asserts that the entire organization would be willing to work toward building this new state "in the land of the Xiongnu" as a foundation for the "unity and mutual benefit" of the people of Japan and China. Here again, Uchida is speaking of Japanese Daoyuan, in other words, of Ōmotokyō. Like many of the ideas he attributes to Chinese Daoyuan, the idea of a "Bright Land" in Manchuria in fact derives from Deguchi, who had as early as 1926 sent one of his followers to Tianjin to promote it to Pu Yi.[67]

Wishful thinking or willful misrepresentation aside, the founding of Manchukuo ushered in a new era for RSS in the Northeast. In March of 1934, the same month that Pu Yi ascended to the throne and Manchukuo was upgraded to the status of empire, local Daoyuan leaders met in Changchun, recently christened the New Capital (Xinjing 新京), and formally broke all ties with Beijing and Ji'nan. The newly named "Daoyuan – World Red Swastika Society of Manchukuo" 滿洲國總道院世界紅卍字會 now found itself under a completely new set of leaders, few of whom had been particularly prominent in the organization before 1932.[68]

The organization prospered. In 1934, the Manchukuo Daoyuan-RSS moved its headquarters from Shenyang to a new building, built in the style of a Chinese temple on a busy corner of the main thoroughfare in New Capital. There it attracted a significant following among prominent Chinese members of the Manchukuo government, such as Xi Qia 熙洽, Zhang Jinghui 張景惠, Yu Zhishan 于芷山, and Sun Qichang 孫其昌.[69] The general Zhang Haipeng, identified by Uchida early on, became its national president. The mass membership grew as well. Between 1932 and 1941, the number of branches expanded from 35 to 99. In three years, from 1939 to 1941, the number of members more than doubled, from 5,151 to 13,954, while the operating budget of the Manchukuo RSS mushroomed from 448,736 to 1,295,253 *yuan*.[70]

Yet, in spite of what appears to have been a mutually beneficial relationship, both the Daoyuan-RSS and the government of Manchukuo were careful to maintain a certain distance from each other. At no point was Daoyuan actually persecuted, nor does it appear to have been directly affected by the turn against Ōmotokyō within Japan (following the Second Ōmoto Incident of 1935). Nor, however, did it have any official place in Manchukuo propaganda or policy. It certainly was not

Table 5.2 Number of Daoyuan in Manchuria/Manchukuo, by year

	1926	*1927*	*1928*	*1929*	*1930*	*1931*	*1932*	*1933*
New	1	4	7	10	6	2	5	4
total	1	5	12	22	28	30	35	39
	1934	*1935*	*1936*	*1937*	*1938*	*1939*	*1940*	*1941*
New	22	15	2	2	0	2	9	8
total	61	76	78	80	80	82	91	99

Source: Manshūkoku kokumuin minseibu, 1943: 169–170.

promoted in the government-controlled press. While the activities and personages related to Confucianism, Shinto, certain sects of Buddhism (notably Soto Zen and Ōtani Pure Land), and the Catholic Church were all highly visible in the pages of government controlled publications like the *Shengjing Times*, mention of Daoyuan and RSS fell off dramatically after 1931. Nor did state-sponsored organizations like the Unity Society (*xiehe hui/kyōwa kai* 協和會), an umbrella association created in February 1936 to lead and coordinate a variety of social engineering initiatives, ever officially promote the organization. Each issue of The Unity Movement (*Kyōwa Undō* 協和運動), the society's monthly magazine, contained at least two dozen articles, including frequent pieces on religion, reverence for the emperor, "national spirit" (*jianguo jingshen* 建國精神), and the various state-led campaigns promoted to raise public morality. Yet in a six-year print run, it never once mentioned Daoyuan or the RSS by name.[71] The reticence seems to have originated in the Japanese side: while many Chinese within the Manchukuo government were well-known Daoyuan-RSS members, their Japanese counterparts tended to steer clear of public association with either group. One of the more visible Daoyuan initiatives in Manchukuo, performance of rituals at the grave of a Confucian "filial son" (*xiaozi* 孝子) in the center of New Capital, attracted numerous high-ranking Chinese members of the Manchukuo government, yet Japanese officials remained conspicuously absent.[72]

But further south, the Japanese attack on Chinese soil had pushed idealistic internationalism to the breaking point. RSS branches in Beijing, Tianjin, and Shandong had all been involved in the Manchurian relief effort of 1931, and just one year later, the Japanese assault on Shanghai prompted those in Jiangnan to organize their own response as well. In conjunction with other charitable societies, the RSS in Shanghai alone created six temporary hospitals, provided medical care to thousands of soldiers and civilians, and sheltered tens of thousands of refugees. Japanese troops had apparently come to know and trust the RSS (in the wake of the Manchuria fighting, one report proudly announced that "Chinese and foreign personnel all recognized how those wearing the swastika ignored the danger and put all their energies to providing relief on a huge scale. How could anyone not admire such an achievement?") but as first-hand witnesses to the suffering caused by Japanese assaults on Chinese cities, it would be hard to imagine its members retaining any of the high-minded internationalist sentiment once expressed by people such as Yuancheng, much less the affection for Japan portrayed by Uchida.[73]

Internationalist discourse aside, the actions of the RSS revealed strong nationalist sympathies, as members pursued a variety of national and international contacts to pursue what contemporaries referred to as "citizen diplomacy" (*guomin waijiao* 國民外交) on China's behalf.[74] In 1933, as Chinese diplomats sought frantically to secure international condemnation of Japanese actions in Manchuria, the RSS made a massive donation of 100,000 *yuan* to victims of an earthquake in Los Angeles through the vocally pro-Chinese American ambassador Nelson T. Johnson. More than just an expression of goodwill, this gesture (for which RSS was rewarded with a letter of thanks from President Roosevelt

himself) was most certainly also an attempt to reach out to the United States as a diplomatic ally.[75] In the wake of the massacre at Nanjing, the Red Swastika Society was one of many Chinese organizations that sought shelter in the foreign concessions of Shanghai, and emerged to establish shelters and soup kitchens. According to one report, Swastika Society volunteers provided relief for over a hundred thousand. In Nanjing alone, they disposed of over 27,000 corpses.[76]

The Guomindang retreat to Sichuan left the Daoyuan-Red Swastika Society in a difficult position. Throughout North China, the Red Swastika Society maintained a working relationship with Japanese-sponsored authorities. Some of these figures, such as the widely reviled governor of Shandong, Tang Yangdu 唐仰杜, actively promoted the society and its activities. As in Manchukuo, Japanese authorities themselves appear to have been cordial but wary of forming too close a bond, preferring instead a long-term strategy of replacing the RSS with groups of their own making, such as the New People's Society (*xinmin hui* 新民會) and Pacification Teams (*xuanfu ban/senbu han* 宣撫班).[77] Few records of RSS activities in wartime Sichuan exist, most likely because the organization had never been particularly strong there. Befitting the group's many protestations of internationalist neutrality, there was never any sort of public rift between the branches in Japanese, Guomindang, or Communist controlled territory, nor was RSS censured by the Guomindang government for continuing its work under the Japanese occupation. (It is also worth noting that the RSS was one of the few groups of this sort to have escaped the charge of Japanese collaboration after the founding of the People's Republic.) This is not to say that the Guomindang government embraced the organization entirely. In 1940, the party Mobilization Committee (*dongyuan weiyuan hui* 動員委員會) enacted an antisuperstition law, which banned heretical teachings and their writings, and singled out Daoyuan by name for special castigation. The Red Swastika Society was also mentioned: it would be allowed to continue its charitable work, as long as it broke all ties with Daoyuan.[78]

Concluding remarks

Whatever we choose to call them, the religious movements that arose during the early twentieth century did represent a distinct period of innovation. That is not to say that they were entirely new: their basic religious beliefs and practices, ethical and charitable impulses all had deep roots in the ideas and institutions of the late imperial era. But the setting was fundamentally different. At a stroke, the Republican government had abolished centuries of regulation, allowing both religious and charitable societies to grow to national prominence, and to strive (at least for a time) for a place in the public eye that would previously have been unimaginable. Unbounded confidence in global transformation, the same sentiment that had animated interwar movements from Christian mission to the Communist International, also breathed new life into a Confucian tradition that a new generation of postimperial intellectuals hoped to present as China's unique contribution to world culture.[79]

The shift to charity was motivated both by need and by opportunity, and fundamentally changed the course of religious movements such as Daoyuan. Like lay religion, the charitable sector was primed for rapid expansion. The number and ambition of public charities had already been rising since the late nineteenth century, and exploded as the collapse of the Beiyang government left millions in desperate need of relief. The eclipse of Daoyuan by the Red Swastika Society shows how quickly charity could change from sideline to primary focus. As Daoyuan itself came under suspicion, the charitable persona of the Red Swastika Society provided cover, not only for the group itself, but also for the wide variety of political elites that wished to engage with it. Charity was not, however, merely a "Trojan horse" for proselytization.[80] Like the Buddhism-infused social activism of political figures such as Wang Yiting (王一亭), or the policy aims of Buddhist reformers such as the monk Taixu (太虛), the complex mixture of motivations and interests that fueled the work of the Red Swastika Society defy simple characterization as religious, charitable, or political.[81]

But viewed another way, this sort of ambiguity also brought real problems. Duara has correctly emphasized the internationalist credentials and aims of the Daoyuan-RSS, placing the movement in the context of an interwar trend that also included pan-Asianism, pan-Islam, Esperanto, international labor, and world socialism. But the other side of this coin (and indeed, one of its primary motivations) was the growing strength and ambition of states, particularly in East Asia. The Nanjing government's well-known mistrust of civil society came not merely from a fear of political opposition, but also from an unprecedented ambition to control and regulate society within a legal-administrative framework. I would argue that the client state of Manchukuo represented the next step in this process. Not only was Manchukuo understandably obsessed with its own security, it was also a created society, one that was to be engineered by state planners, and left little room for real public initiative. Even the separation of the Manchukuo Red Swastika Society into an independent organization seems to have earned the group relatively little in the way of institutional protection. Powerful people within the Nanjing and Manchukuo governments may have been willing to work with the RSS as individuals, but both regimes remained wary of extending anything more than episodic approval.

Appendix

Table 5.A1 Major RSS relief efforts, 1921–1933

Year	*Crisis*	*Response from*	*Response*
1921	Yellow River flood, Shandong	Ji'nan Daoyuan, local benefactors	Raised 120,000 *yuan*. Bought food and clothing for 40,000.
1923	Grand Canal flood, 18 counties in Zhili	Tianjin	Raised 120,000 *yuan*. Provided relief to 50,000.
1924	Floods in Zhili, Hunan, Hubei, Jianxi, Fujian	Coordinated national effort	Raised 100,000 *yuan*. Provided relief for 120,000.

(*Continued*)

Table 5.A1 Continued

Year	*Crisis*	*Response from*	*Response*
	Flood, Chahar	Chahar	Raised 10,000 *yuan*. Established 10 shelters and 4 soup kitchens. Buried over 100.
	War in Jiangnan	Nanjing-Wuxi	Provided food and clothing for 32,800 refugees.
	Zhi-Feng wars	Central hui (Beijing)	Provided 2,000 *shi*[i] of grain (*hongliang*) for over 10,000 refugees.
1925	War in Jiangnan-Huaihai; war in Jinzhou and near Tianjin	30 teams from Taiyuan, Chahar, Tianjin, and Ji'nan	Sheltered or treated 115,900 soldiers and civilians. Buried 5,200. Sheltered 54,000 women and children.
1925	War in Huaihai	Nanjing-Hangzhou	Donated 7,100 sacks of flour and 17,000 coats. Rescued 26,200 people.
	War along Jin-Pu railway	Beijing, Tianjin	Donated 800 *shi* of rice and 4,000 coats. Rescued 6,800.
	War in Shandong	Ji'nan-Jining-Tai'an	Aided 35,000.
1926	War in Tianjin area	Beijing-Tianjin-Ji'nan	Donated over 10,000 *shi* of grain, 5,000 coats. Aided 57,500.
1927	War along Jin-Pu railway	Ji'nan-Xuzhou-Nanjing	Raised over 40,000 *yuan*. Donated 5,000 *shi* of grain, and 7,000 sacks of flour. Aided 162,500.
	War in Chahar	Chahar	Raised 10,000 *yuan*, donated 6,000 *shi* of grain. Aided 80,000.
1928	War, drought, and pests in 60 counties of Shandong	Manchurian Wanguo daode hui, with charitable organizations in Fengtian, Jilin, Heilongjiang and Rehe	Donated 80,000 *shi* of grain. Sponsored free rail travel for 10,000 homeless to migrate to Manchuria.
		Ji'nan	Established 10 soup kitchens. Raised grain to feed a million people.
		Beijing-Baoding	Donated 10,000 *shi* of grain to 100,000.
	Yellow River floods, Shandong	Ji'nan	Donated 10,000 *yuan*, 1,500 *shi* of grain.
		Hangzhou	Donated 2,000 *yuan*, 200 *shi* of millet.
	War in Tianjin and Hebei	Guomindang government	Donated 40,000 *yuan*.
		Tianjin	Donated 4,000 *shi* of grain. Aided 345,000.

(*Continued*)

Table 5.A1 Continued

Year	*Crisis*	*Response from*	*Response*
		Yan (Xishan) and Tianjin mayor	Donated 20,000 and 3,000 *yuan*, respectively. Purchased 437,565 *jin* of corn for 12 assistance stations in Beijing. Aided 218,700.
1929	Border war with Soviet Union	All branches in Manchuria, organized by Beijing and Shenyang	Formed hospital and triage teams. Buried 150 corpses, treated 520 soldiers.
1930	War in Shandong-Hebei	National effort; individual and coordinated responses from branches across the country	Altogether provided medical relief to 158,000 soldiers and civilians. Gave shelter to 56,000 women and children. Buried over 3,000 corpses.
1931	War in southern Hebei	Beijing-Tianjin	Established 4 shelters and 2 medical centres. Sheltered 4,000 women and children. Provided medical care to over 1,000 soldiers and civilians, and buried 230 corpses.
1931	Japanese aggression in Manchuria	Coordinated response from Beijing-Ji'nan-Jiaodong and all Manchurian branches	Received permission from Japanese military to bury over 400 corpses. Treated 100 wounded soldiers and buried 207 corpses in Changchun. Treated 89 soldiers and buried 206 in Binjiang. Donated 300 *shi* of millet and established 19 shelters for refugees. Raised 5,000 *yuan* for soup kitchens in Shenyang and Changchun, and 3,000–4,000 *yuan* for clothes.
1932	Japanese attack on Shanghai	Shanghai branch and other charitable societies	Established 6 hospitals, each of which took in from 2,000 to 17,000 people, and gave medical care to up to 300. Sheltered 26,000. Buried 200 corpses.
International			
1923	Kanto earthquake		Donated 2,000 *shi* of rice.
1927	Kansai earthquake		Donated 5,000 *yuan* through Japanese consul.
1933	Los Angeles earthquake		Donated 100,000 *yuan* though US Ambassador Nelson T. Johnson.

Source: Shijie hong wanzi hui 世界紅卍子會. *Shijie hong wanzi hui linian zhenjiu gongzuo baogao shu* 世界紅卍子會歷年賑救工作報告書. 1930: 1–25; 1932: 1–33; 1935: 1–31.

i. One *shi* is approximately 72.5 kg.

Notes

1. Li Shiyu 李世瑜, "Minjian mimi zongjiao yanjiu zhi fangfa zaiyi – jianping Lu Yao 'Shandong minjian jiaomen'" 民間秘密宗教研究之方法再議——兼評路遙《山東民間教門》 (A reappraisal of the research methods of popular secret religions: A criticism of Lu Yao, Popular Religions in Shandong). Shehui lishixue wenji 社会历史学文集(Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2007): 44–45.
2. Chao Wei-pang, "The Origin and Growth of the Fu Chi," Folklore Studies 1: 9–27. One reason is that many contemporaries of the Red Swastika Society, such as the Tongshanshe, were indeed secret, and reminded Western observers of organizations such as the Freemasons. See Paul de Witt Twinem, "Modern Syncretic Religious Societies in China. I." The Journal of Religion 5(5): 463–482. Li Yingwu 李英武, "Dongbei luntan shiqi de minjian zongjiao yu mimi jieshe" 東北淪陷時期的民間宗教於祕密結社 (Folk religion and secret societies in the occupation-era Northeast). Dongbeiya luntan 東北亞論壇 1: 94. Xu Feng 徐峰. Nanjing zhengfu zongjiao zhengce 南京政府宗教政策(Policy of the Nanjing government toward religion). MA diss. Department of Modern Chinese History, Shandong Normal University: 44. On the origin of the term "secret society" see Barend Ter Haar, Ritual and Mythology of the Chinese Triads: Creating an Identity, 36–37. The Japanese scholar Sakai Tadao (酒井忠夫) rejected the portrayal of these groups as "secret societies," but stopped short of proposing an alternative. Sakai Tadao 酒井忠夫, "Minguo chuqi de xinxing zongjiao yundong yu xin shidai chaoliu" 民國初期的新興宗教運動於新時代潮流 .(Contemporary trends and new religious movements in the early Republic). Minjian zongjiao 民間宗教 1: 1–36.
3. See Palmer's introduction to "Redemptive Societies and Religious Movements in Republican China," in the 2011 special issue of the Journal of Chinese Theatre, Ritual and Folklore / Minsu Qüyi, guest editors David Palmer and Wang Chien-ch'uan, 167.
4. Laws of the early Ming specifically banned the teachings of the White Lotus tradition, but the persecution of groups such as the Manicheans goes back far beyond that. Lin Wushu 林悟殊, "Moni jiao huaming bianxi" 摩尼教華名辨析 (Alternate names for Manichaeism in China). Jiuzhou xuelin 九州学林 15: 190–243.
5. One important change of the nineteenth century was the relative disintegration of authority within teachings, allowing large numbers of new groups to splinter off with relative ease. The extreme of this phenomenon was the Yihetuan movement, which was effectively leaderless. See Lu Yao, "Exploring the History of the Yihetuan" in Ma Xisha and Meng Huiying, eds. Popular Religion and Shamanism, tr. Chi Zhen and Thomas DuBois, Vol. I of RSCC Religious Studies in Contemporary China Collection. Leiden: Brill, 2011: 255–292.
6. Shengjing shibao (Shenyang) 盛京時報, March 30, 1913, January 15, 1919. Liang Jiagui 梁家貴, Minguo Shandong jiaomen shi 民國山東教門史 (History of Sectarians in Republican Shandong). Beijing: Renmin chubanshe: 25–26.
7. Thomas DuBois, Sacred Village: Social Change and Religious Life in Rural North China. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press: 112–121.
8. Lu Yao 路遙, Shandong minjian mimi jiaomen. 山東民間祕密教門 (Secret popular religions in Shandong). Beijing: Dangdai Zhongguo chubanshe: 370–391.
9. Bernard Formoso, De Jiao: A Religious Movement in Contemporary China and Overseas: Purple qi from the East (Singapore: NUS Press, 2010). Komukai Sakurako 小武海櫻子, "Seimatsu Shisen no rantō to shōkyō kessha – Kassen kai zentō jizen kai zenshi" 清末四川の鸞堂と宗教結社 – 合川會善堂慈善會前史 (Religious groups and late Qing phoenix halls – the early history of the Hechuan hui charitable society) Tōhō shūkyō 東方宗教 5: 50–71.
10. Shao Yong 邵雍, Zhongguo huidaomen 中國會道門 (Chinese sectarians). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe: 167–180, 197–198. Shiga Ichiko 志賀市子. Chūgoku no kokkuri san – furan shinkō to kajin shakai 中國のこっくりさん扶鸞信仰と華人社會 (Chinese table turners – spirit writing beliefs and Chinese society). Tokyo: Taishūkan: 163–175.
11. The magazine Philosophy (Zhebao) published by the Ji'nan Daoyuan contains numerous notices for local morality and Buddhist study societies.
12. This telling of the history of Daoyuan, along with stylized division into periods (birth, growth, etc.) is repeated almost verbatim in a number of different sources, including Yuancheng 圓誠, Daoci gangyao dadao pian 道慈綱要大道篇 (A general overview of dao and charity) Shenyang: Shenyang wanzi xinwen yinshuabu; Uchida Ryōhei 内田良平, Manmō no dokuritsu to sekai kōmanjikai no undō 滿蒙の獨立と世界紅卍字會の運動 (Activities of the World Red Swastika Societies and the Independence of Manchuria and Mongolia) Tokyo: Senshinsha; and Kōa shūkyō kyōkai 興亞宗教協會, Sekai Kōmanjikai Dōin no jittai 世界紅卍字會道院の實態 (The state of the Daoyuan-World Red Swastika Society) Beijing: Kōa shūkyō kyōkai. Li Guangwei 李光偉, Daoyuan, Daodeshe Shijie hongwanzi hui – xinxing zongjiao cishan zuzhi de lishi kaocha (1916–1954) 道院，道德社，世界紅卍字會－新興宗教慈善組織的歷史考察 (Daoyuan, the Morality Society, and the World Red Swastika Society – historical investigation into new popular religions and charitable organizations (1916–1954), MA Thesis, Shandong Normal University: 49 gives these two individuals by their Dao names Wu Fuyong 吳福永 and Liu Fuyuan, 劉福缘 respectively, but is otherwise consistent about their details. Although the term da xian often refers to animal spirits, here it signifies the teaching's Great Progenitor.
13. Kōa shūkyō kyōkai, Sekai Kōmanjikai Dōin no jittai, 15–16.
14. Taiyi beiji zhenjing 太乙北極真經. Hong Kong: Zong mu zong zhu Gang banshichu, 1960. Earlier copies are held by libraries at Harvard and UC Berkeley, but I have not had a chance to compare the various versions.
15. Yuancheng, Daoci gangyao dadao pian, 67; Li Guangwei 李光偉, "Minguo Shandong Daoyuan ji Shijie hongwanzihui shishi gouchen" 民國山東道院暨世界紅字會史事鉤沈 (Raising up the history of Daoyuan and the World Red Swastika Society in Republican Shandong). Shandong jiaoyu xueyuan bao 125, 1: 52; Guo Dasong 郭大松, "'Ji'nan Daoyuan ji Hongwanzihui zhi diaocha' bianzheng" (Analysis of the "Investigation of the Ji'nan Daoyuan and Red Swastika Society") Qingdao daxue shifan xueyuan xuebao《濟南道院及紅卍字會之調查》辯證 22, 3: 31.
16. Kōa shūkyō kyōkai, Sekai Kōmanjikai Dōin no jittai, 119, places the date of this unnamed Muslim observance on the sixth day of the fifth lunar month. This date may once have corresponded to one celebrated by Chinese or other Muslims, but the Muslim calendar being strictly lunar (i.e., it does not correspond to annual events such as solstices), it is impossible to guess what this occasion might have been.
17. Uchida Ryōhei, Manmō no dokuritsu to sekai kōmanjikai no undō, 127.
18. Japanese sources report that larger Daoyuan kept a busy schedule of Greater and Ordinary Celebrations (daqing 大庆, changqing 常庆), Standard and Ordinary Rituals (dianyi 典仪, changyi 常仪), as well as Daoyuan variations of personal rituals, such as weddings and funerals. (Kōa shūkyō kyōkai, Sekai Kōmanjikai Dōin no jittai, 111–122, 137). Yuancheng, Daoci gangyao dadao pian, 82–85; Jia Zhanyi 賈佔一 and Jin Lianshan 金連山, "Panshi xian Daode hui, Wanzi hui" 磐石縣道德會卍子會(The Morality Society and Swastika Societies in Panshi County). In Wei Man shehui 偽滿社會 (Society in the Pretender Manchukuo). Edited by Sun Bang 孫邦 et al., Changchun: Jilin renmin chubanshe: 579–581.
19. In this sense, Daoyuan was typical of its contemporaries, most of which included some form of healing. Wang Zhixin 王治心. Zhongguo zongjiao sixiang shi dagang 中國宗教思想史大綱 (Synopsis of the history of religious thought in China) Taibei: Taiwan zhonghua shuju, 215–221. In a short 1921 essay, Chen Duxiu ridiculed the Common Goodness Society precisely for the faith its members placed in healing practices he rather imprecisely terms shamanism. Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀, "Da He Qiansheng"

答何謙生 (A Reply to He Qiansheng) Minguo congshu 民國叢書 1, 92: 282–289. On the attraction of healing in the early Yiguandao, see Thomas DuBois, Sacred Village: Social Change and Religious Life in Rural North China, 146–147.

20. A large number of these writings are reproduced in Kōa shūkyō kyōkai, Sekai Kōmanjikai Dōin no jittai, 5–10, 61–80; and Yuancheng, Daoci gangyao dadao pian, 48–60.
21. Kōa shūkyō kyōkai, Sekai Kōmanjikai Dōin no jittai, 4.
22. This could be compared to the centripetal effect of direct possession in the Yihetuan, or of spirit writing on the Yiguandao.
23. I am extremely grateful to Professor Guo Dasong for sharing with me his copies of this rare publication. Shao Yong, Zhongguo huidaomen, 183.
24. Tian Hailin 田海林. 2008. Wanguo daodehui de lishi kaocha 萬國道德會的歷史考察 (Historical investigation of the International Ethical Society). MA Thesis, Shandong Normal University: 75–79. Shiga Ichiko, Chūgoku no kokkuri san – furan shinkō to kajin shakai, 169–175.
25. Zhao Yifeng 趙軼峰, Mingdai guojia zongjiao guanli zhidu yu zhengce yanjiu 明代國家宗教管理制度與政策研究 (Research into the administrative system and regulation of religion during the Ming). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe.
26. Tian Hailin, Wanguo daodehui de lishi kaocha, 75–79, Liang Jiagui, Minguo Shandong jiaomen shi, 26–27.
27. Prasenjit Duara emphasizes the international focus of these ethical movements. Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
28. Timothy E. Yates, Christian mission in the twentieth century. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 7–31.
29. Tian Hailin, Wanguo daodehui de lishi kaocha, 8–28, 75. Nor were these simple dressing or convention. When asked to change their name to something more patriotic, the International Ethical Society refused, on the grounds that this idea was central to their philosophy.
30. Zhao Yancai 趙炎才, "Qingmo-Minchu daode jiushi sichao de lishi kaocha" 清末民出道德救世思潮的歷史考察 (Historical investigation of the tide of moral Salvationist thought in the late Qing and early Republic) Zhejiang luntan 浙江論壇 1: 79–83.
31. Fuma Susumu 夫馬進, Chūgoku zenkai zendōshi kenkyū 中國善會善堂史研究 (Research on the history of Chinese benevolent societies) Kyōto: Dōhōsha Shuppan, 644.
32. A great deal of historical scholarship has been written on elite-led charitable institutions and their evolving relationship with the Chinese state. On the late imperial period, see Fuma Susumu, Chūgoku zenkai zendōshi kenkyū: especially 493–496; Joanna F. Handlin Smith, "Benevolent Societies: The Reshaping of Charity During the Late Ming and Early Ch'ing," Journal of Asian Studies 2: 309–337; Mary Backus Rankin, "Managed by the People: Officials, Gentry and the Foshan Charitable Granary, 1795–1845," Late Imperial China 15, 2: 1–52; and Angela Ki Che Leung, "To Chasten Society: The Development of Widow Homes in the Qing, 1773–1911," Late Imperial China, 14, 2: 1–32. On the early twentieth century, see Vivienne Shue, "The Quality of Mercy: Confucian Charity and the Mixed Metaphors of Modernity in Tianjin," Modern China 4: 411–452 and Alfred H.Y. Lin, "Warlord, Social Welfare and Philanthropy: The Case of Guangzhou under Chen Jitang, 1929–1936," Modern China 2: 151–198. Quote from Lin: 161.
33. Jin Huanyu 靳環宇, Wan Qing yizhen zuzhi yanjiu 晚清義賑組織研究 (Charitable organizations during the late Qing). Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, 160–193.
34. Li Guangwei 李光偉, "20 shiji shangbanye zhongguo minjian cishan jiuzhu shiye de dianfan – shijie hongwanzi hui Yantai fenhui xuyang yuan de lishi kaozheng" 20世紀上半夜中國民間慈善救助事業的典範 – 世界紅卍子會 會煙台分會恤養院 (An example of civil charitable organizations in early twentieth century China – historical examination of the charitable homes of the Yantai branch of the World Red Swastika Society). Ludong daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban) 魯東大學學報(哲學社會科學版) 24, 3: 17–22. Gong Rufu 龔汝富, "Minguo shiqi jianji cishan tuanti lifa ji qi qishi" 民國時期監督慈善團體立法及其啓示 (Establishment of legal oversight of charities during the Republican period). Fashang yanjiu 法商研究 133(5): 155–160.
35. Liang Jiagui, Minguo Shandong jiaomen shi, 98. Thomas DuBois, Sacred Village: Social Change and Religious Life in Rural North China, 113–117. Komukai Sakurako 小武海櫻子. "Seimatsu Shisen no rantō to shūkyō kessha – Kassen kai zentō jizen kai zenshi" 清末四川の鸞堂と宗教結社 – 合川會善堂慈善會前史 (Religious groups and late Qing phoenix halls – the early history of the Hechuan hui charitable society) Tōhō shūkyō 東方宗教 5: 50–71.
36. Li Shizhong 厲時中, "Wu da shengjiao jiushi shishi ji" 五大聖教救世事實紀 (World salvation in the five sacred teachings) 《哲報》 Zhebao November 10, 1923.
37. Uchida Ryōhei, Manmō no dokuritsu to sekai kōmanjikai no undō, 90–91. Li Guangwei, "Daoyuan, Daodeshe Shijie hongwanzi hui – xinxing zongjiao cishan zuzhi de lishi kaocha," 51–52. Kōa shūkyō kyōkai, Sekai Kōmanjikai Dōin no jittai, 17–18.
38. Liu Benjing 劉本靜, Jilin yuanhui daoci shiye er shi zai gailue 吉林院會道慈事業廿載概略 (A review of 20 years of dao and charitable work by the Jilin branch), p. 17 explains that the RSS was founded because the Daoyuan alone could not keep up with the pace of disasters.
39. Fang Jing 方竟 and Cai Zhuanbin 蔡傳斌, "Minguo chuqi de shijie hong wanzi hui ji qi zhenji huodong" 民國時期的世界紅卍字會及其賑濟活動 (Early Republican World Red Swastika Society and its charitable activities). Zhongguo shehui jingji shi yanjiu 中國社會經濟史研究 2: 75; Kōa shūkyō kyōkai, Sekai Kōmanjikai Dōin no jittai, 20.
40. Shijie hong wanzi hui 世界紅卍字會, Shijie hong wanzi hui linian zhenjiu gongzuo baogao shu 世界紅卍字會歷年賑救工作報告書 (Annual report of RSS charitable work). 1930, 5–6.
41. One estimate counts no less than 77 major natural disasters between 1911 and 1937, including 24 floods, 14 droughts, 19 earthquakes. Fang and Cai, 2005: 77–78. See also Li Guangwei 李光伟. 2007. "20 shiji shangbanye zhongguo minjian cishan jiuzhu shiye de dianfan – shijie hongwanzi hui Yantai fenhui xuyang yuan de lishi kaozheng."
42. Jia Yingzhe 賈英哲, "Haerbin hong wanzihui de lishi jiazhi kaozheng" 哈爾濱的紅卍字會的歷史價值考證(Investigation into the historical value of the Harbin Red Swastika Society) Heilongjiang shehui kexue 黑龍江社會科學 2: 126.
43. Li Guangwei 李光偉, "20 shiji shangbanye zhongguo minjian cishan jiuzhu shiye de dianfan – shijie hongwanzi hui Yantai fenhui xuyang yuan de lishi kaozheng."
44. Shijie hong wanzi hui, Shijie hong wanzi hui linian zhenjiu gongzuo baogao shu, 1930, 1932, 1935.
45. David Strand, Rickshaw Beijing: City People and Politics in the 1920s. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 216–221.
46. Gong Rufu, "Minguo shiqi jianji cishan tuanti lifa ji qi qishi," 155–156.
47. Yue Zongfu, 2006; Zhang and Cai, 2003; Wang Lin, 2007: 170.
48. Vivienne Shue, "The Quality of Mercy: Confucian Charity and the Mixed Metaphors of Modernity in Tianjin"; p. 441 mentions strained relations between the Guomindang Social Bureau and private charities in Tianjin during that same year. Xu Feng, Nanjing zhengfu zongjiao zhengce, 44; Yuancheng, Daoci gangyao dadao pian, 68; Guo Dasong, "'Ji'nan Daoyuan ji Hongwanzihui zhi diaocha' bianzheng," 24–34; Shao Yong, Zhongguo huidaomen, 301–306.
49. Chi Zihua 池子华. 2004. "Zhongguo hong shizi hui Xinhai zhan shi jiuhu xingdong" 中国红十字会辛亥战时救护行动 (Relief activities of the Chinese Red Cross during the fighting of 1911). Minguo dang'an 1: 40–46.
50. Most sources refer to these three without their surnames.
51. Sushuang and Huahe were at the time affiliated with Daoyuan in Ji'nan and Beijing, respectively. Yuancheng, the author of one source, does not give much information about his own background, except to state that he held simultaneous positions in Daoyuan in Ji'nan, Nanjing, and Beijing. Shijie hong wanzi hui, Shijie hong wanzi hui

linian zhenjiu gongzuo baogao shu, 1932: 11; Yuancheng, Daoci gangyao dadao pian, 80. On ōmotokyō, see Li Narangoa, "Universal Values and Pan-Asianism: The vision of ōmotokyō." In Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders, Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann, eds. London and New York: Routledge, 52–66.

52. RSS made a donation of 5,000 *yuan* through the Japanese consul to relief efforts, Shao Yong, Zhongguo huidaomen, 185.
53. Li Xuezhi 李學智, "1923 nian Zhongguo ren dui Riben zhenzai de chenjiu xingdong" 1923 年中國人對日本震災的賑救行動 (Chinese charitable responses to the Japanese earthquake of 1923). Jindai shi yanjiu 近代史研究 3: 281.
54. Shijie hong wanzi hui, Shijie hong wanzi hui linian zhenjiu gongzuo baogao shu, 1932: 1–2; 1935: 24.
55. It should be noted that the charitable sector in Manchuria was already highly developed and extremely cosmopolitan. In addition to a foundation of medical institutions created by Scottish Presbyterian missionaries, there was also a highly developed plague prevention infrastructure, which was formed in response to the pneumonic epidemic of 1910–1911, and enjoyed the support of the Nanjing government and the League of Nations. The Manchurian Plague Prevention Service ceased operations in 1931. See Wu Lien-teh, Plague Fighter: The autobiography of a modern Chinese physician. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1959: 375–402.
56. Even after the fighting in Manchuria had commenced, Dalian merchants connected with RSS made interest-free loans worth tens of thousands of yuan to flood-stricken provinces in the south. A collection of Japanese businesses and newspapers made a high profile donation to the same relief effort. Shengjing shibao, 1931: September 2, 4, 15, October 15, 17, November 1, December 8, 9. This particular newspaper had been owned and operated by the Japanese Mantetsu consortium since 1923. Thomas David DuBois, Japanese media and Manchurian Cultural Community: Religion in the Shengjing Times, 1907–1944." In Casting Faiths: Imperialism and the Transformation of Religion in East and Southeast Asia. Edited by idem. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 217–238.
57. Liu Benjing, Jilin yuanhui daoci shiye er shi zai gailue, 25–27, 33.
58. Kōa shūkyō kyōkai, Sekai Kōmanjikai Dōin no jittai, 33.
59. Yuancheng, Daoci gangyao dadao pian, 89–91; Kōa shūkyō kyōkai, Sekai Kōmanjikai Dōin no jittai, 33–34.
60. Yuancheng, Daoci gangyao dadao pian, 80–82, 94–96.
61. On the popularity of the ōmotokyō at the Great Religions Exposition, see Nancy Stalker, Showing Faith: Exhibiting ōmoto to Consumers in Early Twentieth Century Japan." In Casting Faiths: Imperialism and the Transformation of Religion in East and Southeast Asia. Thomas David DuBois, ed. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 239–256.
62. Uchida Ryōhei, Manmō no dokuritsu to sekai kōmanjikai no undō, 109; Yuancheng, Daoci gangyao dadao pian, 94–101; Kōa shūkyō kyōkai, Sekai Kōmanjikai Dōin no jittai, 30.
63. See Louise Young, Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism. Berkeley: University of California Press, 88–95.
64. Xiantian and houtian are often translated literally as Former and Latter Heaven, but here and in other Daoyuan writings, the terms refer respectively to a true, original essence, and the limited understanding used in the current world. This conception is comparable to the two levels of meaning discussed in Primal Singularity. No doubt many Japanese readers would have recognized the similar idea of "true essence and manifest traces" (honji suijaku 本地垂迹) from Japanese Mahayana Buddhism. Uchida Ryōhei, Manmō no dokuritsu to sekai kōmanjikai no undō, 85.
65. Many of the spirit writings Uchida cites center upon on Deguchi, often with his Dao name of Xunren 寻仁. Messages attributed to the Great Progenitor predict that

Deguchi's light or teaching will spread across the Eastern Sea, a vision of Asian spiritual unity that closely mirrored that of Japanese imperialism.

66. At the time of writing, both were former members of Zhang Zuolin's military command. Zhang would go on to lead the military campaign against loyalist general Ma Zhanshan, and the capture of Rehe. Tang was later named governor of Rehe Province. Uchida Ryōhei, Manmō no dokuritsu to sekai kōmanjikai no undō, 103–105, 111–112.
67. Li Narangoa, "Universal Values and Pan-Asianism: The vision of ōmotokyō," 62; Uchida Ryōhei, Manmō no dokuritsu to sekai kōmanjikai no undō, 117–118.
68. Manshūkoku kokumin minseibu, kōseishi kyōkaka 滿州國國民民生部厚生司教化科 (Manchukuo National Assembly, Department of People's Livelihood, Welfare Division, Culture Section), Manshūkoku Dōen Kōmanjikai no gaiyō 滿洲國道院紅卍字會の概要 (Overview of the Daoyuan Red Swastika Society in Manchukuo). Kyōka dantai chōsa shiryō, 2: 161–175.
69. Xi Qia was a former general, and later the Minister of Finance and Minister of the Interior for Manchukuo. Zhang Jinghui, Yu Zhishan, while Sun held a variety of mid-level positions. See also DuBois, 2008.
70. Manshūkoku kokumin minseibu, Manshūkoku Dōen Kōmanjikai no gaiyō, 162–165.
71. Manshū teikoku kyōwa kai 滿州帝國協和會, Kyōwa Undō 協和運動 (the Unity Movement) Tokyo: Ryokuin shōbo. September, 1939–April, 1945.
72. Thomas David DuBois, "Manchukuo's filial sons: States, sects and the transformation of graveside piety," East Asian History, 35: 3–27.
73. Shijie hong wanzi hui, Shijie hong wanzi hui linian zhenjiu gongzuo baogao shu, 1932: 6–9.
74. Zhou Bin 周斌, "Qingmo-Minchu 'guomin waijiao' yici de xingcheng ji qi hanyi shulun" 清末民初"國民外交"一詞的形成及其含義述論 (Essay on the development and implied meaning of the term "citizen diplomacy" in the late Qing and early Republic). Anhui shixue 安徽史學 5: 22–32.
75. Shijie hong wanzi hui, Shijie hong wanzi hui linian zhenjiu gongzuo baogao shu, 1935: 16–17.
76. "Shijie Hongwanzi hui Nanjing da tusha hou anli jiuji gongzuo baogao" 世界红卍字会南京大屠杀后掩埋救急工作报告 (Report on burial and relief efforts of the Red Swastika Society following the Nanjing Massacre), Dang'an yu shixue 档案与史学, 4: 11–18. Shao Yong, Zhongguo huidaomen, 390, cites a higher figure of 31,791 burials.
77. On the Pacification Teams, see Cao Dajun 曹大臣, "Riben zhanling Huazhong chuqi de jiceng kongzhi moshi – yi Taicang xian wei zhongxin (1937–1940)" 日本佔領華中初期的基層控制模式—— 以太倉縣為中心 (1937–1940); (Modes of control during the early Japanese occupation of central China – the case of Taicang county) 2004, 1 Minguo dang'an 民國檔案: 60–65; Liu Dage 劉大可, "Shandong lunxian qu Xinminhui ji qi huodong" 山東淪陷區新民會及其活動" (The New People's Society and its activities in occupied areas of Shandong]" Shandong shehui kexue 山東社會科學 3: 50–55; Zhang Taishan 張泰山. "Lun kangzhan shiqi Ri-Wei zai Hubei lunxian qu de wenhua kongzhi moshi" 論抗戰時期日偽在湖北淪陷區的文化控制模式 (On the model of cultural control in the occupied regions of Hubei during the anti-Japanese War) 第7卷第4期 Wuhan keji daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban) 武漢科技大學學報 (社會科學版) 7(4): 30–34.
78. Shao Yong, Zhongguo huidaomen, 391.
79. In doing so, they were not alone: Many Japanese contemporaries had envisioned a similar role for Zen Buddhism. See Judith Snodgrass, "Publishing Eastern Buddhism: D. T. Suzuki's journey to the West." In Casting Faiths: Imperialism and the Transformation of Religion in East and Southeast Asia, Thomas David DuBois, ed. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 46–74.
80. Bernard Formoso uses this term to characterize the use of charitable activities by the Morality Teaching in Southeast Asia today. Bernard Formoso, De Jiao: A Religious

Movement in Contemporary China and Overseas: Purple qi from the East. Singapore: NUS Press.

81. Katz, Paul R. Katz, "Wang Yiting and the Enchantment of Chinese Modernity." Paper presented at International Conference on Folk Confucianism and redemptive societies, Foguang University, Taiwan.

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6 Re-creating Hui identity and the charity network in the imperial extension from Ming to Qing in the Southwest Chinese frontier

Ma Jianxiong

Introduction

During the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries during Ming dynasty in China, more and more Huihui people were resettled from middle Asia and parts of central China to Yunnan. Some of them gradually lost their Muslim identities and original Islamic religious practice. After the sixteenth century, in the transformation from Ming to Qing dynasties, some Huihui scholars began to mobilize a movement to reinterpret Islamic ideas using the concepts of Confucian or Neo-Confucianism. Through this change, gradually, the Hui identity reformed. The Islamic education system was developed in communities based on the Common Items Charity, to extend local communities into a network. All of these developments were based mainly on the communal charity resources coming from minefields in the mountain areas, and long distance trade, especially on the Yunnan–Burma frontier. For example, when the Qing state tried to produce more and more silver and copper, many minefields were controlled by various powerful, Hui, minefield hosts. Through the extension of the Hui network, the Hui elite established, in a communal mosque, their Islamic education, which was based on the Common Items Charity in their home villages. It formed the basis of cultural construction for internal governance and a transregional network for business management and goods transportation. More Hui Muslims could, therefore, be freed from their everyday agricultural and official taxation and services tasks, because the Common Items played the role of a communal organization, and became a shield to deal with the state. In this way, the function of the Common Items Charity was to provide mosque education, deal with communal affairs, play host to long distant travelers, and fulfill official tasks.

Meanwhile the network, based on cultural infrastructure like a common genealogy and a Confucian interpretation of Islam, made the sharing network possible. This systemic reform was pushed forward by some Confucian and Islamic scholars, but during the period from the 1710s to the 1810s, the Hui network based on the Common Items Charity was constructed. This system provided a fundamental institution for the Hui communities and integrated communal cohesion as well as the network extension. However when the mine resources shrank, some serious conflicts arose, which brought about the Hui Muslim uprising from the 1850s to