we will see in chapter seven, this relief became especially important during and after the Japanese aggression in and around Shanghai in late 1937. The first training unit was established in 1935 in Beijing by the Central Office, which was chaired by Xiong at that moment. The World Saving Model Unit of the Beijing Headquarter 北平总会

⁴⁸⁶ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 217.

⁴⁸⁷ 游子安, "道慈南洋: 1930年代以来世界红卍字会在星、马地区的推展, 汉学研究学, 第3卷, 吉隆坡: 马来亚大学中文系, 2012年10月; Yong Zian, The Daoyuan in Southeast Asia: The Development of the World Red Swastika Society in Singapore and Malaysia, *Journal of Chinese Studies*, no. 3 (2012): 71-98.

⁴⁸⁸ Tan Chee-Beng, "Shantang: Charitable Temples in China, Singapore, and Malaysia," *Asian Ethnology*, Vol 71, no. 1 (2012), 76.

⁴⁸⁹ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 169.

举办护世模范队 existed until 1938. The units were comprised of 80 volunteers who were trained in the North of Beijing at the Qinglong Bridge 青龙桥. While students of this unit were taught practical aspects of relief work such as medical treatment and basic communication skills in foreign languages, their training also consisted of spiritual exercises.⁴⁹⁰

The second unit was a larger project that was created by the Shanghai office. During the Battle of Shanghai, it was chaired by Xiong and other directors. The unit was called Emergency Relief Training Class 救济队训练 and until 1937 it trained 960 volunteers from eight districts. The unit was organized by a newly-established World Red Swastika Society South East United Emergency Management Office located in Shanghai. The first district included the greater Shanghai area 淞沪区 with branches in the city and Suzhou. The second district comprised the Changtai region 常太区 with branches in Wuxi, Changzhou, Jiangyin. The third district encompassed Nanjing, Zhenjiang and surrounding regions with branches in Nanjing, Xiaguan, Zhenjiang, and Jiangpu. The fourth district extended over the Xuzhou region 徐海区 with branches in Xuzhou, Xinbu, and Shejin. The fifth district included Jiangbei 江北区 with branches in Huangqiao, Qutang, Taixing, Xinghua, Taixian, Nantong and the surroundings. The sixth district was in Zhejiang province 全浙区 with branches in Hangzhou, Siming, Shaoxing, and Zhenhai. The seventh district extended over Anhui province and the eighth district was in Fujian province with branches in Fuzhou, Xiamen and Nanping.

However, while this evolution shows that the organization and the government cooperated well with each other, some local cases of interactions between both could be shaped by conflicts too. For instance, Shao Yong 邵雍 provides evidence of conflicts between Party representatives and the Red Swastika at a local level in Anhui province. These conflicts resulted from the unauthorized use of spirit-writing and from alleged support for Japan. On 14 October 1936, the local government bureau in Wuwei County 无为县 arrested the chairman of the Cao Huashen branch 曹化深 and banned the Red Swastika Society in the whole county. On 21 October, the local bureau closed the local branch because of its use of spirit writing and the implementation of emergency training that included learning the Japanese language.⁴⁹¹ The relationship between the Nationalist government and the Red Swastika remained influenced by local conditions and a mutual commitment to cooperate.

⁴⁹⁰ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 170.

⁴⁹¹ 绍雍, 中国近代会道门史 (合肥, 2010), 306. Shao Yong, *The Modern History of Huidaomen in China*, (Hefei, 2010), 306.

4. 4 Conclusion

While until the Nanjing Decade the Red Swastika's aid assignments were guided by the Daoyuan, the governmental impositions enforced a reorganization, which eclipsed the Daoyuan in favor of the Red Swastika as the official representative of the network. This chapter has proposed regarding this transformation as locally diverse. As the evidence from Xuzhou shows, the branches offered a set of services that was approved by the rural population and adjusted to the local conditions of the emergency such as a supra-regional evacuation service by boats. In addition, the branch continued its religious-based practices during festivities. In contrast, the governmental cooperation with the Xuzhou Red Swastika demonstrates that governmental agencies relied on the services of the branch.

Nevertheless, the rising political crisis between China and Japan, which began with Japanese attacks on Shanghai in early 1932, and the establishment of Manchukuo, triggered the readiness of many members to side with the Nationalist government and to implement changes, which facilitated cooperation with the government. During this transformation, which proves that the members of this organization implemented genuine attempts to amend its religious rituals, individual leaders like Xiong were crucial intermediary for contact with the government.

Chapter Five

The Chinese Red Cross Society during the Nanjing Decade

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the Red Cross Society's development during the Nanjing Decade and demonstrates that while the Nationalist government involved the Red Cross in its reform of the public health system, it also exerted more control over the Red Cross's leadership and its members as it did with all national associations at the time. Simultaneously, the participation and motivation of Red Cross members, many of whom were physicians and nurses who had been trained at foreign medical institutions, increased as the armed conflicts with Japan broke out and showed once again that, like in 1912, in times of national crisis the Red Cross mobilized patriots to voluntarily help soldiers and other civilians. This chapter suggests that despite the government's growing influence over the Red Cross, the crisis with Japan strengthened the participation of civic activists in particular aspects of the Red Cross's work such as military medical services because of the need for these services for soldiers during armed conflicts. Those who took part in the Red Cross were mainly medical experts whose involvements in military medical services were motivated chiefly by a desire to strengthen Chinese defence against Japanese aggression rather than a desire to demonstrate loyalty to the Nationalist government.⁴⁹²

5.2 The Chinese Red Cross during the Nanjing Decade

Governmental influence on the Red Cross corresponded with governmental efforts to improve public health after 1928 and extend control of the welfare system. In 1928, the Nationalist government established a new Ministry of Public Health led by Liu Ruisheng 刘瑞

⁴⁹² Xu, *Chinese Professionals*, 98.

恒, the Chinese director of the PUMC. According to the government's interest to extend cooperation with foreign advisors, experts from the League of Nation like Ludwig Reichman were involved in the work of the ministry from the beginning.⁴⁹³ Like many new initiatives by the government at that moment, the creation of the Ministry of Public Health was established gradually and were tasked with supervising subordinate medical institutions. While the institution was established in 1928 as part of the Ministry of the Interior, it was reorganized in 1931 and transformed into the National Health Administration 卫生署. John Watt points to the 0.11 percent of the national budget spent on the National Health Administration in 1930 to reveal the limited investment in public health.⁴⁹⁴ This limited budget allowed the National Health Administration to supervise only a small number of municipal public health bureaus like in Shanghai, Beijing, Guangzhou, Tianjin, Hankou, Nanjing, and Qingdao. In other locations, municipal public health bureaus only loosely cooperated and adhered to new regulations.⁴⁹⁵

Since the beginning of the Red Cross, the in Shanghai located Central Committee cooperated often with the municipal bureau of the National Health Administration. For one thing, the cooperation was strengthened through the election of representatives from the Shanghai municipal public health bureau to the Red Cross Central Committee. Nevertheless, Zhang, the historian of the Red Cross shows that the election of members from the municipal health bureau to the Central Committee was a strategy to establish control over the agency.⁴⁹⁶ For another thing, as Chi points out, the work of many Red Cross institutions corresponded with the objectives of the National Health Administration. In Shanghai, for example, Red Cross institutions, like the Seasonal Hospital had already contributed to the improvement of the public health conditions in the city since 1912. After 1928, the Red Cross's relationship with the municipal public health bureau intensified due to these common objectives. For instance, hospitals in Shanghai supported the work of the bureau by publishing additional information about the prevention of epidemics.⁴⁹⁷

To extend its influence over the administration of the Red Cross's network and over the

⁴⁹³ John Watt, *Saving Lives in Wartime China. How Medical Reformers Built Modern Healthcare Systems Amid War and Epidemics, 1928-1945* (Leiden, 2014), 34.

⁴⁹⁴ Watt, *Saving Lives*, 38.

⁴⁹⁵ Watt, *Saving Lives*, 55.

⁴⁹⁶ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 122.

⁴⁹⁷ Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 50. For example, the previous president of the Red Cross, Yan Fuqing, who became director of the Red Cross First Hospital, lead the anti-epidemic relief units of the municipal health bureau in 1936.

conduct of the Red Cross's duties, the government applied several strategies. One strategy was a change in the leadership personnel and the implementation of a Board of Directors, an inner circle of power holders within the Central Committee that was loyal to the government. The first round of leadership appointments was conducted in 1929 when Chiang Kai-shek, the new president of the republic, was nominated as honorary president of the Red Cross. Yan Fuqing 颜福庆, a Chinese physician who was trained at Yale University School of Medicine, vice-president of the PUMC and director of the National Central University School of Medicine, became the new president of the Red Cross. Wang Zhengting, the foreign minister of the government, Qian Zhiting 虔治卿, and Wang Yiting 王一亭, philanthropist and publisher were elected as vice-presidents.⁴⁹⁸ As Dillon proposes, Wang Yiting was one of the best-connected philanthropists in the city.⁴⁹⁹ Wang's support for the Red Cross had begun in 1921 when he contributed to the foundation of the Shanghai Red Cross Epidemic Hospital 上海中国红十字会时疫医院.⁵⁰⁰ Wang was also chairman of the board of the Renji Benevolent Hall, one of Shanghai's largest traditional charities and he supported diverse charitable and spiritual religious groups.⁵⁰¹ Thus, although the Red Cross supported Western medicine by and large, individual members did not necessarily have to do so. They could, like many did at the time, continue to use both approaches to medical treatment.

Another strategy used to extend control over the Red Cross consisted of the appointment of a new branch of leaders and the subordination of branches to provincial governmental agencies. In 1930, the Board of Directors held a general assembly in which 128 branch delegates took part to reorganize branches leadership. These delegates came together for the third time in the history of this society and voted for new branch representatives. The elections became a contentious issue as several attempts at voting were hindered by counting errors. The election succeeded after the issue was forced by armed private police who entered the meeting.⁵⁰² In tandem with the election of new branch leaders, provincial governments became more involved in the supervision of branches than before. Nonetheless, control over the branches was only gradually extended and the government did not issue compulsory regulations

⁴⁹⁸ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 111.

⁴⁹⁹ Dillon, "The Politics of Philanthropy," 184.

⁵⁰⁰ Katz, *Religion in China*, 120.

⁵⁰¹ Kuiyi Shen, "Wang Yiting in the Social Networks of 1910s-1930s Shanghai," in *At the Crossroads of Empires. Middlemen, Social Networks, and State-Building in Republican China*, ed. N. Dillon and J. C. Oi (Stanford, 2008), 54.

⁵⁰² Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 121.

for the administration of branches until 1932.⁵⁰³

As Reeves proposes, until 1932 contact between the organization and the government was not only marked by an officially imposed transformation, but also by attempts of local philanthropists to maintain their influence on local branches.⁵⁰⁴ For example, the evidence from the Dongkan Red Cross branch in Jiangsu shows that local elites opposed the closure of their branch by newly elected officials and achieved a reopening of the branch. The origins of the Dongkan branch reached back to 1912, the year of the creation of the national Red Cross Society. In 1927, Mr. Feng, the newly appointed Nationalist Party county chief decided to close the branch which and provoked the opposition of 106 local merchants who had invested in the Red Cross on many occasions until the closure.⁵⁰⁵ As Reeves proposes, the Dongkan merchants' petition to the Jiangsu provincial government, in which they demanded a re-opening, succeeded and showed that the transformation of the Red Cross network at the beginning of the Nanjing Decade was not in the hands of local agents who reorganized the network for the benefit of the Nanjing government. Rather, it was a negotiation process between governmental representatives and civic activists.⁵⁰⁶ The local Red Cross chapter served as important network between local elites and proved to be an important aid during catastrophes, which new authorities of the local government barely had under control.

While such local expressions of civic activism revealed the Red Cross's importance in terms of the provision of help by local offices, new structures imposed by the leadership indicated that the government's impact was gradually growing. The implementation of donation campaigns revealed an instance of gradual supervision. In 1929, in response to the needs of thousands of flood victims in north Chinese provinces, a new committee, the Donation Campaign Committee 筹赈委员会, was established to supervise donation campaigns and was chaired by members elected by the government. The Committee standardised donation campaigns like lottery campaigns 宝塔捐 and sought to generate higher income from donations for the Red Cross.⁵⁰⁷ Not only were the number of campaigns more than before, but the amount of money brought in was much higher. From 1929 to 1930, the Committee implemented 60 lottery donation campaigns in Shanghai, 23 of which were implemented in the greater Shanghai

⁵⁰³ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 128.

⁵⁰⁴ Reeves, "The Power of Mercy," 170.

⁵⁰⁵ Reeves, "The Power of Mercy," 176.

⁵⁰⁶ Reeves, "The Power of Mercy," 179.

⁵⁰⁷ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 253.

area. According to Chi, the series of lottery campaigns secured 250,000 yuan for the Red Cross.⁵⁰⁸ The donations allowed for the establishment of long-term institutions for flood victims. In Beijing, Kaifeng, and Xi'an, the Red Cross established six poor houses and orphanages and subsidized them with 30,000 yuan. The Shanghai office sent food to Zhengzhou and Zhangjiakou. Further, 50,000 yuan was sent to Gansu province for disaster relief.⁵⁰⁹ However, conflicts due to a lack of transparency in income from donation campaigns had severe consequences.⁵¹⁰ Yu Zhipin 虞治卿, was president of the Red Cross from 1929 until 1932 and criticized by members of the Central Committee for the lack of transparency in terms of how he used income from donation campaigns. Yu resigned after his conflict with the Central Committee and was replaced by Wang Zhengting who was foreign minister of the Nationalist government at the time.⁵¹¹

In 1934, the Central Committee called for a new assembly at which governmental influence once again intensified. Documentation of the assembly in local archives such as in Tianjin shows that this event brought Red Cross delegates from many provinces together.⁵¹² As findings from the provincial archives in Guangzhou indicate, 3,316 delegates from 503 branches took part in the assembly.⁵¹³ Personnel changes consisted of the reappointment of Wang Zhengting as president. The vice-president became Shi Liangcai 史量才, the owner of the Shenbao and a political activist who campaigned against Japanese aggression. Nonetheless, as a result of his radical anti-Japanese activism, which partially subverted the politics of Chiang Kai-shek, who sought to prevent an outbreak of war at that moment, Shi was assassinated in 1934 and replaced by Du Yuesheng.⁵¹⁴ The Board of Directors was dissolved and replaced by two offices, an administrative office and a supervisory office, which were both staffed by members and allies of the government.⁵¹⁵ These intermediaries were loyal to Chiang and

⁵⁰⁸ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 268.

⁵⁰⁹ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 261.

⁵¹⁰ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 116.

⁵¹¹ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 268.

⁵¹² 中华民国红十字会管理条例施行细则 Regulations About the Correct Management of the Local Branches of the Red Cross of the Chinese Republic, 1934, Tianjin Municipal Archive, J0025-2-000123-006. And also the file 关于送法中华民国红十字会各地方分立案办法, 天津市政府, Detailed Bylaws for the Supervision of the Red Cross Society of the Chinese Republic (1934) Tianjin Municipal Archives, J0025-2-000123-01.

⁵¹³ Guangdong Provincial Archives, 41-2-1378 (1934), 39.

⁵¹⁴ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 135.

⁵¹⁵ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 138.

involved in many economic and political affairs in Shanghai, the administrative centre.⁵¹⁶ Du Yuesheng 杜月生 (1888 -1951), the head of the Green Gang, one of Shanghai's oldest gangs involved in legal and illegal activities, began his career with the Red Cross in this way. After 1927, the already powerful gang leader developed a close alliance with the new government, which he supported in the suppression of the Communist movement. Du was also a philanthropist and was elected to the Board of Directors in 1932.⁵¹⁷ In 1931, he had already joined the provincial network Committee for Charitable Relief Work, chaired by Wang Yiting. Furthermore, at the same time, Du organized donation campaigns with influential local elites like Wang and showed his social approval.⁵¹⁸

While Du used the Red Cross as a strategy to legitimate his high social status through support for state-sanctioned philanthropic activism, the government regarded his influence as an opportunity to foster the involvement of its allies in the Central Committee. Du's influence and his investment in philanthropy extended his role within the Red Cross. In 1934, he became one of the vice-presidents of the Red Cross.⁵¹⁹ At the same time, his social prestige increased. In 1936, for example, he built an ancestral temple whose opening was celebrated in an imposing inauguration ceremony.⁵²⁰

Membership reforms consisted of new membership forms and new strategies to recruit members. In terms of fees, nothing changed for the existing regular, honorary, and student membership forms, but a new category, the anniversary members 纪念会员, was added. Anniversary members were nominated for one year by the leading offices of the Red Cross and was a membership to honour important personalities.⁵²¹ Recruitment campaigns were supported using new media like radio stations. For instance, in 1935, a Shanghai Buddhist radio station advertised a Red Cross celebration that was held to attract new members. Recruitment campaigns, promoted by prominent members like the honorary-president Chiang Kai-shek, also became a main task of branches.⁵²² The new strategy to recruit members also resulted in the establishment of recruitment corps 征求总队. These corps were established by branches and

⁵¹⁶ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 127.

⁵¹⁷ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 128.

⁵¹⁸ Shen, "Wang Yiting," 54.

⁵¹⁹ Brian G. Martin, *The Shanghai Green Gang. Politics and Organized Crime, 1919-1937* (Berkeley, 1996), 159.

⁵²⁰ "Tu Yueh-sheng," in *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* Vol. 3, ed. Howard L. Boorman, Richard C. Howard, (New York, 1967), 330.

⁵²¹ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 141.

⁵²² Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 143.

actively advertised the work of the Red Cross. According to Zhang's findings, the 1934 campaign recruited 5,055 new members.⁵²³ After the government implemented the first membership campaigns, the income of the Red Cross increased substantially to 584,935, 54 yuan.⁵²⁴ Until the war, the agency implemented two other recruitment campaigns. The first campaign lasted from August 1936 until July 1936 and the second campaign from January 1937 until February 1937. As a result, the number of registered members increased to 138,418 in 1937.⁵²⁵ In 1935, the income consisted of 80,000 yuan from the collection of membership fees and 70,151 yuan in 1936 from the same source.

5.3 Development of Military Medicine during the Nanjing Decade

The expansion of services to armies and the effort to improve the legal framework for the Red Cross services under military law after the Japanese attacks in 1932 can be regarded as an important change in the history of this group. Although during the Japanese attacks on Shanghai in February 1932, the Red Cross provided more civilians than soldiers, the organisation established units 救护支队 whose activities contributed to the amelioration of the conditions of wounded soldiers. This assignment can be seen as the starting-point for the Red Cross's professionalization of military services.⁵²⁶ Overall, the Red Cross organized 20 emergency units, which consisted of 471 volunteers. These units established 43 emergency hospitals for wounded soldiers and five refugee camps for 53,100 refugees; camps for 8,600 soldiers; and spent 283,000 yuan on materials, and medicine.⁵²⁷

One particularity of the Red Cross services in 1932 was the strong presence of women in relief work. For example, He Xiangnin 何香凝, a supporter of the anti-Japanese resistance organized a unit led by women. This unit, created by an artist and patriot, joined the Red Cross to be trained in first aid. With the help of the Red Cross in Shanghai, He established the National Calamity Women's Training Class 国难妇女救护训练班. Her National Calamity Relief Unit 国难战士救护队 mobilized 60 workers who provided emergency assistance, helped

⁵²³ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 145.

⁵²⁴ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 154.

⁵²⁵ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 290.

⁵²⁶ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 270.

⁵²⁷ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 274.

establish emergency hospitals, and comforted wounded soldiers.⁵²⁸ Therefore, while nursing was still a marginal medical profession in China and not fully recognized, the Red Cross was a Chinese group that actively encouraged the participation of women.

The Red Cross's support for women was also due to the influence of members of PUMC who established one of the first nursing training courses in the country.⁵²⁹ The Red Cross's advancement in military medicine was mainly in the hands of specialists who were supported by the famous institution. The most important member of the hospital for the Red Cross was Lin Kesheng 林可胜 (Robert Kho-Seng Lim), who became the director of the medical department of the Red Cross in 1934 and was responsible for the organization of the medical corps during the war. Lin was born in 1894 in Singapore and educated in Scotland as a physiologist. He became a lecturer at the department of physiology at the University of Edinburgh after defending his thesis at this institution and during the 1920s he served at the Royal Infantry Edinburgh as surgeon. He also gained professional experience during his assignment for military medical services in France.⁵³⁰

Lin's family background and his ambition to boost his career served as motivation to apply for a position in China at the American hospital in 1922. Roger Greene, director of the China Medical Board of the College initially employed him as a junior professor at the Department of Physiology and supported his career in the years that followed.⁵³¹ In 1928, Lin was invited by Liu Ruisheng, director of the National Health Administration and former Director of the PUMC to assess the situation of medical services in military hospitals in Nanjing and to make suggestions about how they could be improved. At the College back in Beijing, Lin reported about the situation on July 28. His impression of one military hospital in one local army division of the government was good. However, he noted that the institution lacked an emergency service. He suggested that the previous ideas of Niu Hengsheng 牛惠生 (Waysung New) be implemented. Niu Hengshen was a member of the National Board of Health at the National Health Administration and member of the Red Cross. He was the founder of the Shanghai Orthopedic Hospital and devoted his life to the improvement of the country's medical conditions. In 1931, this hospital came to be used as a Red Cross hospital for the teaching of

⁵²⁸ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 270.

⁵²⁹ Bowers, *Western Medicine*, 160.

⁵³⁰ "Robert Lim," Peking Union Medical College Archives, No. 2045, Files I and II.

⁵³¹ Roger Green, Letter, 3 January 1923. Peking Union Medical College Archives, No. 2045, Files I and II.

orthopedic surgery.⁵³² In 1927, Niu had suggested improving the situation of army medical services at the Military Affairs Commission, which controlled the National Revolutionary Army, but his plans were cancelled.⁵³³

In 1933, after the Japanese attacks on Shanghai, Lin established the Training Corps Program 军官救护训练队 at the PUMC. The training program focused the conduct of first aid, training in the use of stretchers and the management of transporting the wounded. Lin also implemented concepts to standardize operations.⁵³⁴ Lin's training program served as a model for other institutions such as at the Central Hospital in Nanjing 国立中央医院, which was established in 1930 by the National Health Administration in Nanjing. Between 1931 and 1937, over 200 health workers were trained at this institution.⁵³⁵ According to Brewer, Lu Zhide, one of Lin's close friends and colleagues, was appointed as the head of the medical department of the Central Hospital in Nanjing to implement the military medical training program designed by Lin.⁵³⁶

Another military medical school opened in 1931 in Yunnan. Although not directly connected with the Chinese Red Cross, the work of this institution contributed to pre-war military modernising objectives. For example, in 1931 the Yunnan School of Military Medicine 云南军医学校 was created as part of the University of Kunming and subordinate to the Tenth Road Army Division of the Revolutionary Army led by the Nationalist Party. Its objective was to train military surgeons for service during war and the students worked as medical assistants for the Tenth Road Army. Another objective of the school was to improve public health among the rural population. Students held public health lectures in villages near Kunming. According to the weekly schedule, every Saturday, special lecture teams were sent to the villages around Kunming to teach the villagers about the principles of health and hygiene and to familiarise them with practices such as vaccination. Tellingly, the agenda of the school saw its work as replacement of what it called shaman medicine 巫医, which most people in Yunnan were using to cure diseases. Promoting Western medicine as the most useful school of medicine, the school's program aligned itself with China's growing internationalization at the time, which

⁵³² "Niu Hui-sheng," in *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China Vol. 3*, ed. Howard L. Boorman, Richard C. Howard, (New York, 1967), 44.

⁵³³ "Robert Lim," Peking Union Medical College Archives, No. 2045, Files I and II.

⁵³⁴ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 324.

⁵³⁵ Watt, *Saving Lives*, 116.

⁵³⁶ Bowers, *Western Medicine*, 160.

was in turn seen as cooperation with international networks, for example the League of Nation's Public Health programs.⁵³⁷ The school in Yunnan, the Central hospital in Nanjing, and Lin's efforts in Beijing were important contributions to the improvement of military medicine. However, the situation of Chinese armies was not standardized, which meant that there were not enough personnel to provide medical aid.

After the Japanese attacks on Shanghai in 1932, Red Cross activism expressed patriotism and anti-Japanese defence and strengthened the importance of medical experts such as Lin because they offered the opportunity to hone the so-far underdeveloped military medical services. For example, shortly after the establishment of Manchukuo in 1933, the Red Cross became part of the patriotic Manchurian Relief Association. The Association united the Red Cross, the Chinese-Foreign Famine Relief, the White Cross Society (a lesser known and in research less-explored alternative to the Red Cross), the Red Swastika Society, the Lien Yi Benevolence Society, the Shanghai Public Benevolent Cemetery, the Hui-Song Philanthropic Society, the Chinese Moral Welfare Association, and the Sing Wai Relief Society. The objective of the Manchurian Relief Association was to coordinate support for the Chinese "in our three Eastern provinces" who were threatened by severe floods at that time. The dire situation of the Manchurian population was exacerbated by the natural catastrophe and the Japanese attacks. According to the campaign's booklet, the population had been "suffering intensely for the past year since the outbreak on that Memorial Day, the 18th of September 1931".⁵³⁸

In the same year, when Japanese armies tried to invade the province of Rehe (they seized it shortly after), the Red Cross founded the North China Relief Committee 华北救济委员会 together with other local agencies such as the Rehe United Relief Society 华北热河后接协会 and the Chinese Medical Association 中国医学总会, which was another opportunity for Lin to be seen as the initiator of the Red Cross military program.⁵³⁹ The deployment of the aid workers was documented by Joseph Yu, head of the Nantao Clinic of the Bureau of Public Health in Shanghai and captain of the Third Mobile Unit of the North China Medical Relief

⁵³⁷ 云南军医学校刊, 重庆市档案馆, 3. "Introduction," *Journal of Yunnan School of Military Medicine*, Chongqing Municipal Library Archives, 3.

⁵³⁸ Red Cross Society of China, *The International Committee of the Red Cross Archives*, Geneva, 1932, CR 00-14-69.

⁵³⁹ 中华红十字会, 华北救济委员会报告(上海, 1933), 10. *The Red Cross Society of the Chinese Republic, Report of the North China Relief Committee* (Shanghai, 1933), 10.

Committee, titled “Memories of Kupeikow”.⁵⁴⁰ The illustrative documentation corresponded with the Red Cross’s efforts to show its expertise in the field.

The North China Medical Relief Committee was organized by the Chinese Red Cross and Liu, Director of the National Health Administration. The Committee consisted of a group of twenty other physicians and nurses including the foreign physician Dr. E. Landauer. Additionally, more than 500 physicians, medical students, aides, and drivers worked for the Committee.⁵⁴¹ Lin, head of the mobile units, excelled at skilful organization. Lin was responsible for thirteen mobile units that catered to the Seventeenth Army Division. His wholehearted commitment to improving the Red Cross’s work at the front was underlined by the presence of his whole family. His wife and children, Jimmy and Effie, were often pictured spending their days with the medical staff.⁵⁴²

Tellingly, the assignment became an occasion for the Red Cross to implement and test techniques for services on the battlefield. Three of the units were located close to the Great Wall in Miyun, Huaiju, and Kanchuang, while the remaining ten were in base hospitals near Beijing.⁵⁴³ The first task of the units was to establish field hospitals to store medicine and equipment, and to operate on the wounded. Field hospitals could be established at public places, such as temples or schools.⁵⁴⁴ In Tungchow, for instance, the units settled in the Jefferson Academy, a missionary school. Students of the school were recruited as voluntary helpers and nurses. The severely wounded were transported from the temporary hospitals to base hospitals.

Each mobile unit had ten to twelve workers and thirty stretcher-bearers. In spring time, the workers drove in trucks to the front wearing thick winter clothing. The living conditions of these workers was generally poor. Documenting the sleeping conditions of the Third Mobile Unit, Yu commented on a picture that depicted “papered walls, a straw, broken table, and

⁵⁴⁰ Joseph Yu, *Memories of Kupeikow. Dedicated to Our Beloved Soldiers Who Valiantly Defended Their Country Against Japanese Aggression In North China, And Also To Those Who Faithfully Served In Volunteer Work In The Fighting Area* (Shanghai 1933), 5.

⁵⁴¹ Heng Liu, “Preface,” in Joseph Yu, *Memories Of Kupeikow. Dedicated To Our Beloved Soldiers Who Valiantly Defended Their Country Against Japanese Aggression In North China, And Also To Those Who Faithfully Served In Volunteer Work In The Fighting Area* (Shanghai, 1933), 3. According to Liu, Yu produced documentation based on his “artistic temperament” which motivated him to photograph everything “amidst the flying bullets and the roaring cannons”, rather than a professional guide-book for field medical assistance. The photos capture the personal side of the assignment.

⁵⁴² Yu, *Memories of Kupeikow*, 50. While the children spent their time doing auxiliary activities, Mrs. Lin oversaw hosting of Lin’s colleagues. Back in Beijing on 28 May 1933 she held a buffet party for the medical staff from the front as was documented by Yu.

⁵⁴³ The Red Cross Society of the Chinese Republic, 华北救济委员会报告, 33.

⁵⁴⁴ Yu, *Memories of Kupeikow*, 26.

wooden stocks are for us an everlasting memory.”⁵⁴⁵ What is more, the relief work was often carried out during Japanese bombardments. Dugouts were excavated to provide minimal protection for the wounded and of Red Cross workers.

Despite such shortcomings, all activities were part of the Red Cross’s objective to professionalise humanitarian aid at the front, although the assignment did not offer many possibilities for women. For instance, the staff practiced how to bandage arms and legs correctly, how to bind legs on stabilising bars, and how to treat wounds correctly. The program also established delousing stations where clothes were steamed for disinfection.⁵⁴⁶ Stretcher-bearers performed daily exercises to keep in shape and the mobile units sought to adhere to hygienic standards in the field hospitals, for example, in hospital laboratories and during surgeries in special operation rooms.⁵⁴⁷ Medical modernisation during deployment was supported by the PUMC’s X-ray Department, which bought a wheeled X-ray and an operation table on a truck. These mobile X-ray and operating tables were praised due to their relatively easy transport to front regions.⁵⁴⁸ Nurses, however, were the minority during this assignment. The few women who travelled to the front worked in medical centres and not at the front. There was no special training class for nurses. In fact, the nursing staff was often made up of male nurses who were recruited from local schools. Thus, female nurses were rare in the North and the Red Cross did not invest in the dispatch of women to the front during this assignment.⁵⁴⁹

Backed by the PUMC, the Red Cross medical corps took on a leading role in the assignment. Workers from auxiliary societies such as the Red Swastika Society and the YMCA assisted the Red Cross in carrying the wounded to medical stations.⁵⁵⁰ For example, the Red Cross noted in its summary of all activities that on April 4, 1933, the Red Swastika units drove along the frontline and collected wounded soldiers.⁵⁵¹ Furthermore, the Red Swastika cared chiefly for civilians.⁵⁵² The twenty-seven units that worked around Chengde and along the Great Wall cared mainly for refugees who needed to be relocated to unoccupied areas.⁵⁵³ Thus, while

⁵⁴⁵ Yu, *Memories of Kupeikow*, 25.

⁵⁴⁶ The Red Cross Society of the Chinese Republic, 华北救济委员会报告, 92.

⁵⁴⁷ Yu, *Memories of Kupeikow*, 23.

⁵⁴⁸ Yu, *Memories of Kupeikow*, 44.

⁵⁴⁹ Yu, *Memories of Kupeikow*, 45.

⁵⁵⁰ The Red Cross Society of the Chinese Republic, 华北救济委员会报告, 30.

⁵⁵¹ The Red Cross Society of the Chinese Republic, 华北救济委员会报告, 6.

⁵⁵² 红卍字会, 华北战区善后救济之商榷 (1934), 3. The Red Swastika Society, *Huabei Battle Zone Repatriation Survey*, 3.

⁵⁵³ The Red Swastika Society, 华北战区善后救济之商榷2.

this assignment was an opportunity for the Red Cross to implement military relief and train its personnel, other groups took over less specialized responsibilities. Specialized military medical work, however, was expensive and provided to the Red Cross by the American Peking Union Medical College. The continuous dependence on American financial support during the war facilitated the organization's adoption of a subversive role because it enabled the financial support for pro-Communist activities.

While governmental influence on the leadership and the donation campaigns is in line with Reeve's proposal that the Red Cross was at that point completely subordinate to governmental control, the situation of Red Cross services for soldiers demonstrated a more complicated situation and the limits of governmental influence.⁵⁵⁴ Wang Zhengting referred to the International Committee in Geneva and sought to clarify the Red Cross inclusion into armies to prevent that these assignments developed beyond legal boundaries. Even during the Japanese attacks on Shanghai in 1932, delegates from the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva, like Sidney Brown, had noticed that at that moment, the Red Cross was working for armies, but not under any military law.⁵⁵⁵ Brown advised that the inclusion of the Red Cross into national armies depended on governmental and military regulations and not on the International Committee.⁵⁵⁶ According to Article 10 of the July 1929 Geneva Convention, governments and their armies were supposed to create a legal framework for the work of the national Red Cross organizations and Red Cross workers were supposed to operate under the military law that authorized them to enter battle zones and that guaranteed their protection.⁵⁵⁷ Thus, while the International Committee preferred to issue recommendations, it left the solution

⁵⁵⁴ Reeves, "The Power of Mercy," 196.

⁵⁵⁵ Sidney H. Brown to B. Y. Wong, 26 February 1934, Secretary General Red Cross Society of China. The International Committee of the Red Cross Archives, Red Cross Society of China, CR 00/14-69.

⁵⁵⁶ Sidney H. Brown to B. Y. Wong, 26 February 1934, Secretary General Red Cross Society of China. The International Committee of the Red Cross Archives, Red Cross Society of China, CR 00/14-69. Brown wrote: "As you (Wang) will no doubt have understood from our cable, there are no internationally binding relations concerning the services of the Red Cross on the battlefield. According to the terms of the Geneva Convention and to established tradition, the national Red Cross Societies are Voluntary Aid Societies to the official Army Medical Services, and the nature of their services are regulated under authority of their respective government (or, in some cases, the War Ministry) issues these regulations, which are revised from time to time."

⁵⁵⁷ Brown to B. Y. Wong, 26 February 1934, Secretary General Red Cross Society of China. The International Committee of the Red Cross Archives, Red Cross Society of China, CR 00/14-69. Brown referred to the *Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armies in the Field Geneva*, 27 July, 1929. Art. 10 "The personnel of Voluntary Aid Societies, duly recognized and authorized by their Government, who may be employed on the same duties as those of the personnel mentioned in the paragraph of Article 9, are placed on the same footing as the personnel contemplated in that paragraph, provided that the personnel of such societies are subject to military law and regulations." <https://www.icrc.org/ihl/INTRO/300?OpenDocument> (retrieved 29 April 2017).

of the problem to political and military authorities in each country.⁵⁵⁸

Although prior to the Sino-Japanese War, the Red Cross was not officially included in army services, under the auspices of the government, it created first specialized emergency units. Medical experts such as Lin were in charge of these units and continued relief activities during the conflict. The Red Cross Temporary North China Committee 中国红十字会救护委员会 was established 1 June 1936.⁵⁵⁹ It was chaired by leading members of the Red Cross such as Wang, Du, and Liu from the National Health Administration.⁵⁶⁰ Its objective was to mobilise volunteers among medical professionals and students of medical institutions and to train them for the specialized assignment on the battlefield. Lin officially became responsible for the training of the Red Cross Medical Corps. Until the outbreak of the war in 1937, the program trained 547 students from various universities and 30 branches.⁵⁶¹

The mission to train medical corps was also stipulated by the Regulations for the Management of the Red Cross, a new governmentally approved law passed in July 1936. This law not only officially approved the training of medical corps as a preparation for wartime services, but also stipulated the establishment of a Youth Red Cross 红十字少年会 to involve more social groups in Red Cross work than before.⁵⁶² Preparatory training of a youth medical corps was implemented in Shandong, for example. Due to the proximity of the province to regions contested by Japan, the Red Cross sought to recruit volunteers from this region and prepare them for emergencies. In Zhucheng 诸城, the branch established a training class 救护培训班 on 15 August 1936. The chairman of the branch, Yu Lianyou 于良优 opened the festivity during which the class was started.⁵⁶³ The class trained 41 students who received a small pay of seven yuan for food. Training incorporated both theory and practice, and prepared students to serve army divisions. Military affairs specialists taught the theory of military

⁵⁵⁸ Brown to B. Y. Wong, 26 February 1934, Secretary General Red Cross Society of China. The International Committee of the Red Cross Archives, Red Cross Society of China, CR 00/14-69. Brown expressed his belief in the modernizing role of the Red Cross “We believe it to be one of the duties of the national Red Cross Societies to induce their respective government to bring their legislation in line with the Geneva Convention, which continues to be the main base of our humanitarian services through the world. Brown’s advice in 1934 to manage the Red Cross affairs according to local conditions of the armies and the government happened against the backdrop of new negotiations about the conduct of the International Humanitarian Law within the network of the International Committee.

⁵⁵⁹ Tianjin Municipal Archives, J0025-2-00123-013, August 1936.

⁵⁶⁰ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 294.

⁵⁶¹ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 162.

⁵⁶² The Chinese Red Cross Youth Organization 红十字少年宣言(undated), Nanjing Municipal Archives, 10030031114 (03) 0003.

⁵⁶³ Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 195.

medical services. Other specialists introduced the students to medical practices and training classes were established at other branches in Shandong such as in Tancheng 滕城.

5.4 Conclusion

The establishment of Nationalist rule in 1928 started a period of more vigorous official involvement in the national Red Cross. The organization's support for national defence did, however, create some resistance among Red Cross workers. During this period, in which the Nationalist government was reorganizing the public health situation in cities under its control, it involved the branches of the Red Cross in donation campaigns during times of crisis and placed allies in leading positions. This process was not free from conflict. For instance, control over finances and the Red Cross income from donation campaigns fuelled problems for those responsible.

The growing possibility of a war with Japan that would start with an attack on Shanghai in 1932 and that would see Japan establish its rule over Manchukuo fuelled China's need to strengthen its armies. After the Japanese aggression in 1932, volunteers, mainly medical professionals from American medical schools and hospitals, began to campaign for the extension of Red Cross services for armies. As this chapter has shown, the organization was created to provide medical service for soldiers and civilians, but the overall conditions of armies and the weak recognition of medical services among army leaders had prevented the Red Cross from developing its services for armies. Instead, its service mainly reached civilians.

China's armies, which included alliances between the leadership and warlords, did not undergo modernization like the Japanese army whose medical services, provided by the Japanese Red Cross, were praised for their effectiveness and professionalism. Because the provision of medical services was not overhauled like it was in Japan the Red Cross's medical services led only to a marginal improvement of the overall weakly- developed provision of medical services for soldiers. From 1932, the moment when Japanese aggression seriously threatened China's urban and economic centre, the Red Cross attracted patriotic medical professionals, like Lin Kesheng. Due to individuals like Lin who invested their professional skills in the creation of a permanent Red Cross medical service for armies, the agency set about preparing for the outbreak of war.

Chapter Six

The Chinese Red Cross Society during the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945

6.1 Introduction

This chapter suggests that the war reinforced the authority of the Nationalist Party at all levels of the official Red Cross Society, but this increased influence could not suppress assistance for the Communist among its members. As the brutal invasion of regions at the East coast by Japanese armies forced the Chinese government and millions of Chinese to flee and resettle in Southwestern provinces, wartime state-building sought to care for the population and mobilize it against Japan, and against internal enemies. This chapter examines the solidification of governmental influence in two parts. Firstly, looking at the situation of branches, it shows how the Red Cross network became divided at the beginning of the war due to the Japanese occupation and the Central Committee's relocation from Shanghai to Wuhan and Chongqing. This examination demonstrates that governmental influence was enhanced despite a general decrease in the number of the branches and proves that it was difficult to maintain Red Cross work in many parts of the country. Such a trend points to a weakening of the Red Cross's

importance in providing public health. Moreover, while newly implemented wartime membership campaigns served to garner any possible resources from the population, the concomitant reorganization of branches served to place loyal people as branch chairmen and to prevent local Red Cross activities from serving as supply for Communist territories.

6.2 The Red Cross Branches on the East Coast

The war affected all branches of the Red Cross. Because of the armed conflicts and political changes, the number of branches fell from 469 to 254 in 1943.⁵⁶⁴ This decrease varied regionally, however. The general trend reveals that most Red Cross members fled to Western regions and that many branches in the east were destroyed. Nonetheless, in some cases the branches continued to exist—they were cut off from the Chongqing based network and incorporated into the collaborative state-building efforts of the Japanese forces.

There is little documentation of the country's Red Cross work in occupied territories because everyone who remained in occupied zones was charged with collaboration and treason. In addition, efforts by leaders of the Red Cross to establish contact with those branches were often hindered because it was difficult to establish secure means of communication with people in occupied zones.⁵⁶⁵ Contact was possible, though, in places like Shanghai, which was under foreign authority. Sources indicate that the Shanghai office transferred money to Chongqing in 1939.⁵⁶⁶ Nevertheless, the Japanese influence in most regions on the East coast after 1941 made contact almost impossible. For example, in 1943 the Red Cross delegate, Guo Lanxiao 郭兰晓, reviewed the situation of the branches in Anhui, Zhejiang, and Shanghai. Guo reported that former Red Cross members in Shanghai, like Wen Lanting 闻兰亭 and Lin Kanghou 林康侯, were working with the Japanese regime and that their collaboration made contact or exchange impossible.⁵⁶⁷

Further examples show that some Red Cross branches continued to operate despite the impact of occupation. In the province of Shandong, 45 branches were registered by the

⁵⁶⁴ Chi, *红十字与近代中国*, 384.

⁵⁶⁵ Chi, *红十字与近代中国*, 385.

⁵⁶⁶ 戴斌武, *抗战时期中国红十字会* *抗战时期中国红十字会* (天津, 2001), 177. *The Analysis of the Wartime Chinese Red Cross Medical Corps* *抗战时期中国红十字会* *抗战时期中国红十字会* *抗战时期中国红十字会* *救护总会队研究* *救护总会队研究* (Tianjin, 2001), 177.

⁵⁶⁷ Zhang, *中国红十字会初期发展之研究*, 186.

provincial government in 1936. After the outbreak of the war, this number decreased to 32. Interestingly, in 1940, the almost completely occupied province of Shandong still retained 32 branches.⁵⁶⁸ Documentation of the Red Cross in Shandong shows that despite separation from the official network in the West, philanthropists in contested regions regarded the Red Cross as useful and in occupied regions philanthropists worked for the Red Cross on behalf of Japanese collaboration regimes. In addition, in some cases new branches were even established in the province. Chi's findings from the publication *90 Years of the Red Cross in Shandong* 山东红十字会事业九十年 reveal the opening of a branch in Renping 茌平 in 1940. The branch had 40 members and was led by Cheng Zizhi 程自志. Information about the wartime situation in this place is diffuse. On the one hand, Chinese sources suggest that Renping had an anti-Japanese local government, while on the other, its proximity to the occupied Liaocheng suggests that Renping was led by collaborator agents.⁵⁶⁹ In the same year, other branches opened in 1940 in Zhaoyuan 招远, a prefecture of Yantai, and in Qingping 清平 where Zhang Dezhen 张德珍 and Huang Enze 黄恩泽 were elected directors.⁵⁷⁰ Yantai was led by the puppet collaborator Shao Zhongshu 绍中枢.⁵⁷¹ Qingping belonged to Liaocheng. Although it was possible that the resistance government could bestow these branches with the function of maintaining ties between Chongqing and the East coast., guerrilla rule and anti-Nationalist opposition could impede this function. Shandong was occupied because Japan mainly controlled urban centres and cities along roads and railways. In other less urban regions of the province, resistance, which was mainly organized by Communists, but also by Nationalists and guerrilla troops, continued.⁵⁷²

In occupied places, like Tianjin, the Red Cross continued to exist, but was cut off from Chongqing. The Red Cross in Tianjin was incorporated into the Japanese-controlled welfare system at the hands of the Municipal Peace Preservation Committee 天津市治安维持会. Material about the branch consists of only a few documents, such as registration of the branch as part of the new municipal welfare agency, but shows that the branch provided emergency

⁵⁶⁸ Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 189.

⁵⁶⁹ The Chinese source <http://baike.baidu.com/view/136431.htm> (retrieved 30 April 2017) and <http://news.lcxw.cn/liaocheng/yaowen/20140905/568118.html> (retrieved 30 April 2017).

⁵⁷⁰ Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 195.

⁵⁷¹ Konrad M. Lawson, "Wartime Atrocities and the Politics of Treason in the Ruins of the Japanese Empire, 1937-1953," (Ph.D. diss., Harvard 2012), 371.

⁵⁷² Diana Lary, "The Context of the War: Introduction," in *China at War. Regions of China 1937-1945*, ed. S. MacKinnon (Stanford, 2007), 8.

support and ran a hospital 天津临时难民医院. According to sources, these activities were conducted in 1939. Thus, the Red Cross continued its activities one year and a half after Japanese occupation.⁵⁷³

The situation in Shanghai is another example of branch activity on the East coast. There, the Central Committee organized relief immediately after the outbreak of the Battle of Shanghai on August 13, 1937. The whole city was affected by the humanitarian disaster as thousands of refugees fled to the city centre. Places like the French Concession and the International Settlement were occupied by hundreds of thousands of refugees in the first few years of the war. After the Battle of Shanghai, the Chinese-controlled areas of Shanghai came under Japanese occupation and the previous Chinese municipal government was replaced by a collaborationist government, the Great Way Government 大道政府.⁵⁷⁴ The International Settlement and the French Concession were surrounded by the occupied zones and faced the constant threat of invasion in the following years. Until 1941, they remained under the control of British, French, and American authorities who declared neutrality because none of their home governments wanted to declare war against Japan.⁵⁷⁵

The Red Cross in Shanghai was an important addition to the shared charitable efforts of local initiatives, municipal authorities, and many individuals. Their coordination of emergency proved effective because it built on the experience of earlier crises, like the Japanese bombing of the city in 1932.⁵⁷⁶ Nara Dillon, points out that these shared efforts relied mainly on private funding sources. Private donations and the coordination of committees to provide relief to the refugees were much higher than the contributions from the municipal and central government. Only in 1939, when the central government relocated to Chongqing, did it begin to invest in the Shanghai office.⁵⁷⁷ While the next chapter analyses the contribution of the Red Swastika during the Battle of Shanghai, this chapter examines the situation of the Red Cross in the city.

Du Yuesheng, vice-president of the Red Cross, was, for example one of the first chairmen of municipal agencies that coordinated city wide activities and participated in the

⁵⁷³ 华北救济委员会天津分会为本会捐与救委员会, The North China Relief Association Donates for the Tianjin Branch, 1939, Tianjin Municipal Archive J00001-132-103.

⁵⁷⁴ Timothy Brook, *Collaboration. Japanese Agents and Local Elites in Wartime China* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), 157.

⁵⁷⁵ Wen Hsin-Yeh, "Prologue," in *Wartime Shanghai*, ed. Wen Hsin-Yeh (London, 1998), 7.

⁵⁷⁶ Nara Dillon, "Middlemen in the Chinese Welfare State: The Role of Philanthropists in Refugee Relief in Wartime Shanghai," *Studies in Comparative International Development* Vol. 46, issue 1 (March 2011): 29.

⁵⁷⁷ Dillon "Middlemen in the Chinese Welfare State," 30.

Chinese Red Cross Shanghai Relief Committee 中国红十字会委员会, established on October 2, 1937, before he fled to Hong Kong after the fall of Shanghai. The Committee cooperated with other initiatives like the Shanghai Federation of Charities 上海慈善团体联合救灾会.⁵⁷⁸ Yan Fuqing 颜福庆, former president of the Red Cross and the director of the Shanghai Red Cross Hospital, became the chairman of the Committee for Wounded Soldiers of the Shanghai International Red Cross. The Shanghai International Red Cross was established to coordinate the measures taken by local societies and philanthropists.⁵⁷⁹ This umbrella organization existed until 1939 and regarded its mandate as a temporary replacement of the Chinese Red Cross in Shanghai. In the next chapter, we will see how the Red Swastika cooperated with the Shanghai International Red Cross.

In organizing assistance for soldiers, Yan gathered 22 units to transport wounded soldiers to medical offices. From the outbreak of the armed conflict until April 30, 1938 these workers, many of whom were students at medical universities, helped 19,539 wounded soldiers to reach hospitals and medical offices.⁵⁸⁰ Yan also managed the establishment of 24 emergency hospitals.⁵⁸¹ These institutions not only treated wounded soldiers but facilitated their relocation out of the city to prevent their capture by Japanese forces. The Red Cross medical institutions opened registration stations for soldiers that transported those able to travel. The soldiers were sent by ship, often provided by foreign ship companies, to Ningbo and then once again to central provinces. For instance, the distribution station at the Foreign Affairs building registered 17,940 soldiers who were sent by ship out of Shanghai. Distribution stations were also established outside Shanghai, like in Kunshan. The distribution station in Kunshan transferred 3,200 soldiers during the twenty days of its existence from October 26 to November 13, 1937.⁵⁸²

At the same time, Red Cross workers in Shanghai participated in projects for refugees through the Shanghai International Red Cross and other privately initiated projects, like the Jacquinet Safe Zone.⁵⁸³ This zone was established by the French Jesuit Robert Jacquinet de

⁵⁷⁸ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 303.

⁵⁷⁹ Shanghai Evening Post, *Red Cross Call. City Rallies to Need of War Victims through Drive* (1 December 1937).

⁵⁸⁰ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 308.

⁵⁸¹ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 304.

⁵⁸² Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 309.

⁵⁸³ Marcia R. Ristaino, *The Jacquinet Safe Zone. Wartime Refugees in Shanghai* (Stanford, 2008), 148.

Besange (1887-1946) and was conceived according to a European model for civilian shelters during armed conflicts, the Lieux de Genève. It accommodated up to 250,000 refugees in one large camp in the Chinese section of Shanghai. The zone subscribed to the Geneva Conventions and claimed political neutrality. By doing so, it sought to protect civilians against military operations. The zone became a model for several other refugee camps in Nanjing, Wuhan, Canton, Hangzhou, Zhangzhou, Shenzhen, and Ouchang.

The wartime chaos also facilitated the use of Red Cross services to reach Communist bases. Red Cross branches in Shanghai and in Zhejiang became involved in pro-Communist support as Communist agencies infiltrated the organisation. Rottmann shows that in the chaos during the battle of Shanghai, the ambulance corps of the Coal Trade Industry, one of working associations of Communists, joined the Red Cross in the provision of relief. The Trade Associations' ambulance corps registered with the Red Cross to gain access to gasoline. Their 500 workers and 50 trucks were the city's largest ambulance service.⁵⁸⁴ This cooperation was possible because the head of the Shanghai Red Cross transport section, Yue Shuming, was a member of the Communist Party. Another connection between the branch was the Shanghai entrepreneur, Lui Hongsheng, who had been one of the vice-directors of the Red Cross since 1934, was a key player in the coal industry, and a supporter of the Coal Trade Industry ambulances. Rottman argues that against the backdrop of wartime chaos, the ambulances used Red Cross badges to legitimately pass through road controls and to transport recruits for the New Fourth Army from Shanghai to the base. They also relocated recruits from Ningbo and were helped by the branch in Wenzhou.⁵⁸⁵ Wartime confusion enabled these activities and their continuation until 1941 contributed to the solidification of governmental control over all Red Cross activities at the time.

As previously mentioned, the branch in Shanghai was unreachable in 1941 due to the occupation. Most Red Cross workers retreated from the city to Western provinces. The Nanjing branch experienced a comparable situation. Similar to the situation in Shanghai, some members of the Nanjing branch organized help immediately after the Japanese invasion of the city on December 13, 1937 while the majority fled with the government to the West. Shortly before the fall of Nanjing, the Executive Committee expanded the Nanjing Red Cross hospital to treat

⁵⁸⁴ Allison Rottmann, "Resistance, Urban Style: The New Fourth Army and Shanghai, 1937-1945," (Ph.D. diss., Berkeley, 2007), 109.

⁵⁸⁵ Rottmann, "Resistance, Urban Style," 127.

wounded soldiers from Shanghai. According to Chi, 12,767 soldiers were transported to the hospital.⁵⁸⁶ Those who stayed in the city during and after the Nanjing Massacre, one of the massacres the Japanese army units carried out against civilian populations, sought to protect civilians in the Nanjing International Safe Zone and they also buried the dead. During the six-week long Nanjing Massacre, Japanese soldiers closed the city and executed civilians. The chairman of the Nanjing branch Li Chunnan 李春南 became vice chairman of the Nanjing International Safe Zone which was established by foreign residents of Nanjing, like the German John Rabe, and modelled after the Jacquinet Safe Zone. The zone in Nanjing existed until 1939 and its objective was to protect civilians against Japanese aggression. In 1938, the Japanese armies established a collaboration regime that served as the capital of all such regimes on Chinese territory from 1941 onwards.⁵⁸⁷ The Red Cross hospital in Nanjing was destroyed due to the invasion and the branch was only re-established in 1945.⁵⁸⁸

There was also a decrease in Red Cross activities at other regional branches during the war. In the province of Jiangxi, which was attacked at the beginning of the war and then again during the Zhejiang-Jiangxi Campaign from May to September 1942, the war led to a decrease in activities at almost all the branches. In 1936, the province had nine branches, among them the branches in Nanchang and Jiujiang, which had been in operating since 1911. Until the Campaign, all the branches had been active. The branch in Nanchang ran, for example, a refugee camp from November 1937 to January 1938 and the workers even established a unit, the 民众救护队, which recruited 300 volunteers from Nanchang, Xinjian 新建, Anyi 安义, Yongxiu 永修, De'an 德安, Xingzi Xian 星子县. Nevertheless, Japanese attacks on the province after 1942 decreased the number of branches and at the end of the war only two Red Cross hospitals were still registered. In 1945, the province had only two branches in Nanchang and Ganxian 赣县 which also ran hospitals.⁵⁸⁹ This decline in Red Cross activity was also obvious in Jiangsu where the number of branches fell from 75 in 1936 to 29 in 1937. In Zhejiang, the number decreased from 30 in 1936 to 13 in 1937. In Guangdong, it decreased from 17 in 1936 to 11 in 1937.⁵⁹⁰ Under the different conditions following military operation

⁵⁸⁶ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 198.

⁵⁸⁷ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 317.

⁵⁸⁸ 池宇华, 江苏红十字会运动研究 (1904-2004), (北京, 2007), 182. Chi Zihua, *Jiangsu Red Cross Movement Research* (1904-2004), (Beijing, 2007), 182.

⁵⁸⁹ Chi, 中国红十字会运动的区域研究, 95.

⁵⁹⁰ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 384.

and the advancing Japanese occupation of Eastern provinces, many branches ceased to function or could not be incorporated into the Chongqing-based Red Cross.

6.3 *The Branches of the Red Cross in Western Provinces*

Red Cross work in regions under Chinese control became part of wartime state building. Pan Xiao'e 潘小萼 (also known as Pan Ji 潘骥) was chiefly responsible for the Red Cross in Chongqing, which had existed there since 1939. Pan was a graduate of the Harvard School of Public Health. During the Nanjing Decade, he worked as Commissioner of Health at the rural health project of the National Health Administration, the Central Field Health Station in Jiangxi for the Nationalist government.⁵⁹¹ Furthermore, the president Wang Zhengting and vice-president Du Yuesheng campaigned for donations in Hong Kong and in the capital after 1940.⁵⁹²

The establishment of a wartime Red Cross network was intended to strengthen the loyalty of Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist Party. Once settled in Chongqing, the administrative centre began to redefine its wartime mission, which emphasized the Red Cross's closeness with the government. In 1940, the office published a booklet titled *Red Cross and the Wartime Trends* 国红十字会战时动向, which made it clear that the Red Cross served the government. The booklet underlined the achievements of the international Red Cross movement and the responsibility of national Red Cross Societies. Subscribing to an international trend, the publication defined the Red Cross as a governmental agency. Research into the Red Cross's history in China is revealing when viewed in this light. The introduction highlights the merits of the first president of the Red Cross, the Qing official, Lü Haihuan. Shen Dunhe, the private philanthropist, possesses a subordinate role in the introduction and the lack of recognition of private investment in the creation of the organization signals that the Chongqing office viewed the Red Cross as a governmental agency in 1940.⁵⁹³

The government incorporated the Red Cross into its state building efforts and focused first on branch reorganization. In 1939, 90 branches (32 hospitals and 29 examination offices)

⁵⁹¹ Watt, *Saving Lives*, 138.

⁵⁹² Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 175.

⁵⁹³ 中国红十字会, 国红十字会战时动向 (重庆, 1940), 8. Red Cross Society of China, *Red Cross Wartime Trends* (Chongqing, 1940), 8.

were registered in “Free China”, the unoccupied territory.⁵⁹⁴ The number of branches and medical institutions did not increase during the war. In fact, the number of branches in Sichuan even decreased from 33 in 1936 to 22 in 1937.⁵⁹⁵ Thus, the wartime Red Cross network had to manage a decreasing number of branches. Centralization was part of state-building and the effort to centralize became obvious in the interactions between Chongqing and regional branches and attempts to increase branch membership to bring in fees to finance the Red Cross.

The increased influence of the Nationalist Party on the Red Cross from 1942 onwards suggests that governmental interest in the Red Cross was part of the *General State Mobilization Law*, which was passed on March 29, 1942. The law sought to incorporate all social agents into mobilization activities to strengthen national defence. All “human and material forces” under the control of the Nationalist Party were supposed to resist the war with Japan and to suppress the inner-Chinese enemy, the Communist Party. As van de Ven suggests “Behind the promulgation of the law was the desire to improve bureaucratic efficiency, deal with the economic crisis, strengthen defence industries, and suppress bureaucratic rivalries.”⁵⁹⁶ One outcome of the *General State Mobilization Law* was the restructuring of local groups. As was stipulated in *Regulations for the Organisation of Mass Organisations* 社会团体组织须知, a document published in 1942, all social groups with professional, educational, cultural and religious objectives were subordinate to governmental control.⁵⁹⁷ Its classification distinguishes cultural, religious, philanthropic, public, women’s, workers’, soldiers’ groups, educational, family and minorities, and groups for Chinese people living overseas. The Regulations ordered these groups to promote anti-Japanese resistance, Sun Yatsen’s Three Principles of the People, and loyalty to the central government.⁵⁹⁸ To ensure the authority of the central government, officials regularly conducted surveys of social organizations in which data about the establishment, location, objectives, members, income, and financial support were collected.⁵⁹⁹ Local groups were classified, their members controlled, and, if necessary, the leadership replaced. Though unstated, loyalty to the central government meant the banning of pro-

⁵⁹⁴ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 191.

⁵⁹⁵ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 384.

⁵⁹⁶ Van de Ven, *War and Nationalism in China*, 279.

⁵⁹⁷ 社会部, 社会团体组织须知 (重庆, 1942), 10. Department of Social Affairs, *Regulations for the Organization of Mass Organizations* (Chongqing, 1942), 10.

⁵⁹⁸ Department of Social Affairs, 社会团体组织须知, 23.

⁵⁹⁹ Department of Social Affairs, 社会团体组织须知, 28.

Communist activities.

The policy also entailed the reorganisation of local charities, orphanages and schools. Reports about reorganisation of local charities in Sichuan reveal the effects of the government's new policy in terms of controlling local charitable organisations.⁶⁰⁰ Other documents reveal that the government sought to control all charities by conducting reports about the state of their work and membership status. For instance, the Ancestors and Moral Charitable Society 宗德慈善会 was defined as a Chengdu-based charitable association. The society had 89 members and its primary activities consisted of providing the poor with seasonal programs such as a winter aid organisation and raising donations for this work. The members of the Benevolent Society for Education and Relief 同仁救济会 in Ba Xian 巴县 were registered by name, age, and profession. Among the eight chairmen and members were leading figures in local administration such as the village leader and the leader of the village school.⁶⁰¹ The societies had to declare what their principles were and provide a report of their facilities and members. The Longtai Charitable Society provided education to children, cared for the elderly, and produced medicine. The Jiangxingxian Daoyuan Charitable Association 江兴仙道院十全慈善会 reported about its schools and orphanage.⁶⁰² We will see in the next chapter that the Red Swastika was also subject to these measures.

Despite the influence of the government through required registration and the regular control of registered local charities, there were also advantages such as exemptions from the wartime consumption tax. On November 10, 1943, the Inspectorate General of Customs issued a renewal of the tax-exemption "...on stores, medical supplies and provisions moved within the country (...) by the International Red Swastika Association and their subordinate units." According to the temporality of this exemption, local charities had to request a new exemption every six months.⁶⁰³ One of the benefits for the Red Cross was that it could transport medicine

⁶⁰⁰ Report about the Reorganization of Shantangs and the Red Cross in Chengdu, Pingwu and other Townships, 1943-1946, Chengdu, Sichuan Provincial Archives 186-01-1856. 成都, 四川省档案馆, 平武等市县府呈慈善会红十字会组织成立改组选改董事职会员简历表章程总报告表, 1943-46.

⁶⁰¹ 万县, 乐至, 遂宁, 崇庆, 青神, 什邡等六县慈善会呈报组织改选总报告表及省府指(训)令1943-46. Report about the Reorganization of the Shantangs and the Red Cross in Chengdu, Pingwu and other Townships, (1943-1946), Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Archives 186-01-1856. Another example was the reorganization of the Chengdu based China Benevolent Society 震旦宗德慈善会 in 1943, the Shanzhen Charitable Society 山镇慈善会, and the Wangjia Village People Society 王家乡扶民慈善社.

⁶⁰² 万县, 乐至, 遂宁, 崇庆, 青神, 什邡等六县慈善会呈报组织改选总报告表及省府指训令 Order by the Provincial Government about the Reorganization of Charitable Societies in Wanxian and other Townships (1943-1946), Chengdu, Sichuan Provincial Archive, 186-01-1858.

⁶⁰³ 关于世界红卍字会中华联合总办事处救济对在国内战区运服用品, 医药品由财政部换发免照给各送税

with a tax exemption because on October 8, 1940 the Commissioner signed a duty exemption for medicine and medical supplies transported by the China Red Cross Society to free them of interport duty.⁶⁰⁴

While Red Cross branches were classified as local charities, the central branch with seat in Chongqing was subject to another law. In 1943, the central government passed a new version of *Red Cross Regulations* 红十字会暂时组织条例 approved by the Legislative Yuan. According to these regulations, all members of the executive office were replaced with members of the Nationalist Party. Wang Zhengting was re-elected as president, and Du Yuesheng remained vice-president.⁶⁰⁵ These changes intensified contact between the headquarters in Chongqing and branches in Chinese-controlled regions. Although documentation of the interactions between the Chongqing office and regional branches is limited, the Red Cross monthly journal allows us to conclude that the administrative centre and branches were frequently in contact. The monthly Red Cross Newsletter 中国红十字会通讯 reported on the frequent contact in 1943 in an article entitled “News from the Branches 分会消息”. The centre in Chongqing contacted the Wuzhou branch 梧州 in Guangxi province and warned them to prepare for Japanese air raids. The branch was advised that it should inform the population and recruit volunteers. The centre also urged the Gushi 固始 branch to prepare for bombing. The Huayang branch 华阳 provided information about emergency flood support. This branch was also responsible for the purchase and distribution of grain. The Yongzhou branch 永州 in Hunan reported on the election of a new honorary chairman. The Luoyang 洛阳 branch in Henan reported about a new chairman because the former, He Weijiang 何维谦, had stepped down due to illness.⁶⁰⁶

Regularly-collected branch membership fees were sent to the Chongqing office. Membership fee collection was an important way to integrate branches and their members into the national cause. Nevertheless, the number of members and, thus, the contribution amounts varied. For example, the Xijing 西京分会 branch collected fees from 71 normal members, four

务司的通令, 重庆市档案馆 Order about the World Red Swastika's Transport of Materials through War Zones, Chongqing Municipal Archive 0351-0001-00479, 03 .

⁶⁰⁴ 关于红十字会中华联合总办事处救济对在国内战区运服用品的通令 Commissioner Duty Exemption: Relief Medicine and Medical Supplies transported by the China Red Cross Society, Chongqing Municipal Archive 0351-0001-00353-5254.

⁶⁰⁵ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 247.

⁶⁰⁶ 中国红十字会通讯, 4 (1943), 29. Red Cross Society of China, Newsletter No. 4, (1943), 29.

special members, five honorary members, and two students. In January 1944, the Xijing 西京分会 branch transferred 34,650.00 yuan to the Chongqing office whereas other branches sent 5,000 yuan.⁶⁰⁷

While the branches were responsible for the collection of membership fees, the Chongqing office implemented a series of recruitment campaigns. Wang Zhengting, the president of the Red Cross, implemented the so-called Red Cross Weeks from 1941 to 1944. The campaigns were similar to those implemented during the Nanjing Decade except that during the Nanjing Decade, income from the campaigns was stable, whereas during the wartime campaigns there was a gradual decline in the number of newly recruited members and thus of funds collected. The first Red Cross Week started on January 1, 1941 and ended on January 10. Two thousand new members were registered and 45,029 yuan collected. According to Chi, 160 high ranking personalities such as Sun Ke 孙科, son of Sun Yat-sen and President of the Legislative Yuan at the time, joined the Red Cross during this campaign.⁶⁰⁸ The Chongqing office also used media like radio to advertise its campaign. Chi indicates that radio broadcasting was conducted in Chinese as well as English to attract foreign donors in Chongqing.⁶⁰⁹ The second Red Cross Week was conducted in October 1942. At the centre of the campaign was a recruitment committee of 86 members, which was chaired by Kong Xiangxi 孔祥熙, premier of the Republic of China from 1938 to 1939 and governor of the Central Bank of China during the war. Kong was supported by the head of the Public Health Bureau, Jin Baoshan 金宝善 and Lu Zhede 卢致德, director of the army's medical department. During the campaign, 4,260 members were registered and the campaign brought in 21,295 yuan.⁶¹⁰ The third Red Cross week was conducted in October 1943, and the fourth in 1944.⁶¹¹

The income the central office gained from membership fees was, nevertheless, a minor part of the Red Cross's overall budget. Its primary income came from American and British sources and Chinese overseas efforts to collect donations. In January 1944, for example, the overall budget was 35,040,862.92 yuan of which only 51,309.89 yuan came from branches, and 790,654.00 yuan from the government. The February 1944 budget, though, which consisted

⁶⁰⁷ 中国红十字会通讯, 4 (1943), 33. Red Cross Society of China, Newsletter, 4, (1943), 33.

⁶⁰⁸ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 390.

⁶⁰⁹ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 189.

⁶¹⁰ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 392.

⁶¹¹ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 395.

of a higher contribution from branches, showed that foreign donations were the primary source of income. Over half of the January 1944 budget (15,4597,277,50 yuan) came from abroad, mainly from the American Bureau for Medical Aid for China and the British Red Cross. The British Red Cross donated 5,000,000.00 dollar, the British Aid for China 英红会 14,000,000,00 dollar, and the American Bureau for Medical Aid for China donated 5,041,559,00 dollars.⁶¹² Another source of income from abroad came from Chinese Overseas Associations. For example, in 1941 Chinese people in Burma established the Burma Chinese Overseas Relief Committee 缅甸华侨救灾总会 and the Burma Overseas Chinese Red Cross Society 缅甸华侨红十字会, which collected donations for the Chinese partner organization. During the first Red Cross Week, the Burma Overseas Chinese Red Cross implemented a similar recruitment campaign for Chinese people in Burma. In 1941, it registered 28 honorary members, 90 special members, and 44 normal members.⁶¹³

These sources of income were accounted for and documented by the Chongqing office and served different purposes. Funds from membership fees served to maintain medical institutions. The income from abroad financed the work of the Medical Relief Corps, which worked at the front and assisted soldiers. In Chongqing, the office managed the Shapingba Trauma Hospital. This institution was bombed in 1942 but rebuilt in the same year.⁶¹⁴ The Chongqing office also financed air raid units and medical units that were sent to surrounding provinces and provided schools and universities with medicine. A special program, which sought to involve teachers and professors into public health measures, was conducted in 1944 in which the Red Cross distributed medicine worth 6,266,988 yuan to 39 universities in Chongqing, the Southern district of Chongqing Jiangjin 江津, and Kunming.⁶¹⁵ The Red Cross organized aid for wounded and disabled soldiers 送军福利.⁶¹⁶ These findings show that despite a decrease in the number of branches, the Chongqing centre pursued the goal of linking the branches. Local offices were informed in emergencies and its membership fees were used to finance Red Cross institutions. In times of economic hardship and inflation such measures were a way to substitute the welfare system. The relatively small amount of these contributions and

⁶¹² 中国红十字会通讯, 1 (1944), 38. Red Cross Society of China, Newsletter No. 1, (1944), 38.

⁶¹³ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 412.

⁶¹⁴ Barnes, "Protecting the National Body," 100.

⁶¹⁵ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 231.

⁶¹⁶ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 400.

the decreasing number of newly registered members shows the limited extent of these founding sources. The centralization of the network was one small contribution to the state-building program in times of crisis.

6.4 *The Chinese Red Cross Medical Relief Corps*

The Chinese Red Cross Medical Relief program was the most comprehensive effort to help soldiers of Chinese armies during the Sino-Japanese War. The Medical Relief Corps developed into a considerably active assistance and training program. Lin, who had lead the Department of Physiology at the well-known American medical institution in Beijing, regarded his appointment as a chance to develop plans for Red Cross military assistance which he had already begun in 1934. Relief activities like delousing stations had already established in Rehe. Thus, in 1937 the work that remained to be done was to implement the initial ideas extensively and systematically.

Along with the creation of Emergency Medical Service Schools, Lin's plans consisted of the formation of units that were sent to hospitals at the front. The program was developed as part of the cooperation between three governmental institutions: the Public Health Department, the Military Medical Department, and the Red Cross. Cooperation between the Red Cross and these departments was proposed by the General Secretary Pang Jingzhou at the Lushang conference in June 1937, shortly before the outbreak of the war. Pang presented a draft to Chiang Kai-shek and argued that the program would be a way to include patriotic volunteers in the armies. Furthermore, it would allow for the recruitment of professionals for the armies.⁶¹⁷ Nonetheless, it was mainly financed by foreign supporters.

Lin Kesheng, the surgeon who had already led the Red Cross medical units in the late 1930s, supervised the implementation of the program. In 1938, he gathered 151 doctors, 319 nurses, 382 medical technicians, four pharmacists, eight dispensers, 131 dryers, 271 office workers, and 168 stretcher-bearers. These workers were organized into units and attached to army divisions. In 1941, out of 142 units 70 were attached to army divisions.⁶¹⁸ The remaining

⁶¹⁷ Zhang, *中国红十字会初期发展之研究*, 233.

⁶¹⁸ International Committee of the Red Cross, *Eight Report of the Chinese Red Cross Medical Relief Corps, January-June 1941*, The International Committee of the Red Cross Archives, (Geneva, 1942), 5.

units were stationed at receiving stations and hospitals along evacuation lines.⁶¹⁹ In many cases, the units focused on providing aid to civilians to contain the spread of epidemics. For example, Group X of the medical corps, which supervised eight units under the command of Dr. C. C. Chiang, was attached to army divisions in the first and second war zones which extended through Shandong, Hunan, and Shanxi. Work records state that sick soldiers suffering from typhus and relapsing fever outnumbered the wounded. In 1939, the medical corps conducted 24,304 operations, 12,480 settings of fractures, 133,372 dressings for 37,589 soldiers and 33,769 civilians.⁶²⁰ According to the 8th report, in 1941 the medical corps treated even more civilians than soldiers: 94,475 civilians versus 76,146 soldiers in the period from January to June.⁶²¹ The total number of immunizations (soldiers and civilians) by 1943 came to 4,152,559.⁶²²

To achieve the objective of long-term provision of care to the armies, Lin established training schools in which volunteers learned how to conduct specialized medical services at the front. The largest Emergency Medical Service Training School opened on June 1, 1938 on the grounds of a hospital in Changsha.⁶²³ Over the course of the war, Lin established five other schools in Chenggu, Yiyang, Junxian, Qianjiang, and Dongan in which 16,000 received training.⁶²⁴ The attendance of several prominent figures such as Ho Chien, the Minister of the Interior, F. C. Yen, the Director of the National Health Administration, and Dr. Robert Robertson, the Commissioner of the League of Nations Health Organization Anti-Epidemic Unit, at the opening ceremony of the first school was a testament to the importance of this institution.⁶²⁵ During military operations, the Japanese army bombed Changsha and destroyed the Red Cross training institute, which moved to Guiyang.

After being at the school for several weeks, personnel were skilled in administering aid to the wounded, preventive medicine, nursing, surgery, and protection against poisonous gases. They were also trained in carrying the wounded, water disinfection in the field and at home, hot air and steam delousing, building borehole latrines and garbage containers. Medical corps was

⁶¹⁹ International Committee of the Red Cross, *Eight Report of the Chinese Red Cross Medical Relief Corps*, 12.

⁶²⁰ International Committee of the Red Cross, *Outline of History, Development and Activities of the Medical Relief Corps of the National Red Cross Society of China 1937-1943* (Guizhou, 1944), 9.

⁶²¹ The International Committee of the Red Cross Archives, *Eight Report of the Chinese Red Cross Medical Relief Corp*, 33.

⁶²² The International Committee of the Red Cross Archives, *Outline*, 9.

⁶²³ China Defense League, *Report 1939 and 1940* (Hong Kong, 1940), 12.

⁶²⁴ Watt, *Saving Lives*, 141.

⁶²⁵ Chinese Red Cross Film, 1938, Film archive of the Imperial War Museum, London.

trained for work in nursing units in army and field hospitals, for work in preventive units that worked chiefly among refugees and neighbouring army camps, and in X-Ray units as mechanics, radiologists, and technicians.⁶²⁶ One core aspect of the work of these units was the prevention of epidemics such as spotted fever, malaria, and smallpox in army divisions. According to the “Plan for Epidemic Prevention”, units conducted systematic delousing and disinfection operations in the army and among the civilian population.⁶²⁷ At the heart of this work was the establishment of delousing stations 灭虱站. According to the “Plan for Epidemic Prevention”, the delousing stations were to systematically delouse up to three hundred soldiers every day and clean their clothes.⁶²⁸ The steaming of clothes was done via special boxes filled with clothes and heated with steam to a high temperature. Red Cross workers were advised to wear special whole-body garments 防虫衣 to prevent the spread of lice.⁶²⁹

The program was mainly financed by sources from abroad, like the American Bureau for Medical Aid for China (ABMAC) that had been established in 1937 by the alumni society of the PUMC in America.⁶³⁰ For instance, in 1943 the Red Cross received supplies worth 25,240,743.00 dollars.⁶³¹ Its funds came from the ABMAC, the American Red Cross, and British initiatives such as the Auxiliary to the Chinese Red Cross and the Friends of the Wounded Society. The British Red Cross was another important financier of many medical agencies during the war as the umbrella organization for all national Red Cross Societies that belonged to the British Empire. This Empire Red Cross created a network of several Red Cross Societies that cooperated with each other.⁶³² The overall amount of donations for China amounted to over one million pounds. However, compared to British support for Europe, the sum donated to China reveals that Asia played a minor role in the entire wartime relief effort.⁶³³

Nevertheless, because of the British alliance with the Chinese government and Britain’s defence of its territories in Southeast Asia, the British Red Cross—acting as a representative of the British government—created further channels for donations, like the Fund for the Relief of

⁶²⁶ Chinese Red Cross Film, 1938.

⁶²⁷ 中华民国红十字会总会救护中队部, 防疫计划 (重庆, 1939), Medical Relief Corps of the Relief Committee of the Chinese Red Cross Society, *Plan for Epidemic Prevention* (Chongqing, 1939), 2.

⁶²⁸ Medical Relief Corps of the Relief Committee of the Chinese Red Cross Society, 防疫计划, 20.

⁶²⁹ Medical Relief Corps of the Relief Committee of the Chinese Red Cross Society, 防疫计划, 30.

⁶³⁰ Bowers, *Western Medicine*, 158.

⁶³¹ The International Committee of the Red Cross Archives, *Outline*, 14.

⁶³² British Red Cross and St. Order of Jerusalem, *Annual Report, 1943-1944* (London, 1945), 148.

⁶³³ *Report of the Finance-subcommittee of the British Red Cross and St. Order of Jerusalem*, London, 1947, British Red Cross Archives, 6.

Distress in South China.⁶³⁴ This Fund, also known as the Governor's Fund, received donations mainly from the population in the colony of Hong Kong. Donations amounted to around 700,000 Hong Kong dollars in 1941.⁶³⁵

At the beginning of the war, new foreign pro-Communist fundraising projects emerged such as the China Campaign Committee. This Committee was created in 1931 but grew against the background of political events in Germany, Italy, and Spain until September 1937 when the British League Against Imperialism, the Friends of Chinese People, the Union of Democratic Control, and the Left Book Club founded the China Campaign Committee.⁶³⁶ These projects actively supported Communist parties in Europe and in China. The China Campaign Committee collected donations in several British cities such as London, Manchester and Bournemouth. Other activities consisted of publishing and distributing anti-Japanese and anti-imperialist books based on events in China such as Edgar Snow's *Red Star Over China* and Freda Uteley's *Japan Can Be Stopped*.⁶³⁷ After the fall of Wuhan, the Committee feared there would be insufficient medical supplies for Yan'an, so the Committee supported the activities of the Red Cross, because of its ability to reach the mountainous areas in Shaanxi province.

Another pro-Communist group was the China Defense League, which was founded in Hong Kong in 1937 with the aim of organizing financial aid in order to be of use for refugees, orphans, and soldiers. In association with the Canadian International Peace Hospital network, the Committee for Medical Aid for China and the China Campaign Committee, the League collected donations abroad and from people in Hong Kong. The Defense League was headed by Soong Ching Ling (Song Qingling), wife of Sun Yat-sen and sister of Soong Meiling (Madame Chiang Kai-shek). After Chiang's rise to power in 1927, Soong became a fierce opponent of his politics. In her eyes, Chiang was misusing the Nationalist Party for his own profit and didn't recognize the contributions of its founder and her former husband, Sun Yat-sen. Soong was also

⁶³⁴ *Report of the British Red Cross for the Year 1939 and 1940*, London, 1941, British Red Cross Archives, 20. A further fund was the Lord Mayor Fund for the Relief of Distress which was administered by a committee in Shanghai and which transferred money to the International Red Cross in Guiyang and the Industrial Cooperatives. The report indicates that the Shanghai International Red Cross contributed to the financial support in Changsha.

⁶³⁵ Memorandum for H.G. Ambassador, Proposal for the Coordination of Relief Organizations in Hong Kong, Rangoon and Singapore, National Archives London, Hong Kong, July 23, 1941, WO 106/3554.

⁶³⁶ Arthur Clegg, *Aid China, 1937-1949. A Memoir of a Forgotten Campaign* (Beijing, 1989), 4. China Campaign Committee was founded by Reverend Conrad Noel of Thaxted, Edgar Young, Shelley Wang, Huang Hao-koo, Fei Hsiao-tung, and S. I. Hsiung.

⁶³⁷ Clegg, *Aid China*, 15. According to Clegg, the Americans continued to maintain contact with Yan'an solely due to Joseph Stilwell's engagement: "He (Stilwell) insisted on sending an American Mission to Yan'an under Colonel Barrett." However, this engagement was also blocked by Chiang Kai-shek after Stilwell's dismissal.

a fierce supporter of the Second United Front.⁶³⁸

6. 5 Supply for Communist Areas as a Source of Political Conflict

Current research by John Watt on Lin Kesheng and his program suggests that it is not clear to what extent he knew about the Communist regions. Watt suggests that rumours about pro-Communist activities strengthened an already existing conflict between the General Secretary Pan and Lin. In 1941 Lin resigned because of charges laid against him by Chiang Kai-shek, although the Medical Corps has been founded to provide all Chinese armies. Thus, Lin's denial in front of Chiang Kai-shek before his dismissal was rather an attempt to play down his support for the Communists.⁶³⁹

One piece of evidence of the Red Cross's pro-Communist support was demonstrated in its fundraising campaign, "The Chinese Red Cross Film".⁶⁴⁰ In the third section of the film, the medical corps was filmed while they organized a delivery of medicine to Yan'an. These scenes depict the difficult conditions the convoy faced travelling through regions with almost no roads. However, representing simply one of several activities, this process is not seen as political activism but as a humanitarian commitment to help those who are cut off from infrastructure and supply. The designation of the Eighth Route Army in the subtitles as "friends" and not as Communists makes no mention of their political affiliation.⁶⁴¹ In addition, Chinese research on the Red Cross suggests that Lin did not oppose training Communists in this program. Chi suggests that Lin dispatched three medical units to the Eight Route Army from Wuhan. Members of this unit had already run a medical office during the battle of Shanghai. In Wuhan, they joined the Red Cross.⁶⁴² In Yan'an, they helped establish the Second Field Hospital 第二后方医院 and four smaller medical examination offices.⁶⁴³ In addition, underground Communist members established a secret Medical Relief Corps Communist Party branch. Mao Huaqiang 毛华强, an underground Communist member and Gao Shaoxing 郭绍兴 recruited

⁶³⁸ Soong Ching Ling, "Statement issued upon the arrest of the Seven Gentleman. Shanghai November 26, 1936," in Soong Ching Ling, *The Struggle for New China*, (Peking, 1952), 87.

⁶³⁹ Watt, *Saving Lives*, 149.

⁶⁴⁰ Chinese Red Cross Film, 1938.

⁶⁴¹ Chinese Red Cross Film, 1938.

⁶⁴² Chi, *红十字与近代中国*, 355.

⁶⁴³ Chi, *红十字与近代中国*, 356.

Communists and provided supplies to Yan'an as part of Lin's program.⁶⁴⁴ Moreover, in Shanxi, units no. 61 and no. 13 assisted the Eighth Route Army. These Mule Units met with Yang Shangkun 杨尚昆, one of the participants of the Long March in 1935 and one of the Presidents of the People's Republic of China (1988-1993), and with Kang Keqing 康克清, the wife of Zhu De 朱德.⁶⁴⁵

The Medical Relief Corps transported medicine and established hospitals in Communist controlled regions that only had poor medical infrastructure. For instance, these units provided the Eighth Army's field Hospital in Qinxian 沁县. Due to a severe lack of medication and professionals in Yan'an, many Communist activists from abroad joined the Corps or campaigned for it, collecting donations in China and abroad. Among the supporters were the 'Spanish Doctors' who came to China after the Spanish Civil War. The physicians often sought employment with the Red Cross to reach frontline regions where they could establish medical centres in Communist areas, or help in hospitals that had already been established.⁶⁴⁶

The Austrian military surgeon Walter Freudmann was one of the Spanish Doctors who worked with the medical corps from late 1939 until 1943 with the objective of reaching Communist areas.⁶⁴⁷ Initially, Freudmann worked with the corps in Central China and subsequently in Burma in his final years with the Chinese Red Cross. His autobiographic novel *Erhebet Euch. Ein Arzt erlebt China. Erlebnisse eines Arztes in China und Burma 1939-1945* offers insight into the work of the medical corps at the front from the perspective of a pro-Communist activist who was not permitted to carry out his mission due to the political implications of relief activities. Freudmann came with his friend Dr. Hehr from Spain to China

⁶⁴⁴ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 344. Watt, *Saving Lives*, 148.

⁶⁴⁵ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 358.

⁶⁴⁶ Clegg, *Aid China*, 186. Among the Spanish Doctors were Dr. Bedrich Kisch, Czech; Dr. Rolf Becker, German; Dr. Jensen, Austrian; Dr. Inato Kanetti, Bulgarian; Dr. David Jancu, Romanian; Dr. Herbert Baer, German; Dr. Kent, Austrian, and his wife, Maria Gonzales, Spanish; Dr. Carl and Dr. Rosa Coutelle, both German. The group of doctors sent by the Norwegian Committee consisted of Dr. Samuel Flato, Polish; Dr. Victor Taubenfliegel, Polish; Dr. Jungermann, Polish; Edith Marcus, Polish; Dr. Kamienetzki and Mania Kamienetzki, Polish; Dr. Alexander Volokhine, Hungarian; Dr. Otto Schoen, Hungarian; Dr. Kranzdorf, Rumanian; Dr. Franticek Kriegel, Polish; Dr. Walter Freudmann, Austrian. Clegg spoke about the deployment of some of them in Burma "In 1943, Drs. Baer, Coutelle, Flato, Freudmann, Jancu, Kisch, Kriegel, Taubenfliegel, Volokhine were sent by then Chinese Red Cross at the request of General Stilwell to the Chinese Forces in India. There they participated as Liaison Doctors between Chinese and American medical service, in the same way in China in the campaign to free the Burma Road from Japanese occupation. This ended in 1945 and all doctors returned to their respective countries."

⁶⁴⁷ Walter Freudmann, *Erhebet Euch. Ein Arzt erlebt China. Erlebnisse eines Arztes in China und Burma 1939-1945* (Linz, 1947), 2.

at the end of 1939.⁶⁴⁸ Shortly after their arrival they travelled to Chongqing and from there to the training school in Guiyang. From the beginning, the physicians wanted to meet Lin to enlist his help in reaching the Fourth Army in Yan'an.

However, when they encountered Lin in Guiyang, they found that despite his previous support, as exemplified in the aforementioned fundraising film, Lin was reluctant to help them in their plans. As a reaction to this reluctance, Freudmann stated in his memoirs that Red Cross leaders acted on behalf of the government. Moreover, the mistrust Chinese workers of people in high positions at the Red Cross, which resulted in excessive surveillance and even in the occasional theft of documents to detect their plans, fuelled their critique of the Society and Lin.⁶⁴⁹

The Red Cross's refusal to send Freudmann to Yan'an may have implied that Lin and the other Red Cross leaders were aware of the looming conflict between the Red Cross and Chiang Kai-shek, who opposed aid for Communist armies. Ultimately, the conflict with Chiang temporarily interrupted Lin's work as Red Cross General Director of the Medical Department from the end of 1942 until 1944. In 1941, Chiang and his wife, Soong Meiling, who was responsible for relief in regions occupied by the Nationalists, demanded that supplies to the Eighth Route Army area be halted. Because of this order, not only was Lin dismissed, but many non-Chinese activists were criticized for their support of this political opponent.⁶⁵⁰ For example, on September 9, 1941, the British Foreign Auxiliary, which supplied the Chinese Red Cross, needed to clarify the situation of an unauthorized transport of medicine to Yan'an by one of its workers. Madame Chiang Kai-shek demanded an explanation for the actions of Mr. Norman France, a lecturer at Hong Kong University, who had transported supplies for China's Red Cross and the Chinese Industrial-Cooperatives in central China during the summer vacation. According to the letter, the transport of supplies was stopped by local authorities upon arrival in Guiyang. The authorities had received a cable with the information that the goods were being

⁶⁴⁸ Freudmann, *Erhebet Euch*, 22. The physicians arrived 1939 in Hong Kong where they met Mrs. Selwyn-Clarke who introduced them to the Chinese Red Cross.

⁶⁴⁹ Freudmann, *Erhebet Euch*, 41 Freudmann criticized Lin for his reluctance to help the Communists "Wir waren durch die Berichte der Frau Sung in Tschunking gewarnt gewesen, gewiss, wir hatten aber zu sehr an die 1937 proklamierte Einheitsfront gegen die japanischen Eindringlinge geglaubt und konnten es einfach nicht begreifen, dass die inneren Gegensätze grösser sein sollten, als der Gedanke gemeinsamer aktiver nationaler Abwehr. Damals dachten wir noch, dass das Rote Kreuz die Volksarmee nicht benachteiligte."

⁶⁵⁰ Canadian Mission Agency letter to the British Ambassador, British Embassy Chongqing, 13 September 1941, National Archives London, FO/676/3011. The letter is partially destroyed and incomplete.

sent by the China Defense League, a group that was supportive of Communism. Accused of collaborating with the Communists, Mr. France was sent back to Hong Kong.⁶⁵¹

Lin's resignation on September 1, 1942 was a reaction to Chiang's accusation on the one hand, but also the result of conflicts with the members of the Executive Committee like General Secretary Pan and President Wang on the other hand. These Red Cross leaders criticized Lin for using his appointment as director of the medical department for his own enrichment. According to Pan, he received double the salary—one from the PUMC and one from the Ministry of Health. In fact, according to documents from the PUMC's archives, Lin's salary from the College ended in 1938.⁶⁵²

One other problem between the leaders of the Society and Lin was the lack of reports about the work of the Corps. Pan complained in a written statement to Lin that in the two years of the existence of the medical corps, no report was written about their activities. Finally, an additional source of conflict was the confrontational nature of Lin's cooperation with He Yingqin, director of the Military Medical Department, who opposed the politics of the United Front.⁶⁵³ As a consequence, the leading members of the Central Committee agreed to dismiss him. Lin was replaced by his former student and director of the Army Medical Administration, Lu Zhide. Lu, however, also left this position in 1943 due to conflicts with the Central Committee. He was replaced by Xu Xilin 徐希麟.⁶⁵⁴ Further consequences of Lin's dismissal were inclusion of the training schools into the Military Medical Department and the passing of new regulations for the Red Cross 红十字会暂时组织条例 approved by the government in April 1943. The members of the Executive Committee were re-elected and replaced with members of the Nationalist Party.⁶⁵⁵

While Lin's career was interrupted, other Red Cross workers, like the nurse Zhou Meiyu, were able to use the Red Cross to advance their careers during the war. Zhou Meiyu was born on 9 September 1905, in Zhejiang. She began her training at the PUMC in 1924; in 1928, she joined the Nurses Association. On 15 February 1930, Zhou wrote her final exam about methods of approaching rural families with new-born babies. The exam shows her attitude

⁶⁵¹ Letter, Foreign Auxiliary to the National Red Cross Society of China, Headquarters Hong Kong, to Madame Chiang Kai-shek, 9 September 1941, National Archives London, FO/676/3012.

⁶⁵² Letter by H.H. Louckus, The Peking Union Medical College Archives.

⁶⁵³ Watt, *Saving Lives*, 165.

⁶⁵⁴ Watt, *Saving Lives*, 167.

⁶⁵⁵ Zhang, 中国红十字会初期发展之研究, 247.

towards poor families who lived without adequate medical provision, but used Chinese medicine. Her exam states a rather careful approach towards the lifestyles and habits of rural families. She suggested, for example, that a nurse had to ask for permission and explain carefully what she was doing. Zhou's work and personality were described in internal College documents as "excellent application, splendid all-round nurse, makes good in all departments, theoretically and practically, fine personality." Zhou's training at the College also included field training in Tinghsian, the model village for public health education, staffed by the College. After this field work, the College financed her studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston. On her way back from America, Zhou established contact with medical institutions belonging to the League of National Health Organization.⁶⁵⁶

During the war, in 1938, Zhou refused to take the position as Head of the Nursing School at the PUMC.⁶⁵⁷ Despite her previous career at the College, in 1938 Zhou decided to move to Wuhan and Changsha and to serve in the anti-Japanese resistance. Beijing was occupied at the time, and she probably did not want to work for the Japanese-led collaboration regime in Beijing. Zhou joined the Medical Relief Corps on 1 January 1938 in Wuhan together with another colleague, Zhang Feicheng 章斐成. According to Zhou's memoirs Lin mostly campaigned among students from the PUMC to encourage them to join his medical corps. Most of them spoke English and they were familiar with his working standards.⁶⁵⁸

Zhou became one of the fellows from the College who took over training at the first Medical Service Training School. Zhou joined the Medical Relief Corps because she was committed to serving her country. In her reminiscences, which were recorded and transcribed as oral history memories in Taiwan, she recalled that women were sometimes not allowed to join the corps because of opposition from their families. Although she admitted that women were endangered at the battlefield because of the presence of Japanese soldiers, for example, her personal experience was positive overall.⁶⁵⁹ In summer, for example, she could leave the hospital for a two-month break. On one occasion, she travelled by horse and met a lost soldier on the road to a village. She gave him her horse so that he could reach his division. Her

⁶⁵⁶ Zhou Meiyu, Peking Union Medical College, File I.

⁶⁵⁷ Minutes from the PUMC, December 13, 1938, Zhou Meiyu, Peking Union Medical College, File I.

⁶⁵⁸ 中央研究院近代史研究所, 周美玉先生访问记录, 中央研究院近代史研究所口述历史丛书, (台北, 1993), 42. Academia Sinica Institute of Modern History *The Reminiscences of General Zhou Meiyu* (Taipei 1993), 42.

⁶⁵⁹ Academia Sinica Institute of Modern History, 周美玉先生访问记录, 49.

memories demonstrate that Zhou tried to avoid the impression that she was in a more privileged situation than the soldiers.⁶⁶⁰

Despite good memories of collegiality between the Red Cross workers, Zhou remembered that some colleagues accused her of being a member of the Communist Party. The accusations went so far that she was interviewed by a local cadre of the government, Zhi Minsheng 治民生. She denied the accusations and said that she was a patriot and was helping the soldiers out of patriotism and not out of support for the Communists.⁶⁶¹ These accusations did not stop Zhou from advancing her career. For example, she became a member of the coordinating committee of the nursing department, which was subsidized by the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China (ABMAC).⁶⁶² After the war, in 1946, Zhou travelled with the help of the British United Aid to China to Britain and America and campaigned among the Chinese diaspora to donate to the Chinese Red Cross.⁶⁶³ In 1947, she returned to Shanghai and became the commandant at the Army Nursing School in Shanghai and moved with the Nationalist Party to Taiwan in 1949 where she became the director of the National Military Nursing Academy.⁶⁶⁴

While Zhou's experience shows that her support for the PUMC network and her loyalty to the Nationalist Party in turn meant that both supported her, other, often untrained nurses experienced working for the Red Cross as a period of male dominance and the reinforcement of traditional gender roles. The Austrian physician Freudmann, for instance, described nurses in hospitals at the front as in a trap. Freudmann met 20 nurses in the hospital in Wanto. According to his observation they were hired for medical services, but in fact they were hired at the pleasure of the leading director of the hospital. They registered for voluntary services for the Red Cross because they believed that through their work China could be modernized. In addition, Freudmann discovered that some nurses fled from Shanghai and Hong Kong because of the occupation. The women who fled reported how disappointing the situation at the front

⁶⁶⁰ Academia Sinica Institute of Modern History, 周美玉先生访问记录,56.

⁶⁶¹ Academia Sinica Institute of Modern History, 周美玉先生访问记录, 64.

⁶⁶² Watt, "Breaking Into Public Service,"83.

⁶⁶³ Academia Sinica Institute of Modern History, 周美玉先生访问记录, 67.

⁶⁶⁴ Zhou Meiyu, Peking Union Medical College, File I. The China Medical Board of the College commented in 1949 that "Miss Chou Meiyu who had just completed a year at Columbia is on her way back to the army school in Formosa. This whole set up (the school) is more or less disintegrating and that Dr. Lim himself expects to leave the organization and come to the USA to accept a post at one of the medical schools in Chicago very soon."

was. They were either suspected as Communists or had to perform classic theatre plays for the medical staff and the officers.⁶⁶⁵ Freudmann saw these nurses as betrayed youth who came to volunteer for their country but encountered a disappointing maintenance of traditional gender roles.⁶⁶⁶

6.6 Conclusion

The history of Red Cross branches is often overlooked in research on the Red Cross during the Sino-Japanese War, which focuses predominately on Lin Kesheng and on his Medical Relief Corps program. This chapter has attempted to show the relevant activities of the Red Cross's branches, even if the activities were limited. Because of wartime conditions, regular reporting about the activities of the branches was impeded. Thus, we can assume that although strained by the war, members of local branches continued activities like grain distribution, and became involved in a mobilization of different type during the war.

Governmental mobilization of the Society's network sought to suppress pro-Communist activities. While, as we have seen, the Red Cross began to develop its services for armies against the background of rising patriotism after 1932, its adherence to the objective of serving all armies became a thorn in the central government's side. The Red Cross understood its service as work for all armies and downplayed this support during rising conflicts. In some cases, leading members of the Red Cross actively ceased pro-Communist support.⁶⁶⁷ Barnes' argument that the war impeded the previously-initiated careers of women is exemplified by the situation of unskilled voluntary nurses who joined the Red Cross to help their nation, but who received no support by their superiors.⁶⁶⁸ Some women successfully developed their careers during the war, but these opportunities were mainly the result of loyalty to Chiang and the Nationalists.

⁶⁶⁵ Freudmann, *Erhebet Euch*, 132.

⁶⁶⁶ Freudmann, *Erhebet Euch*, 86. "Die Armen Mädchen! Sie hatten sich zum freiwilligen Sanitätsdienst gemeldet! Arme chinesische Jugend die aus Begeisterung dem Ruf ihres Vaterlandes gefolgt war."

⁶⁶⁷ Rottmann, "Resistance, Urban Style," 151.

⁶⁶⁸ Barnes, "Protecting the National Body," 264.

Chapter Seven

The Red Swastika Society during the Sino-Japanese War

7.1 Introduction

As for all relief organizations, the war was a period of acute challenges for the Red Swastika due to the outbreak of armed conflicts. This chapter shows how the Red Swastika responded to the crisis of war and demonstrates that the Red Swastika Society organized measures to ameliorate the poor conditions of the population in many parts of the country controlled by different political authorities and can therefore not be regarded as only collaborating with Japanese occupation regimes due to the Daoyuan's ties with the Japanese redemptive society Ōmotō and its collaboration with Japan in Manchuria. This chapter discusses the extraordinary efforts made by the Red Swastika in Shanghai during the Japanese invasion, and reveals that voluntary commitment to providing humanitarian aid was central to the organization.

Sun Jiang, who examines the growth of the Daoyuan and the Red Swastika Society in the Japanese collaboration state of Manchukuo after 1932, emphasizes that the Red Swastika worked mainly under the control of Japanese occupation authorities.⁶⁶⁹ After the Japanese occupation of Manchuria and the establishment of Manchukuo in 1932, local Red Swastika branches were co-opted by the Japanese and used to spread pro-Japanese propaganda influenced by the patriotic Ōmotō. The Red Swastika branches in Manchukuo created their own collaborationist network, as Thomas Dubois points out in his discussion of the organization's growth under Japanese influence.⁶⁷⁰

Yet, the collaboration of Red Swastika branches after the Japanese occupation of Manchukuo and during the war developed under different political and regional conditions and only affected the branches in occupied regions. On the one hand, as R. Keith Schoppa points

⁶⁶⁹ Sun Jiang, "The Predicament of a Redemptive Religion: The Red Swastika Society under the Rule of Manchukuo," *Journal of Modern Chinese History* vol. 7, issue 1 (2013): 115.

⁶⁷⁰ Thomas DuBois, "The Salvation of Religion? Public Charity and the New Religions of the Early Republic," *Minsu Quyi* vol. 172, no. 6 (2001): 105.

out, large parts of Chinese society had learned how to adjust to changing political leaders during the warlord era and were therefore able to cooperate with the Nationalist regime and the Japanese in the 1930s.⁶⁷¹ On the other hand, occupation regimes relied on local agents, and they imposed collaboration on all social agencies because of their ability to reach the local population.⁶⁷²

A detailed view on the situation of the branches in territories under Japanese control shows regionally diverse experiences. Gao demonstrates that the Red Swastika had 263 branches in 1940 in occupied territories. Compared with 1935, this meant an increase of 23. The situation in Jiangsu was marked by a decline of Red Swastika branches. According to Gao's findings, Jiangsu had 35 branches in 1940—two fewer than in 1937, before the war. The declining number of branches during the war underpins the struggles the Red Swastika faced to be sanctioned by the occupation regime.⁶⁷³ The trend in Shandong province was different. There the network grew from 70 branches in 1935 to 79 in 1940. Liang Jiagui 梁家贵 proposes that Japanese authorities encouraged the foundation of new religious societies and charities because welfare helped establish connections with the local population.⁶⁷⁴

During this period, the Red Swastika adjusted to its collaboration with the Japanese regime, but also to the Chinese government's reforms. Not only was the Red Swastika an important network for the country, and one that could serve to provide aid to thousands of people during natural catastrophes, but leading representatives of the China-based network of the organisation also promoted cooperation with the Nationalist government and support for the anti-Japanese opposition. This chapter examines the supply and management of aid during the initial chaos of the Japanese invasion, in territories occupied by Japan, and under the influence of the Nationalist government as well as foreign powers. I suggest that the activities of branches in such a different political context proves the ability to amend changing political contexts.

7.2 *The Activities of the World Red Swastika South East United Emergency Management Office*

⁶⁷¹ R. Keith Schoppa, "Patterns and Dynamics of Elite Collaboration in Occupied Shaoxing County," in *Chinese Collaboration: The Limits of Accommodation*, ed. D. Barrett (Stanford: Stanford University Press 2001), 157.

⁶⁷² Timothy Brook, "Occupation State Building," in *China at War: Regions of China, 1937–1945*, ed. S. MacKinnon (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 22.

⁶⁷³ Gao, *The Red Swastika Society*, 43.

⁶⁷⁴ 梁家贵, 抗战时期山东秘密社会研究 (贵州, 2004), 174. Liang Jiagui, *Research on the Wartime Situation of Secret Societies in Shandong* (Guizhou, 2004), 172.

The war reached Shanghai on 13 August 1937 when Japanese armies began to bomb the city and Chinese armies defended the city against these attacks. The Battle of Shanghai lasted until 26 November 1937 and ended with the defeat of Chinese forces. Over 250,000 casualties on the Chinese side showed the weakness of the Chinese defence. Japan occupied Chinese parts of the city in 1937, and after 1941 Japan also occupied the International Settlement. The French Concession was spared due to the alliance between the French Vichy government and Japan.⁶⁷⁵ When the war broke out, Shanghai, the International Settlement and the French Concession became the destination for 1.5 million refugees escaping the Japanese invasion in the surrounding areas.

As chapter four has already shown, the World Red Swastika Society South East United Emergency Management Office, which was established in 1935, had already organized an Emergency Relief Training Class 救济队训练 in 1935. Despite only existing for a short period, the Management Office mounted an extraordinary project and helped thousands in Shanghai, Nanjing, Jiangsu, Anhui, and Guangdong. This project was self-funded, as is stated in the documentation of its finances. The Red Swastika drew from its fund of 50,000 yuan, which it had established in 1935, and collected donations from its members. Overall, it spent 100,000 yuan. Despite financial independence, it was allied with municipal authorities in Shanghai, like the municipal Emergency Refugee Relief Association. Another indication of its participation in officially approved relief activity was its presentation of pictures of the leading members and workers of its units sitting in front of a Red Swastika flag and a flag of the Nationalist government.⁶⁷⁶

After the outbreak of the war in 1937, Xiong Xiling became the director of the emergency project. When the war broke out on 7 July 1937 and reached Shanghai in August, Xiong, his wife Mao Yanwen, and the South East United Emergency Management Office mobilized volunteers who had been prepared since 1935. Mao, who married Xiong in 1934 and was busy with Xiong's philanthropic projects, like the Fragrant Hills Charitable Home, chaired the Women's Red Swastika service unit in 1937. This unit was a women's sub-organization of the entire project during the Battle of Shanghai. Xiong died on 27 December 1937 in Hong Kong where he probably sought to raise donations for the Red Swastika. The end of

⁶⁷⁵ Wen, "Prologue," 2.

⁶⁷⁶ 世界红卍字会中华东南各会联合总办事处,救济工作报告书(上海,1939),17. World Red Swastika Society South East United Emergency Management Office, Relief Work Report (Shanghai, 1939), 10.

documentation of the project after his death suggests that he was the leading figure behind the project. Nevertheless, as we will see, in some places the project was continued, for example, in Shaoxing in 1940.

The Management Office, located in the passage 299, Route Ratard in the French Concession, became the centre for coordination of relief activities in Shanghai and Nanjing, and the provinces Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Anhui. The Management Office also sent units to Guangdong and Hong Kong. There was a budget of 50,000 yuan for the Society's activities, which it invested in helping measures and which had been collected from the Society's members.⁶⁷⁷ The money had been raised over time since the establishment of the training program. The expenses included 30,000 yuan for food, clothes and medicine, and 20,000 yuan for emergency treatment. The Red Swastika received 40 vans from companies such as the Shanghai based 搬場汽车公司 for the purposes of evacuation.⁶⁷⁸

As of 13 August 1937, members of the office, the president Xiong Xiling, the vice-president Zhou Zhongguang 周重光 and a board of 120 delegates implemented the emergency program, which was created in 1935. The directors cooperated with the Shanghai International Red Cross, the Federation of Charities, the Shanghai International Relief Association, the Nanjing International Safe Zone, the Subei International Relief Association 苏北国际会, the Zhejiang Refugee Relief Association 浙江难民救济会, and the Jiangsu Refugee Association 江苏难民救济会. In Hong Kong, the Management Office established an organizational office 办事处 that took command of the Southern units and refugee camps.⁶⁷⁹ In Hong Kong the Red Swastika office cooperated with British authorities.

In Shanghai, the Red Swastika helped thousands reach camps in foreign concessions where it managed camps. Nevertheless, the majority of its relief efforts were concentrated in Jiangsu and in Zhejiang. The initial activities were conducted in Shanghai and its suburbs immediately after the outbreak of armed conflicts in the city. The units drove with vans to bridges and roads leading to the foreign concessions where they offered support for thirty thousand refugees.⁶⁸⁰ This type of help was carried out despite constant air raids and ground

⁶⁷⁷ 世界红卍字会中华东南各会联合总办事处,救济工作报告书(上海,1939),17. World Red Swastika Society South East United Emergency Management Office, *Relief Work Report* (Shanghai, 1939), 17.

⁶⁷⁸ South East United Emergency Management Office, 救济工作报告书, 32.

⁶⁷⁹ South East United Emergency Management Office, 救济工作报告书, 5.

⁶⁸⁰ South East United Emergency Management Office, 救济工作报告书, 21.

operations. On 28 August, 12 activists were killed by bombs.⁶⁸¹

In Hongkou 虹口, an area North of the city and along the Huangpu River, the units evacuated 20,000 refugees and placed them in camps in the city centre. The units reported about 30 evacuations and a total of 40,000 refugees transported.⁶⁸² On Fengqiao Street 枫桥, close to the Suzhou Creek and at the North-Western border of the International Concession, the Management Office reported a transfer of 339,413 refugees to the International Settlement.⁶⁸³

In Shanghai, the Red Swastika managed eight camps that were coordinated by the Shanghai International Red Cross.⁶⁸⁴ The Shanghai International Red Cross was established as a sub-committee of the organization and was chaired by J. E. Baker, W.W. Jan, the Jesuit Jacquinot, Dr. Sze. The Shanghai International Red Cross coordinated many local agencies that participated in the management of camps such as the Red Swastika, the Salvation Army, the YMCA, the Federation of Shanghai Charity Organizations, the Shanghai Emergency Relief Committee, the Cantonese Refugee Relief Committee, the Yellow Swastika, the Blue Swastika, the White Swastika, the Christian Federation, the Paoshan Township Relief Committee, the National Child Welfare Association of China, the Buddhist Priest's Association, and the Shanghai Institute for Refugee Children.⁶⁸⁵ The Red Cross distributed resources to the agencies and supervised camp management administration. A camp management guidebook was distributed to the camp leaders and there were regular inspector visits to guarantee that the camp managers observed the regulations.

The Shanghai International Red Cross temporarily controlled more than one hundred and fifty refugee camps. In December 1937, the Public Health Management Office reported 97,000 refugees living in 160 camps in the foreign districts of Shanghai.⁶⁸⁶ In addition, 137,000 refugees stayed in the Jacquinot Safety Zone that opened on 9 November 1937 in the Chinese district, next to the French Concession.⁶⁸⁷ In 1938, the number of refugees decreased to 81,649. Nonetheless, the Police Office in the International Settlement reported almost 50,000 refugees

⁶⁸¹ South East United Emergency Management Office, 救济工作报告书, 23.

⁶⁸² South East United Emergency Management Office, 救济工作报告书, 24.

⁶⁸³ South East United Emergency Management Office, 救济工作报告书, 25.

⁶⁸⁴ South East United Emergency Management Office, 救济工作报告书, 9.

⁶⁸⁵ China Press, "Red Cross Work," (17 August 1937).

⁶⁸⁶ Public Health Department, Report on Refugee Camps, 15 December 1937, Shanghai Municipal Archive, Q-120-4-240.

⁶⁸⁷ Ristaino, *The Jacquinot Safe Zone*, 148.

staying in 100 camps in April 1939.⁶⁸⁸ The Red Swastika ran eight camps with 4,080 refugees in the city and became a parent organization within the network of the Shanghai International Red Cross. To ensure an equal distribution of food and coal, and to prevent the dissemination of diseases, the Shanghai International Red Cross regularly supervised the agencies that managed the camps. Guidelines for basic camps consisted of housing under a waterproof roof, sleeping spaces raised above the ground or floor, ventilation, food rations, adjusted diets for children, mothers, and elderly persons, boiled drinking water, reports about sickness to the camp office, isolation and hospitalization of the sick, and the regular cleaning of latrines.⁶⁸⁹ The Red Swastika sought to adhere to the regulations set up by the umbrella society.⁶⁹⁰ However, the Red Swastika camps were often classified as being insufficiently clean and lacking sanitary standards.⁶⁹¹ For instance, an inspection of the camp on 920 Ferry Road on 12 August 1938 revealed that the camp lacked bathrooms, the manager was not supervising the meals provided, and no medical personnel was available.⁶⁹²

Nevertheless, the Society's documentation reveals that its camp managers adhered to the regulations. To prevent the outbreak of epidemics, the camp management cared for the cleanliness of sleeping places, the regular opening of windows, and the changing of clothes. Other regulations included prohibiting leaving waste on the floor and spitting.⁶⁹³ The creation of permanent hospitals and new temporary medical offices also contributed to relief efforts. The Society ran one permanent hospital in the French Concession and established four temporary medical offices in the camps.⁶⁹⁴ These institutions were staffed by personnel from the Tongde Hospital 同德医院 and the National Medicine Institute 国医学院. Additional activities included the targeted training of refugees and providing them with paid jobs. The creation of working units, for example, gave the refugees an opportunity to earn an income. For five jiao, a small amount of money, refugees washed rice, cooked, and washed dishes and some women

⁶⁸⁸ Police Report, Refugees in the Settlement - Present Situation, 3 April 1939, Shanghai Municipal Archive, Q-120-4-240.

⁶⁸⁹ Shanghai International Red Cross, Basic Minimum Standards for Refugee Camps, 1938, Shanghai Municipal Archive, Q-120-4-240.

⁶⁹⁰ Shanghai International Red Cross, Employment for Refugees and Disappointing Results through Laziness and Indifference, 4 July 1938, SMA Q-120-4-240.

⁶⁹¹ N. B. Doodha, Shanghai International Red Cross Visiting Committee, 21 February 1938, Shanghai Municipal Archive, Q-120-4-240.

⁶⁹² N. B. Doodha Shanghai International Red Cross, Letter to World Red Swastika Society, 22 August 1938, Shanghai Municipal Archive, Q-120-4-240.

⁶⁹³ South East United Emergency Management Office, 救济工作报告书, 46.

⁶⁹⁴ South East United Emergency Management Office, 救济工作报告书, 59.

were also hired as nannies for orphans.⁶⁹⁵ Nevertheless, there were few refugees who did not depend on financial aid from the camps.⁶⁹⁶

The Red Swastika also established new units to coordinate activities among relief societies. For example, Mao Yanwen 毛彦文 (1898-1999), the third wife of Xiong Xiling, founded a women's led emergency service unit 妇女临时救济服务部 as part of the Shanghai Red Swastika to improve the situation of refugees and the management of camps.⁶⁹⁷ The service unit was chaired by an executive board of 26 women. Mao Yenwen was one of the May Fourth generation women who had studied abroad. After her graduation from Michigan University in sociology, she married Xiong and contributed to his philanthropic work, for example in the Fragrant Hills Orphanage. In 1947, she was elected to the Peking Municipal Council. She left China after the war and initially went to Taiwan and then to America where she worked as an editor for Chinese newspapers.⁶⁹⁸ Another leader was Nie Qichun 聂其纯, wife of the governor of Jiangsu and chairwoman of the Chinese Women's Red Cross. Zhang Hongjing 张宏境, the chairwomen of the Shanghai Red Swastika, was another member. Guo Meide 郭美得, a member of the Michigan alumni society and Cao Yongxian 曹用先, who was employed at Michigan University were also listed as women responsible for the service unit.⁶⁹⁹

The service unit defined its mission as providing services for soldiers, civilians, adults and children. For example, the women conducted surveys among wounded soldiers 伤病调查, which listed name, origin, age, address, family, education, military unit, family status, profession, contact person, wounds or disability, medical certificate from the hospital, transportation, goals for life after the hospital, as well as their thoughts on the condition of the soldier.⁷⁰⁰ The survey form for refugees 难民调查分表 listed the profession and plans for life after the refugee camp. These surveys served to establish contact with family members and to detect professional skills to provide the person with employment. Higher skilled refugees were given service work. In addition, the unit was established to offer women the possibility of participating in assistance and to acquire skills like learning how to drive a car as well create

⁶⁹⁵ South East United Emergency Management Office, 救济工作报告书, 49.

⁶⁹⁶ North China Herald, Refugees Sent out of Shanghai (23 April 1940).

⁶⁹⁷ 世界红卍字会上海妇女分会, 临时救济简章, World Red Swastika Society Shanghai Women's Branch Temporary Relief Regulations, Shanghai Archives Q-120-00139.

⁶⁹⁸ Lo Chiu-Jung, "Mao Yenwen," in 中国妇女传记词典, ed. 萧虹 (悉尼, 2010), 400. Lo Chiu-Jung, "Mao Yenwen," in *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women*, ed. Hong Xiao (Sydney, 2010), 400.

⁶⁹⁹ World Red Swastika Society Shanghai Women's Branch, 临时救济简章, Shanghai Archives Q-120-00139.

⁷⁰⁰ World Red Swastika Society Shanghai Women's Branch, 临时救济简章, Shanghai Archives Q-120-00139.

networks between the local agencies.⁷⁰¹

Another training unit offered the additional possibility of practicing relief management. This training unit taught a class of 58 volunteers in practical and theoretical aspects of management. Every day from six in the morning to six in the evening, the trainees assisted camp managers or provided assistance at hospitals. They were also taught about issues like the situation of refugees.⁷⁰² One crucial aspect of the work of both male and female volunteers was to help the distressed. These services responded to the overall strained situation in the camps. The Shanghai International Red Cross reported on March 18 about cases of serious nervous and mental disorders among refugees and the need to handle them.⁷⁰³ As already introduced in chapter four, the Society offered psychological assistance called comfort work 慰安. During the Sino-Japanese War, the term comfort work, however, became a euphemism for enforced prostitution of Chinese and Korean women during the war, who were also called comfort women. In the context of the Red Swastika, however, comfort work and spiritual guidance 安慰 宣导 was used to overcome the wartime trauma.⁷⁰⁴

The volunteers established special rooms in hospitals and camps where the wounded and soldiers could pray or talk about their experiences. The volunteers also visited hospitals and camps and distributed gifts, but the volunteers who came from other philanthropic groups and Christian missions as well, needed to adhere to certain guidelines. For example, the volunteers, often organized in comfort units 慰劳团体, needed to ask for permission from the hospital management to distribute gifts like fruit, milk, and meat. All gifts needed to be clean and free of bacteria. The workers were advised not to talk too much and not to upset soldiers. They were not supposed to talk about military affairs and were not to remind the soldiers of traumatic experiences. Furthermore, they were not supposed to actively proselytize.⁷⁰⁵ The guidelines stipulated that these activities were intended only to improve the wellbeing of the wounded and destitute. Misuse of the work for the purposes of proselytization would be punished by termination of the work.

During 1938, the directors responsible for the Shanghai International Red Cross decided

⁷⁰¹ World Red Swastika Society Shanghai Women's Branch, 临时救济简章, Shanghai Archives Q-120-00139.

⁷⁰² South East United Emergency Management Office, 救济工作报告书, 68.

⁷⁰³ Shanghai International Red Cross, Minutes of Liaison & Coordinating Committee, 21 April 1938, Shanghai Municipal Archive, Q-120-4-240.

⁷⁰⁴ South East United Emergency Management Office, 救济工作报告书, 49.

⁷⁰⁵ South East United Emergency Management Office, 救济工作报告书, 100.

to end their mandate by the end of the year due to a lack of finances and an exacerbation of the poor conditions in the camps.⁷⁰⁶ In his termination letter, Baker made obvious that the work could not be carried out longer. Additionally, an increasing number of refugees were reported as aggressive and were revolting against the camp managers and the inspectors.⁷⁰⁷ The solution was to relocate the refugees out of the city to other camps or to send them home, if possible. Because of this measure, the number of Red Swastika camps decreased from eight to four in 1938: in January, it managed eight camps with 4,088 refugees but by July, the Red Swastika managed only four camps with 1,839 refugees. At the end of the year, there was only one camp with 139 refugees.⁷⁰⁸ The 72,000 remaining refugees were provided for by the Federation of Charities, which ran 36 camps with 34,340 refugees. In addition, the Municipal Relief Association cared for 49 camps with 27,847 refugees, and the Kwantung Guild managed two camps with 6,005 refugees.

The Red Swastika shifted its focus from the city centre to Jiangsu and Zhejiang, where it provided camps for thousands and was crucial for the relocation of refugees. Thomas L. Harnsberger, a Presbyterian missionary who observed the situation in Suzhou and Zhenjiang, wrote on February 25, 1938 to Baker that the relocation of refugees to camps run by the Red Swastika would be safe from Japanese aggression “This society has done a great work in feeding the vast influx in arranging camps for the most destitute, arranging travel, joining numerous families separated, burying the dead on the road, and the expenses has all been born by each local societies.”⁷⁰⁹ Harnsberger suggested establishing a branch of the Shanghai International Red Cross in Taizhou, Zhejiang, in cooperation with the Red Swastika. His plan was to relocate the remaining refugees out of Shanghai to Taizhou, where they could farm and produce goods. He suggested that further regions in North Jiangsu could serve as Swastika-protected regions where refugees could stay. Harnsberger underlined the fact that these plans would be carried out only by the Red Swastika and local gentry and not by county or government officials.⁷¹⁰ In a further letter he emphasized that because the agency was not

⁷⁰⁶ Shanghai International Red Cross, Minutes of Liaison & Coordinating Committee, 31 August 1938, Shanghai Municipal Archive, Q-120-4-240.

⁷⁰⁷ Shanghai International Red Cross, Minutes of Liaison & Coordinating Committee, 26 October 1938, Shanghai Municipal Archive, Q-120-4-240.

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⁷⁰⁹ Thomas L. Harnsberger, Letter to J. E. Baker, 25 February 1938, Shanghai Municipal Archives Q-120-4-240.

⁷¹⁰ Thomas L. Harnsberger, Letter to J. E. Baker, 26 April 1938, Shanghai Municipal Archives Q-120-4-240.

involved in political work and was separate from government officials, Japanese soldiers would not attack its camps.

According to its report, the organization evacuated and cared for 310,5027 refugees in Jiangsu and Zhejiang—a remarkable number.⁷¹¹ The Management Office coordinated 28 branches in Jiangsu and 16 branches in Zhejiang. In these provinces, the Management Office provided for 55,000 refugees in camps. The camps were managed in cooperation with the Zhejiang refugee committee. The Zhejiang refugee committee was established with the help of an American, Robert Fitch 费佩德. Fitch also supported the Management Office. He donated 8,000 yuan, which was spent on five camps accommodating 22, 835 adults and 1,534 children in Zhejiang. The Swastika branches in Zhejiang collected another 40,000 yuan in donation campaigns. Overall, the organization spent 93,112,35 yuan on clothes, camps, and medical aid in the province.⁷¹²

Workers at the Management Office also cooperated with the Nanjing branch and the Nanjing International Safe Zone. Shortly after the loss of Shanghai, the Chinese government left Nanking, its capital, and left the defence of the city in the hands of a small number of troops. Attempts by the remaining troops to retreat from the city across the Yangtze River failed, as the area was already surrounded.⁷¹³ In the following weeks Japanese troops entered the city and conducted what is today called the Rape of Nanking.⁷¹⁴ The Japanese Army did not only kill for reasons of occupation, but tortured thousands of civilians on the streets, especially women and children. In reference to the chronicler of the Nanking horrors, Yang Daqing, Hattori Satoshi and Edward J. Drea name the collapse of Japanese logistics, unexpected resistance, and Japanese soldiers who were unprepared to deal with a large number of prisoners and civilians, lack of discipline, and the approval of killing by high ranking officers as main reasons for the

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⁷¹² South East United Emergency Management Office, 救济工作报告书, 120.

⁷¹³ Yang Tianshi, “Chiang Kai-shek and the Battles of Shanghai and Nanjing,” in *The Battle for China. Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945*, ed. Mark Peattie (Stanford, 2011), 157.

⁷¹⁴ Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking, The Forgotten Holocaust of World War II* (New York, 1997). Although often criticised for its dramatic voice, Chang's publication introduced historiographical debates about the Nanking Atrocity in America—where Chang lived as part of Chinese diaspora—in China, and in Japan. The book also influenced the creation of the Memorial Hall for Compatriots Killed in the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Forces of Aggression 侵华日军南京大屠杀遇难同胞纪念馆, which devotes the last room solely to Chang's book. Other selected research includes Joshua A. Fogel, *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography* (2000); Timothy Brook, *Documents of the Rape of Nanking* (1999); Honda Katsuichi, *The Nanjing Massacre: A Japanese Journalist Confronts Japan's National Shame* (1999); Masahiro Yamamoto, *Nanking: Anatomy of an Atrocity* (2000).

extreme brutal nature of this military operation. As the historians point out, in the end it proved to be even more damaging because China refused to capitulate and negotiations with third-party agents about an end to the fighting collapsed.⁷¹⁵

To this day the situation in Nanjing remains a prominent issue among historians as a demonstration of aspects of collaboration.⁷¹⁶ In Nanjing, some Red Swastika members, like the leaders of the branch Tao Xisan and Xu Chuanyin, graduate from university of Illinois with many foreign connections, were placed on the Self-Government Committee, the first collaboration agency. Other members did not actively collaborate, but conducted activities like burials on behalf of the Japanese.⁷¹⁷ Li Shiyuan 李世原, a former member of the police in Tianjin, was one of the members of the Management Office who worked for a brief period in Nanjing with the Nanjing branch and the Nanjing International Safe Zone.

Li's brief report suggests that the situation was chaotic and the workers overwhelmed by the number of mutilated bodies that needed to be buried. In his reports, he writes about the difficulty of transporting the bodies without vehicles and in the snow. He also reported about the threat of attacks by Japanese soldiers.⁷¹⁸ Li's account outlines how the units went from one place of massacre in the city to another, where they found up to one hundred bodies and buried them in mass graves. The situation is described as completely miserable 非常凄惨.⁷¹⁹ The workers disinfected mass graves and ensured that dead bodies did not contaminate the drinking water.⁷²⁰ In addition, the units also buried animals to prevent the outbreak of epidemics. In May

⁷¹⁵ Hattori Satoshi and Edward J. Drea, "Japanese Operations from July to December 1937," in *The Battle for China. Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945*, ed. Mark Peattie (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 179.

⁷¹⁶ Qian Fengqi, "Let the Dead be Remembered: The Nanjing Massacre Memorial," in *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with Difficult Heritage*, ed. W. Logans (New York, 2009), 18. In the Memorial exhibition the Red Swastika has its own exhibition wall on which there are pictures, documents, and objects which show its burial work. The exhibition leaves out the issue of collaboration. Instead, it displays the Red Swastika's humanitarian side.

⁷¹⁷ Timothy Brook, "Chinese Collaboration in Nanking," in *The Nanking Atrocity, 1937-38. Complicating the Picture*, Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi ed., (Oxford, 2007), 140.

⁷¹⁸ 李世原, 世界红卍字会上海分会关于赴京办掩埋工作报告, 1938年3月18日, 南京大屠杀史资料5, 遇难者的尸体掩埋, 孙宅巍(南京, 2006), 32. Li Shiyuan, "World Red Swastika Society Shanghai Branch Report about Burial Work in Nanjing," in *Historical Materials about the Nanjing Massacre*, ed. Sun Zhaiwei (Nanjing, 2006), 32.

⁷¹⁹ 世界红卍字会南京分会关于埋尸掩埋, 救济等项工作的报告 1938年3月13日, 南京大屠杀史资料5, 遇难者的尸体掩埋, 孙宅巍(南京, 2006), 31. World Red Swastika Society Nanjing Branch, "Report about Burials and Relief Activities, 13 March 1938," in *Historical Materials about the Nanjing Massacre*, ed. Sun Zhaiwei (Nanjing, 2006), 31.

⁷²⁰ South East United Emergency Management Office, 救济工作报告书, 28.

1938, workers disinfected graves with a bleaching powder 福尔马林.⁷²¹

The branch worked with ten units within the city gates from December 1937 until March 1938 and buried 30,000 bodies at eleven places within the city and at 55 places outside the city.⁷²² Overall, the burial units reported about 43,121 dead.⁷²³ According to Li's report, the workers were traumatized by this experience.⁷²⁴ The workers at the Management Office units buried another 8,757 bodies at other places. In Shanghai, 5,221 human and 71 animals, among them 50 horses and 21 cows, were buried. In Suzhou, they buried 42,528 human bodies, 20 horses, eight pigs; in Kunshan 452 human bodies, 70 horses and 32 pigs.⁷²⁵

While Li might have left Nanjing early, as his report suggests, other volunteers were caught between serving the new collaborative regime and fulfilling their humanitarian duties. The experiences of Red Swastika workers varied during the chaos of invasion. Some helped Chinese soldiers and others experienced Japanese violence. For example, assistance carried out by members of the Red Swastika within the Nanjing International Safe Zone, with which the Shanghai-based Management Office was associated, was sometimes a threat to the protection of civilians within the zone. The Nanking Safe Zone was established over a period of several months by approximately thirty Western diplomats, missionaries and the German entrepreneur John Rabe, all of whom decided to stay after the invasion.⁷²⁶ The protective area was modelled on the Jacquinet Safe Zone in Shanghai and declared neutrality within its borders to protect civilians. The Red Swastika cooperated with the Safe Zone in numerous ways like transporting food into the zone. However, eyewitnesses reported that Red Swastika workers were responsible for opening the gates and letting Japanese soldiers enter thereby allowing them to kill civilians. Other eyewitnesses reported that Red Swastika members helped establish brothels

⁷²¹ 世界红卍字会东南主会致中华总会函中有关掩埋于培土消毒的内容节录1938年5月18日, 南京大屠杀史资料5, 遇难者的尸体掩埋, 孙宅巍(南京, 2006), 41. World Red Swastika South East Department Letter to Central Headquarter about the Use of Disinfection, in *Historical Materials about the Nanjing Massacre*, ed. Sun Zhaiwei (Nanjing, 2006), 41. ,

⁷²² 世界红卍字会南京分会救济对掩埋组掩埋统计表之一三月, 南京大屠杀史资料5, 遇难者的尸体掩埋, 孙宅巍(南京, 2006), 34. World Red Swastika Society Nanjing Branch Report about Burials, March, in *Historical Materials about the Nanjing Massacre*, ed. Sun Zhaiwei (Nanjing, 2006), 34.

⁷²³ Brook, "Chinese Collaboration in Nanking," 141.

⁷²⁴ Li, 世界红卍字会上海分会关于赴京办掩埋工作报告, 32.

⁷²⁵ South East United Emergency Management Office, 救济工作报告书, 30.

⁷²⁶ Erwin Wickert, *John Rabe: Der gute Deutsche von Nanking* (Stuttgart, 1997). The Siemens entrepreneur John Rabe (1882-1950) was one of the main people responsible for the organization of the Nanking Safe Zone. Although a member of the NSDAP he is regarded as a conservative German, but not a supporter of Nazi Germany. Rabe is very famous in China and in Nanking where his former residence became a museum and his relief work a central topic of many films and books.

for the Japanese soldiers.⁷²⁷

It wasn't just civilians, though. Some members of the Society and their families were at the mercy of Japanese soldiers. One case of disorder by Japanese soldiers affected members of the Society on December 21, 1937. At 11 p.m. three Japanese soldiers broke into the building of the Red Swastika Society on Ninghai Road and injured several members, among them Mr. Kong, the superintendent of the Red Swastika hospital. The soldiers raped the wife of one of the Red Swastika members, while other members and their children were forced to keep quiet. During the same evening, patrolling Japanese soldiers came to the Swastika house and donated three dollars to the Society "for helping their work". According to accounts of the evening, the patrolling soldiers also raped the daughter-in-law of one of the Society's members.⁷²⁸ Other accounts show that Red Swastika workers helped Chinese people escape from the city.⁷²⁹ In 1945, the Baguazhou branch, located at the river outside the city walls, published the *Report of the Baguazhou Branch for the Central Office about Burials and the Transport of Soldiers* 世界红卍字会八卦洲分会就运送军民过江与掩埋尸体事致中华总会函 according to which this group transported soldiers and officers over the Yangtze at night shortly after the invasion.⁷³⁰

At the same time that Li was burying the dead in Nanjing, other members of the Management Office were charged with emergency relief for civilians during calamities such as floods. In the summer of 1938, the Red Swastika organized help along the flooded Yellow River. This severe flood was created by the Chinese government to hinder Japan's advance. During the retreat from Wuhan to Chongqing the Chinese military sought to hinder the Japanese Army's advance. It was a desperate strategy to destroy the river's dykes and flood the regions and was implemented at a time when the Nationalist Party was losing important battles, like the one in Xuzhou. As Diana Lary aptly puts it "the breaching was a strategic move born of desperation. As the Japanese armies continued their relentless advance across China, sober strategic thinking in Chinese command gave way to a mood close to panic, in which any conceivable action could be taken to stop the Japanese advance."⁷³¹ Chinese soldiers destroyed

⁷²⁷ Brook, "Chinese Collaboration in Nanking," 156.

⁷²⁸ Lu Sunping, *They Were in Nanjing: The Nanjing Massacre Witnessed by American and British Nationals* (Hong Kong, 2004), 69.

⁷²⁹ 日本记者本多胜一关于赵世发老人参加红卍字会收掩埋尸体的报道节, The Account of the Japanese Journalist Honda about Zhao Shifa's Joining of the Red Swastika Society to Bury Dead, in *Historical Materials about the Nanjing Massacre*, ed. Sun Zhaiwei (Nanjing, 2006), 111.

⁷³⁰ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 185.

⁷³¹ Diana Lary, "Drowned Earth: The Strategic Breaching of the Yellow River Dyke, 1938," in *War In History* 8 (2001): 191.

the dyke on June 8, 1938 at several places and provoked one of the largest man-made disasters.⁷³² According to official accounts from the Ministry of Administration, 700,000 refugees fled from their homes and 200,000 were killed in Henan; in Anhui around 1 million were forced from their homes; and in Jiangsu a further 200,000 were expelled and the same number killed.⁷³³ In 1939, the Hankou and the Xuzhou Red Swastika branches supplied the population in the flooded regions with aid. The Management Office's report mentions the assignment briefly. Chinese soldiers are mentioned as supporters with whom the Red Swastika kept close relations when one of its ships was unable to sail.⁷³⁴

The Managements Office's program came to an end at the end of 1938, but some branches and units, which had been included in the project, continued the work. For example, associated units worked in Zhejiang province in 1940. Zhejiang province was partially occupied and in many counties, officials of the Chinese government continued to help the population.⁷³⁵ Aid was organized by the governmental National Relief Committee and the Zhejiang Refugee Relief Association with which the Society cooperated in Hangzhou, Wuxing, Shaoxing, Jiande, Tonglu, Lanxi, Yongkang, and Jinhua.⁷³⁶

The Shaoxing unit was led by four workers, the commander Sun Cunren 孙存仁, Chen Zhixin 陈志馨, Jia Liuji 骆流, and Peng Yuzan 彭寓赞. The workers helped the wounded with first aid, and established three camps. The first and the second camp accommodated 468 people, the third special camp accommodated 500 children, women and elderly people.⁷³⁷ Another duty was the establishment of temporary offices in temples and other available facilities, which enabled the exchange of information, resources and which served as centres for the volunteers. In the following weeks, the workers established emergency offices in three locations in Keqiao City, in Sanzhuang Village 三住村, and in Mei Village:

We moved on to the southwest of the city, to Tang Village where we looked for a place to establish a temporary office and where we organized more boats. We saw two soldiers fighting fiercely. The shooting could be heard loudly in the village. After we saw that we could not

⁷³² Lary, "Drowned Earth," 199.

⁷³³ Lary, "Drowned Earth," 203.

⁷³⁴ World Red Swastika Society South East All Branches Office, 救济工作报告书, 101.

⁷³⁵ Schoppa, *In a Sea of Bitterness*, 286.

⁷³⁶ Schoppa, *In a Sea of Bitterness*, 52.

⁷³⁷ 浙江会馆关于世界红卍字会绍兴分会赴萧绍前线实状视察决及赴前方救济工作日记, 1940, The Report of the Red Swastika Shaoxing Branch Behind the Front Line in Xiaosha, Beijing Municipal Archive, J010-001-00036.

provide more help, we decided to return to the home of Sun, prayed and rested for dinner. (...)

On February 21, we heard the noise of bombs and fighting close to the city. Wang Yuexi 王月栖, a member of the Shanghai Daodeshe Society, departed to the battlefield to check the situation.

Wang, one of the workers, reported that when he arrived at the battlefield and entered the gates of the village all was quiet and he heard nobody. He went to the magistrate's office of the village where he met the person in charge. They said that the fighting had been going on for two weeks and they showed him many wounded and dead people.⁷³⁸

As already mentioned, new religious groups emerged during the Japanese invasion, one of which was the Dejiao Society 德教会 in Chaozhou. Like the Red Swastika, the Dejiao was founded after a spirit writing ritual and urged the unification of the five world religions. The planchette oracle guided the founders to formulate the religious teachings and organize the activities of its members. When the war reached Chaozhou in June 1939, three locals, Yang Riude 杨瑞德, Ma Desan 马德三, and Wang Decao 王德澡 received a message from the Daoist deities Liu Chinfang 柳春芳 and Yang Yunsong 杨云松 who advised these men to establish the Dejiao society.⁷³⁹ Members believed in virtues and in the importance of helping the suffering. The Dejiao religion, which still exists today, propagates virtues like piety, loyalty, obedience, righteousness, propriety, faith, wisdom, unselfishness, sensibility to shame, and benevolence.⁷⁴⁰ From the beginning, the network provided support for refugees, as the Daoist deities had advised the locals. During the war, the Dejiao expanded remarkably. It established 25 sub-organizations in which 10,000 families participated. Yoshihara's findings suggest that the Dejiao expanded because its religion and virtues comforted the population and encouraged social coherence. Indeed, during the time of invasion many people regarded religions and popular spirituality as useful. The example from Shaoxing shows that the Red Swastika responded to an enhanced need for spiritual consolation and the branches recognized the importance of faith and religious traditions.

7. 3 The Red Swastika's Work on Behalf of the Chinese Government and Cooperation with Allies

⁷³⁸ 浙江会馆关于世界红卍字会绍兴分会赴萧绍前线实状视察决及赴前方救济工作日记。

⁷³⁹ Kazuo Yoshihara, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* Vol. 15, No. 2/3, Folk Religion and Religious Organizations in Asia (Jun. - Sep., 1988): 203.

⁷⁴⁰ Yoshihara, "Dejiao: A Chinese Religion in Southeast Asia," 204.

Red Swastika branches in Western provinces participated in the network of the government's Development and Relief Commission which organised the transit and accommodation of millions of refugees. In addition, in Sichuan, the Society was officially acknowledged by the provincial government as an allied supporter of civilians and soldiers in the fight against Japan in 1939. Nevertheless, the relationship with the government at the time was marked by mistrust due to the collaboration of many branches in the occupied regions. Documents labelled secret demonstrate that government authorities were not only advised to survey the work of the Red Swastika in Sichuan, but to also do so in the Eastern provinces because of the Japanese influence.⁷⁴¹ Furthermore, the documents reveal that the authorities were aware of the that the Japanese recruited collaborators through the Red Swastika.⁷⁴² The documents reveal that despite the low number of branches and institutions in Western provinces, the Society received special attention by the government.

The government relied on the work of local agencies. As chapter six demonstrated, the government was eager to use local agencies to strengthen the national identity through relief work.⁷⁴³ Forced to organise millions of refugees and needing to cooperate with local agencies, the government established the Development and Relief Commission, which was responsible for millions of refugees.⁷⁴⁴ In addition to these services, the Commission provided aid for those who remained on the East coast. Some regions of Zhejiang, which were not occupied, remained under the influence of the government and the Commission cooperated with local agencies there. Overall, the Chinese government sought to maintain its influence on the population in the east by, for example, financing refugee camps.⁷⁴⁵

The Red Swastika became part of the official welfare system. In February 1940, the Yichang Red Swastika reported its work for refugees to local authorities. Yichang, located between Changsha and Chongqing, was an important transit station for those who fled to the

⁷⁴¹ 四川政府送成都省会警察局关于世界红十字会成都分会正式成工开始工作请保护一案的训令The Order of the Sichuan Government to Survey the Establishment of a Chengdu Branch of the World Red Swastika, 17 April 1939, Chengdu Municipal Archive, 009302340001.

⁷⁴² 四川政府关于禁日本人在沪假中国红十字会名义秘密组织中日和平祈祷会及在长江带设分会的命令“Governmental ban on the establishment of a false Red Cross branch in Changjian” by the Japanese in Shanghai that operated a secret Sino-Japanese religious society, undated, Chengdu Municipal Archive, 009304578001.

⁷⁴³ Mitter, “Classifying Citizens,” 243.

⁷⁴⁴ Lu, “A Whole Nation Walking,” 213.

⁷⁴⁵ Schoppa, *In a Sea of Bitterness*, 52.

Western regions.⁷⁴⁶ The Red Swastika organised three camps in this region with over thirty thousand refugees. For instance, on February the workers reported the arrival of new refugees from Hubei, who asked to be sent further west to Wanxian 万县 in Sichuan province. Almost every day the volunteers received around five to ten refugees, mostly families, who they either accommodated in the camps or dispatched to other places. Orphans received special attention and were accommodated in special camps. On 20 February, workers in Yichang reported the reception of eight orphans, who had been sent by the Changsha Red Swastika Organisation Office.⁷⁴⁷

The government also sought to strengthen its influence on the Society through the establishment of new networks and new branches. For instance, on 2 April 1939 the Sichuan provincial government confirmed that on behalf of the Governmental Military Committee of Chengdu, the Red Swastika All China United Branches Central Office participated in the governmental services for civilians and received support for its work.⁷⁴⁸ The Committee ordered the Red Swastika to establish an additional network of branches, the Southwest United Relief Group 西南联合救济队, which would be located near Changsha in Yichang and would support the Development and Relief Commission. Simultaneously, the Society was asked that it establish a new branch in Chengdu that would care for refugees in camps and in special institutions such as orphanages and medical centres.⁷⁴⁹ Documentation of these activities is thin in the archives but evidence shows that the organization was an important partner to the central government.

In Chongqing, the new capital and centre of political power, new institutions were created with the help of the Society. For example, Zhou Zhilian, who was from Hebei, established the Red Swastika North Spring Orphanage 红卍字会北泉慈幼院 in Chongqing in 1939.⁷⁵⁰ Zhou was born in 1902 in Henan, in the Gongcheng Village 宫城庄村. She studied

⁷⁴⁶ 世界红十字会字会宜昌分会救济监理不维信录, The Report of the World Red Swastika Yichang Relief Work Coordination Office, Sichuan Provincial Archives, 48.

⁷⁴⁷ 世界红十字会字会宜昌分会救济监理不维信录, The Report of the World Red Swastika Yichang Relief Work Coordination Office, Sichuan Provincial Archives, 29.

⁷⁴⁸ 关于中华民国红十字会为办理救济成立各地分会给四川省第三区行政检察去员公署的训令, 2 April 1939, Order for the Third Provincial Survey Team About the Establishment of a Republican China Red Cross Branch, Chongqing Municipal Archive 0176-0001-0493-195.

⁷⁴⁹ 关于中华民国红十字会为办理救济成立各地分会给四川省第三区行政检察去员公署的训令0176-0001-0493-195.

⁷⁵⁰ 周之廉的入党申请, The Application of Zhou Zhilian for the Party Membership, Chongqing Municipal Archive 0651-002-0013.

education at the Beijing Women's Institute and began her work as educator at Xiong Xiling's Fragrant Hills Charitable Home in 1917.⁷⁵¹ During the May Fourth Movement 1919, she was a leader of a women's student group and in contact with Deng Yichao 邓颖超, who became later the wife of Zhou Enlai 周恩来. Zhou Zhilian studied at Columbia University in 1933. When the war broke out, she returned to her home country to support the anti-Japanese resistance.

The Red Swastika North Spring Orphanage was established as part of the Chongqing Red Swastika branch.⁷⁵² The institution was officially recognized by the municipal government and the Committee for Military Affairs from which it received regular donations.⁷⁵³ The orphanage accommodated orphans who were channelled through the Wartime Association for Child Welfare 战时儿童保育会, which was established by Song Meiling in Wuhan (Meiling was the wife of Chiang Kai-shek).⁷⁵⁴ Therefore, Zhou's efforts show that in Chongqing, the Society was integrated into the government's welfare system.⁷⁵⁵ Zhou's educational approach, which valued psychological assistance through religion needed to be amended to accommodate the demands of the central government. Overall, the institution, which depended on subsidies from the municipal welfare agency, was strictly controlled.⁷⁵⁶ For example, Zhou complained that municipal authorities imposed political training for orphans instead of caring for their wellbeing.⁷⁵⁷ In fact, Communist historiography points to the fact that Zhou and the institution supported the Communist movement. Qiu Yuekang 邱月抗 argues that members of the Communist Party had recourse to the orphanage during anti-Communist campaigns.⁷⁵⁸ Zhou was a member of the Nationalist Party, left China in 1946 and returned to America where she died in 1956.

Worthy of notice is that Zhou's care for refugees is honoured today as an important contribution to wartime aid. While the Red Swastika has been banned from the mainland since

⁷⁵¹ 邱月抗, 拯救战区难通的女教育家周之廉, 神州 (2008), 18. Qiu Yuekang, "The Educator Zhou Zhilian," *Shenzhou* (2008): 18.

⁷⁵² 周之廉, 关于申请恢复周之廉听资格的函 Zhou Zhilian, Correspondence about Additional Income, Chongqing Municipal Archive 0081-0006-00757.

⁷⁵³ 关于备查北泉慈幼工作报告, Report about the Work of the Red Swastika North Spring Orphanage, 1942, Chongqing Municipal Archive 0081-0004-01654.

⁷⁵⁴ Qiu, 拯救战区难通的女教育家周之廉, 17.

⁷⁵⁵ Qiu, 拯救战区难通的女教育家周之廉, 20.

⁷⁵⁶ 关于北泉慈幼院恳请发给救济委员会的函 Correspondence about the help for the North Spring Orphanage, Chongqing Municipal Archive 00521-0240-0021.

⁷⁵⁷ Chongqing Municipal Archive 0081-0004-01654 Report about the work of the Red Swastika North Spring Orphanage 关于备查北泉慈幼工作报告, 1942, 21.

⁷⁵⁸ Qiu, 拯救战区难童的女教育家周之廉, 19.

the early 1950s, Zhou and the orphanage are celebrated as worthy efforts. In 1999 Chongqing's municipal authorities established a monument to honour the North Spring Orphanage and Zhou. A TV serial titled *Our Mother* 我们的妈妈 was also created in her honour. This acknowledgment and appreciation omits the origins of the orphanage and Zhou's relationship with the Red Swastika. Instead it highlights Zhou's patriotic activism during the May Fourth Movement and her support for Communists during the war.⁷⁵⁹

The Hong Kong branch, comprised of camps for refugees and donation campaigns, provides another example of the organization's usefulness in terms of providing relief. As already mentioned in chapter four, the branch was established in 1931 and its religious and charitable services were recognized by the British authorities in the colony.⁷⁶⁰ After the outbreak of the war, the branch re-established contact with the Shanghai South East United Emergency Management Office and implemented refugee camp projects. The largest refugee camp could accommodate several thousand refugees and was established in Shenzhen.⁷⁶¹ The institution not only cared for refugees, but also established educative measures for children.⁷⁶²

The connection of the Hong Kong branch with foreign supporters and supporters from the Chinese government reveals the importance and recognition of the Red Swastika as a significant provider of aid during emergencies. On April 23 1940, the local branch opened a new office in the city. As this occasion was a moment for the organization to collect donations for relief activities, the meeting was attended by high-ranking people such as Edith Juliet Mary Adams, wife of the Colonial Administrator who governed the city, Sir Geoffry Northcote, and Wang Zhengting as the representative of the Chinese government, as well as other foreign elites who thought of the Red Swastika as a useful modern humanitarian organization. At the meeting, Wang Zhengting highlighted the fact that, that the group followed principles like neutrality and the non-interference in political affairs, phrased as “not to talk about politics, not to draw boundaries between nationalities 不谈政治, 不分国界”. Clearly, this backing by influential elites including many foreigners is testament to the prominence and standing of the Red Swastika in the colony.⁷⁶³

⁷⁵⁹ Qiu, 拯救战区难通的女教育家周之廉, 20.

⁷⁶⁰ Hong Kong Swastika Society, *The Great Dao Benevolence*, 30.

⁷⁶¹ Hong Kong Swastika Society, *The Great Dao Benevolence*, 37.

⁷⁶² Hong Kong Swastika Society, *The Great Dao Benevolence*, 25.

⁷⁶³ 世界红卍字会, 香港红卍字会报告 (Hong Kong, 1940) World Red Swastika Society, *Hong Kong Red Swastika Report* (1940), 4.

7.4. The Red Swastika in Territories under Japanese Occupation

In occupied regions, branches of the Society became involved in the Japanese state-building project. Japanese colonial agents relied on local associations and religious groups to provide the population with aid and to involve the people in the creation of its colonial regime. On the one hand, already existing services and institutions became strictly controlled. Japanese military authorities imposed strict surveillance on the population to suppress anti-Japanese resistance and support for the Chinese government and for the Communists. On the other hand, the new rulers sought to involve the population in the achievement of its goals. Traditional associations and religious organizations were important allies in the dissemination of pro-Japanese propaganda. As already mentioned in chapter four, the Red Swastika became an important partner for the Kwantung Army in Manchukuo. Looking at two local examples one from Tianjin and one from Jinan, this part of the chapter suggests that Japanese colonial influence revitalized and reinvented the traditions of the organizations, but it also transformed them. In Tianjin, the first ‘pacification team’ arrived on 30 July 1937 shortly after Chinese armies received the order to retreat from the city. The fighting continued and the city fell into Japanese hands on August 18. Tianjin’s foreign concessions, British and American, existed until 1940. According to Brook, the situation remained chaotic until November when the self-government committee was established.⁷⁶⁴ As of September 1937, Japanese authorities cooperated with local societies. The Tianjin Special Security Office 天津市治安维持会 established the Municipal Special Relief Committee 天津特别市水灾救济委员会 at the beginning of September 1937, which supervised the activities of local charities to which the Red Swastika, the Blue Swastika, the Salvation Army, and the International Red Cross office belonged.⁷⁶⁵

During the invasion crisis, the Red Swastika mainly cared for refugees. Many refugees fled from Beijing to Tianjin and further to the South to Shanghai and Nanjing.⁷⁶⁶ Red Swastika workers took charge of coordinating the accommodation of thousands of refugees in the British concession. The workers cared for the camps that were under British authority, and which

⁷⁶⁴ Brook, “Occupation State Building,” 39.

⁷⁶⁵ Tianjin Municipal Archive, 1939, J000115-1-188 (1939).

⁷⁶⁶ Lu, “The Whole Nation Walking,” 33.

offered initial emergency shelters and food. The Red Swastika's units managed nine refugee camps in Tianjin of which three were in the British and French concessions and six in the Chinese parts of the city. Like in Shanghai, the majority fled to the foreign concessions. The concessions accommodated 14,000 refugees while the camps in the Chinese districts were much smaller and accommodated from 300 to 8000 refugees.⁷⁶⁷

At the end of August, the Japanese ordered the closure of the camps and the relocation of the refugees to their original homes. Again, the Red Swastika units mainly cared for the relocation of 39,709 refugees from the city into their villages. Sending refugees back to their homes became the major occupation in the weeks that followed and was conducted using railway, cars, and ships. The units sent the refugees in four cohorts 批 with a maximum of 10,000 and minimum of 3,000 people in each cohort. The four cohorts consisted of 33,338 refugees in total. In the first cohort, 13 groups consisting of 10,149 refugees each were transported from Tianjin to Jinan by train for free. One group was stationed in Zhou village, while others were transported to Qingdao and travelled on from there. The second cohort consisted of 10,321 refugees who were sent by ship on the Yellow River to Shandong province. The third cohort consisted of 11,483 refugees and was conducted together with Japanese army divisions. The majority of the refugees were sent to Luokou 洛口 where the Japanese army took over the transportation. A last and smaller cohort consisted of 385 refugees who were first transported to Jinan and from there to smaller places in Hebei.⁷⁶⁸

Like many other local associations, the Tianjin branch continued its work in cooperation with the new municipal authorities. For instance, winter services were a shared responsibility and were coordinated by the municipal agency and implemented by local agencies. A special Committee regulated in 1938 the distribution of food. According to the regulation of the Committee, the Tianjin Special Winter Relief Organizational Regulations 天津特别市冬振委员会组织间章, the branch established 19 food distribution offices in the winter of 1938. The Red Swastika and the Salvation Army were named the local agencies and were responsible for food distribution. In 1940, the municipal government organized 17 food distribution offices which provided food for 40,000 poor people.⁷⁶⁹

⁷⁶⁷ 世界红卍字会天津主会临时救济总报告, 1938. World Red Swastika Society Tianjin Central Office, Report About Temporary Relief Measures of the World Red Swastika Society Tianjin Central Office, 29 July 1937 to 28 February 1938.

⁷⁶⁸ 鲁省卍字会旬, Periodical Publication of the Shandong Swastika Society (1940), 40.

⁷⁶⁹ 万新平, 近代天津的慈善与社会救济(天津, 2000), 86. Wan Xinping, *Tianjin's Modern Charity and Social*

The impact of the Japanese on the city was especially obvious in the implementation of public health measures. Tianjin was a city with long tradition of foreign influence on public health. Like in Shanghai, Japan and other foreign colonial powers had occupied parts of the city and had implemented measures to improve health conditions. Japan's occupation accelerated the implementation of rational and scientific approaches to public health. Rogaski suggests that in Tianjin, the Japanese occupation resulted in a "culmination of hygienic modernity" when municipal agencies began to implement large-scale vaccination campaigns and started to change the public health institutions.⁷⁷⁰ For instance, in 1939, because of the outbreak of cholera after flooding in many regions, the new municipal government established eleven public health units 卫生班 and special camps for the infected. The Public health units treated 62,800 refugees and demonstrated specialized knowledge of the effectiveness of quarantining camps and offices and creating epidemic extinction offices and germ examination laboratories 细菌所. These measures were an efficient way of containing the epidemic.⁷⁷¹

The scientific approach to Chinese society used by the Japanese also influenced also ideas about philanthropy. As Liang demonstrates in his examination of the situation of secret societies in Shandong, the Japanese occupation imposed strict regulations on all social groups and altered their agendas.⁷⁷² This modification did not suppress local traditions because of the overall objective to justify Japanese colonialism. Japanese propaganda highlighted shared cultural roots between both countries, for example, the Kingly Way (Wang Dao) ideology based on the notions of Confucianism. At the same time, Japanese colonialism sought to transform traditions which eluded the scientific approach. At the same time, private investment in philanthropy was encouraged because it supplemented the scarce resources of the colonial authorities.

In Tianjin, a city with a long tradition of private investment in philanthropy, Japanese influence led to the emergence of new philanthropic societies which subscribed to the traditions of the Daoyuan. Yet the emergence of the World Yellow Swastika Society 世界黄字会, for example, meant a dilution of Daoyuan's spiritual practices. In 1940, Ting Lanxie 亭兰燮, a

⁷⁷⁰ *Relief* (Tianjin, 2000), 86;
Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-port China* (Berkeley, 2004), 254.

⁷⁷¹ Wan, 近代天津的慈善与社会救济, 111.

⁷⁷² 梁家贵, 抗战时期山东秘密社会研究 (贵州, 2004), 174. Liang Jiagui, *Research on the Wartime Situation of Secret Societies in Shandong* (Guizhou, 2004), 168.

local merchant, established the World Yellow Swastika. What is interesting about the World Yellow Swastika's mission was its reference to the Daoyuan. The mission subscribed to religious syncretism of the Daoyuan called 道院研究 in its wartime statutes. The founder argued that that charitable activities were part of Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam. Ting adhered to the Daoyuan and honored its long tradition. The World Yellow Swastika adapted the Daoyuan's structure and established departments and offices which were in charge of different tasks like long-term assistance, emergency measures, administration, public affairs, and administration.

At the same time, the World Yellow Swastika distinguished itself from the spirituality of the Daoyuan. Self-cultivation and spiritual practices like communication with ancestors were excluded from the agenda. Nevertheless, the Yellow Swastika honored the Daoyuan as one of China's largest religious groups. After the suppression of the Daoyuan during the Nanjing Decade this revitalization demonstrated that the context of the Japanese occupation allowed the restoration of the Daoyuan.

The creation of the World Yellow Swastika served to establish and strengthen networks among local elites. Ting was joined by a board of 24 members. The majority of them were philanthropists from Tianjin, but some were from Beijing. These men were 40 to 60 years old and worked in influential positions. Most of them were directors responsible for local and regional companies. The exclusive participation of merchants as board members reveals that it was understood that their inclusion would improve networking and stabilize the economic relationships between wealthy people. Research on the situation of entrepreneurs in occupied regions by Coble, for example, emphasizes the strong impact of Japanese interests on the economy. Chinese merchants could profit from collaboration, but the benefit was limited because the Japanese had control over economic activities.⁷⁷³ The Chinese were able to regain their influence and property only to a limited extent. Furthermore, the World Yellow Swastika's relatively high membership fees (12 yuan for a regular member and 48 yuan for special members) is evidence of the exclusive nature of this organization. Moreover, the relatively high membership fees show that this network relied on the allocation of income from its members and was probably not supported financially by the municipal government.⁷⁷⁴ Examination of the

⁷⁷³ Coble, *Chinese Capitalist in Japan's New Order*, 74.

⁷⁷⁴ Coble, *Chinese Capitalist in Japan's New Order*, 70.

situation of other philanthropic institution reveals that Japanese subsidies for philanthropy and care were extremely low. During the occupation, philanthropic institutions relied mainly on private donations or on income from commercial activities.⁷⁷⁵

In Jinan, the Japanese occupation led to similar private reinvestment in charity. Jinan and Shandong provinces were places where the Red Swastika participated more actively in the dissemination of pro-Japanese propaganda than in Tianjin. Even before 1937, the Swastika was very popular in Jinan because it was the spiritual center of the Daoyuan.⁷⁷⁶ The registration of several branches suggests that the members sought to continue the work of the local branches. Many commanders of the branches became involved in the collaboration regime. The provincial government in Shandong was led by Tang Yangdu 唐仰杜, the head of the Jinan branch. Other members like Zhang Xingwu 张星五 were part of the municipal government. Four branches registered at the new municipal government in different districts of the city. In November 1937, the 济南世界红卍字会 registered.⁷⁷⁷ This branch was led by Zhang Qingwu 张星五 who became the head of the municipal government. The leaders of the Licheng district of Jinan, Deng Guangqi 邓光棋, and Ma Xiangyu 妈向谕, participated in the Peace Maintenance Committee.⁷⁷⁸ Liang elaborates that Jinan also had a branch called Lishan 济南世界红卍字会 历山分会 that was led by Zhang Siwei 张思伟.⁷⁷⁹

Worthy of notice is that a women's branch, the Jinan Women's Red Swastika 济南妇女世界红卍字会 also registered and was chaired by Zhang Xuancheng 张宣承.⁷⁸⁰ The Japanese efforts to mobilize the population to accept its rule propelled the inclusion of women in the modernized charitable part of the organization. The previously-mentioned Mouping branch, whose delegates campaigned for the establishment of a Women's Red Swastika in Shanghai in 1934, also continued its work.⁷⁸¹

The emergence of new Red Swastika branches reflected encouragement of private

⁷⁷⁵ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 149.

⁷⁷⁶ 济南分会, The Jinan Branch, Shandong Provincial Archives, J162-01-0009-004 (1938).

⁷⁷⁷ 济南分会, 给日本领事馆风宗义的济南道院附属机关情况, The Jinan Branch. Information About Subsidies for the Jinan Daoyuan, Shandong provincial Archives J162-01-0009-004, 1937.

⁷⁷⁸ 历城县治安维持会, 为报告本会与Licheng Peace Maintenance Committee, Shandong Provincial Archives J162-01-0009-002.

⁷⁷⁹ Liang, 抗战时期山东秘密社会研究, 175.

⁷⁸⁰ 世界妇女红字会济南分会 The Jinan Women's Red Swastika Society, 1940, Shandong Provincial Archives, J162-01-004-005 济南市市政府令.

⁷⁸¹ 牟平分会, 为牟平道院牟平分会里案事与牟平县府济南道院的来往文件, Mouping Branch. June 1937, Shandong Provincial Archives, J162-01-0014-014.

investment in philanthropy by the Japanese. The Japanese occupation encouraged the revitalization of traditional projects, which were seen as a path to creating a new moral order and to strengthen loyalty to Japan. New cultural and social agencies such as the Great People's Association 大民会 (Damin Hui), and the New People's Association 新民会 (Xinmin Hui) were established to shape public opinion through the supervision of philanthropy, education, and religion.⁷⁸² In Jinan, the provincial authorities established the North China Education Society 华北社会协进会 to disseminate pro-Japanese propaganda in schools.⁷⁸³ The Association was supervised by a Committee from the Ministry of Education to which it had to report regularly regarding its activities and the situation of the educational programs. The Committee consisted of twelve members who were recruited from central cultural institutions in north China such as the director of the Beijing Municipal Library Li Wenqi 李文琦, the director of the Third Education Unit of Beijing, Song Chunchao 宋春韶, and the director of the Tianjin Municipal New People's Association, Dong Yiru 董亦儒. Its objective was to create new an Asian culture through education.⁷⁸⁴

In Shandong, and especially in Jinan, where the Red Swastika's origins were, the organization was particularly involved in the dissemination of pro-Japanese propaganda. In addition, in 1943, the Jinan branch issued regulations for the new municipal government for the revitalization of religious teaching and pro-Japanese propaganda showing its leading position among religious societies.⁷⁸⁵ While the Red Swastika in Jinan became a channel through which Japanese military authorities sought to control the population, the progress of the network shows that its members were furnished with the power to establish a new network called the Shandong World Red Swastika All Branches United Network, which united all branches in the province.⁷⁸⁶

The new provincial network introduced its mission in a new journal that reported on the Society's activities in the province. Circulated at a time when popular support for Japanese

⁷⁸² About the Special Municipal Relief Committee in Tianjin, Tianjin Municipal Archives, J0001-3-009232-001 关于天津特别市水灾救济委员会改称华北就座委员会天津分会的通告.

⁷⁸³ 华北社会协进会, North China Education Society, Shandong Provincial Archive, J101-09-1209-009 1940.07.19

⁷⁸⁴ 华北慈善团体联合救济总, Huabei Relief Association Tianjin Municipal Archive J0001-2-000300-008.

⁷⁸⁵ 济南市公署为下达刷新宗教令济南分会的行Order for Religious Organizations in Jinan, Shandong Provincial Archives, J162-01-0011-014, 03.051943

⁷⁸⁶ 鲁省卍字会旬刊 (1940), Periodical Publication of the Shandong Swastika Society (1940), Staatsbibliothek Berlin, 5B3640210 21, 2.

authority needed to be strengthened, the articles in the journal demonstrated how the Red Swastika had adjusted to the new political context.⁷⁸⁷ Publishing introductory essays that were religious and charitable in nature, the editors sought to downplay the political involvement of their organization in the collaboration regime. For instance, in defending the network's use of the swastika symbol, the editors argued that the red swastika symbol was internationally recognized and different from the contemporary German flag on which the black swastika appeared making plain that the contemporary use of the swastika in Germany was not the same as their use 近来所见之德国旗上黑色者有别。⁷⁸⁸ Moreover, their introduction highlighted the Society's principles such as political noninterference and neutrality. Tellingly, these efforts sought to underline a political nature of their mission despite the involvement of branch leaders in the collaboration regime. The journal also discussed the importance of religious activities to attract new members. Ling Yong 灵泳, suggested that the members should strengthen the dissemination of religion among those who received their help. He urged all Red Swastika schools, hospitals, working homes, and orphanages to enhance their proselytization. To emphasize the entanglement of its charitable services and promulgation, the author closed with the statement "The implementation of relief work must be the reason for promulgation, and promulgation must result from the implementation relief work."⁷⁸⁹ Backed by the new rulers, the Society might have engaged more than before in proselytization and experienced an increase of new members.

However, because of the Japanese influence, the Red Swastika redefined its religious teaching based on a belief in a Supreme Being as the spirit as the origin of all life while excluding the use of spirit writing. For example, Miao Cheng 妙承 wrote an introduction about the spirit of the Supreme Being, titled "The Development of the Static and Dynamic Spiritual Elements of the Spirit" in which he introduces the essence of the religion. Other articles introduce self-cultivation and meditation. Kang Li 康历 published an introduction about the meditation practices of the Daoyuan, and in his article, Mo Li 默历 the inclusion of the Daoyuan in the research on religion. The articles in the journal demonstrate the Society's efforts to highlight practices like self-cultivation and meditation. Thus, the essence of the Daoyuan

⁷⁸⁷ Periodical Publication of the Shandong Swastika Society 鲁省卍字会旬刊, 5.

⁷⁸⁸ Periodical Publication of the Shandong Swastika Society 鲁省卍字会旬刊, 6.

⁷⁸⁹ Periodical Publication of the Shandong Swastika Society 鲁省卍字会旬刊, 8.

religion was maintained, but the overall context of Japan's colonialism suggests that practices like spirit writing were officially excluded from the Red Swastika's practices.⁷⁹⁰ Thus, the new network presented its mission as adhering to the traditions but without adherence to the original practices.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter assessed the activities of the Red Swastika as well as its inclusion into different state-building programs during the war. Firstly, implementation of the emergency project, initiated in 1935, during the Battle of Shanghai at the end of 1937 demonstrates that members of the Society mobilized their resources to help the population. These activities originated with the creation of anti-Japanese resistance and its director Xiong was affiliated with the Chinese government. Although the project was not governmentally sponsored, Xiong's connections and support by Wang Zhengting in Hong Kong show that the project was welcomed by the central government. At the same time, the implementation of assistance required that political allegiance be downplayed in some cases. In Zhejiang and Jiangsu, workers on the project were introduced by Christian supporters to Japanese as independent from the Chinese government.

Secondly, the examination of this project shows that the members from Shanghai not only supplied the population with aid measures, but used this experience to advance their own ideas about humanitarian aid. The two training classes, one for women and the general training class, show that members responsible for this work strove to improve their approach. Leaders, like Mao, were graduates from educational studies and sociology. For Mao, a using a sociological approach to deal with refugees and their situation was consistent with the overall objective of providing humanitarian aid. The exigency of wartime allowed for a different professionalization of humanitarian aid to emerge. Although women were the minority, the efforts of Mao and of Zhou are evidence that the Society encouraged women's participation in philanthropy. Although it is true that compared to the number of men involved in the management of camps, burials, and relocation of refugees, the presence of women was low, this

⁷⁹⁰ Periodical Publication of the Shandong Swastika Society 鲁省卍字会旬刊, 25.

chapter suggests that in wartime, the Red Swastika offered educated women the opportunity to leave traditional gender roles.

Thirdly, certain aspects of the Society were modernized during the wartime, and some of the traditions were also remodeled. The situation of the Red Swastika in occupied zones shows how local philanthropists adhered to the traditions of the redemptive society. The World Yellow Swastika honored the Daoyuan's achievements and sought to build on them. However, while some examples show that traditional rituals persisted, as shown by Chen, the overall trend points to a decline of spirit writing because of its suppression by the modernizing colonial project by Japan. In Jinan, a similar trend occurred and showed that, once again, the Society remodeled its agenda and secured its survival.

Chapter Eight

The Red Swastika Society and the Chinese Red Cross in the Post-war Period, 1945-1949

8.1 Introduction

An examination of both humanitarian projects during the post-war period reveals that because of their different wartime experiences, they were integrated differently in the new Chinese welfare system when the war ended in August 1945. The end of the war allowed the Nationalist government to make its long-awaited goals a reality. For example, unequal treaties

that were a sign of colonial influence were abolished. Taiwan became reintegrated into the country. Furthermore, China received a seat at the United Nations, and after Japan's surrender, the Nationalist government began to restore its power over the whole country.⁷⁹¹

However, the process of restoration was difficult because of the humanitarian crisis and political instability. The humanitarian crisis was provoked by the relocation of millions of refugees from Western provinces of the country to the previously occupied East coast. The China Department of the United Nation's Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (CNRRA) took on the majority of the responsibility for the provision of aid for the refugees. By the end of 1945, the United States had contributed 500 million dollars to the CNRRA, which was mainly used to help areas under the Nationalist government's influence. The high number of refugees (more than 40 million) who lost property work, and social networks left millions of Chinese people disappointed about the government and the CNRRA's inability to provide for them or solve problems like unemployment.⁷⁹² Odd Arne Westad demonstrates that growing rural poverty, collaboration, and the weakening of the Nationalist government's institutions during the war were the conditions under which Nationalist government sought to establish its rule.⁷⁹³

In addition, the post-wartime period was a time during which the Nationalist government struggled to restore its rule over the whole territory because the Communist Party had been empowered. International factors such as the conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States intensified the conflict between the Nationalists and the Communists. On the one hand, the Japanese military authorities surrendered troops and weapons on 15 August 1945 to the Nationalist government under the guidance from the United States. This helped the Nationalists return to their previous center of power in the Beijing-Tianjin territory and turned the captured Japanese equipment over to the Chinese government. On the other hand, in North China, the Japanese surrendered to the Soviet Union, which had occupied Japanese territories in Manchukuo, Inner Mongolia, and northern Korea during its military operations in August 1945 after Japan's defeat. The Soviet invasion of Northeast China and the American support for the Nationalists during the government's return to its previous centres of power was the background against which the rivalry between both Chinese parties grew. Stalin was sympathetic to the Communists, but not convinced that the Communists would win the conflict. However, he was

⁷⁹¹ Lu, "A Whole Nation Walking," 324.

⁷⁹² Lu, "A Whole Nation Walking," 324.

⁷⁹³ Odd Arne Westad, *Decisive Encounters. The Chinese Civil War, 1946-1950*, (Stanford, 2003), 7.

also biased against the Nationalist government due to its alliance with the United States. In March 1946, the sudden retreat of the Soviet Union from Southern Manchuria, which allowed the Communists to occupy the territory, provoked the outbreak of the Civil War. The Communists counterattacked Nationalist aggression and Changchun, the previous capital of Manchukuo, fell to the Communists.

Initially, the Nationalist armies won their advances into the Communist Central Plains Area in North China in June 1946, but ultimately the Nationalists were defeated and they retreated to Taiwan in 1949. By 1946, the Nationalists had captured 165 cities and towns, and in March 1947 they seized Yan'an, the former Communist base yet further attacks on Communist territories in central provinces were unsuccessful. On 21 January 1949, Li Songren 李宗仁 replaced Chiang Kai-shek as President of China. Li, a military commander of the Nationalist armies during the Northern Expedition and during the Sino-Japanese War, had been vice-president of the republic since 1948 and remained president until the reappointment of Chiang as president on 1 March 1950. Despite Li's peace negotiations with the Communists in 1949, fights between armies of both parties continued. Nanjing, the previous and re-established capital, was captured by the Communists on 23 April. This forced the Nationalists to withdraw to South China and subsequently to Taiwan and on 1 October 1949, Mao Zedong and the Communist Party became the leaders of the country.

Historians suggest that the defeat of the Nationalists was not only the consequence of failed military maneuvers, but also the result of a failure to mobilize popular support. Westad suggests that the outcome of the post-war conflict between the Nationalists and the Communists was unpredictable in 1945 due to the Nationalist government's advantages, advantages the government, such as international recognition and American financial support.⁷⁹⁴ Joseph Yick argues that the Nationalists failed to mobilize the population effectively and therefore lost crucial support of the population in urban areas.⁷⁹⁵ The relationship between younger generations and those who held power were especially tense because the government could not offer many prospects, but needed the support of the youth.⁷⁹⁶ The Communists, however, were

⁷⁹⁴ Westad, *Decisive Encounters*, 7.

⁷⁹⁵ Joseph K. S. Yick, *Making Urban Revolution in China: The CCP-GMD Struggle for Beijing-Tianjin, 1945-1949*, (New York, 1995), 9.

⁷⁹⁶ Suzanne Pepper, *Civil War in China: The Political Struggle, 1945-1949* (New York, 1978), 385 "The issues that had aroused the greatest public criticism in 1945-1946 were: the Government's reluctance to punish collaborators; the venality and undisciplined behavior of its military and civilian personnel; the failure to implement sound economic and financial measures for the immediate take-over period; and the generally

able to develop strategies to mobilize the population effectively. In urban centers like Beijing and Tianjin, students and their activities became a battlefield of mobilization by the Communists and Nationalists. Yick proposes that although the support of students for the Communists was a corollary to the general political campaigns, it was one crucial aspect of the Communists' victory.⁷⁹⁷ Social tensions, the opposition of students and intellectuals to the deficiencies of the Nationalist rule, and the competing mobilization strategies by both parties complicated the restoration of the regime. In addition, the Nationalists relied on elites in previously occupied territories although they also needed to punish collaborators. The weak and inconsistent conviction of collaborators allowed local elites, who had come to power under the Japanese regime, to remain in power after 1945. The Nationalists were unable to replace them, especially in less urban regions.⁷⁹⁸

The conditions of the Red Swastika Society and the Red Cross were complicated by these social and political problems. For the Red Swastika Society, the end of the Japanese occupation and the subsequent return of the Nationalist government to previously occupied regions meant that local branches had to register with agencies of the Nationalist government, like municipal governments. On the one hand, this showed that branches continued their charitable activities: the Red Swastika became one of the agencies with which the government cooperated during seasonal campaigns such as the government-led campaign for winter support in 1946 in the capital, Nanjing.⁷⁹⁹ On the other hand, the reintegration of the Red Swastika into governmental welfare services was overshadowed by the previous collaboration.

Because of its close affiliation with the Nationalist government, the Red Cross was not integrated in the same way as the Red Swastika. The Red Cross's post-war activities are often described as the period of demobilization 复原时期. During this period, the Red Cross transformed its services from wartime work for soldiers to work for civilians by creating new social groups for youth and children. This chapter shows that the Red Cross not only trained youth and children in health issues, but that the agency developed a broader approach to youth and children's wellbeing. In addition, the Red Cross established specialized programs for women and encouraged them to take on the responsibility of positions of leadership at the

condescending posture adopted by those returning from the interior toward their compatriots who had remained in Japanese-occupied territory.”

⁷⁹⁷ Yick, *Making Urban Revolution in China*, 10.

⁷⁹⁸ Westad, *Decisive Encounters*, 79.

⁷⁹⁹ Nanjing Municipal Archives, 冬令救济实施办法, Winter Relief Measures (1946), 10030031239(00)0009.

organization. While these efforts were aligned with the government's objectives, their outcome remained limited due to the severe political and social problems of the Civil War period. Thus, while the Red Cross was able to restore its previous network and was even able to include branches from previously occupied territories, the realization of its post-war agenda did not lead to the same growth of its network like before the war.

8.2 *The Red Swastika's Restoration*

Even during wartime, the term collaborator, *hanjian* 汉奸 in Chinese, was used by the government to declare cooperation with Japanese as immoral and even criminal. Shortly after the outbreak of the war on 23 August 1937, the government passed the "Regulations on Handling Hanjian Cases," which defined collaborators as criminals.⁸⁰⁰ In 1945 an updated version of the regulations replaced the earlier version and became the legal basis for the campaigns against collaborators during the post-war period. Various categories such as "economic collaborators," "cultural collaborators," "religious collaborators," and "female collaborators" were established after 1945 and each category was associated with different degrees of punishment. The regulations stipulated that people who had possessed positions in civil administration and who had contributed to the dissemination of pro-Japanese propaganda, for instance in the "New Citizens Association" (Xinminhui) were guilty and needed to be sentenced.⁸⁰¹ However, many collaborators were important local elites on whom the Nationalist government relied.⁸⁰²

The post-war difficulties forced the government to mitigate its punishment of collaborators. On the one hand, collaborators such as members of the collaboration regime in Nanjing were arrested and executed. From November 1944 to October 1947, the legislature conducted 45, 679 cases and prosecuted 30, 185 people; 369 of the verdicts led to executions; 979 to life imprisonment; and 13,570 to imprisonment for various periods of time.⁸⁰³ In addition, although many collaborators received a less severe punishment, in most cases collaboration restricted careers as stipulated in the "Restrictions on Candidacy and Qualification of Former Staff in

⁸⁰⁰ Yun Xia, "Traitors to the Chinese race (Hanjian): Political and Cultural Campaigns against Collaborators During the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945," (PhD. diss., Oregon, 2010), 35.

⁸⁰¹ Yun, "Traitors," 47.

⁸⁰² Yun, "Traitors," 142.

⁸⁰³ Yun, "Traitors," 292.

Puppet Governments and Their Affiliated Organizations”, issued on 15 August 1946.⁸⁰⁴

However, local governmental offices, which were in charge of the punishment of collaborators, often issued unstandardized verdicts for local elites because of the government’s dependence on them.⁸⁰⁵

This inconsistent approach to collaboration also influenced the way in which the Red Swastika was treated. For example, while Red Swastika members in high positions who had collaborated were accused, wartime activities also served as evidence of the massacre of Chinese people by the Japanese. Starting in November 1945, the court in Nanjing 首都法院 conducted interrogations about the work of philanthropic agencies during the Nanjing massacre and the following occupation. These interrogations and records served to verify the scale of the Nanjing Massacre. On 30 November 1945, for example, the court recorded the testimony of locals who observed how the local Red Swastika branch was commanded to bury 60,000 locals who had been killed.⁸⁰⁶ Furthermore, on 14 January 1946, witnesses of the massacre were asked by the court in Nanjing to verify the authenticity of 21 photographs called *Photo Collection of Enemy Offenses* 敌人罪行照片集, which documented the Red Swastika’s burial activities. While some witnesses testified to the humanitarian commitment of Red Swastika activists, other witnesses accused the workers of working on behalf of the of Japanese. The situation of the workers was recognized as a dilemma by members of the court because the Japanese soldiers forced them to conduct these activities. The court convicted Red Swastika workers as guilty for not having opposed Japanese orders.⁸⁰⁷ However, at the same time, the court recognized the usefulness of their records in detecting the massacre and the number of those killed.⁸⁰⁸

As already shown in chapter seven, the experiences of Red Swastika workers during the Nanjing Massacre differed. For example, accounts show that the Red Swastika workers helped Chinese people escape from being killed. Accounts of these rescue activities prompted debates

⁸⁰⁴ Yun, “Traitors,” 22.

⁸⁰⁵ Yun, “Traitors,” 79.

⁸⁰⁶ 首都地方法院与各方代表会有管慈善团体埋尸记录的内容节录, 南京大屠杀史资料5, 遇难者的尸体掩埋, 孙宅巍 (南京, 2006), 24. “Records of Burials by Philanthropic Organisations presented to the Capital Districts Prosecutors’ Office,” in *Historical Materials about the Nanjing Massacre*, ed. Sun Zhaiwei (Nanjing, 2006), 24.

⁸⁰⁷ 首都地方法院与各方代表会有管慈善团体埋尸记录的内容节录, 25.

⁸⁰⁸ 首都地方法院检察处调查敌人罪行报告书中有关慈善团体掩埋尸体的内容节录, 南京大屠杀史资料5, 遇难者的尸体掩埋, 孙宅巍 (南京, 2006), 27. “The Capital District Prosecutors Office Investigative Report About the Offenses of Enemies Against Philanthropic Organizations,” *Historical Materials about the Nanjing Massacre*, ed. Sun Zhaiwei (Nanjing, 2006), 27.

about Japan's recognition of its war crimes.⁸⁰⁹ For example, the Japanese reporter 本多胜一 Katsuichi Honda, who accompanied the Japanese army during the occupation of the Eastern parts, interviewed witnesses and presented their experiences to the Japanese public. Honda became famous for his book *Travels Through China* 中国の旅 in which he describes the atrocities committed by the Japanese army. Honda's publications are still contested in Japan today. Not only did Honda force the Japanese public to remember the massacres committed by the Japanese army, but he was also one of the main promoters of the Nanking 100-Man Killing Contest, a very contested, and according to Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, an invented and unprovable shooting contest between Japanese soldiers, which Honda validated in 1971.⁸¹⁰ Despite the controversy, historians recognize his work as an important contribution to the debates about Japan's war crimes.⁸¹¹

Honda interviewed Zhao Shifa 赵世发, for instance a survivor of the Nanjing Massacre, who was saved by the Red Swastika. Zhao joined the Red Swastika at the moment of the invasion and was allowed to hide him

There was a Red Swastika building on the street and I saw how everybody was going out of the building because Japanese soldiers came down the street and forced all the people to queue in front of the houses. Inhabitants and also Chinese uniformed soldiers were standing and being "greeted" by the Japanese army. On the next day, more soldiers came and selected young men who they suspected to be soldiers. I was selected. On the way to the river I was able to disappear from the line and hide in the small hutongs. I found the place of the Red Swastika, climbed through the window and listened to the shootings outside. Hearing this, I did not dare leave the house. When the Red Swastika workers came back they found me and allowed me to join their team. On the second day, I began to dig graves with the other workers. Suddenly, soldiers came and shouted to stop our work. We received the order to change our clothes and dress like Japanese workers. In the next days, we were in charge of dispatching food throughout the city.

⁸⁰⁹ 日本记者本多胜一关于赵世发老人参加红字会收掩埋尸体的报道节, 南京大屠杀史资料5, 遇难者的尸体掩埋, 孙宅巍(南京, 2006), 111. "The Account of the Japanese Journalist Honda about Zhao Shifa's Joining of the Red Swastika Society to Bury Dead," in *Historical Materials about the Nanjing Massacre*, ed. Sun Zhaiwei (Nanjing, 2006), 111.

⁸¹⁰ Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, "The Nanking 100-Man Killing Contest Debate: War Guilt amid Fabricated Illusions, 1971-75," in *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 26, no. 2 (Summer, 2000): 314.

⁸¹¹ Wakabayashi, "The Nanking 100-Man Killing Contest Debate," 340.

Zhou was released from this work and could hide shortly after in the Nanjing Safe Zone where he survived the war.

Documentation of the Red Swastika's role during the Nanjing Massacre was picked up in China in the 1980s when debates about the presentation of Japan's war crimes in Japanese schoolbooks provoked anti-Japanese sentiment among Chinese people. The debates in China led to the establishment of the Memorial Hall for Compatriots Killed in the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Forces of Aggression 侵华日军南京大屠杀遇难同胞纪念馆 in 1985.⁸¹³ In the At the Memorial Hall, the Red Swastika has its own exhibition wall on which pictures, documents, and objects that show its burial work. The exhibition leaves out the issue of collaboration and instead focuses on the humanitarian side of the Red Swastika's work instead.

Immediately after the war, the role of the Red Swastika was also debated at international tribunals such as at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East 远东国际军事法庭审, or the Tokyo Trials, which were held on 29 April 1946 to convict Japanese war criminals. At this tribunal, the vice chairman of the Nanjing branch, Xu Chuanyin 许传音 (1884 -1972), stated the objectives of the Nanjing Red Swastika's burial work during the Nanjing Massacre and the circumstances under which they were conducted. According to his report, the Japanese left no choice for the Red Swastika workers and forced them to bury dead bodies. Xu stated that during the work documentation was difficult because of the severe control by Japanese authorities.⁸¹⁴

The recognition of its humanitarian mission and the need to provide aid to the population facilitated the re-integration of the Red Swastika into governmental welfare services after 1945. Documents from the Nanjing Municipal Archives show that branches in Jiangsu, especially those close to the capital Nanjing, had already been registered by the Nationalists at the end of 1945. For instance, the Jiangning 江宁 branch in Jiangsu reported its facilities in

⁸¹² 日本记者本多胜一关于赵世发老人参加红字会收掩埋尸体的报道节, 南京大屠杀史资料5, 遇难者的尸体掩埋, 孙宅巍 (南京, 2006), 111. "The Account of the Japanese Journalist Honda about Zhao Shifa's Joining of the Red Swastika Society to Bury Dead," in *Historical Materials about the Nanjing Massacre*, ed. Sun Zhaiwei (Nanjing, 2006), 113.

⁸¹³ Qian Fengqi, "Let the Dead be Remembered: The Nanjing Massacre Memorial," in *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with Difficult Heritage*, ed. W. Logans (New York, 2009), 18.

⁸¹⁴ 许传音, 在远东国际军事法庭审判中关于红卍字会埋尸陈述节录, 南京大屠杀史资料5, 遇难者的尸体掩埋, 孙宅巍 (南京, 2006), 83. "Report of Xu Chuanyin at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East about the Burial Activities of the Red Swastika," in *Historical Materials about the Nanjing Massacre*, ed. Sun Zhaiwei (Nanjing, 2006), 83.

1945. At that moment, the branch had a medical office which offered Western medicine and Chinese medicine, a loan office, a location for food distribution, and a coffin office.⁸¹⁵ Furthermore, the registration process also consisted of the documentation of property. In November 1945, the Red Swastika South East United Branches Department set up a record of the moveable and unmovable (estate) property of 33 branches, which was registered as part of its new post-war network. At that point the network reached beyond the former regional borders and included branches from other provinces. The Nanjing branch owned 49 buildings in the city; Hefei owned one public building and 32 fields田租; Shaoxing 绍兴 listed one rice field; Caotang 曹塘 recorded property worth of 31,000 yuan, one field, storage, and 31 buildings; Anhui's Sanhe 三河 listed an unspecified amount of food and financial resources, three fields, and five buildings; the Huangqiao branch 黄桥分会 listed a 400,000 yuan, and 40 buildings; the Fuyang branch 阜阳分会 possessed ten million yuan, and 200 buildings; the Suzhou branch 苏州分会 recorded public debts 公债; the Shouxian branch 寿县分会 possessed 200,000 yuan; the Taixing branch 泰兴分会 listed an estate with 36 buildings and fields; the Xinpu branch 新浦分会 possessed 20 buildings; the Xuancheng branch 宣城分会 listed one building; the Chang Yangsha branch 常阳沙分会 possessed 90 fields and 70 buildings; the Bangbu Special branch 蚌埠特会 listed one main building, a school, an orphanage, and a women's branch; the Wuwei Special branch 无为特会 listed five buildings and fields; the Luzhuang branch 卢庄分会 listed one field; the Wuwei Taiping branch 无为太平乡支会 owned one building. The report was less specific about the property of branches in occupied territories. It indicates that in 1945, the branches were dissolved or their property distributed to public agencies. For instance, Lihuang Liubo branch 立煌流波支会, founded in 1942, had no property records. Other documents stated that the 33 branches of the South East United Branches Department possessed 78 long-term institutions which included 21 medical offices, 13 schools, 12 loan offices, seven hospitals, seven orphanages, six factories, five coffin offices, and one home for the disabled.⁸¹⁶

In 1946, the Nanjing Red Swastika was integrated into the new municipal public health office. According to the documentation of this process, the branch and the municipal public health department implemented public health measures in cooperation. On 4 May 1946, the

⁸¹⁵ 世界红卍字会江宁会概况节录, 南京大屠杀史资料5, 遇难者的尸体掩埋, 孙宅巍 (南京, 2006), "Report of the World Red Swastika Jiangnin Branch," in *Historical Materials about the Nanjing Massacre*, ed. Sun Zhaiwei (Nanjing, 2006), 82.

⁸¹⁶ Gao, 红卍字会及其社会救助事业研究, 103.

branch was registered by the municipal authorities, was chaired by Zhang Menwen 张梦文 and had 36 workers. The cooperation was confirmed on 21 May 1946 by the director of the municipal public health bureau, Wang Zuyang 王祖祥 and Zhang. For instance, the Red Swastika had a medical office that was supplied by the public health bureau and that used Western medicine. This office was subordinate to the seventh bureau of the public health department and was regularly supervised by the director of the seventh office.⁸¹⁷ This supervision was based on control of the Red Swastika's medical personnel, whose training needed to be approved by the public health bureau. For example, in 1947 the municipal authorities reported the appointment of a nurse.⁸¹⁸

In 1947, the municipal office of public affairs 社会局 registered the Nanjing branch once again. The Red Swastika in Nanjing was led by an elder generation of educated elites, who held positions in governmental institutions. Nevertheless, the document also shows that a younger generation of female members was employed at the branch. The report lists 38 male members between 30 and 60 years of age who came mainly from Nanjing and six female members. Ma Dengying 马登瀛 from Shandong, 61 years old in 1947 and a graduate of a Japanese university, was declared chairman. The majority of them had graduated from university, two were listed as peasants, and two as members of the previous municipal government. Twenty male members were listed as administrative personnel and most of them were also locals who had graduated from universities. A further 12 were listed as medical personnel, among whom were three nurses between 20 and 30 years of age who worked in the branch hospital, and three women, who worked as teachers.⁸¹⁹

Worthy of note is that the branch had a school for poor children whose registration shows that the school employed workers who had already worked for the Red Swastika in Nanjing or in other parts of the country and new personnel, who joined the school after 1945 and who had worked at other educational institutions prior to 1947. Among those who had already worked for the organization was Bo Guoqing 博过青 who was 61 years old and from

⁸¹⁷ Nanjing Municipal Archives, 呈市长红十字会南京分会函请合办卫生机构指令 (1946), Order from the Mayor of Nanjing to the World Red Swastika Branch About the Cooperation in Public Health, 10030060186(00)0001.

⁸¹⁸ Nanjing Municipal Archives, 关于世界红十字会市分会查报表与社会局来往文件 (1947), Report About the Situation of the Local Red Swastika Office, 1002003115(00)0008.

⁸¹⁹ Nanjing Municipal Archives, 关于世界红十字会市分会查报表与社会局来往文件 (1947), Report About the Situation of the Local Red Swastika Office, W1002003115(00)0008.

Nanjing. Bo was listed as member of the World Red Swastika China Central Office and was acquitted from a charge of collaboration 判放 after the war. Other workers were Chao Shixian 超是猷, 51, from Zhejiang, the former chairman of the World Red Swastika Nanjing branch and the director of an optical company 眼镜公, and Xu Shoucheng 徐守箴, 54, from Hubei province and a member of the standing committee of the Nanjing World Red Swastika. Among the employees who came from other institutions were Yu Dongyong 俞东永, 56, from Nanjing and previously the director of an English middle school in the city; Li Qingliang 李清凉 from Nanjing, a former professor at the National University 国立中央大学 and also member of the municipal office of social affairs; Wang Chengying 王城影, 57, from Nanjing and executive director of the municipal chamber of commerce 南京市商会; Shen Jiuxiang 沈九香, 46, from Nanjing and former editor at the national publishing press 中央社编辑; Zhang Jianwo, 67, from Nanjing and chairman of the Chinese Medicine Practitioners Society 中医师公会; Fu Youcai 富有才, 55, from Jiangxi and director of a leather factory; and Li Changdong 利长东, 50, from Shandong and a former university professor.⁸²⁰

Other branches also continued their activities such as the Boshan branch in Shandong, which was established in 1923. After 1945, the branch had a medical center and a school for children. It was chaired by Fu Fengyang 复丰样 until 1947 and from 1947 onward by the director of the local telegraph and telephone office, Ma Liping 马李平 whose Daoyuan name was Intelligence and Brightness 慧昭. The continuation of the Boshan branch activities attest to the importance of the Red Swastika's networking work during the post-war period. For example, the branch cooperated with other branches like the Qingdao branch in the province. Worthy of notice is that the documentation of the Boshan branch's activities include spirit writing as one of the rituals. According to the authors, Shi Xin 石鑫, San Yigao 三遗稿, and Jiang Youxin 蒋又新, the ritual was "superstitious", but as they propose, the ritual predicted the emergence of a new political order for the Chinese people during the ninth month of the year 1945.⁸²¹

The Red Swastika also continued its interactions with other networks and opened new institutions. In 1946, the Shanghai Red Swastika donated 100,000 yuan to the Subei Refugee Committee 苏北难民救济委员会 and sent clothes to the Ningbo Catholic Hospital 宁波天主

⁸²⁰ Nanjing Municipal Archives, 关于世界红十字会市分会查报表与社会局来往文件 (1947), Report About the Situation of the Local Red Swastika Office, W1002003115(00)0008.

⁸²¹ Shi, Jiang, 博山道院、红卍字会的创办与活动, 102.

教普济院。⁸²² In 1947, the Shanghai Red Swastika office opened a new poor institution, the Live Together Institution 合寿会, which was a combined space for poor children, adults, and the elderly. Gao suggests that this project built on earlier attempts, but could only be realized after the war. On 18 Mai 1947, the institution opened with a budget of 2,947 thousand yuan and a monetary gift of 13 thousand yuan.⁸²³ Despite extreme shortcomings due to wartime and occupation, statistics reveal that other Red Swastika branches remained an important provider of aid during the Civil War because they offered medical treatment to hundreds of patients.⁸²⁴

In 1948, Wang Zhengting, the former minister of foreign affairs and president of the Red Cross, became the director of the Red Swastika Society. The provincial governor of Shandong, Wang Yaowu 王耀武, a high-ranking general of the Nationalist Party, who successfully fought against both the Japanese Army and the Communists, became honorary director. At the same time, the Red Swastika published a new constitution in which it declared its mission as philanthropic and not religious. Once again, the group proved its importance for the Nationalist government and its resilience as its constitution reasserted its commitment to charitable work instead of religion. Nevertheless, despite this official commitment the Red Swastika was not able to ban religious activities among its members, as it had done in the past and thus it was labeled superstitious after the Communist takeover in 1949.

8.3 The Chinese Red Cross Society during the Civil War

As the national Red Cross was subordinate to the Nationalist government, its development differed from the post-war experience of the Red Swastika. Initially, when the war ended, the Red Cross sent regional units, which helped refugees to return to the East. In December 1945, it created 40 temporary regional units 区队 which cared for the relocation of refugees and soldiers to Nanjing, Hankou, and Shanghai. These temporary units existed until June 1946 and helped the population in Zhejiang and Jiangsu, but also in Sichuan. In June 1946, these groups were dissolved and reorganized into medical units in Shanghai, Nanjing, Beijing, Guangzhou, Hankou, and Changzhou.

⁸²² Gao, 红十字会及其社会救助事业研究, 81.

⁸²³ Gao, 红十字会及其社会救助事业研究, 143.

⁸²⁴ Gao, 红十字会及其社会救助事业研究, 107.

A new agenda had already been set up on 8 December 1945.⁸²⁵ The Red Cross's post-war activities were named demobilization 复原, a term that expressed the mission's turn from providing military medicine to providing social services for refugees, orphans, women, and youth.⁸²⁶ The imperative to develop new strategies of mass mobilization influenced the work of the organization. For example, the participation of women changed. For the first time in the history of the Chinese Red Cross, women were elected into leading positions and the special needs of women and mothers became one aspect of the new agenda. Furthermore, the establishment of a sub-organization for youth demonstrated that the Red Cross was understood as an agency responsible for educating the country's future generation of leaders. However, the implementation of the organization's agenda remained impeded by the social and political tensions.

The Central Committee relocated from Chongqing on 19 January 1946 to Nanjing and opened its office on Zhongshan Road 中山路 275号. The agency's return to Nanjing, the old and new center of power of the Nationalists, underpinned the Red Cross's close ties with the government. Chiang Kai-shek was reappointed honorary president. Other honorary presidents were Wang Zhengting and Kong Xiangxi 孔祥熙, premier of the republic from 1938 to 1940, member of the Nationalist Party, and one of China's wealthiest bankers with family ties to T. V. Soong 宋子文, the sibling of Mrs. Sun Yat-sen and Mrs. Chiang Kai-shek. Another honorary president was Wu Tiecheng 吴铁城, mayor of Shanghai, governor of Guangdong province, and foreign minister for the Nationalists in 1948. For the first time, Song Meiling 宋美龄, a woman and the wife of Chiang Kai-shek, appeared as member of the board of honorary presidents. The executive director became Jiang Menglin 蒋梦麟, whose professional background as president of Peking University and minister of education from 1929 to 1930 underpinned the Red Cross's emphasis on the involvement of youth and students. Furthermore, from 1945 to 1947, Jiang was general secretary of the Executive Yuan of the government. Thus, the Red Cross was represented and led by high-ranking members of the government.

The continuing presence of Du Yuesheng among the vice-directors reveals that the Red Cross linked to the government with influential elites. This relationship was complicated at times.

⁸²⁵ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 426.

⁸²⁶ Chi 红十字与近代中国, 431.

Du, who had been active in the leadership of the Red Cross since 1932, continued to campaign for the organization. For instance, in 1946 he wrote article for the Red Cross journal in which he praised the organization and highlighted its importance for China's future. In his article, entitled "Memories of the Red Cross Week" 红十字周忆, he suggested that voluntary support for the Red Cross, in the form of donations or active support, was a way to establish social stability.⁸²⁷ Y. C. Wang proposes that Du used his involvement in the Red Cross and in other state sanctioned agencies, for example banks, after the end of the war to maintain his influence given his deteriorating relationship with Chiang. Du's political influence gradually declined after 1945 because he faced severe allegations due to his involvement in the ongoing Opium trade.⁸²⁸ Wang proposes, "Though politically weak, he resumed a semblance of his normal way of life. In 1947, he was a delegate to the National Congress, a vice-president of the country's Red Cross, president of at least four trade associations, and a director of fifty to sixty enterprises. The trouble was that this impressive facade had no firm foundation. The tremendous prestige he still enjoyed probably accentuated his political difficulties."⁸²⁹

While Du continued to participate in economic networks and continued to invest in philanthropy to maintain his social and political influence, he could also oppose governmental actions. As Dillon argues, in view of the social and political instability after the end of the war, elites like Du became crucial, but dangerous partners for the government because they could distort governmental plans.⁸³⁰ While his conflicts with Chiang weakened his position, they also revealed that the government depended on elites like Du.⁸³¹ During the winter campaign in 1946, Du opposed the influence of Chiang's son, Chiang Wei-kuo, who led the secret police, and who had arrested his son, Du Weiping. Because of his son's imprisonment, Du refused to cooperate with the police and the political leadership. His opposition lasted until his son's release. The conflict showed that the cooperation between Chiang and the elites on whom he depended was fragile. When the project turned out to be a failure, Communists used the situation to emphasize the weakness of the government's welfare program.⁸³²

⁸²⁷ 杜月笙, 红十字会周忆, 红十字会杂志, No. 5 (1946), 3. Du Yuesheng "Memories of the Red Cross Week," in *Red Cross Journal*, No. 5, (1946), 3.

⁸²⁸ Y. C. Wang, "Tu Yueh-Sheng (1888-1951): A Tentative Political Biography," *The Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 26, no. 3 (May, 1967):450.

⁸²⁹ Wang, "Tu Yueh-Sheng," 451.

⁸³⁰ Dillon "Middlemen in the Chinese Welfare State,"33.

⁸³¹ Wang, "Tu Yueh-Sheng," 444.

⁸³² Dillon "Middlemen in the Chinese Welfare State," 37.

Not only did the post-war reorganization target leading members, but also branch members. Measures were taken to check the wartime activities of the members of the Red Cross. Members who proved that their wartime activities contributed to the anti-Japanese resistance were honored. The agency set up regulations for the reward of those who helped during wartime 中华民国红十字会奖励参加抗战有功人员暂行办法. For example, in 1946 the work of individuals such as Lou Yunhe 娄云鹤 was honored. He was the former chairman of the Red Cross branch in Zheng Ding 正定 township (Hebei). He mobilized volunteers during Japanese attacks and was killed during this assignment.⁸³³ In addition, those who had already worked for the organization for ten were rewarded with an additional sum of 5,000 yuan.

The Red Cross also sought to come to terms with those who had worked in occupied zones and those who had supported Communists during the war. Members and branch leaders who had continued their work supporting for the Japanese occupation forces were condemned as traitors and those who were trapped behind enemy lines 陷敌后 needed to prove that they had disobeyed the Japanese. Red Cross members who had helped Communists needed to ask for approval to continue their membership. While documentation of the post-war situation leave open to what extent pro-Communist Red Cross members could continue their membership, their support was acknowledged as a contribution to anti-Japanese resistance. Thus, in contrast to the suppression of pro-Communists supporters during the war, the post-war years showed that the Nationalist government allowed supporters of the United Front to remain their membership in the organization.⁸³⁴

The strained situation in which the government sought to re-establish its influence over all social agencies, was demonstrated by the constraints put on the Red Cross during the implementation of its demobilization agenda. The branch in Nanjing was one of the few branches that implemented new services. The Nanjing branch, located at the same place as the Central Committee, represented the new trends within the organization. For example, the branch was chaired by Shen Huilian 沈慧莲, a woman and the wife of the mayor of Nanjing. Shen had

⁸³³ 复原期间管理中华民国红十字会办法, 中国红十字杂志允言, 中国红十字会历史资料选编 (1904-1949), ed. 中国红十字会 (南京1993), 241. "The Approach to Management of the Chinese Red Cross during the Period of Demobilization," in *Selected Historical Materials of the Chinese Red Cross Society*, ed. Central Committee of the Chinese Red Cross Society (Nanjing, 1993), 241.

⁸³⁴ 复原期间管理中华民国红十字会办法, 中国红十字杂志允言, 中国红十字会历史资料选编 (1904-1949), ed. 中国红十字会 (南京1993), 245. "The Approach to Management of the Chinese Red Cross during the Period of Demobilization," in *Selected Historical Materials of the Chinese Red Cross Society*, ed. Central Committee of the Chinese Red Cross Society (Nanjing, 1993), 245.

graduated from the Guangdong South China Hospital and had held leading positions at medical institutions. The branch opened a social service center at the city lake in Nanjing, which organized activities like collective singing and physical exercise. These activities served to encourage the population to donate to the Red Cross. Furthermore, the Nanjing branch also conducted membership campaigns. The first campaign began in September 1946 and resulted in the registration of 68,959 new members. Sixty-one were collective memberships of companies or factories, 229 were honorary memberships, 1500 special memberships, 28,372 regular memberships, and 38,797 youth memberships.⁸³⁵

The substantial number of new youth members indicates that the agency especially sought to involve youth in its work. In 1946, the Red Cross founded a sub-organization, the Youth Red Cross 红十字少年会, which had offices in the capital and in Shanghai.⁸³⁶ The objective of the Youth Red Cross was to propagate morals, spread knowledge about public health, and educate the youth to become responsible members of society.⁸³⁷ In addition, the organization published guidelines for Red Cross activities at schools 红十字少年会训练实施办法, which recommended extracurricular meetings, classes about the history of the Red Cross, information about China's international relations, and classes about health issues. In Nanjing, the organization established some school units which were in charge of the supervision of facilities like kitchens and bathrooms. Furthermore, these units instructed students from poor families in the making of clothes and useful objects. At Red Cross offices, students could learn how to produce bags, shoes, and other goods for sale.⁸³⁸ Chinese investment in a Youth Red Cross reflected international trends to involve more youth in voluntary work after the end of the Second World War, which were proposed by the League of Red Cross Societies in 1945. By 1949, 49 national Red Cross organizations had established a youth section or had extended their investment in the already existing youth organizations. Debates among Red Cross members

⁸³⁵ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 452.

⁸³⁶ 胡兰生, 中华民国红十字会总会关于筹组红十字少年的电文(1948), 中国红十字杂志允言, 中国红十字会历史资料选编(1904-1949), ed. 中国红十字会(南京1993), 101. Hu Lansheng, "The message of the Red Cross Society on the Work with Youth," in *Selected Historical Materials of the Chinese Red Cross Society*, ed. Central Committee of the Chinese Red Cross Society (Nanjing, 1993), 101.

⁸³⁷ Nanjing Municipal Archives, 红十字少年会宣言, Declaration About the Youth Red Cross, 10030031114(03)0003.

⁸³⁸ 学校团体组织红十字会少年会办法中国红十字杂志允言, 中国红十字会历史资料选编(1904-1949), ed. 中国红十字会(南京1993), 253. "The Approach to the Establishment of School Groups by the Red Cross," in *Selected Historical Materials of the Chinese Red Cross Society*, ed. Central Committee of the Chinese Red Cross Society (Nanjing, 1993), 253.

reveal, however, that the achievement of this objective remained limited.⁸³⁹

Nonetheless, the organization implemented new services. The demobilization work consisted of a caring for children and mothers. For instance, the Red Cross helped mothers raise their children and organized kindergartens.⁸⁴⁰ In 1946, the organization cooperated with the Development and Rehabilitation Commission and established children stations 童营养站 for children up to 12 years of age. From July 1946 to April 1947, the Red Cross managed 12 stations in Nanjing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Wujin 武进, Yancheng 邳城, Anyang 安阳, and Jiangdu 江都.⁸⁴¹ Another aspect of care for children was the establishment of a network of institutions and stations 童福利机构 in cooperation with other organizations such as the Children's Welfare Society in Chongqing 儿童福利社, the Children's Station in Wujin 儿童福利站 which cared for 500 children, an orphanage, a school for blind children 盲哑学校在 Changchun, a kindergarten 育婴院 in Cangwu 苍梧, and a poor children's home 难童教养站在 Boxian 亳县.⁸⁴²

Other new aspects of the Red Cross's agenda included projects that offered professional training for women. For example, the branches in Nanjing, Shanghai, and Yancheng offered training in tailoring. These classes, called Women's Professional Training Classes 妇女职业训练班, were offered several times per week. On the one hand, these activities showed that the organization sought to improve economic conditions of women. On the other hand, the inclusion of information about health and hygiene and life guidance 生活指导 demonstrated that the Red Cross had departed from its previous concentration on providing medical aid and had moved toward the goal of social reconstruction based on the strengthening of families and the reconstruction of households.⁸⁴³

Another task of the Red Cross consisted of the reestablishment of branches in previously occupied regions that had stopped their work or that could not be incorporated into the wartime Red Cross network.⁸⁴⁴ In occupied regions, the Japanese Red Cross 红赤字会 founded its own

⁸³⁹ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 493.

⁸⁴⁰ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 471.

⁸⁴¹ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 474.

⁸⁴² Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 476.

⁸⁴³ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 490.

⁸⁴⁴ 于恩德, 抗战胜利前东北及台湾之红十字会, 红十字杂志 (1947), 中国红十字会历史资料选编 (1904-1949), ed. 中国红十字会 (南京1993), 333. Yu Ende, "The Situation of the Red Cross Before the End of the War in the North east and in Taiwan," in *Selected Historical Materials of the Chinese Red Cross Society*, ed. Central Committee of the Chinese Red Cross Society (Nanjing, 1993), 333.

Red Cross network with a main center in Manchukuo's capital Changchun in 1932. During the war, the network had 52 branches.⁸⁴⁵ Until 1941 it also had three hospitals in Shenyang 沈阳, Jinzhou 锦州, and Harbin 哈尔滨, where 26 Chinese and 35 Japanese nurses were trained.⁸⁴⁶ In Changchun, the organisation founded school for the blind 聋哑学校 that also offered vocational training and a midwifery school 助产学. Members of the Red Cross described participation in this organization as enforced by the Japanese. According to Yu, members and other workers had joined reluctantly 社员入社为勉强新. In 1946, the group established a temporary network, the China Northeast Red Cross 中华民国红十字会 to reintegrate the branches from former Japanese territories into its new network and to deal with the financial affairs and members.⁸⁴⁷ The Red Cross network in Taiwan, which was established during the Japanese occupation, serves as another example of reintegration as the Taiwanese branches were included in the network of the Red Cross in 1946. Du Congming 杜聪明 was elected chairman of the Taiwan branch of the Red Cross Society of China 中华民国红十字台湾分会.⁸⁴⁸ In 1947, the post-war Red Cross network had 132 branches. In 1947 it had 179 branches, and in 1948 it had 192 branches.

The end of the war also changed the organization's international relations, which had been linked with the Red Cross base in Geneva since 1912. The association deepened its cooperation with foreign humanitarian initiatives. Financial support and expertise from these initiatives enabled the implementation of the Society's activities. At the end of the war and during the Civil War, foreign, especially American, support became the most important source for the organization's work. Nevertheless, at the end of 1937 China had entered the war less developed than its Western allies and emerged in 1945 from the war as the least developed of all.⁸⁴⁹ The inappropriateness of foreign developmental models and welfare programs exacerbated the already conflictual alliances between Western allies and China. The influence

⁸⁴⁵ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 446.

⁸⁴⁶ 恩德, 抗战胜利前东北及台湾之红十字会, 红十字杂志 (1947), 中国红十字会历史资料选编 (1904-1949), ed. 中国红十字会 (南京1993), 333. Yu Ende, "The Situation of the Red Cross Before the End of the War in the North east and in Taiwan," in *Selected Historical Materials of the Chinese Red Cross Society*, ed. Central Committee of the Chinese Red Cross Society (Nanjing, 1993), 333.

⁸⁴⁷ Chi, 红十字与近代中国, 447.

⁸⁴⁸ 杜聪明, 关于台北帝国大学医学部之命令 (1945) 中国红十字会历史资料选编 (1904-1949), ed. 中国红十字会 (南京1993), 217. Du Congming, Order about the Taipei Imperial Medical University, in *Selected Historical Materials of the Chinese Red Cross Society*, ed. Central Committee of the Chinese Red Cross Society (Nanjing, 1993), 217.

⁸⁴⁹ Rana Mitter, "Imperialism, Transnationalism, and the Reconstruction of Post-war China: UNRRA in China, 1944-7," *Past and Present Vol. 218, suppl. 8 (2013)*, 64.

of the Chinese government, which regarded the process of reconstruction as a project of nation-state building that would serve to secure China's independence from previous colonial influences and supported reliance on new alliances, like with India, complicated the Red Cross's relationship with its wartime allies.⁸⁵⁰

The post-war reconstruction demanded more from the Chinese state than it was able to afford, which affected interactions of the domestic Red Cross with other humanitarian organizations. The relationship between the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) and the China National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (CNRRA) CNRRA, which took over responsibility for refugees between 1944 and 1947 is one example of the strain that existed between the West and China. Jiang Tingfu (T. F. Tsiang), a Chinese diplomat to the Soviet Union in 1936 and China's representative to the United Nations after the Sino-Japanese War, chaired the CNRRA. The UNRRA was established in 1943 by forty allied countries with the United States as its main leader. The UNRRA's program for China, which was carried out by the CNRRA, was the UNRRA's largest one-country program. The CNRRA's aid targeted rural areas and totalled 650 million US dollars which was spent on food, clothes, and medication.⁸⁵¹

Cooperation between the representatives of the UNRRA and the Chinese side, to which the Chinese Red Cross belonged because it received resources from the CNRRA, was marked by mutual mistrust and allegations. For instance, the Chinese were accused of being corrupt and misusing donations. Additionally, the CNRRA became the target of public critique because of its restrictions on the distribution of resources.⁸⁵² Documents from the Nanjing Municipal Archives reveal the conflictual nature of the relationship. At one meeting on 31 August 1947, at which representatives of the National Health Commission, the CNRRA, the American Red Cross, and the Chinese Red Cross participated, problems of distribution of resources were debated. In addition, the outbreak of armed conflicts between Nationalists and Communists was condemned by the representatives of international organizations.⁸⁵³ Furthermore, on another occasion, Franklin Ray, an American diplomat and director of the Far East Office of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration from 1945 to 1947, condemned

⁸⁵⁰ Mitter, "Imperialism, Transnationalism, and the Reconstruction of Post-war China," 68.

⁸⁵¹ Tehyun Ma, "A Chinese Beveridge Plan: The Discourse of Social Security and the Post-war Reconstruction of China," *European Journal of East Asian Studies* Vol. 11, no. 2 (December 2012).

⁸⁵² Lu, "A Whole Nation Walking," 335.

⁸⁵³ Nanjing Municipal Archives, (untitled) 10030060501(00)0043.

ongoing demands by the Chinese combined with a lack of personnel and political authority to realize the program.⁸⁵⁴ While cooperation with the UNRRA was rife with conflicts, the Chinese Red Cross's relationship with the International Committee was less complicated because the International Committee mainly sent delegates to observe the work of the Chinese Red Cross and assist it, and to a limited extent, the International Committee financed humanitarian projects during and after the war in the country. M. Frederick Bieri was sent to China and Hong Kong as a representative of the International Committee from 1942 to 1948. In Canton, the delegate Bieri met delegates of the government and established an infirmary and dispensary for destitute refugees in cooperation with the domestic Red Cross.⁸⁵⁵

8.4 Conclusion

As this chapter has demonstrated, the end of the war and the government's subsequent restoration of the social and political order influenced both projects differently. While the Red Swastika's integration also included the punishment of collaborators on the one hand, its services were important and despite massive collaboration with Japan, the network continued to exist. Its wartime activities even served as a testament to Japanese war crimes. Even though it was limited, the national Red Cross implemented a post-war demobilization program which consisted of mainly services for civilians. In so doing, it developed plans to involve youth in its work, and even tentatively developed programs for the improvement of the situation of women. In fact, in some cases, women appeared in lead positions. However, the deteriorating conditions of the country impeded the full restoration of the organization, even though its networks included new branches from formerly occupied regions.

With the end of the Nationalist rule in mainland China and its retreat to Taiwan, a new phase began. Once again both the Red Swastika and the Chinese Red Cross were influenced differently by the political changes. Reform of the Chinese Red Cross was consolidated after the Communist takeover in 1949. In 1951, the British Embassy in Peking attended a conference held by the Ministry of Health and China Relief Commission at which the overhaul of the

⁸⁵⁴ 王德春, 联合国善后救济总署与中国, 1945-1947, (北京2004), 28. Wang Dechun, *The UNRRA and China, 1945-1947* (Beijing, 2004), 28.

⁸⁵⁵ The International Committee of the Red Cross, Report on General Activities (1949), Archives of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva, 362.191/ 563.

Chinese Red Cross was discussed.⁸⁵⁶ After 1949, almost all the members of the former Red Cross Society had been replaced by members of the new government. The International Committee regarded this adjustment as positive as long as the Society would adhere to the Committee's statutes. In 1951, M. Paul Ruegger, president of the International Red Cross, met delegates from the Chinese Red Cross and Zhou Enlai in Beijing to exchange information about repatriating Japanese Red Cross workers back to Japan, assisting in the transmission of correspondence of war-victims, and coordinating the collaboration with the Chinese Red Cross in the Korea War.⁸⁵⁷ Like it did with the Soviet Red Cross, the International Committee acknowledged the Chinese Red Cross and maintained a relationship with it despite its affiliation. As a result, this organization could adjust once again to the new political reality and was, at least in 1951, able to continue its work with minimal support from the International Red Cross.⁸⁵⁸

In contrast, the Communist takeover meant the end of the Red Swastika on the mainland, although the network was not immediately suppressed (it existed until 1953). As early as 4 January 1949 the new government banned secret societies because of their feudal nature, their "superstitious" practices and "evil cults", which disrupted the creation of a new socialist order.⁸⁵⁹ Campaigns against redemptive societies such as the Unity Sect served to disseminate Communist propaganda and to educate the population. The goal of the new regime was to involve the population in the suppression of popular societies, for example, through public trials. Nevertheless, while the suppression served to build up loyalty to the new regime, it also revealed the brutality of the new power holders. In the early 1950s, brutal and suppressive measures were used on members of redemptive societies and many members were killed.⁸⁶⁰ For example, campaigns against redemptive societies, which had already been promoted by the Communists before 1949, depicted one of the largest societies, the I-Kuan Tao Society as "a counterrevolutionary instrument, in the pay of and controlled by imperialists and the Kuomintang bandit clique, as a reactionary mystical organization with feudal character that

⁸⁵⁶ The National Archives, British Embassy Peking, (1 March 1951) FO/371/92360.

⁸⁵⁷ FO/371/92360 A. A. Franklin, Minutes at the British Embassy, April 20, 1951.

⁸⁵⁸ Maria Christina Galmarini, "Defending the Rights of Gulag Prisoners: The Story of the Political Red Cross, 1918–38," *The Russian Review* Vol. 71, no. 1 (2012): 10.

⁸⁵⁹ Chang-tai Hung, "The Anti–Unity Sect Campaign and Mass Mobilization in the Early People's Republic of China," *The China Quarterly* Vol. 202 (June 2010): 400.

⁸⁶⁰ Hung, "The Anti–Unity Sect Campaign," 406.

leads the backward masses astray and does them harm.”⁸⁶¹

Research on redemptive societies underlines, however, that despite suppression they continued to exist, although clandestinely. In contrast to other redemptive societies which re-emerged against the backdrop of the political and social changes at the end of the Mao era, the Red Swastika Society and the Daoyuan are not recorded as continuously present on the mainland. The Red Swastika Society existed on the mainland only until 1953, when suppressive campaigns forced the group to publicly declare its dissolution on the mainland, which was approved by the Ministry of Interior. The Municipal Archives in Nanjing possesses documents which state the organization’s self-dissolution at that moment. In February 1953, the Red Swastika issued a statement in the People's Daily 人民日报 in which it declared its dissolution and the takeover of its networks and property by the Ministry of Interior.⁸⁶² Today, the network continues to organize religious and philanthropic activities in Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia, Korea, and New York.⁸⁶³

⁸⁶¹ Lev Deliusin, *The I-kuan Tao Society*, 224.

⁸⁶² Nanjing Municipal Archives, 民政局为报送关于处理世界红卍字会山东分会及济南分会的初步意见由 Comments of the Civil Affairs Bureau Handling of the World Red Swastika’s Shandong Jinan Branch (Mai 1953) 100222003113(00)0001.

⁸⁶³ 香港道院, “世界各道院基本資料,” World Red Swastika Hong Kong, “Basic Information about the World Red Swastika,” (unpublished document). The Hong Kong World Red Swastika Office (established in 1931) has contact with following branches outside mainland China 星加坡道院 Singapore (1936); 吉隆坡道院 Singapore (1949); 檳城道院 Malaysia (1958); 怡保道院 Malaysia (1952); 馬六甲道院 Malaysia (1947); 台灣道院 Taiwan (1949); 台南道院 Taiwan (1951); 嘉義道院 Taiwan (1959); 東京道院 Japan (1962); 台中道院 Taiwan (1968); 紐約道院; New York, America (1972); 泰國道院 Thailand (1973); 韓國道院 Korea (1979).

9. Conclusion

Assessing the transformations of two similar, but different humanitarian organizations during the Republican era, my thesis has demonstrated that the arrival of the Red Cross encouraged two different responses to the Western model. On the one hand, it helped stimulate the creation of a national Red Cross that defended the country's advancement and independence; on the other, it helped followers of religious-based philanthropy to adjust their mission to the officially recognized version of humanitarian aid. Considering both organizations in a long-term perspective, and against the backdrop of the country's turbulent social and political changes, my thesis adds a so far only marginally explored case study to current research on global humanitarianism.

Evaluating the Chinese Red Cross from the establishment of the predecessor of the national society, the Shanghai International Red Cross, up to the foundation of the PRC in 1949, my thesis proposes that it was an arduous effort for the Red Cross to provide relief to soldiers, while building on support by the population and the Nationalist government. The organization's limited participation in relief for Chinese soldiers distinguishes it from the work of other national Red Cross organizations. Despite this, the examination reveals that in times of rising nationalism, such as in 1919, the founders and leaders of the organization strove for greater recognition of their performance. Conflicts between the Chinese and American Red Cross at the end of the First World War proved that the Red Cross was committed to national independence in the country, and that the international Red Cross network was not free from paternalism and expression of Western superiority. The Chinese organization nevertheless depended on foreign aid and advocated for the adoption of Western medicine.

Striving for improved care for soldiers and civilians, the organization contributed to the social transformation in the country, although the limited involvement in military medical services and the low participation of women showed the continuous presence of traditional approaches and values. The professionalization of military medicine after 1932 relied on foreign-trained experts and on foreign support. As my thesis has shown, the Chinese Red Cross implemented a far-reaching assistance project for soldiers, but its realization was limited by the long and fierce

armed conflicts. In addition, its dependence on foreign support complicated the implementation of help. Dependence on medical professionals strengthened support for Communists already in 1932, during the crisis but especially during the Sino-Japanese War. After the war, the Nationalist government asserted its leadership of the Red Cross, but after it lost the civil war in 1949, the organization became integrated into the welfare system of the Communists.

The second aspect that demonstrated the restrictions imposed by traditions of Chinese society were reflected in the obstacles women encountered working as nurses or other kind of supporting agents of the Red Cross. While the organization encouraged women's participation, adhering to foreign practices, especially those of the American Red Cross, the participation of Chinese women in modern nursing remained low, although the history of the Chinese Red Cross depended on the contribution of women. As early as the Xinhai revolution, female Red Cross adherents, among them mainly Chinese women who had been trained at foreign medical institutions, demonstrated their support for the organization's objectives and practices. However, no woman was elected to a leadership position until the late 1930s, when a larger number of women than before worked as nurses and volunteers. The social condition of women deteriorated with the war, and this impeded the trend for women to overcome Confucian gender roles. Political rivalries also affected women's participation, as the wartime and post-war period of armed conflicts increased the need for loyalty to the Nationalist regime until 1949.

The second response to the Red Cross, the Red Swastika, was that of a Chinese religious group that adhered to indigenous spiritual traditions, but looked to a Western, modern model to adapt to the new social and political conditions that appertained in China. The Red Swastika emerged from the efforts of a new religious movement, the Daoyuan, and in this respect its origins were very different from those of the Red Cross, which were rooted in secularism and rationality. My thesis suggests that the project of the Red Swastika was initially guided by the ritual of spirit writing. As chapter three demonstrated, until 1929 the Daoyuan was the official representative of the network and its dissemination built on the establishment of new branches, which used spirit writing as a main religious ritual. Thus, in the initial phase in the evolution of this humanitarian project the leaders of the organization strove for the creation of a fundamentally different mission from that of the Red Cross.

Chapter four reveals a growing inclusion of Red Cross elements, although the organization maintained fundamental elements of its original mission such as adherence to

Daoyuan religion. The progress during the Nanjing Decade was marked by growing importance of the Red Swastika for the government due to its manifold local services and its ability to implement reforms. In 1929, the Red Swastika registered as an organization with the authorities and from this moment the Daoyuan no longer guided the organization, at least officially, although my thesis shows that the network continued to adhere to Daoyuan religion. Under pressure from Japanese aggression, proposed reforms, such as the creation of new uniforms for units that worked in war zones, showed that reform-oriented leaders such as Xiong extended their influence on the network. Under his leadership, the centres in Shanghai and Beijing emulated the Red Cross and through him, the organization established a long-lasting relationship with the Nationalist Party. The organization's services were needed by governmental agencies as the case from Xuzhou reveals. At the local level in less urban areas the agency served as a life-saving provider of relief to thousands, for instance during floods, but the reforms proposed in Shanghai in 1933 of the practice of spirit writing and adjustment of emergency services exemplify the commitment of the leaders to cooperate with the central government.

Assessing the record of Red Cross branches during the Sino-Japanese War, my thesis offers a so far underrepresented perspective, by demonstrating that the organization could adjust to different, belligerent regimes. This ability not only secured the organization's survival, but also allowed different followers to realize their own ideas of humanitarian aid. Thus, the adherence to the original mission that promoted cultural blending and the integration of new-style elements of relief with old-style ones, encouraged the participation of women in the organization's new humanitarian projects.

Assessment of the Red Swastika amid the war demonstrates this Society's far-reaching involvement in emergency and long-term relief during the war on behalf of different political rulers. Arguing against the assessment of the Red Swastika as mainly a Japanese collaborator, owing to the approval of the network in Manchuria, chapter six suggests regarding the evolution during the war as locally differentiated experiences. As the example of the Shanghai-based centre demonstrates, owing to the intelligent preparations of Xiong and his adherents prior to the outbreak of the war, the centre possessed a supra-regional network of trained volunteers who served the needs of refugees, the wounded, and buried the dead after the Japanese aggression in late 1937. In addition, the provision of emergency relief shortly after the Japanese

invasion built on adherence to the principle of political neutrality by Red Swastika members. This position, helped to downplay the previous support for anti-Japanese defence and allowed the conduct of relief activities.

One side of the group's activity that has been underrepresented in the historiography is its work for the Nationalists. Due to Xiong's influence, the organization was connected with the Chinese government and its branches worked on behalf of the Nationalist government in Free China. Building on the government's earlier recognition of the organization and its need to involve local agents in wartime governance, the relationship between the Red Swastika and the government remained constant, despite the network's partial co-option by Japanese occupation regimes. In addition, representatives of the government such as Wang Zhengting campaigned in Hong Kong in order to help the organization assist refugees. Thus, although the network possessed only few branches in territories under Chinese control, it remained connected with the government.

The organization's experience in occupied territories varied, too, due to the locally changing character of Japanese occupation regimes. While the Red Swastika in Shandong became a leading agency that promoted Japanese rule, the branches in Jiangsu had a more difficult relationship with the new power-holders. Building on previous research on the Red Swastika's collaboration, my thesis suggests that especially in Shandong, the place of origin for many redemptive societies and a long-established centre of Japanese influence, the organization had the possibility to re-establish its faith-based humanitarian mission since private and religious charity was encouraged. Nevertheless, spirit writing did not appear as a leading element in the presentation of the wartime mission, although the Daoyuan religion remained central to the Red Swastika's work. Thus, this local example highlights that as on previous occasions, leading members amended their agenda to comply with Japan's ideas of colonial modernity.

That the faith-based humanitarian mission consisted of reformist and modernizing elements is exemplified in particular in my thesis's examination of women's participation. Unlike the Chinese Red Cross, the Daoyuan did not promote new gender roles for women, which would have enlarged their participation in relief beyond religious spheres such as teaching. However, the evolution of the network nevertheless allowed women's participation. The proposals for the creation of a women's society were realized during the Sino-Japanese

war. Despite their marginal extent, female initiatives, like the orphanage organized in Chongqing by Mao Yanwen and Zhou Zhilian, showed that the Red Swastika's agenda was not only to adjust to changing political contexts but also to generate a combination of modern social aspects with its faith-based mission.

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